RADICAL AGENDA - SETTING? EXPLORING INFORMALITY AND THE SPATIAL AND ECONOMIC PRACTICES OF INFORMAL PEOPLE WITHIN THE AMBIT OF SUGGESTION, CONTESTATION AND MOVEMENT TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE CITY

Siphelele Lisolam Melody Ngobese

Msc TRP (Urban Studies)

School of Architecture and Planning

0205298J

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Enginneering and the Built Environment, University of Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning (in the field of Urban Studies).

Johannesburg, 2015

Table of Contents

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the University of Witwatersrand towards the degree of Master of Science in Town and Regional Planning (in the field of Urban Studies). It has not been submitted before, for any degree or examination, to any other institution.

....

(Candidate's signature)

.... day of .... year ....

Abstract

This research report examines the extent to which the economic and spatial practices of informal people can be classed as radical genda-setting towards an alternative city. In so doing the practices and perceptions of business owners, market traders and street traders in Yeoville are explored. To give greater context of what informal people are possibly pushing up against, state practice and policy are also considered. The discussion further draws on the nexus between politics and governance as well as between the state and capital on the making of contemporary cities. Social movement theory provides the initial basis to carry out the discussion. The interweaving theories of quiet encroachment (Bayat), insurgent citizenship (Holston) and subaltern urbanism (Roy) give the exploration greater depth.

I.   Acknowledgements

II.   Maps and Figures

Map A.

Context Map: Yeoville in Relation to Gauteng Province and Johannesburg

S. Ngobese, 2015

1. Concept Note

The central concern of this research report is informal or below ways of being in the city. It is particularly interested in the trade models and daily practices of informal traders and business owners and how much, if at all, they constitute agenda-setting or the suggestion of an alternative city.

The exploration takes place in the context of governance and urban development oriented towards the production of world class cities. This grand project both engenders and stands in juxtaposition to notions of global south/developing cities as failed spaces in a desperate bid to catch up with their global north counterparts. Informality is viewed as a problem to be overcome and is unpacked through the language of decay and lack while relief from it is conceptualized as the absorption of the poor and marginalized into structure (through inter alia job creation, formalization and formal training). However, as Roy[1] succinctly suggests, informality is more inextricable to the postcolonial urban, even from above. State practice, though predicated on and propagated through the veneer of a sterile, efficient, transparent machinery; relies on informality in the daily practices which come together to constitute governance. On the other hand, Roy asserts the notion of insurgent citizenship, of the "slum" as the icon for self-built and self-managed settlements and of slum as movement. Thus she opens up entryways to consider informality and operations from below as a radical suggestion and contestation towards an alternative city.

The above throws in flux and opens the scope to unpack the inherent assumptions carried in the working title. One is that informals and the urban spatial order are binaries inherent in normative and discursive language. Another is that informal trader's and informal[2] business owner's models and daily practices are informed by politics such that they constitute a challenge or suggestion of an alternative to the urban spatial order. Thirdly, it assumes the absence of nuance in that informal traders and business owners can only either manipulate the spatial order while acquiescing to it or challenge/subvert it altogether. At the level of Hustling Scholarship framing the title this way is inspired by the idea that informals (or those who operate urban space on an informal basis or who exist outside of structure, which I later refer to as unstructured informality), can't necessarily change the urban spatial form. Their practices constitute merely a negotiation of the urban form, acquiescing to it but not really in

---

[1] Roy A., Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities, Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization. *Planning Theory*, vol.8 no.1, 2009, pp 76-87
[2] In the sense of transformed spatial form in Yeoville where formal businesses border on the informal

a position to transform it. Such assumptions and perspectives, read together, create the framework for exploration. They direct it towards an outcome on what can be constituted as change.

For purposes of unpacking the topic urban space is narrowed down to *the Street and the suburb[3],* respectively. That is in terms of their core intent versus informal traders and business owner's way of being in them. Similarly, how state authority/management unfolds in the selected spaces will be of interest. That is, the daily practices that constitute such management[4] in relation to the formal spatial vision and its articulation in policy and institutional spaces.

In engaging with the above the concepts of, inter alia, change, capture or transformation feature strongly.

Central Question

[Can the practices of informal people in Yeoville amount to radical suggestion of an alternative city?]

The central question for this research is whether informals are merely negotiating space informally but with acquiescence to the primacy of formality or do their practices constitute radical agenda setting towards an alternative city (i.e. offering an alternative urban culture/spatial order from the one being propagated from above)? The question is inspired by the notion that informal people and their practices "can only subvert the core intent of the scene but cannot overcome it."[5] The question also rests within a wider exploration of whether unstructured informality can be classed within radical suggestion, contestation and movement and whether these can only be captured or generated within the realm of the formal (through, inter alia, policy change and legislation); traditional forms of contestation such as social movements or organised movements with structured systems of representation, accountability and a pronounced politics. Thus the interest in participants daily practices and their proximity to structure, which I argue determines what forms of contestation are available to them. I am particularly interested in what classifications of suggestion, contestation and movement will arise from such an exploration.

---

[3] Yeoville and Rockey-Raleigh Street, respectively

[4] SEE: Albert I., Between the State and Transporters Unions: NURTW and the Politics of Managing Public Motor Parks in Ibadan and Lagos, Nigeria, in Fourchard L. (Ed.), Gourverner Les Villes D'Afrique: Etat Gourvenement Local et Acteurs Prives, Kharthala, Paris, 2007

[5] Respondent, PANEL: Hustling Scholarship for African Urban Public Cultures, CUBES/Africa Centre for Cities Southern Africa City Studies Conference, 27 – 29 March 2014

Rationale for research

For the abovementioned purposes I have settled on an inquiry into a spatial community, as opposed to a general approach. Yeoville is relevant both as a suburb (in terms of the conceptions of this residential form) and as containing a high street within it (Rockey/Raleigh). As a business hub whose inhabitants are formal and informal Rockey-Raleigh is conducive to unpacking the politics of the use of the street. The tensions between the core intent of the street (as infrastructure, the backbone for development) and how it is regarded from below, is researchable. Yeoville in general allows an exploration of suburban concerns and the formal spatial vision versus the proliferation of something in vast contrast from below.

Yeoville is often perceived as a template for a cosmopolitan African city or a localised version of an authentic African city on one hand, and the embodiment of urban decay and the glaring absence of the state on the other. It is relevant in terms of the aim to see what perspectives can be gained from dislodging space from language that sees it as a failed space to a new lexicon of capture by informals.

This research takes its inspiration from the body of work being produced in the area of grassroots activism. It is inspired by previous work done under the auspices of the Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment Studies (CUBES), profiling the stories of local activists,[6] and their ability to drive change and the networks and techniques they deploy in doing so. The follow-up to this report, giving a synthesis of 'the political landscape of street trader organisations in Johannesburg',[7] also resonates. A key observation made in the latter is that seminal writings on street traders and street trader organizations mostly cut at the level of their engagement with the state. The report cites, inter alia, Lund and Skinner (1999), Motala (2002), Horn (2003) and Tissington (2009) as having offered insights. As its own contribution, it studies street trader organisations from the perspective of leadership and issues of structure, formalisation, strategies, accountability, efficiency, alliances as well as repertoires of action.[8] In terms of my own contribution, the intent is to stretch the consideration to include informality and street traders existing outside the structure, in part or in whole. Taken from the aforementioned report's mission statement which is to begin to take trader organisations seriously as an area of study, I find it equally important to see how far unstructured space can be discussed within the ambit of, inter alia, suggestion, contestation and movement.

---

[6] Benit-Gbaffou C. (ed.), Community activists tell their stories: Driving change in Johannesburg and Ekhuruleni, Edited research report with MUS Masters class, CUBES, Wits University, Johannesburg, 2013
[7] Benit-Gbaffou C. (ed) A Political Landscape of Street Trader Organizations in Inner City Johannesburg Post Operation clean Sweep, CUBES, University of the Witwatersrand, November 2014
[8] Op. Cit., pp 15

I explore the faultlines between street traders and those operating within a modicum of formality/formalisation for the same purpose. What is lost and/or gained with formalisation is key to gaining a fuller picture of whether informality and street trading are imbued with the potential for change and radical suggestion and contestation. I explore state practice with the same rationale.

Although my initial intention was to converse with a cross-section of traders, including members of trader organizations, movements and formations, my field work has led me time and again to traders who have no overt networks outside of nationality, family or a specific role through which they propagate their further presence in the particular space they occupy. Its testament to how Yeoville as a place and space reconfigured my own formal/planned intents. It was near impossible to find participants who were willing to talk. Key contacts with credibility within the sector seemed to always fall through. In one particular instance I managed to establish a rapport with Edmund Elias, who is a street trader, long-time resident of Yeoville and Spokesperson of the National Traders' Retail Alliance (SANTRA). He would be my link to various traders on the Yeoville side (he himself was ineligible as he works in the CBD). This was not to be, as in my final attempt to reach him, after several attempts on both our parts, he reported that his cellphone contacts had mysteriously disappeared the night before. On the other hand, the focus is compounded by the CUBES street trader organisations report which takes an in-depth look at organized traders. I see this as an opportunity to consider another critical aspect.

At the level where informal people in general, and particularly street traders, in Yeoville are mostly non-nationals (varied in terms of their status in South Africa), it is key to consider their operations and techniques as well as networks deployed, within the fact that civil and political rights are not expressly extended to this demographic. Articulated in terms of the democratic city, they are constrained by the limits to democratic participation. Existence, in part or in whole outside of structure, is exemplified by the fact that suffrage does not extend to the majority of Yeoville residents.[9] Secondly, in the context of undocumented migrants in South Africa and in Johannesburg particularly their distance from structure/democratic participation is compounded where their status prevents them from accessing avenues of recourse such as police services, health and education owing to fear of detection, compounded by negative experiences of authorities.[10] I deem the aspect of proximity to structure a determinant of the options available in mobilizing politics and interests. Where direct action and engagement is not readily available to the demographic of concern, it is important to ascertain how far their [silent] operations can be considered within the realm of radical suggestion and contestation.

---

[9] Yeoville is said to have a population of 51% non-nationals
[10] SEE: Lawyers for Human Rights/ACMS, *Monitoring Immigration Detention in South Africa* (REPORT), September 2012

The above has implications for and invokes a need to consider formal arrangements. The ward system is particularly interesting: what is its relevance in Yeoville? This is particularly in shaping space in the context of a majority that is neither bound by nor enjoys democratic participation in full. Secondly, it becomes important to look at politics and governance in how [practitioners] manipulate formal arrangements in ways that both enable and stem the radical reconfiguration of space on both the sides of formality and informality.

The amount of existing research on Yeoville means one can comfortably make forays. Furthermore it allows me to play to my strength in that I've chosen to keep the area of research uncomplicated so as to give greater range to unique perspectives to be pulled out in the analysis. Having made inroads in previous research (Community Activists Tell their Stories) I aim to further/deepen some of the observations I've already made.

Aim

The aim of this study is to explore the extent to which informality is transformative of the urban spatial order. The aim rests within the ongoing inquiry into the role of informal classes in the production of socially just and inclusive urban space and public culture. This is particularly in the context of the new orientation of global south/developing cities towards world classness and notions of order and cleanliness that go with it.

In terms of informality as radical agenda setting, the study will focus on the informal use of urban infrastructure/space (i.e. counter to its core intent). *The street* and *the suburb,* respectively, are central tropes in this regard. That is, their core intent versus what they represent to their various users, particularly those who do so on an informal basis.

My overall exploration is of various readings and manifestations of the African city. Structure/formality often speaks of a 'World Class *African City'. In my exploration of how formality interacts with informality I hope to come out with an understanding of the African city beyond colonial and postcolonial framings of it. Coupled with overarching notions of order and cleanliness, to which informal, particularly street traders, are antithetical, I am interested in whether the *African in 'World Class African City' is merely an incident of geography.

In terms of the exploration of street traders my humble aim is to contribute to taking this sector seriously in scholarship.[11] I move from where existing literature has covered traders' engagement with the state as well as organised traders. By focusing on traders that exist

---

[11] SEE: BEnit-Gbaffou C. (ed) A Political Landscape of Street Trader Organizations in Inner City Johannesburg Post Operation clean Sweep, CUBES, University of the Witwatersrand, November 2014

partly or in whole outside of structure, I aim to explore how far their operations can be discussed within the ambit of change, transformation, contestation and radical suggestion. In doing so it is important to discuss Yeoville, first, as a suburb and the proliferation of informality on its character as a whole and secondly Rockey-Raleigh Street focusing on respectively, market and street traders. There is additionally the aspect of politic and governance. Within the faultlines of each aspect I believe conclusions can be made about the extent to which informality can be contextualised as radical suggestion.

Methodology

The nature of the research topic and the question(s) to be explored are deemed to favour an ethnographic/qualitative approach. This method of enquiry is geared at gaining the basic background as well as daily practices of participants. Through the participant's negotiation of their spatial environment – their own use of it versus the core intent of the infrastructure or space – I aim to explore whether or not their practices can be discussed as radical suggestion of an alternative city.

The method illuminates not only the dynamics involved but also brings up the nuances within them. In that way it highlights some of the assumptions precluding a more serious characterisation of informality that exists, wholly or in part, outside of structure. The dynamics and nuances are unpacked in terms of policy and its articulation of space, politics and governance and thirdly, through an analysis of the relationship of informal people with those who manage their spatial environment (authorities/practitioners) and who hold a formal spatial vision (e.g. Yeoville Ratepayers Association) and those who while operating in the space of informality, have some level of access to structure and formalisation.

Data collection techniques

The research relies on semi-structured interviews with individuals and in some instances, groups. The latter is limited in terms of what information one can glean in a group situation. However, I view it as a strength in that what cannot be found/accessed, in and of itself, strengthens the analysis.

While primarily ethnographic the method is also sociological in looking at social action interpretively rather than empirically, by focusing on the daily practices of informal traders and business owners and their perceptions thereof. With the view to an open approach (i.e. no particular outcome or conclusion in mind) the approach, in Weberian terms, "attempts

the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its cause and effects."[12]

The observation is twofold. I look at one spatial community but split it into two. In one sense I explore Yeoville in its core context as a suburb and the proliferation of informal businesses there. On the other hand I look at Rockey-Raleigh street in the context of a street as infrastructure on one hand, and as a contested site between the formal and informal, who both regard it as the backbone of their respective visions. As such, the sample will be of informal traders, and others who use the suburb/ street on an informal basis or in ways counter to the respective spaces' core intent.

In framing my undertaking as above and given that part of the exploration is of social movement theory, it is important to state the selection of respondents and the justification thereof. In selecting respondents, particularly of traders, I discriminated in favour of women and traders who had never engaged in any type of study before. My thinking was that this would rear fresh and unfiltered perspectives. Secondly I sought street traders that are not part of any social movement per se (some of the external concerns impacting the selection process are outlined above). This allows me to consider emerging types of negotiating and engaging in space and how in and of themselves they can be discussed within the ambit of, inter alia, driving spatial change, contestation, movement and radical suggestion. It ties in with the central aim of exploring the concept of 'movement' beyond traditional social movements and forms of collectivisation. In sum, I am interested in whether there is any power vested in space that exists, in part or in whole, outside of structure.

Strengths and Weaknesses of the Method

Through an ethnographic approach one can gain "a sense of local knowledge, a grounded expertise based on daily practices, observation and experiences inscribed in a local, accessible space through networks and interactions with a somehow identifiable set of people." [13]

Furthermore, that "the local scale is ridden with potentialities that no other scale of action can match."[14] exists in tandem with the well documented criticism that "radical or structural change cannot be made at a local level or outside of the political. [Most change] depends on higher scales of intervention and drive."[15] Because my study is concerned with the extent

---

[12] Weber M., cited in Denhardt D., <u>Theories of Public Organization</u>, Cengage Learning, 2010, pp 27
[13] Op. Cit. Benit-Gbaffou C., (ed.), <u>Community Activists Tell their Stories: Driving Change in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni</u>, pp 13
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid

to which informality is transformative of the urban spatial and its core intent, it will be important to explore the aforementioned in depth.

Ethnography also brings out the tensions between theory and practice. It is deemed appropriate for an inquiry of the nexus between the above and below as widely explored in emerging global south theoretical perspectives on cities.

Overall, ethnography provides an opportunity for in-depth insights with potential to develop completely new analytical threads. Capturing as many narratives and realities of informals as possible and bridges "the barrier between the intellectual crowd and the grassroots leaders and common folk."[16]

In terms of limitations, ethnography affords little control over outcomes and limits one's ability to interpret or make an analysis towards a particular outcome. However this is both a strength and limitation. It is a limitation in terms of the extent to which findings are generalisable. It is a strength in that a single narrative of informal urban life is neither desirable nor particularly good for scholarship.[17]

Tabulation of the Method

Method	Advantage(s)	Disadvantages
Ethnography	Grounded expertise, potential of change at local scale, in-depth insights, unpredictable outcomes	Unpredictable outcomes, hard to standardize/generalize findings, time consuming, language nuance – easy to misinterpret, has bearing on the quality of analysis

---

[16] Borda O., _Participatory (Action) Research in Social Theory: Origins and Challenges_, in Reason and Bradbury (eds.) Handbook of Action Research, Sage, London, 2001, pp 31

[17] SEE: Roy A., _Urbanisms, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Planning_, Planning Theory, 10(6), 2011

Core Argument

The argument being put forward is rather diffuse. Its weakness is that at points, it does not come through clearly enough. Its strength is that it picks up on multiple threads critical to responding to the central question.

In over a hundred years all formal spatial visions have failed to translate in Yeoville. This is linked to the trajectory of and the making of cities in South Africa. Despite a democratic dispensation, which through a range of technologies sets itself apart from the apartheid city, policy and planning continue to centre on utopian notions. It occasions a broader conversation around the boundedness of South African urban development to the erasure of the antithetical other before any spatial vision can come into effect. From protected white space in the colonial and apartheid cities to the emphasis on clean cities in the present, the Yeoville case highlights clear linkages. Yeoville does so in that it is antithetical at each point. Furthermore Yeoville reveals what opportunities are yet to be seized as well as the level of creativity needed in thinking about spatially transformed, inclusive cities that support sustainable livelihoods. While this is put forward as the core concern of the post-apartheid or democratic South African city (transformative agenda) the approach to informality is the management of the threat it poses to the clean, orderly and investor-friendly city.

"According to Williams (2000: 171) 'transformation assumes the form of a particular vision of a democratic social order, specifically in relation to the urban profile, its morphology and the resultant configuration of economic/political/ideological relations of power that would eventually consummate in a 'people-friendly living environment.'" [18] Urbanisation and development in the democratic city, however, have continued to produce exclusionary space. For example, investment in infrastructure, housing and transport aims to facilitate inclusive, people-friendly and spatially transformed cities have instead produced "office parks, shopping malls, gated communities with high emphasis on security. Thus despite plans and intentions to desegregate the apartheid city, post-apartheid local governments have not been very effective in reducing racial, social and economic segregation. For example, the high street configuration can accommodate a greater variety of commercial property sizes, a diversity of products and services, a diversity of owners and traders. On the other hand, mall environments often do not provide the flexibility for free negotiation of space (walking) or the space for diversity (in terms of owners and products). Malls also require more

---

[18] South African Cities Network, forthcoming State of Cities Report (2016)

space for parking and vehicle traffic while the high street configuration sees more foot traffic."[19]

In sum, the democratic city has been preoccupied with the production of cities for the middle class. Where they actively produces exclusionary space informality, in the way its proponents regard and inhabit space, represents a push-back. This is the crux of the argument in the first line of analysis, in as far as it draws continuities between the colonial, apartheid and democratic cities. It is relevant to the second tier of analysis in as far as the discussion of Corridors of Freedon, non-motorised transport and the 24-hour city as middle class projects; while informality in Yeoville has already made suggestions at the future city. The latter point ties in with the first line of argument, stating the making of South African cities around the idea of an antithetical other.

By engaging with social movement theory, I pave the way to discuss informality in Yeoville in terms of movement, contestation and suggestion of an alternative city. The imposing presence of traders on the streets subverts new cities emerging around middle class concerns (compounding the apartheid spatial form instead of challenging it). Informality thus returns the transformative intent of policy to its radical underpinnings

The Yeoville case makes for interesting analysis of global south cities bent on becoming world class and Johannesburg particularly, on becoming the 'New York of Africa'. Yeoville reveals that when juxtaposed with suggestions from below, of what cities should give to, a new light is cast on the hegemonic aspects of the urbanisation and development paradigms, coupled with emerging forms of public management and doing politics. How space is regarded and inhabited informally however suggests that all formal visions are static or do not allow the fluidity fitting the global south context. Thus the 'Africa' in the 'World Class African City' remains an incident of geography. The preoccupation is with cities that mirror their western counterparts, rather than cities that fit their own context.

I unpack this aspect of the argument through an exploration of, inter alia, the nuances between market and street traders, the obfuscation of informality rather than it being seen clearly (which leads to the conclusion that discursive and normative blocks exist which prevent adequate engagement with unstructured informality, whether in scholarship or policy spaces) and through an analysis of the politics of cleaniness which drive current approaches to informal trading as primarily the defense of the clean, orderly, investor friendly city.

In a broad sense, the latter part of the argument is in favour of state intervention that supports   what is happening rather than the making real of utopian notions of space. Seen

---

[19] Ibid.

clearly and managed progressively the informality and the informal sector, respectively, have the potential to contribute to a city that is inclusive, spatially transformed and supports sustainable livelihoods as well as the return to public space in the authentic sense.

Definition of Terms

Agenda setting

In this specific case, it refers to daily practices of informal traders and business owners as transformative as opposed to temporary struggle (with survival as the key calculus for action)

Spatio-political economy

Refers to the politics of space and economy inhabited, navigated, confronted and experienced by those who use urban space/infrastructure informally or who exist outside of structure

Urban spatial order

Refers to the formal spatial vision as propagated through both the public and private (inter alia, governance, policy, practice, residents' associations, market imperatives)

Structure

A set of relationships we agree to and abide by – fabricated social relations, not fixed but real in that they inform action, define actors and agencies.[20] In the context of what I term 'democratic citizenship'[21] structure pertains to, inter alia, a green, barcoded ID, voting rights and boundedness to democratic citizenship (being governed and the right/freedom to make claims arising from such boundedness).

Change/transformation

A heterogeneous concept, regarded as subjective for purposes of this research. It is left open to be defined in nuanced detail in the analysis of participant's responses. Guiding such analysis is the question of whether change/transformation are only possible within the realm of structure and politics.

Informal(s)/Informal people

The poor, marginalized/those who exist outside of structure or whose proximity to structure is such that they have a limited ability to mobilise their interest within formal and traditional spaces. This definition recognizes nuances, such as those who have access to structure but

---

[20] Stone, C., Urban Regimes: A Research Perspective in Judd P. an Kantor P.,(eds) American Urban Politics: A Reader, Pearson Longman, New York, 1989, pp 27 – 42
[21] The new contextualisation for belonging in South Africa

operate outside of it, and those who exist out of structure but recognize and acquiesce to it. The definition also recognizes the concept of informality within the formal – which will be deployed in the discussion of the operations of the state in Yeoville.

The democratic city

A concept applied to suggest linkages between the current city and the apartheid and colonial cities preceding it. Taken from Hunt, the democratic city "imagines the state as a coherent actor with a monopoly over violence in a well-demarcated territory and frame democracy as conditioned by the absence of coercion, domination, or violence. Such understandings of states and democracy have long been challenged by feminism, globalization, and the image and practice of actual states."[22]

Democracy is problematized through the analytical concept of the 'democratic city' as a response to some of its justifications. The most relevant of these is that social justice is intrinsic to democracy. When applied to the urban setting it a causality is implied between democracy and socially just, equitable cities. When compared and contrasted with cities that precede it, the colonial and apartheid cities, the democratic city is offered as antidote and as transcendence from their tyranny.

While the concept of the democratic city is not central it is applied as an analytical tool in respect of the central aim.

---

[22] Hunt, S. Citizenship's Place: the State's Creation of Public Space and Street Vendors' Culture of Informality in Bogota¨, Colombia, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, vol. 27, pages 331 – 351, 2009, pp 321

2. Review of Literature

General Overview

This chapter sets out the theoretical perspectives informing and supporting the central argument. The chapter begins with a general overview of relevant literature. It moves on to unpacking the theories of Roy, Bayat and Holston which are fundamental to the analysis. Furthermore, the chapter outlines the discursive, normative and policy context for the formal approach to development and urbanization. Lastly, literature related to the Yeoville case is introduced. It compounds the central argument while in other ways raises some of the inherent assumptions in the conceptualization of the research.

The literature reviewed constitutes existing research on the various aspects of the proposed topic. Fundamentally, I am interested in the informal and subversive use of urban space and whether or not it falls within the realm of contestation and/or radical suggestion of public culture.

As an underpinning for my stated question and aim, the urban spatial order being navigated by informal traders and business owners is viewed as a moment in an enduring hegemonic project of which the neoliberal democratic city is a present-day mutation. The literature allows such an approach as it spans the early 20th century to the present. For example, a Johannesburg that aspires to being the New York of Africa can be read in cross-reference to the European (Victorian) character of the colonial city and Euro-American underpinnings of the apartheid city; all of which proved a challenge to consolidate with informality pushing back in various ways. I apply historical literature centering on social movements to set the scene for the broader discussion of informality as suggestion and contestation.

The selected literature provides a distinct and rigorous vocabulary with which to understand and analyse the relevant concepts. Fundamentally the proposed study is about informality, and particularly the informal use of space, as counter-hegemonic practice. The theoretical perspectives encountered in the selected material, challenging the dominant view of cities of the south as failed replicas of their northern counterparts, supports an exploration of informality as radical agenda-setting for public culture.

The class of relevant literature encompasses sociology, politics, history, urban and planning studies. In terms of theoretical grounding, the study is deemed to invoke various areas. These

include urban culture, the politics of democratic and neoliberal governance and the making of the world class city in the global south context.

In terms of where the proposed topic fits within Urban Studies and planning theory, I locate it within furthering the "understanding of planning as the organization and transformation of space"[23], and making "sense of seemingly unplanned spaces that lie outside the grid of visible order"[24] beyond the language of chaos and lack. The study draws its inspiration from theoretical perspectives that seek to dislodge understanding of global south cities from typologies fashioned by the western academy and which are based on the development trajectory and experience of western cities. A problem statement that seems a common thread within this canon is that north-centric explanations do not 'travel well' in explaining cities of the south.

Among key critiques, scholars argue that western urban theory tends to catalyse mega development as key to the making of a modern city. To be specific the Chicago School[25], at its height, pioneered the steel frame[26] and skyscrapers as symbolic of the bustling capitalist marketplace. Within this framework of thinking about cities, the accumulation of wealth became central to access to the city. The nation states' monopoly increasingly came under challenge as new power dynamics allowed non-state actors to significantly influence the urban policy agenda. In terms of the state-society relations produced by this, such cities appear and manifest as, decidedly, anti-poor.

Going in, my general assumption is that western cities face a challenge translating in the global south because of the prevalence of informality in the latter. Bayat, for example, says that the Chicago School rejected the idea of disadvantaged classes and framed the poor/marginalised, instead, along typologies of criminality. In the global south and in Africa particularly, that informality far outstrips development grants more room for claims from below to embed themselves in the character of the city. Similarly state practice relies on informality. Roy unpacks this succinctly in her exploration of why India cannot plan its cities. Lindell[27] similarly classifies informality, in and of itself, as a site of governance. Taking a thread from both of them, I hazard that southern city governments' challenge in transposing the character of northern cities flows as much from the recalcitrance of citizens to follow order as it does from the embededness of informality in their own governance practices. As such the literature allows me to critique inherent assumptions in my topic and earlier explanation of the same.

---

[23] Roy A., Urbanisms, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Planning, Planning Theory, 10(6), 2011, pp 6

[24] Ibid

[25] An influential school of thought in the making of contemporary western cities

[26] Moreno, L., The Work of Architecture in the Age of Structured Finance, in Gandy M., Urban Constellations, Berlin:Javis pp 43 – 47, 2011

[27] Lindell I., The Multiple Sites of Urban Governance: Insights from an African City, Urban Studies Vol. 45 No. 9, 2008, pp 1879 – 1901 (pp 1895)

With the above in mind, I am interested in how far, if at all, the daily practices of informal traders and business owners amount to a radical suggestion of public culture. I revert to Bayat once again, in his discussion of quiet encroachments. I contextualise it within the confrontation between the City of Johannesburg and inner-city street traders (Operation Clean Sweep) as well as police operations chasing and confiscating goods from street traders, periodically. Bayat indicates that city governments "war of attrition against street traders and attempts to halt 'urban disorder'"[28], much like the Colonial and Apartheid[29] city's spatial rationale for urban segregation, have failed. This is due to the informal classes – through various ways including but not limited to "foot-dragging, false compliance, slander, on-the-spot resistance, quiet non-compliance"[30] and legal battles – continuing to challenge the status quo by actively suggesting cities from below. What Bayat says about when quiet encroachments turn into collective political struggles is particularly interesting. He says, "if actors are not confronted seriously by authorities they treat their doings as ordinary, everyday practice. It is when their gains are threatened that they become conscious of their actions and defend them collectively and audibly"[31] It is interesting regarding how one might read the transition of South Africa's street traders from individual everyday practice to a unionized collective making political and Constitutional claims on the City of Johannesburg.

Literature supporting the theoretical grounding for the research

I draw from Simone's *For the City yet to Come*[32] to understand emergent forms of social collaboration. That is, collectivization taking place not within the prism of social movement but other networks including family and friends. As a form of understanding what informals are up against, Simone cites history, macroeconomics, urban policy and development as processes that by exerting pressure (informalising) inform the nature and tone of associations. The text illustrates the presence in and access of marginalized groups to the city as ever under threat, necessitating continued forging of solidarities along various planes in efforts to solidify their way of being.

---

[28] Bayat A., Un-Civil Society: The Politics of Informal People, Third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 No. 1, 1997, pp 53 – 72 (pp 53)

[29] In so saying I equate the manifestations of attempts at fashioning Johannesburg as 'the New York of Africa' to the Stallardist view of who does and does not belong in the city.

[30] Bayat A., Un-Civil Society: The Politics of Informal People, third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 No. 1, 1997, pp 53 – 72 (pp 56)

[31] Bayat A., Un-Civil Society: The Politics of Informal People, third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 No. 1, 1997, pp 53 – 72 (pp62)

[32] Simone A, For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2004

According to Roy[33] "the production of the urban takes place in the crucible of modernizing projects of development, regimes of immigration and governance and experiments with neoliberalism and market rule."[34] This also deepens the understanding of what urban informals are up against, such that their way of being can be explored as radical suggestion of public culture.

More importantly, Roy is relevant because of her convincing articulation of planning theory as multiple, heterogeneous and contradictory – and that this is a strength rather than a limitation.[35] This allows fluidity in my own application. Furthermore it justifies the focus on interview subjects who exist in part or in whole outside of structure such that traditional forms of contestation are not readily available. The view is to capture various forms of informal navigation of urban space.

In my intended interaction with the notion of cities of the south as failed spaces and the world class city aspirations of a great number of them (Johannesburg being relevant to this study), Roy's idea of *Referenced urbanism* [36] is of interest. She speaks of "the 'Shanghaification of Mumbai' - the production of an Asian urban capitalism that self-consciously presents itself as Asia, that deploys the motifs of the Asian century and that references other Asian models."[37]

Roy's perspective is deemed illuminating of world class city Johannesburg, its aspiration to New Yorkness while it simultaneously claims and imprints itself as something distinctly African, in the public imagination. This, read together with informal use of space as counter-hegemonic practice will hopefully shed light on what is meant by 'an African city," both conceptually and in form, versus what is proliferating.

I also explicitly interact with global capitalism as a catalyst in the making of the contemporary urbanisms and in shaping and producing contestation. I do so in the first tier of analysis, where I draw a continuum between the colonial, apartheid and democratic cities. For analytical purposes, it is suggested that the three respective cities exist on a continuum as part of an enduring hegemonic project in which colonial/postcolonial cities are embedded nodes for global capitalist accumulation. It matters conceptually as a way to understand the operations of the state, as well as the nexus between state and capital particularly in how they have manifested space over time. More specifically the historical aspect helps to contextualise the pronunciations of the local state (City of Johannesburg) on Yeoville and its

---

[33] Roy A., <u>Urbanisms, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Planning</u>, Planning Theory, 10(6), 2011, pp 6 - 15
[34] Roy A., <u>Urbanisms, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Planning</u>, Planning Theory, 10(6), 2011, abstract

[35] Op. Cit Roy, A., Pp 7
[36] Op. Cit. Roy, A., pp 10
[37] Ibid

development vision thereof. In terms of the idea of social movements and contestation from below as fundamentally leftist and counter-capitalist in nature, the historical facet of the analysis becomes relevant more generally. In this aspect I apply, inter alia, Flint[38] who reflects on the colonial origins of the apartheid city and Mamdani who is concise in writing the colonial legacy of contemporary Africa.[39]

The social movement vantage is applied to firstly, shed light on what moves below, secondly, to test the extent to which what is happening in Yeoville can be understood within the rubric of social movements and change and thirdly, to identify unique patterns in Yeoville that contribute to the wider characterisation and understanding of social movements. This undertaking links to the historical inquiry outlined above, in that one can then analyse what moves in Yeoville as left or counter-capitalist suggestion and contestation. In this aspect I interact with, among others, Bond, Ngwane and Desai[40], who engage with the Marxist underpinnings of social movements. Furthermore, I apply Habib and Ballard[41] in their framing of social movements in post-apartheid South Africa.

Informality as Radical Suggestion: Key Theoretical Perspectives Informing the Exploration

The following is a consideration of the key theoretical perspectives allowing for the Yeoville case to be analysed within the ambit of movement, radical suggestion and contestation. I interact mainly with Holston's theory of insurgent citizenship, Roy on subaltern urbanism and the slum as the icon and Bayat's theory of the quiet encroachment of the ordinary.

Holston begins by contextualising democratization in the global south and unprecedented global urbanization as forces that together drive urban inequaities; with most city residents living in urban peripheries. In response, he further says, those who occupy the peripheries organise movements of insurgent citizenship, in what he calls a "collision of citizenships"[42]

Furthermore Holston says:

The results of the processes of democratisation and urbanisation have been contradictory. If the latter would seem to hold special promise for more egalitarian citizenships, and thus for greater citizen justice and dignity, in practice most democracies experience tremendous

---

[38] Christopher A. From Flint to SOWETO: Reflections on the Colonial Origins of the Apartheid City, Area Vol. 15 No.2, pp 145 – 149, 1983

[39] Mamdani M., Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Chapter 8), Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1996 (Transcript by Dominic Peedie)

[40] Bond P., Desai A., and Ngwane T., Uneven and Combined Marxism within South Africa's Social Movements, International Journal of Socialist Renewal, February 2012, sourced via http://links.org.au/node/2757 on 10 January 2014

[41] Habib A. in Ballard, R., Habib, A., & Valodia, I., Voices of protest: Social movements in post-apartheid South Africa, Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006

[42] Op. Cit., Holston, pp1

conflict among citizens as principle collides with prejudice over the terms of national membership and the distribution of rights. If cities have historically been the locus of citizenship's expansion, contemporary peripheral urbanizationcretes especially volatile conditions, as city regions become crowded with marginalised citizens and non-citizens who contest their exclusions… new kinds of urban citizens arise to expand democratic citizenships and new forms of urban violence and inequality erode them[43].

In making the above assertion Holston argues that these 'insurgent citizenships' confront the entrenched (understood as the formal) with alternative formulations of citizenship. Furthermore it is not in the civic square[44] that the urban poor articulate this demand with greatest force and originality. It is rather in the realm of everyday and domestic life taking shape in the remote urban peripheries… its leaders are the 'barely citizens of the entrenched regime: women, manual labourers, squatters, the functionally literate, and, above all, those in families with a precarious stake in residential property, with a legal or illegal toehold to a houselot… citizen who, in the process of building and defending their residential spaces not only construct a vast new city but also propose a city with a different order of citizenship.

Holston then goes into the language, focusing on the term 'slum' and its problematisation[45] as something that homogenises and stigmatises a global urban population, leaving little room for their dignity, vitality as well as spaces of invention and agency.

Holston's characterisation is relevant to the discussion to be had because it puts informal negotiation of space squarely within the realm of contestation and radical suggestion. To illustrate, Holston draws on the self-built settlements of Sao Paolo (autoconstrucao) – a principal means of residence in the ever-expanding peripheries – where the majority of urban residents now live.

Holston also goes into a discussion of rights and the various modalities his respondents frame their claims to space. When asked why they think they have rights, his respondents "invoked an amalgam of three conceptions "they speak about rights as privileges of specific moral and social categories (I am an honest worker), as deriving from their stakes in the city (I pay my taxes/ I built my home and helped build this neighbourhood) and as written in the constitution (the constitution gives me rights)"[46] … causes me to look at the notions along which my own respondents make claims to space. Selina through being respectful of management, being law-abiding, God-fearing, helping with the cleaning of the market and being a South African citizen (which she thinks has lost its relevance in the particular space of Yeoville, where money is the key mode of engagement as opposed to structure. Mama

---

[43] Ibid
[44] Traditional site for urban contestation
[45] What Holston terms the 'urban catastrophe genre'
[46] Op. Cit. Holston, pp14

Kenya mobilises her claim to space through being hard-working compared to South Africans, through being a rent payer in the market, as opposed to street traders who are selling for free. I relate these to Holston because they invoke moral and social conceptions as well as how informal persons deploy their proximity to structure/formality (e.g. I am a rent-paying trader) to claim their stake in space.

The group comprising Sanza, Msa and others are South Africans who have lived in Yeoville for over 20 years. They arrived as teenagers, some with parents who were moving into Observatory, and others as fresh city arrivals with no real prospects. Msa in particular laments that when he arrived, he lived and slept in the small piece of veld that is today the Yeoville Market. Having been in Yeoville some time, engaging with the space as residents and as business persons, they see themselves as the 'dogs of Yeoville' and as at the forefront of shaping Yeoville along a Pan-African vision, and in Contrast to Maurice Smithers, Patience Nogcantsi, George Lebone and others, understate structure and South African-ness in the making of today's and the future Yeoville.

With informality looming large in most African cities, the notion of the urban as 'order' becomes fraught. It requires and has indeed generated an urban culture in informality, informal operations and ways of being in cities, represent that which is fundamentally antithetical to the urban/modernity. But in reinforcing the notion of informality as suggestion, Simone challenges the tendency to frame cities of the global south as 'failed cities in need of better management, more infrastructure and less poverty.'[47]

Roy, in what she terms an intervention in the epistemologies and methodologies used to understand cities of the south, puts forward the idea of 'subaltern urbanism' – a theorization of subaltern spaces and classes – with the slum as its central icon. Her central aim is transformative in drawing the slum and subaltern life out of apocalyptic and dystopian narratives (that embed city life within relational dependency on non-renewable commodities like oil and cheap labour and which frame underdevelopment within various diagnostic and reformist interventions) thus she frames the slum as a terrain of habitation, livelihood, self-organization and politics. In her undertaking Roy deploys an alternative terminology – of peripheries, urban informality, zones of exception and grey spaces – which is informed by the urbanism of the global South. These categories, Roy says, break with ontological and topological understandings of subaltern subjects and subaltern spaces as failed. [48]

---

[47] Simone A., <u>For the City Yet to Come: Changing Life in Four African Cities</u>, Duke University Press, London, 2004, pp 17
[48] Roy A., Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol.34 no.2, March 2011, pp 223 – 238, (abstract)

Writing against apocalyptic and dystopian narratives of the slum, subaltern urbanism provides accounts of the slum as a terrain of habitation, livelihood and politics. This is a vital and even radical challenge to dominant narratives of the megacity. Subaltern urbanism then is an important paradigm, for it seeks to confer recognition on spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency that often remain invisible and neglected in the archives and annals of urban theory.[49]

The slum is put forward as the recognisable frame through which cities of the south are perceived and understood. The icon is of nightmarish violence, squalor and obscurity of rural migrants who come to cities with big dreams. Departing from pessimistic typologies, which in the history section Mamdani frames as Afro-pessimism, Roy deploys the site of *Slumdog Millionaire*, Dharavi, as an illustrative tool. From the icon of violent nightmare promulgated through the movie (which she classifies as poverty pornography and, ironically, entrepreneurial practice akin to street-level Hustling or dhadha), Roy draws an alternative view from a local activist who says:

Dharavi is probably the most active and lively part of an incredibly industrious city. People have learned to respond in creative ways to the indifference of the state . . . Dharavi is all about such resourcefulness. Over 60 years ago, it started off as a small village in the marshlands and grew, with no government support, to become a million-dollar economic miracle providing food to Mumbai and exporting crafts and manufactured goods to places as far away as Sweden. No master plan, urban design, zoning ordinance, construction law or expert knowledge can claim any stake in the prosperity of Dharavi . . . Dharavi is an economic success story that the world must pay attention to during these times of global depression. Understanding such a place solely by the generic term 'slum' ignores its complexity and dynamism.[50]

The rejection of top-down imposition of what slum is and represents and how it then worlds the city of the south as antithetical to, if not on a programme of catching up with cities of the global north; is precisely what Roy terms subaltern urbanism. For this study, the rejection is what allows us to explore informality as cause, as movement and as suggestion. Moreover it allows for the Yeoville case to be examined as subaltern urbanism.

In his investigation of the politics of the 'informal people', [51] Asef Bayat speaks of the quiet encroachment of the ordinary. He draws on various cases, inter alia:

Urban migrants to the big cities of Iran, who in a bid to escape high rents and private landlords put up their shelters in illegally established sites. Land grabs and illegal construction

---

[49] Op. Cit. 224
[50] Op. Cit. Roy, pp 226
[51] Bayat A., Un-Civil Society: The Politics of Informal People, third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 No. 1, 1997, pp 53 – 72

also gained traction. In 1980s Latin America, in the Chilean city of Santiago, upwards of 200 000 poor families were using illegally connected electricity and water. In South Africa, 20% of the urban population live in informal settlements, with many refusing to pay for urban services. In the eyes of authority this has caused major urban disorder. However government policy to halt these practices has largely failed because the poor have tended to respond by on-the-spot resistance, legal battles or by simply quiet non-compliance. Because of this largely silent and free-form mobilization, the current focus on the notion of 'civil society' tends to belittle or totally ignore the vast arrays of often uninstitutionalised and hybrid social activities which have dominated urban politics in developing countries. This clearly suggests there is more to than one single conceptualization of 'civil society'.[52]

Bayat further makes a keen observation that when collective action was exhausted in its ability to bring about systemic change, "the unemployed poor turned to family, kin and friends for support. Many more poured into the streets of big cities to establish autonomous subsistence activities, engaging in street vending, peddling, street services and industries"[53]

Bayat indicates that city governments "war of attrition against street traders and attempts to halt 'urban disorder'"[54], much like the Colonial and Apartheid[55] city's spatial rationale for urban segregation, have failed. This is due to, in my view, the poor classes – through various ways including but not limited to "foot-dragging, false compliance, slander, on-the-spot resistance, quiet non-compliance"[56] and legal battles – continuing to challenge the status quo by actively suggesting cities from below. What Bayat says about when quiet encroachments turn into collective political struggles is particularly interesting. He says that "if actors are not confronted seriously by authorities they treat their doings as ordinary, everyday practice. It is when their gains are threatened that they become conscious of their actions and defend them collectively and audibly"[57] It is interesting in how it affects how one might read the transition of South Africa's street traders from individual everyday practice to a collective making political and Constitutional claims on the City of Johannesburg. The lead up to and aftermath of the City of Joburg's Operation Clean Sweep can be read within this lens.

Overall, Bayat gives a vocabulary with which to examine everyday practices that appear as somehow detached from any significance beyond the immediate survival of the actor(s),

---

[52] Op. Cit, Bayat, pp 53, 54 & 55
[53] Op. Cit. Bayat, pp54
[54] Op. Cit. Batay, pp 53
[55] In so saying I equate the manifestations of attempts at fashioning Johannesburg as 'the New York of Africa' to the Stallardist view of who does and does not belong in the city.

[56] Bayat A., Un-Civil Society: The Politics of Informal People, third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 No. 1, 1997, pp 53 – 72 (pp 56)
[57] Bayat A., Un-Civil Society: The Politics of Informal People, third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 No. 1, 1997, pp 53 – 72 (pp62)

within the ambit of, inter alia, movement, revolution and social change. With the view to consider the Yeoville case within this vantage, one is energized by Bayat mentioning that without intending to be so, the actors became a counter force.[58] It ties in with my preliminary conclusion, in the first tier of analysis, that intent is immaterial to outcome in terms of whether the operations of informal people drive change. As such one is enabled to discuss the operations of individual traders, business owners and residents as movement. This is despite their own particular intent or lack thereof, whether they engage in any form of collectivization or are driven by any politics in so doing.

Contextualising State Policy & Practice: from Global to Local Policy Discourse on Development and Urbanisation

The exploration begins at an overview of the global agenda on human settlements and spatial development. I deal mainly with the UN-HABITAT framework on *the street*[59] which refers to streets as drivers of urban prosperity and development. This level of inquiry is relevant because it causes the direct interaction with the street in its various manifestations, as concept, as urban infrastructure, as a site for development and a site where contestation and suggestion of an alternative city are embedded.

Without dwelling too much on this aspect, it is also important to note the global political economy, in which capitalism, democratisation and neoliberalism are linked and mobilised through programmes of, inter alia, the IMF, World Bank and WTO.[60] Their impact on how cities of the south conceptualise and do governance, cannot be discounted.

The above streams of exploration are important because they provide context for the policy orientation of South African cities, and the City of Joburg (COJ) as well as how they think about and promulgate development and urbanisation.

At the local level, I draw on the key policy framework encompassing the objectives of local municipalities and cities (IUDF) as well as the interpretation of this framework in the City of Joburg. In terms of the latter I grapple with the City of Joburg's objectives for spatial transformation through densification and development along transport nodes (an aspect of Corridors of Freedom aimed at increasing efficiency, inclusion and equal access to the city or which applies the language of rights and inclusion in generating public buy-in). I consider this in comparison and contrast to the City of Joburg's other objective to attract big business

---

[58] Op. Cit. Bayat pp 53
[59] UN-HABITAT, Streets as Public Spaces and Drivers of Urban Prosperity, Nairobi, 2013
[60][60] SEE respectively: Holston J. (2007), Cornwall A. (2008), Williams G. (2004), Miraftab F. (2004)

and the middle class back to the CBD with Region F earmarked as a key node for their resettlement in close proximity to the CBD.

- *The Global Framework Shaping the Development Rationale of Local Governments of the South: Embedding Development and Urbanisation on the Street*

The UN-HABITAT framework on streets is predicated on the rationale that "in the history of cities, successful urban development has not been possible without an organized physical layout and a system of street interconnectivity within cities. Since ancient times, streets have played a critical role in cities, connecting spaces, people and goods, and thereby facilitating commerce, social interaction and mobility. Streets, plazas and designed public spaces have contributed to define the cultural, social, economic and political functions of cities. They were – and continue to be – the first element to mark the status of a place, from a chaotic and unplanned settlement to a well-established town or city."[61] The rationale stresses the idea of the street as more than inanimate or just infrastructure, but as a vital link and public good. Moreover, "cities that foster infrastructure development, environmental sustainability, high productivity, quality of life, and equity and social inclusion are considered prosperous cities. Building on the notion of prosperity, UN-Habitat emphasizes that for a city to be prosperous, it must have a generous and well-designed street pattern. A good street pattern boosts infrastructure development, enhances environmental sustainability, supports higher productivity, enriches quality of life, and promotes equity and social inclusion."[62]

The causality drawn between streets and the productivity, infrastructure, environmental sustainability, quality of life and equity/social inclusivity of cities is an interesting one. It can be stretched in various directions. It can be contextualised as a justification for growth machines and/or the production of space from above (as propagated by state and capital). Equally it can be read within a social justice or pro-poor cities lens. In that way, the language is ambiguous.

On further reading of the document, one is able to glean the direction. The methodology applied in the production of the report, in part, analyses "different components of street connectivity, such as the proportion of land allocated to streets, street density, intersection density and the Composite Street Connectivity Index disaggregated by city core and suburban areas in selected cities across the globe.[63] The presentation of findings itself is interesting. In one chapter, findings from Europe, North America and Oceania are presented. Finding from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean are presented in a separate chapter. The report then draws attention to the fact that within the latter, classified as

---

[61] Op. Cit. UN-HABITAT, pp iii
[62] Ibid
[63] Op. Cit. UN-HABITAT, pp vi

developing regions, "street connectivity is not just a problem of quantity, but quality as well."[64]

The language of lack, applied to developing or global south cities, is attributed to the tendency to view and approach these places and spaces as on a programme of catching up with their western or global north counterparts. From this, I contextualise the framework on streets as embedded in and linked to other global frameworks for development that have been exacted on the global south from outside. It harkens back to Mamdani's Afropessimism thesis, discussed in the previous chapter. The UN-HABITAT framework on *the street* is relevant to understanding, respectively, the underpinnings of the IUDF and Corridors of Freedom, discussed below.

- *The IUDF: A Rationale for the Development and Urbanization of South African Cities*

The Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) [65] is one of the latest frameworks underpinning the development and urbanization of South African cities and municipalities (local government). It is intended to help South Africa reap the benefits of having a majority urbanised (and urbanising) population and to deal with the many challenges the country's cities and towns face. The rationale behind IUDF is that South African cities hold enormous potential to advance economic development and social inclusion in the country, if managed and supported appropriately. Cities are considered attractive as hubs for economic opportunity and will continue to attract increasing numbers of migrants in the coming decades. As such, South Africa's cities are inextricably linked to overall national economic growth and key to leveraging both urban and rural development.[66] The overall vision to be fulfilled through the IUDF is *'liveable, safe, resource-efficient cities and towns that are socially integrated, economically inclusive and globally competitive, where residents feel safe and actively participate in urban life'.*

The IUDF deems the local government sphere as best positioned to deliver and manage the operationalisation of the 8 levers identified to drive urban development and urbanization. Among the three (National, Provincial, Local) this sphere of administration is deemed most accessible to citizens to express their needs, and is thus in the position to enable autonomy

---

[64] Ibid
[65] SEE: Department of Cooperative Governance http://www.cogta.gov.za/index.php/iudf Access Full Document at http://iudf.net/downloads/SACN%20Integrated%20Urban%20Development%20Framework_web.pdf
[66] Ngobese, S., Putting safety at the Core of South Africa's New National Urban Development Framework, SaferSpaces [LINK]

and self-determination. It is also the arena that can most efficiently prioritise and coordinate service delivery processes and that can customise and fine tune delivery standards."[67]

The IUDF delineates 8 policy levers for the achievement of the overall vision. They include, among others, spatial planning, integrated transport development, targeted human settlement development, efficient land governance, economic diversification and inclusion. The 8th policy lever in particular, speaks to effective urban governance. It recognises various gaps in urban governance in stating the need for "city governments to manage multiple fiscal, political and accountability tensions in order to fulfil their developmental and growth mandates"[68] The result of better governance, it says, will be inclusive, resilient and liveable urban spaces.

In a world looking for more inclusive and sustainable urban growth models, 'resource-efficient urbanism' is becoming the new basis for competitiveness in the world. Increasingly, cities around the world are 'competing' to establish who will take the lead in translating this new urban paradigm into practical actions. However, South African cities and towns are by and large not yet in this race. This makes it difficult to transition to a resource-efficient and inclusive growth path, as envisaged in the National Development Plan (NDP) and the New Growth Path (NGP)[69].

The envisioned outcomes of IUDF, the difficulties of transitioning to a resource-efficient growth path outlined above, read together with the UN-HABITAT framework and its understanding of limitations in developing cities, gel. The concepts resonate with each other, particularly in how they wrap the language of lack around developing world and South African cities, respectively, as what differentiates and holds them back.

Furthermore, the IUDF says that South Africa's urban areas "continue to be hampered by a legacy of racial segregation, poverty, and exclusion from social and economic opportunities. The spatial legacy is one of sprawl, low densities, functional segregation between home and work, and overlapping racial and class separations. As a result, high levels of inefficiency and wasteful use of scarce resources (especially land and infrastructure networks) characterise the country's cities and towns. Despite significant service delivery and development gains since 1994, apartheid spatial patterns have largely not been reversed. Indeed, in part because of the pressure to provide housing and services quickly, most of the

---

[67] IUDF Urban Safety Background Paper (Annex to the main IUDF document), pp 4, access full docuent at http://www.cogta.gov.za/index.php/iudf/1074-5-1-iudf-urban-safety-chapter-full-version-for-feedback-2
[68] Op. Cit. IUDF, page unknown.
[69] Ibid

post-1994 infrastructure investments have unintentionally served to reinforce the apartheid status quo."[70]

The language of the IUDF in respect of the apartheid spatial is understood as one of the technologies the democratic city uses to ideologically set itself apart from the apartheid and colonial cities. The apartheid spatial as a justification for the current state of cities is deemed to cut at the surface of matters, avoiding the structural issue that there was no radical change to state-capital relations to effect a situation in which the apartheid city does not transplant itself onto the democratic city. Neither was there any overhaul of the structural and historical limitations of government and governance in South Africa. That way, the apartheid city transplants itself with ease.

- *The City of Johannesburg's Development and Spatial Rationale*

The IUDF and UN-HABITAT frameworks, respectively, are a way of understanding the development and spatial rationale of the City of Joburg (City of Joburg). The three frameworks, conceptually, dovetail together. This is particularly at the level of emancipatory language applied within each of them (inclusive, efficient and productive cities). Below I discuss the specific plans and programmes of the City of Joburg as a form of unpacking the spatial rationale of formality/structure as relating to the overall discussion of the inter-relation between formality and informality in Yeoville. In addition to the CoJ's projections for Region F, the Corridors of Freedom programme, specifically the densification and transport oriented development (TOD) aspects of it, take centre stage.

In the CoJ, the local state rationalises development and planning through, inter alia, the Growth and Development Strategy 2014. Its practical aspects include the Corridors of Freedom project which emphasizes densification and transport-oriented development for greater efficiency and equitable access to the city (spatial transformation). Another relevant aspect of the City of Joburg's spatial vision is its projection for Region F, which is discussed in more detail in a previous chapter. In sum, the strategy around Region F is informed by the vision to attract the middle class and big business to back to the CBD. Region F is earmarked for housing the middle class, who are envisioned to return to be closer to places of work.

Within the Transit-oriented Development (TOD)[71] vision, development is set to take place along designated transport corridors which link to major interchanges and nodes. With densification as a key facet, the corridors are set to be characterised by mainly high-density accommodation, and mixed use of space drawing in office buildings, schools, retail, leisure

---

[70] Op. Cit, IUDF, pp17
[71] Transport and mobility as the backbone of development

and recreational spaces.[72] The justification for the strategy is an inclusive and efficient city, and to undo the apartheid spatial legacy, particularly in its continued ability to exact upon the democratic city and its citizens. In practical terms the corridors aim at having places of work close to (mixed income) housing. In turn, housing should be close to basic amenities and needs such as schools, clinics, community centres, parks, cultural centres, public squares, libraries and shops.[73] Within TOD, mobility I seen in a broad sense, with emphasis on walking and cycling-friendly infrastructure development; which ties in with the plan to have basic services within close range to housing.

The use of the language of the right to the city within the conceptualisation of Corridors of Freedom is striking, as it is in the IUDF and UN-HABITAT frameworks discussed before. This has social justice tinges, juxtaposed with the clear constraints to the production of socially just cities. It is particularly interesting that Cllr. Tau uses the terminology 'eradicate' with respect to the legacy of apartheid spatial planning. This again invokes social justice underpinnings while it appears, at a glance, that the strategy may have negative implications for informal people, particularly those whose work centers on the street, such as the taxi industry and street traders. This observation is invoked by a rather sterile conceptualisation of the future city. Thus while the document carries the language of rights and social justice, even centralising the eradication of the legacy of apartheid, the interpretation in practical terms sterilises out the sections of society most impacted by the spatial legacy of the apartheid and colonial cities. The following figures illustrate the observation.

Fig.1

"Today the corridor looks like this" Representation of the current Louis Botha Corridor (Image Courtesy of SACN, Year unknown)

---

[72] SACN Conference: How Does Mobility Support Inclusivity and Efficiency in the City: A Case Study of the Louis Botha Corridor in Johannesburg, year unknown, pp 6
[73] Ibid

Fig.2

"*and we want it to look like this*" representation of the future Louis Botha Corridor (Image courtesy of SACN, Year Unknown)

It is important also to point out the vision in relation to respectively what Yeoville is and how it is experienced. Although one of the challenges identified with the Louis Botha Corridor, in the conceptualisation of the spatial vision, is that the suburbs within it have aging infrastructure[74], Yeoville has all the basic amenities necessary to development or living as per the CoJ's spatial vision. Ma Selinah, who is both a trader in the market and a resident, points out that there is no basic service unavailable in Yeoville: the police station, a public pool, a park, a clinic, recreation centre and post office are all within close range of where she lives. This is offset by her another statement, which is that these avenues either do not work or are near impossible to navigate on the basis of the formal/legal, which is a separate concern at this time. Secondly Yeoville has a vibrant walking class; possibly more so than any other residential area in Johannesburg. It is close to places of work and schooling. What's more, Yeoville is densifying rapidly, with a mixed income community one could argue is forming organically. For all intents and purposes it already represents the vision carried in the Corridors of Freedom strategy. This causes one to question why Yeoville is seen through the lens of decay and collapse as well as, when there are elements of the future Johannesburg within it?

---

[74] Op. Cit. SACN Conference, pp 9

The above draws attention to the vision articulated in the City of Joburg's strategy for Region F, in which informality and the poor/informal people are imagined away and replaced with the middle class. Besides that this does not gel with the social justice aspect of inclusivity in the Corridors of Freedom strategy, it makes little sense that the city not support the existing ecology but rather see it as a problem to be overcome in order for the utopian Yeoville can come into place.

Fig.3

Development , Mobility © S. Ngobese 2015

It is worth mention here again, that Yeoville, in its beginnings was conceptualised as a middle class overlook to the bustle of then mining intensive Johannesburg. This vision too, never came to be. This aspect is discussed more detail in the characterisation of Yeoville (Chapter 3).

In terms of the Louis Botha corridor which spans Louis Botha Avenue to Alexandra and then Katherine Street to Sandton CBD, and along which Yeoville falls, Corridors of Freedom envisions a shift from car-oriented to a public transport (ReaVaya as backbone), cycling and walking-friendly spatiality. The plan is to further improve public spaces and amenities, as well as allow and enable sustainable densification. Furthermore, the vision includes the provision of social housing and economic development. The priority precincts/nodes within the Louis Botha Corridor are Malboro, Wynberg, Balfour and Orange Grove given, among other reasons, significant densification opportunities as well as public space as development

catalyst.[75] The contrast between what the corridor looks like and the vision is particularly striking. The latter is pristine if not clinical interpretation of the city to come. This is the basis for the earlier assertion that the strategy may have negative implications for informal industries whose work centers on the street.

If one reads into the concept through the respective images of the existing and future corridor, it supposes the absence of taxis. Though subtle, they are further erased through the language of safety (ReaVaya BRT as a safe, cheap alternative). The expansion of BRT along the corridor also includes park and ride facilities at strategic sites to support modal shift from private car use to public transport.[76] Contrast to the language of the vision as a contribution social transformation and inclusion as well as to broad-based black economic empowerment.[77]

- *Public Management*

The state as well as state operations can also be understood in terms of shifts in approaches to public management in recent decades.

Pierre suggests that urban governance can be reduced (analytically) to 4 models: managerial, corporatist, pro-growth and welfare.[78] The neoliberal model of managing markets can be said to coincide with a shift towards a hybrid of managerial and corporatist models in governance. Read together, these forces have driven significant changes in state-society relations. In brief, state-society relations have shifted from the state viewing society as citizens to a view of society as clients.

Corporate governance falls under the banner of New Public Management (NPM, yet another mutation of World Bank-led governance restructuring). NPM's emergence as a new way of thinking about public management is connected to claims that it would improve beaurocratic efficiency and responsiveness. As such, it was touted as the 'end of history' of public management models.

In terms of whether NPM gave rise to tangible shifts (increased efficiency and responsiveness) or amounted to play with discourse, one would liken it to the advent of participatory governance as interpreted by multinational structures like the World Bank. On reading Manning's critique of NPM, Robert Chambers' Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) comes to mind. Conceptually, this model was to be a radical approach - seeking to move power by

[75] Op. Cit. SACN, pp 15
[76] Op. Cit. SACN pp24
[77] Op. Cit. SACN pp 25
[78] Pierre J., Models of Urban Governance: The Institutional Dimension of Urban Politics, Urban Affairs Review, 34(3): 372 – 396, 1999, pp 372

giving rural people tangible access to "share, enhance and analyze knowledge as well as to plan and act."[79] In reality, core critiques hold that PRA cuts at the surface and amounts to the appropriation of a radical concept to propagate the World Bank agenda without giving much power to rural people. To return to NPM, Manning also states that the model's impact was more symbolic than real. Its successes are ascribed to "more luck than judgment."[80] For example, NPM gave rise to new public expectation as an unintended outcome. This harkens back to the participatory discourse in general. Its radical underpinnings are 'moving the state' closer to the governed, however, it has done so marginally. What power has come out of participation can also be said to be more a matter of luck than judgment.

Manning makes a keen observation that what positive came out of NPM is not exclusive to or testament to the efficiency of the model – it can be attained through others. Overall, the paper does enhance one's grasp of the inner workings of governance. That is, as part of a global hegemonic project, among other functions that facilitate the capture and use of power at local level.

Indeed, with the advent of the participatory paradigm and market forces, thinking around the state as provider to governable subjects is changing. New ways of relating are emerging in which the governed are clients – and as Pierre sees it, 'angry customers'.

In practical terms and in the South African context, corporate governance has translated to, inter alia, the privatization of some state services[81], a key feature of which is the corporatization of water services, particularly in poor communities. It is important to note that the corporatisation model, or is neither public nor private. As an "institutional model it promises efficiency gains that are comparable to those of privatization …while also permitting greater state involvement that can mitigate the negative social risks inherent in privatization."[82] Another key feature of corporatization is the conception of the citizen as a client. As such whereas in a welfarist situation a citizen may be able to access services by invoking the obligation of the government to which they are subject to deliver; under corporatization the non-delivery or discontinuation of services becomes about the failure of the 'client' to budget efficiently.

The rationale for corporatization in the CoJ specifically, circulates on good governance, whose touchstones are accountability and transparency. Within this framework of

---

[79] Francis P., Participatory development in the World Bank: The Primacy of Process, in Cooke B. and Kothari U., (eds.) Participation: The New Tyranny? Zed Books, London, pp 76

[80] Manning N., The Legacy of New Public Managementin Developing Countries, International Review of Administrative Sciences, 62(2): 297 – 312, 2001, pp 308

[81] E.g. the corporatisation of water services and installation of pre-paid water meters in Phiri nd Emndeni, Johannesburg

[82] Smith L., Neither Public Nor Private: Unpacking the Johannesburg Water Corporatization Model, UNRISD Paper 27

managerial governance budget controls, key performance areas, indicators, and targets as well as reporting mechanisms to monitor compliance, are key.

From below, corporate governance has given rise to an array of social movements and causes. Among them are the Anti Privatisation Forum (APF), Abahlali Basemjondolo and the Landless Peoples Movement.

They have enjoyed varying degrees of success, with some having fizzled out over time. While this is a key critique of social movements in South Africa, it is balanced out by the idea that collectivization arises out of a specific need that in some instances has finite currency. It thus occasions further consideration of measuring the success or impact of movements by their sustaining over a long period.

While the above is of relevance, this investigation is of those who live outside of this construct (unstructured informality) and how their operations can be read as radical suggestion or as transformative of space. What techniques do they deploy to flip space where they do not have adequate access, if any, to the strategies conferred by structure, even if those strategies are in direct opposition to structure, seemingly? I refer directly to protest as a strategy that is sometimes directed at the state but which the right to which the state confers and protects (In this report I refer to these as civil and political rights). Whether the state upholds the civil and political rights of social movements and local activists s a fraught issue and deemed a separate discussion.

Though taking direct action against the state (based on welfarist conceptions of its obligations) APF, Abahlali and Landless Peoples Movement can are deemed to be enabled by structure and their connection to it to take that particular route in making their claims. At the level where I make this distinction, I am led by issues of the limits of democratic participation particularly in relation to those who are neither bound by democratic citizenship nor have unfettered access to the necessary tools and structures of engagement. An investigation of space negotiated in part or in whole outside of structure (unstructured space), and of such negotiation as radical suggestion or movement, raises issues of formalization and accountability. This is a central discussion later on, where the analysis turns to street traders on Rockey-Raleigh Street.

- *Informality as a technology of the State*

This is a way of understanding state operations outside of structure and policy rationale. Ananya Roy's work unpacks this aspect quite extensively but none are more incisive into the interconnection between state and informality than her explanation of why India cannot plan its cities.[83]

In summary Roy rejects the popular refrain of global north literature, that ascribes the lack of adequate infrastructure and growth management (exacerbating social divisions) to poor planning and which in turn, calls for more decisive and vigorous planning. Roy removes the discussion from planning and locates the purported failure of global south city governments to transpose the character of northern cities onto global south geographies, to the embededness of informality in their own technologies of governance. As a departure from western academy, this view sees informality not as a fundamental flaw but as a pivotal technology in the hands of both governments and the governed.[84] Roy is reinforced by several other scholars. Among them is Stone, who frames local government authority as complex. Therein, informal relationships are important because the formal is insufficient in bringing about coordinated action to fulfil organizational purposes. Cooperation and commitment do not automatically arise based on formal arrangements alone. Informality provides needed flexibility to cope with non-routine matters and facilitate cooperation that the formal cannot.[85] This manifests in the form of bribes, favours, trade-offs, given that interests aren't always shared. Roy further qualifies the use of informality within that it allows the state to reconfigure space outside the ambit of the legal or constitutional.

Lindell also responds to the tendency of global north literature to dismissively frame informality as a failure/inherent inability of governments of the south to administer cities efficiently. Lindell's explanation of the multiple sites of governance[86] is relevant here. It effectively dislodges thought from simplistic typologies by capturing complexities. In so doing Lindell suggests that informality is in itself a site of urban governance. She further suggests that in the hands of power, the use of informality has the ability to manifest authoritarian spaces or forms of interacting with governable subjects (the poor particularly).

Literature Relating to Yeoville & Rockey/Raleigh Street

In my explanation of the method, I mention that my study is of Yeoville in general and Rockey/Raleigh Street more specifically. In terms of the former, I am interested in the space

---

[83] Roy A., Why India Cannot Plan its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization, Planning Theory, Vol.8 No.1, February 2009, pp 76 – 87

[84] Ibid.

[85] Stone, C., Urban Regimes: A Research Perspective in Judd P. an Kantor P.,(eds) American Urban Politics: A Reader, Peason Longman, New York, 1989, pp 27 – 42

[86] Lindell I., The Multiple Sites of Urban Governance: Insights from an African City, Urban Studies Vol. 45 No. 9, pp 1879 – 1901 (pp 1885)

as a suburb and the subversion of that core intent as evidenced by informality in the emerging residential form as well as informal businesses and business practices proliferating in the area. Yeoville is interesting because while it is a suburb, which is meant to be a departure/escape from the bustle of the city while also distinctly urban, it is geographically and aesthetically inextricable to informal urban Johannesburg.

This aspect of my inquiry centers on the suburbanism and property rights paradigms. These draw largely on western urban experiences and terminology in their conception. When they are imprinted onto locales where informality prevails, they come off as failed attempts at the western version, feeding into what Simone describes as a tendency to frame cities of the south as 'failed cities in need of better management, more infrastructure and less poverty.'[87] In terms of its relevance to this study it speaks directly to the aim, which is to consider the extent to which informality, particularly unstructured informality, can be discussed within the ambit of radical suggestion, contestation and movement towards an alternative city.

To demonstrate these tensions I explore what is implied by "the suburban way of life" in classical terms as well as how this translates in global south/African cities and in a space such as Yeoville. To define the aforementioned, I settle on a definition of the suburban as encompassing mall culture, car culture, tree-lined streets, manicured lawns, boomed-off areas, uniformity, the prevalence of the nuclear family and property rights as paramount. It bares mention here that in direct contrast to the suburban ideal, Yeoville is characterized by the walking classes, informal together with formal trade as well as an increasingly cosmopolitan and multicultural (African) population over the past 20 – 30 years.

It tends to be South African (old) residents of Yeoville that lament the deterioration of the suburb and who look forward to when it returns to its state in the classical sense of a quiet, leafy overlook to the bustle of Johannesburg. The activism of the Yeoville Ratepayers Association, for example, aims to challenge residents, often non-nationals, who they claim bring down property values by, inter alia, making additions to their properties without plans or municipal approval (spaza shops), and open crèches, schools, shops, churches and salons in residential apartment buildings.[88]

In respect of the actions and practices of the Yeoville Ratepayers Association (relevant to understanding informality in the area) I contextualise these within suburban homeowner activism. Taken from Purcell, suburban "homeowner activism is spatial (as opposed to race class and gender driven) because it involves a normative spatial vision and is about what those surroundings should be like. What causes homeowners to act on their agenda is the

[87] Simone A., <u>For the City Yet to Come: Changing Life in Four African Cities</u>, Duke University Press, London, 2004, pp 17
[88] See Benit Gbaffou (ed.) <u>Driving Change in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni: Community Activists Tell Their Stories</u>, Wits University, 2013

constant mismatch between the geography they want and the one they actually experience."[89] In other perspectives that illuminate the suburban aspect, Ekers, Keil and Hamel [90] provide a great synthesis of the modalities and mechanisms of suburban governance.

Fig.4

Suburb © S. Ngobese 2015

There is literature supporting a look into informal trade/business in Rockey/Raleigh Street as well. The most applicable focuses on the prevailing state-society relations, tensions between formal/official city visions and city (real) life. Most interestingly however, is that the literature throws in flux the idea that the state and informality are necessarily binary opposites. It presents a constellation of nuanced connections and exchanges (especially in the context of politics or the political game), which supports this study's open approach. The literature further brings nuance to and allows a critical analysis of some of the inherent assumptions in the title of this research. It causes one to revisit for example, the notion that the actions and daily practices of informals are subversive. What is assumed and what might be found, may or may not match.

The nuances highlighted in literature resonate with Yeoville particularly because its own relation to the state is grainy at best. On one hand the City of Johannesburg has identified Yeoville (Region F) for a renewal project in line with its development strategy and policy

---

[89] Purcell M. Neighbourhood Activism Among Homeowners as a Politics of Space, The Professional Geographer, Vol. 52 No. 2, 2001 pp 178 – 194, (pp 178)

[90] Ekers M., Hamel P. and Keil R., Governing Suburbia: Modalities and Mechanisms of Suburban Governance, Regional Studies, Vol. 46(3), pp. 405 – 422, 2012

orientation towards bringing the middle class back to the city. To understand state practice, as stated prior, I undertake a contextualization of the city with the colonial and apartheid cities that preceded it. Furthermore, I apply key documents representing the policy and discursive orientation of development and urbanization. I move from global to local in looking at the UN-HABITAT document framing the street as a driver of urban prosperity. Secondly, I look at the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) which represents the development focus, going forward, of South African local municipalities. Finally, I explore the Corridors of Freedom concept currently being driven by the City of Joburg.

An array of literature is applicable to exploring informality in Yeoville. Three central theoretical perspectives are to be applied. They are Roy's theory of subaltern urbanism with the slum as its icon, Holston's theory of insurgent citizenship and Bayat's theory of the quiet encroachment of the ordinary. There theories dovetail well together and allow for the exploration of informality in Yeoville as radical suggestion and contestation.

I also explore various contextualisations of grey and black spaces as representative of political capital and drivers of the capture of a mandate in the game of politics. These are key to understanding the ward system and its manifestations in Yeoville (e.g. the inability to consolidate and govern Yeoville as a community in view of it being comprised of 4 different wards VS the power this fragmentation confers on the key political actors within the ward system particularly with regard to partisan politics). Overall, this aspect of the exploration is key to understanding, the interaction between formal and informal and more importantly, what manifests spatially where formality, governance and politics congeal. In this aspect I draw from, among others, Lindell[91], who explores the multiple sites of urban governance which include informality and Stone[92] who explores urban growth machines and regime theories in terms of the uses of informality within formal arrangements.

In terms of literature framing informality, particularly street trading, as contestation and suggestion, I draw again on Holston, this time on his theory of differentiated citizenship[93] and the production from above of public space as a site of privilege. I draw additionally from Barnard[94] who extracts the practice dumpster diving from the hegemonic language of social deviancy (politics of cleanliness) to that of counter-capitalism. Lastly, I interact with Hunt[95] who explores street vendors culture in Bogota in contrast to the state's approach with seeks

---

[91] Lindell I., The Multiple Sites of Urban Governance: Insights from an African City, Urban Studies Vol. 45 No. 9, pp 1879 – 1901 (pp 1885)

[92] Stone C. Urban Regimes: A Research Perspective in Judd and Kantor (eds) American Urban Politics: A reader, Longman, New York, 1989, pp 27 - 42

[93] Holston J., Dangerous Spaces of Citizenship: Gang Talk, Rights and the Rule of Law in Brazil, Planning Theory Vol. 8(1), pp 12 – 31, 2009

[94] Barnard A., Waving the Banana' at Capitalism: Activist Identity and Political Theater Among New York's 'Freegan' Dumpster Divers, Oxford University, 2002

[95] Hunt, S. Citizenship's Place: the State's Creation of Public Space and Street Vendors' Culture of Informality in Bogota¨, Colombia, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, vol. 27, pages 331 – 351, 2009

to recover public space from informals using the politics of cleanliness and what Holston refers to as differentiated citizenship.

The class of relevant literature covers the various aspects of the inquiry. It highlights the myriad of threads relevant to seeing urbanisms emerging from below more universally.

3. Characterising Yeoville

Fig.5

© S. Ngobese 2015

Introduction

This chapter provides a general overview of Yeoville as a spatial community. It then goes more deeply into the politics, governance and socio-economic factors driving a radical change to the character of Yeoville. The chapter's relevance is the context it provides to the analysis. For example, Yeoville's suburban chararacter and radical changes subverting its core intent are critical to analysing the extent to which informality in that particular setting is suggestive of an alternative city. This chapter thus provides the framework to make the central argument as well as respond to the central question.

Yeoville is a north eastern suburb of Johannesburg. It neighbours Bellevue East, though much of the latter is referred to as Yeoville in recent times. In terms of neighbouring areas Houghton, lies north of Yeoville. Observatory is to its east, with Hillbrow westwards and Bertrams in the immediate south. By some accounts early Yeoville was initially earmarked, in 1890, as an upper-class retreat overlooking the smoggy bustle of the emerging mining city that was Johannesburg at the time. It is named for Thomas Yeo Sherwell, who came from Yeovil in the United Kingdom. The original vision for Yeoville was never realized. It became a mixed class area attracting migrants from abroad. The family of Harry Schwarz, who later became a prominent statesman and defense lawyer in the Treason Trials[96], were German Jewish refugees who settled in the area. Yeoville became a predominantly Jewish neighbourhood in the 1970s, characterized then, by synagogues and Jewish delicatessens. It later gained a new feel with artists, intellectuals, students, bohemians and political activists of all races converging in the area by the late 1970s and early 1980s. Ronnie Kasrils, who is a member of the African National Congress (ANC) and the former head of military intelligence in uMkhonto weSizwe[97] paints a picture of this period in Yeoville, where he grew up, in an autobiography detailing his struggle against apartheid[98]. On his clandestine return to the country from exile in 1989, to coordinate Operation Vula from wthin,[99] Kasrils returns to Yeoville where he observes more black people having arrived in the area. Furthermore he says the local orthodox shul, "once an unrivalled centre for Jewish life, appeared deserted."[100] On Rockey Street he observes that "once unfashionable, the neighbourhood had become cosmopolitan with a shabby trendiness. The prim stores catering for lower-middle-class customers had largely vanished, to be replaced by a variety of scruffy craft shops, music dens, coffee bars, clubs and food outlets. Black and white couples dressed in hippy style ambled by as though apartheid had never exists. Yeoville might look seedy but it

---

[96] South African History Online, Harry Heinz Schwarz, http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/harry-heinz-schwarz, accessed on 24 February 2015
[97] The armed wing of the African National Congress
[98] Kasrils R., Armed and Dangerous: My Undercover Struggle Against Apartheid, Heinemann, Oxford, 1993
[99] Umkhonto weSizwe's contingency plan to engage in armed struggle in the event that the negotiated settlement fell though
[100] Op. Cit. Kasrils R., pp. 7

was a pacesetter with regard to the collapsing race barriers."[101] Indeed, 1980s Yeoville is often characterized as one of Apartheid South Africa's first integrated spaces. In defiance of stringent Apartheid laws, white activists often fronted for black people to rent in the area.

The notion of Yeoville as cosmopolitan, representative of Africa and as a pacesetter finds expression in various spaces. Some of the interview respondents make mention of Mama's, The 24-Hour Zone and the iconic House of Tandoor, which remains an institution in the area's Rockey-Raleigh high street, and which moved into the area from neighbouring Hillbrow. These places brought a vibrancy to Yeoville and may even be characterised as the free space's early suggestion of a 24-hour city. It is interesting that one particular respondent frames early signs of structure in Yeoville as having stemmed this progression. Sechaba, whom I encountered in what was initially supposed to be an interview with Sanza (a resident and cultural historian in his own right) says:

I was 15 when I moved to Observatory. That was 1990. There was place called the 24-hour Zone. Now, they had doors, cowboy doors that didn't close. By-laws came and said now we must close at 2 (am). So now, all of a sudden the 24-Hour Zone must have roller shutter doors. And then next thing one minute after 2, we are all being seen as criminals. It was safer, I think, to have clubs close at 6 o'clock.[102]

This is a moment to contextualise the above within a demographic shift in Yeoville, which began with the arrival of Black South Africans in the area, first, culminating in in migration flows from Africans more generally by the mid-1990s. The By the late 1990s, Yeoville's demographics had shifted dramatically with almost 90% of its population being black. Explaining the greying of Johannesburg, Beavon says that the 1976 uprising is what caused the shift in the racial geography of the white city.[103] Greying constituted the move of black South Africans into formerly white only areas. The first noticeable shift, Beavon says, was the move of Coloured and Indian clerical workers into areas where it was easier to find accommodation such as Mayfair, Fordsburg, Hillbrow, Berea and Joubert Park. More accommodation became available in Hillbrow as white expatriates left following the 1976 uprisings. With obtaining permits a futile exercise, desperate landlords began to rent illegally, to tenants of all races, albeit at exorbitant prices as there was no recourse, in terms of the law, for the latter.[104]

Detailing the nature of urban governance in the preceding era of the upward and outward expansion of the white city[105], Beavon speaks of the 1980s as an era of "indecisive urban

---

[101] Op. Cit. Kasrils R., pp. 8
[102] Interview with Sanza et. al. Longtime residents and business persons in Yeoville, 22 December 2014
[103] Beavon, K., Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2004, pp. 215
[104] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp. 216
[105] Centered on the prestigious high-rise precinct that was to be Hillbrow

management coupled with density as a result of a narrow street grid; contributed to the onset of the physical blight predicted in 1953. The high density drove a rash of small businesses and by the 1960s Hillbrow was the most populated neighbourhood in the Southern Hemisphere."[106]

Neighbouring Yeoville would experience more urban decay and white flight in what I characterise as the second wave of settlement in the area, this time by African immigrants. One account describes the signifier of Yeoville's 'decline' as, "ironically, the death of a black Jamaican. Ridley Wright had married a South African exile and returned with her after 1990. He was the owner of Crackers Deli, a popular cafe, and head of the Yeoville Trader's Association. In an altercation with a street corner drug dealer, he was fatally stabbed. It was downhill from there and by 2000, all of the shops and restaurants that gained fame in the 1980s were gone or transformed unrecognisably."[107]

Restaurants, clubs, formal and informal trade and clothing stores remain – suggesting that not without significant shifts, Yeoville's character remains. The Swiss coffee bars of yore have given way to the tastes of Francophone Africa. The Rockey/Raleigh vicinity, though vastly transformed culturally and demographically, remains the business hub of Yeoville. "The area is characterised by a high level of diversity and it is where owners of all sorts of SMMEs trade."[108] Thus through several processes and forces, Yeoville has maintained its distinct character as a bohemian cultural hub in the first instance, and a melting pot of diverse African cultures, tastes and a vital source for social networks, in the second.

The Benign Neglect of Yeoville through City and State Processes

Yeoville is located in Region F[109] of the City of Johannesburg (CoJ). The Cith of Joburg itself is described as 'a developmental local government', characterized by several renewal projects aimed at enhancing economic investment towards making the city efficient, inclusive and well governed[110]. Within this broad objective, Yeoville was identified as a development node, thus the existing project for the renewal of Rockey-Raleigh High Street. The intention is to save it from decay so that it can play an increasing role in economic,

---

[106] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp. 156
[107] Region F, City of Johannesburg, date unknown, See :
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=178
[108] Diana, F., Migrants and the urban Regeneration of Rockey-Raleigh High Street in Yeoville: A case for a Successful Planning for Diversity in inner-city of Johannesburg, Research Report, Johannesburg, 2008
http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/6038/Migrants%20and%20urban%20regeneration%20of%20Rockey_Raleigh%20high%20stree.pdf?sequence=1

[109] City of Johannesburg, Region F, See:
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=178&limitstart=1
[110] The general criteria for measuring the performance of cities

social and cultural regeneration of the City of Joburg as well as of the country.[111] Other policy frameowrks which tie in with the vision for Region F are discussed more broadly in the analysis. They include the UN-HABITAT framework for streets as drivers of prosperity, The Integrated Urban Development Framework governing the development of South African local municipalities as well as the Corridors of Freedom concept being driven by the City of Joburg municipality.

Notwithstanding the City's vision and its externalized aggregation of the key challenges facing the area, evidence suggests that these arise from a benign and protracted neglect of Yeoville by City authorities. In an account of Yeoville in the early 1990s, Brodie states that "the city council changed the direction of traffic by making part of the street a one-way. A trivial thing perhaps, but it shifted the mood. In retrospect, it was perhaps the first of many attempts to impose petty changes on a suburb that later, but still sooner than we'd expected, would in effect be marginalised by the city proper.[112]

The lack of effective urban management saw the area entering a period of rapid urban decay and neglect, caused in part, by the new local government having to share what were resources for the previously whites-only areas with neglected black areas like Soweto and Alexandra. Added to this, banking groups, unnerved by the change and worried about their money, 'red-lined' the area, refusing to grant 100% mortgages to prospective home-owners in the area, most of whom were black. This meant that the proportion of rental to owner housing stock changed, with a far greater number of people renting than owning. The majority of these are black South Africans from all over the country and increasing numbers of immigrants from all corners of Africa. Renting was not cheap and the relative poverty of tenants in these properties meant that many overcrowded the property so as to share the rental with a greater number of people. The result was neglect of and damage to the properties and an overloading of the infrastructure of the area.[113]

Two things are interesting in regard of the abovementioned. One is the issue of how the 'red-lining' of Yeoville by the banking sector possibly relates to the City of Joburg's vision to reverse the flight of office workers and associated users to suburban nodes as well as to upgrade parts of Region F to stop the decline in rentals and property values.[114] This provides a glimpse into or at least a vocabulary for what in this research, is termed the formal vision for the city. It opens an opportunity to understand the sentiments of the Yeoville Ratepayers Association, in terms of this paper's interest in suburbanism and how it interacts with the

---

[111] Davie, L. Development Zones, City of Johannesburg, 2006 See :
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5613&Itemid=266
[112] Brodie, N., Street of a Past that Foretold a Future, Mail & Guardian, 10/08/2012 available at:
http://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-10-00-street-of-a-past-that-foretold-a-future
[113] Yeoville History, available at www.yeoville.org.za/yeoville-history.php
[114] Op.Cit. Region F, City of Joburg, Date unknown

actuality of Yeoville – as a hub of informality. It brings about the conversation of whether Yeoville is a failed space and a deeper analysis of who might regard it as such, based on what observations.

I return to the trope of the non-national being the cause of the decay in Yeoville. It is one that comes out strongly in literature and some interview encounters around Yeoville. It is particularly interesting in light of the insights given by Beavon earlier on, embedding decay and greying squarely within structure/formality.

It is not something unique to Johannesburg, though it's important to note the tendency of the making of South African cities to be predicated on an antithetical other. Dicek discusses the othering of migrants in world cities in a broad sense. He states that the othering of foreign nationals is "not a benign process or function of lazy journalism but takes place through various state articulations including reports, statistics, mappings and official discourse consolidating an image of misfits in an otherwise cohesive society"[115]. Through a careful deconstruction of the politics of the Banlieues of France, the author demonstrates the tendency to ascribe urban decay and other negative social processes to the presence or "influx" of foreign nationals.

Such perceptions are alive in the policy environment and official discourse in South Africa. For example, the country's Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has gradually transitioned from an administrative to a security department.[116] The shift is due, in part, to the notion that asylum seekers present a security and business threat to the country. With no clarity forthcoming on how exactly this group poses a threat (not empirically backed)[117], this has led to, among other processes, the militarization of South Africa's borders, an inflation of numbers entering South Africa by the DHA (to create an image of a country bursting at the seams due to migration) as well as the closure of Refugee Reception Offices[118] (RROs). The DHA's view is to move RROs away from the vicinity of businesses[119] and city centres and nearer to border posts (by some accounts, for ease of deportation).

Research carried out by the Yeoville Studio indeed highlights that xenophobic tensions in the area, particularly among traders, were more often triggered by external pressure. That includes local leaders eager to please their constituency as well as city policy creating

---

[115] Ibid
[116] REPORT: Breaking the Law, Breaking the Bank: The Cost of Home Affairs' Illegal Detention Practices, Africa Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), 2012
[117], REPORT: Lawyers for Human Rights/ACMS, Monitoring Immigration Detention in South Africa, September 2012
[118] Lawyers for Human Rights/Africa Centre for Migration and Society, REPORT: Monitoring Immigration Detention in South Africa, September 2012
[119] The Johannesburg RRO was closed following a court order emanating from a nuisance complaint from a neighbouring business

scarcity.[120] These aspects are discussed in the main text as part of an exploration of the intersection between formality, politics and governance.

Discourses about clean, formal and orderly streets, well-kept children in private and closed spaces, and teetotalism and God-fearing attitudes on the surface, as Benit-Gbaffou notes, contrast with residents' daily practices including, inter alia, shopping in convenient and cheap street spaza shops, appreciating the vibrancy and neighbourliness of the street (also as a response to the lack of space in overcrowded buildings); enjoying the entertainment activities and the dynamic social life and dense networks of community.[121]

The relationship of migrants with law enforcement is also worth discussion under this banner. It is a paradoxical relation marred by a strange mix of hostility and cooperation on an informal basis. On the one hand there is harassment, torture and extortion of migrants by law enforcement officials. Migrants who lack documentation and fear deportation often fall outside basic protections and are not likely to seek redress. They thus fall victim to habitual extortion and torture by corrupt officials.[122] A corollary is bribery of law enforcement as well as city officials by undocumented migrants to mitigate deportation (and/or continue the incorrect use of residential space for shops, crèches and churches etc. – as confirmed in an encounter with a Yeoville building owner (South African) in previous research[123]. As Prabhala states, the "self-appointed immigration squads of Yeoville, Berea and Hillbrow, are but cogs in a vast machine. Faced with the prospect of indefinite detention in Lindela, most people prefer to part with some loose change. Residents are quite happy to endure occasional police torture in exchange for residence in Johannesburg." [124] This echoes Chatterjee's illustration of informality as a state of constant negotiation and search for legitimacy.[125] It beares mention that police have no mandate to round up illegal migrants. This is the jurisdiction of the Department of Home Affairs. Thus in respect of Yeoville, evidence as well as previous research encounters, suggest that local authorities including police exacerbate disorder and insecurity. Their ability to abuse their authority and exercise unchecked control over the informal migrant community is inextricably linked to state-side challenges in issuing documentation or regularising migrants' status. A further challenge is a lack of clarity among relevant departments on the limits of each one's mandate. The aforementioned benign

---

[120] Benit-Gbaffou, C., Yeoville Studio : Negotiating the Line Between Research and Activism, available at http://africancitiesreader.org.za/reader/chapters/030_YeovilleStudio.pdf
[121] Ibid.
[122] Exploring the Psychological and Health Rights of Forced Migrants in Johannesburg: The Impact of 'Daily Stressors' on the Emotional Wellbeing of Forced Migrants, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, September 2011
[123] Activists tell their stories
[124] Prabhala, A., Yeoville Confidential, http://www.hotelyeoville.co.za/homelife/6-home-life/552-yeoville-confidential " *appears in the book, "Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis" edited by Sarah Nuttall and Achille Mbembe (Duke/ Wits 2008).*

[125] Chetterjee P, The Politics of the Governed: Popular Politics in Most of the World, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004

neglect, while Yeoville is demarcated as a development node by the CoJ also applies here. Read together, these factors directly invoke what Roy terms the 'idiom of urbanization' which projects an image of a keenly involved, efficient and all-seeing state, in the production of space; while in reality informality is also a tool by which it governs and conceptualises space. These issues also emerge quite strongly in the main discussion.

Furthermore, Yeoville is "not a nice place for the walking classes at any time of day, especially after dark. Women fear they'll be parted from their cellphones, and grown men prefer to walk in groups. The streets are poorly lit and it's not because the lamps are being stolen – suspended at a height of 20 feet off the ground, it's hard to imagine how they could be. Long-time residents who've never dialed beyond Durban suddenly discover their monthly phone bill is at 99,000 Rand: someone has tapped into their line and leased it out to people homesick for Douala, Lagos and Kinshasa."[126] This is not so much a demonstration of the gravity of urban decay but of how state and city-driven neglect are linked to processes directly affecting the area. Prior research particularly drew my attention to the nexus between corruption and the growing inability of law-abiding citizens, as well as business persons, to operate within the bounds of the law.

My encounter with Ma Patience, a former resident and current building owner in the area, also speaks broadly to the role played by the city authorities in exacerbating current challenges facing Yeoville. In terms of housing, the area is home to mostly black, mostly renting and sub-letting people. Issues of hijacked buildings, improper use of space and the lack of a regulatory body for landlords (to the detriment of tenants and the area's aesthetic value), are ascribed to inclination to overlook proper procedures including the enforcement of by-laws. This allows us to properly examine the notion of the formal spatial vision/governance thereof and informality, as binary opposites.

New Forces: The National Giving Way to the Global/African?

My previous research encounters in Yeoville gave a view into how ordinary people perceive, experience and understand the effects of new forces like globalization, migration, the human rights paradigm, the money economy and the neoliberal era on notions of the national. I also gleaned how some navigate the yet unmet expectations of South Africa's democratic dispensation. That is in terms of fashioning and consolidating a South African identity.

---

[126] Op. Cit. Prabhala, A.

Prabhala mentions that "the politics of nationhood and South Africa's peculiar relationship with the third world."[127] Indeed, South Africa straddles the North-South divide in how it perceives itself and its spaces along western notions of order, sterility and aesthetic in relation to foreign nationals. This contrasts sharply with the politics of chaos and disorder often ascribed to cities of the south, in regard of issues of corruption and challenges with law enforcement in South Africa.

How far my then interview subject dispensed notions of migrants as other – in respect of issues of cleanliness, respect for law and order etc. is interesting. It beares mention that she was equally strong on state-side challenges contributing to urban decay. The idea that what will fix Yeoville is if South Africans mobilise to preserve the suburban/South African character of Yeoville offsets her view of immigrants as enterprising[128] in comparison to South Africans in the area.

How the interview subject perceives African migrants computes as her process of negotiating the sharp curves introduced by new forces to the production of space. Her understanding of freedom as not a blank cheque was particularly interesting in that respect. Her calculation that foreign nationals are more likely to revert to their rights, in a rental dispute, than South Africans was particularly eye-opening. It occasioned a consideration of what responses can be found on the ground, not only to global forces challenging notions of the national, but the rise and rise of the human rights paradigm as a new basis for claims. Besides what it suggests about the place of private ownership rights in relation to legal precedents preventing arbitrary evictions[129] this aspect allows us to analyse new seats of belonging and indeed, the possibilities/dimensions of driving change and public culture.

"The power of conservative and dominant discourses on what Yeoville should be, at the expense of alternative visions of a neighbourhood"[130] is also of interest. These tend to tie in with the City of Joburg's vision, evidenced by their role and cooperation with conservative local activists like Maurice Smithers (executive director of the Yeoville-Bellevue Development Trust) in the drafting of a social charter for Yeoville.[131] This aspect also arose in my prior research work in so far as my then interview subject's involvement in the Yeoville Rate Payers Association. However unlike Maurice, she clearly states no direct links with city authorities.

---

[127] Ibid

[128] Peberdy S. & Rogerson C., South Africa: Creating New Spaces? In Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalisation, 2003, pp 79 - 100

[129] These include rulings of Schubart Park Residents Association and Others v City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality and Another as well as City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality v Blue Moonlight Properties

[130] Op. Cit. Brodie, N.

[131] The City of Joburg states that the charter aims to pave the way for the development of Yeoville, City of Joburg, 30 March 2011, See :
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6400&catid=88&Itemid=266

Accounts of 1980s and early 1990s Yeoville indicate that the suburb wasn't as squeaky clean as new narratives ascribing darker aspect of Yeoville to the second wave of settlement in the area, purport. "Rockey Street is home to new communities now, including a large number of African immigrants. Some are good citizens, a handful are not. It's not any different, really, from whichever 'back then' you want to remember: the first- or second-generation Jewish migrants, the bohemian thinkers, dope smokers, free spirits and jumped-up smouses. It's still a beachhead. Rockey Street is dead. Long live Rockey Street."[132] Such a characterisation throws conservative views on Yeoville's development aspirations in a new light. It will be worth discussing this aspect in detail in the analysis to come.

In themes relating to the above, I further interacted with Landau, who unpacks urban nativism and idioms of belonging in inner-city Johannesburg. The themes arising in the article dovetail well with the discussion to come, around belonging and the ability to drive change/influence public culture. By netting the processes that shape collective self-understanding of urban residents, Landau explores nativist rhetoric (particularly where it takes an anti-foreigner tone) in the context of a city where none intrinsically belong (his is in the context of colonial and apartheid cities which rendered a large section of South African population illegal). Landau critically engages with nativist notions that imply "a preexisting, objectively defined (or definable) native community shaped by its physical environment."[133] She does so by invoking the otherness of historically marginalised South Africans, whose own belonging in the city is fractured. Where the previously marginalised dispense nativist idioms, Landau characterises it as their staking claim to previously forbidden sites.

Here, I take the opportunity to locate the discussion specifically within street trading and its history in Johannesburg. I deem this a great way of contextualising street trading today and its management/administration by the current local authority. I draw on Beavon again. In his characterisation he makes it clear that street trading has been part of Johannesburg since the day the town was proclaimed.[134] This coexists with the fact of authorities in Johannesburg having always made it difficult for most black people to earn a living from commercial activity.[135]

In a range of administrative laws that made it difficult for black people to trade legally, were the 'move on' regulations which required traders to move their station by 25 metres every 20 minutes.[136] In this way the status of temporary sojourner in the city was compounded. Furthermore, black traders were restricted to providing strictly basic services and were

---

[132] Op. Cit. Brodie, N.
[133] Landau L. B., Transplants and Transients: Idioms of Belonging and Dislocation in Inner-City Johannesburg, Project MUSE, African Studies Review, Volume 49, Number 2 (September 2006), pp. 128
[134] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp. 187
[135] Ibid.
[136] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp 188

confined to poor locations and limited fixed stands in a restricted part of town by 1922.[137] Beavon frames the restrictions as 'defended white space' which ironically gave rise not to a retreat of black people from the city but rather the emergence of coffee cart traders. With 200 coffee carts or trolleys in the city in 1943, in time they no longer had wheels and stopped moving on altogether. Thus began the battle with the local authority to remove them, which culminated in the "coffee cart war" which saw the cart operators form an association and hire lawyers.[138]

The harassment of street traders by local authorities continued through other administrative processes. By-laws were introduced in which an informal stall could not be within a certain distance of a formal business trading in similar wares; though this was relaxed later on when the apartheid city changed track to encourage small business. With more licenced hawkers (1004 operating in the city by 1987 and 7000 trading licences issued by 1988), so too did unlicenced hawkers come in and take up space beyond designated sites.[139] This soon became a problem for the state which did what it could to accommodate traders but had a responsibility to formal businesses who paid the bulk of rates.[140]

The above is helpful in understanding the politics of managing informality and street trade in Yeoville. These and various other themes form part of the discussion in the analysis.

Conclusions

Yeoville has resisted the making of space along the national for decades. Simultaneously it has remained inextricably linked to the country's political zeitgeist. It spoke back to the Apartheid state by fashioning itself into a free zone. Today it characterizes the tyranny of globalization, migration and the gobal market by challenging the dominant construction of citizenship along the national. Though a spectacular function of the democratic dispensation (the opening up of South African borders), Yeoville obliterates all expectations, hopes and visions of what post-apartheid South Africa would embody. State structures buckle to the new character of Yeoville. Cops can easily be paid off. City officials readily look the other way as money changes hands. Though the vision for Yeoville as 'a place of South Africans,' as articulated in a previous research encounter is not seen as exclusionary – it calls for South Africans to lead the way in the making of space in Yeoville. It definitely invokes expectations of democracy to deliver not just liberty but the ubiquity of the rule of Constitutional law and a new, cohesive national identity. The viability of the approach from a place of nationhood is doubtful however, in a Yeoville that has over many decades demonstrated recalcitrance to any national project.

[137137] Ibid.
[138] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp. 190
[139] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp. 210
[140] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp. 212

4. Analysis of the Case

Map B.

Contextual Map: Respondents

Key:
- 🔵 Residents
- 🟡 Business Owners
- 🔴 Street Traders
- 🟢 Market Traders
- 🟩 Park
- 🟥 Yeoville Market

S. Ngobese 2015

Background to the Analysis

Overall the analysis unfolds in two tiers, which flow into each other. In the first tier of analysis the subject is approached from a historical perspective as well as from a social movement theory vantage. In the second tier, the inquiry takes a planning theory turn, as a form of stretching the analysis in the first tier.

The purpose of the historical analysis is to compare and contrasts the current spatial order, which I regularly refer to as the democratic city, with the apartheid and colonial cities that preceded it. The inquiry focuses on comparisons and contrasts between the apartheid and democratic cities mostly. The colonial city is not given much focus, save for a brief contextual discussion of the colonial origins of the apartheid city, and to an extent, the democratic city itself. For analytical purposes, it is suggested that the three respective cities exist on a continuum as part of an enduring hegemonic project in which colonial/postcolonial cities are embedded nodes for global capitalist accumulation. It matters conceptually as a way to understand the operations of the state, as well as the nexus between state and capital particularly in how they have manifested space over time. More specifically the historical aspect helps to contextualise the pronunciations of the local state (City of Johannesburg) on Yeoville and its development vision thereof. In terms of the idea of social movements and contestation from below as fundamentally leftist and counter-capitalist in nature, the historical facet of the analysis becomes relevant to the broader concerns of the research.

The social movement vantage is applied to firstly, shed light on what moves below, secondly, to test the extent to which what is happening in Yeoville can be understood within the rubric of radical suggestion, contestation and movement and thirdly, to identify unique patterns in Yeoville that contribute to the possibility of characterising the transformative potential of unstructured informality and space. The historical inquiry outlined above is relevant to measuring the possibility of classing what moves in Yeoville within left or counter-capitalist suggestion, in the tradition of social movements (and their Marxist underpinnings). This responds directly to the central question, of whether the practices of informal people in Yeoville can amount to radical suggestion of an alternative city.

From this aspect of the inquiry an argument will emanate to be concretised in the second tier of analysis.

4 (a) History and Social   Movement Theory

Discussion of the Case through the Lens of History

The following historical enquiry highlights the interrelation between state and capital. In so doing it sets the scene for the democratic city to be considered as existing on a continuum (an enduring hegemonic project of accumulation) with the colonial and apartheid cities that preceded it. This aspect of the analysis is deemed grounding for the consideration of social movements as fundamentally counter-capitalist. The latter is key to answering the central question of whether what is afoot in Yeoville, in terms of informality, can be characterised as a radical suggestion of an alternative city. From the respective streams of analysis, a central argument will emanate to be woven into the second tier of analysis, which centres on planning theory and explores inter alia, issues of space, governance, politics and what informality represents within this nexus.

In setting the scene for continuities to be drawn, allowing for the apartheid and democratic cities to be discussed as existing on a continuum, Mamdani, in a synthesis of his *Citizen and Subject,* says the European mission in Africa consisted of "market and civil society, the law of value and the rule of law, which were neither fully nor successfully transplanted in less than a century of colonialism."[141] Mamdani contextualises this within an enduring Afro-Pessimistic energy (from the global north) which exacts upon Africa notions that "it cannot rejuvenate itself from within"[142] and which in turn I interpret as impetus for an enduring hegemonic project which positions major African cities as key nodes for accumulation. This, I consider a running thread, beginning with the colonial city, embodied in its present day mutation by the neoliberal economic paradigm, which draws heavily on the development and urbanization discourses particularly at the level where state and capital intersect.

Furthering his explanation for how the global north continued its hegemonic project post-indipendence, Mamdani says that the post-colonial state's failure to democratise or undo decentralised despotism that "kept the peasantry locked up under the hold of a multiplicity of ethnically defined Native Authorities"[143], and without which no home market could be

---

[141] Mamdani M., Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Chapter 8), Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1996 (Transcript by Dominic Peedie)
[142] Ibid
[143] Ibid

developed, opened wide something that was merely a crevice at independence. And so "with every downturn in the international economy, the crevice turned into an opportunity for an externally defined structural adjustment that combined a narrowly defined program of privatization with a broadly defined program of globalization. The result was both an internal privatization that recalled the racial imbalance that was civil society in the colonial period and an externally managed capital inflow that towed alongside a phalanx of expatriates-according to UN estimates, more now than in the colonial period!"[144]

The above sets clear linkages between the colonial and democratic cities. It allows for a consideration of the policy and governance orientation of African cities (local governments thereof) under more and more pressure to be globally competitive, to be considered as externally defined and inextricably linked to the wider hegemonic project of capitalist accumulation.

In terms of the colonial underpinnings of the apartheid city, one considers it in terms of space and differentiation as something that is now in the DNA of the production of space in South Africa. Both cities deployed various technologies to control access and belonging to cities. Through, inter alia, surveillance, enumeration and carefully constructed tropes around disease and cleanliness, the respective cities attempted to, with limited success, channel the presence of Africans in the city along capital/labour needs. These are enduring tropes, through in the democratic city they are expressed in a new language of ambiguity (often co-opting and assimilating the 'other' themselves), but which continue to define the poor or marginalised as ephemeral to cities. One can identify such ambiguities in the slum eradication discourse as well as in policy and institutional approaches that problematize informality and simultaneously raise structure (employment, formalisation, training etc.) as relief. If one considers this within the Yeoville case, one can draw on the rationale behind the construction of the Market as representative of the calculus of structure as relief. This contrasts with views expressed by several interview respondents, that a number of traders deem selling in the market to be static, and so choose to continue selling on the street, despite periodic police harassment.[145] Mama Kenya, among others, states that it was no long after the market was operational that a new wave of street traders took to the streets in Yeoville. Some had rejected the idea of being in the market from the beginning, electing to remain on the street. An element to be considered later, relating to this, is what the choice not to be in the market suggests in regard of the central question of whether informal people and their practices are merely negotiating space within the confines of formality or can be viewed within the lens of radical suggestion, movement and contestation towards an

---

[144] Ibid
[145] See Interviews with Maurice Smithers (15 November 2014) & Mama Kenya (30 December 2014)

alternative city. The choice to reject and then negate structure is definitely illustrative of some benefit to existing in unstructured space.

In terms of the apartheid city specifically and how it links with the democratic city, various historical accounts concede that apartheid as a system in whole was "inextricably bound up with urbanization"[146]. Smith, for example, recalls that in attempts to constrain urbanization, "Africans were expected to be no more than temporary sojourners in cities, there only as required by the white economy."[147] To take the thread from this, the assumption grounding the analysis, is that the democratic paradigm, too, is bound up with urbanisation/development and that as a result informals and informality are seen as transient to cities, if not antithetical. This is while on another level, discussed more broadly in the second tier of analysis, informality is inextricable to governance, which is evidenced by the operations of the agents of or state practitioners in Yeoville, though the a careful distinction is made between structure itself and agents of/practitioners on behalf of structure.

In terms of what the Yeoville case demonstrates of the aforementioned, the language of transience permeates strongly in the interviews, as well as perceptions of Yeoville itself as being or having been made a transitional space by informality. The discussion of transience is relevant because the aspect is an identifiable thread in the making of South African cities over time. Thus it is key to understanding not only the linkages between the respective cities (colonial, apartheid, democratic) but the character of movemet produced within the context of transience in them.

Maurice Smithers, a member of the Yeoville-Bellevue Ratepayers Association, regards transience as part of the new character of Yeoville. It is something that is not fixed, is changing all the time and will continue to. At the same time, Smithers challenges idea that it is not residential but transitory. In his view, what creates that is bad management. "It's not as if its in the DNA of Yeoville to be like that. I mean it has houses, so it speaks directly to rootedness, belonging, setting up roots. But equally it is a place of migrants – new arrivals – Jews then and Africans now; a transit point. Jews would on arrival settle in Yeoville, and from Yeoville move to Houghton/Norwood/Observatory... even now that pattern exists."[148]

Patience Nogcantsi laments her own decision to move, while she still owns buildings in Yeoville, "because the place has gone bad". She mentions a trend in which as soon as people can afford, they move on to Observatory and other areas. She also notes a pattern in her own and other South Africans' trajectory from Hillbrow to Yeoville to Observatory; each time because these places have "gone bad".

---

146 Smith D., (ed.) <u>The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa</u>, Routledge, London, 1992, pp. 2
147 Ibid
148 Interview with Maurice Smithers, Yeoville Resident & Activist, 15 November 2014

Harisson Gumede, a younger longterm resident of Yeoville says:

The sense of community is gone. My mom the other day shocked me when she said 'as I'm starting to really understand why I love this place I'm actually thinking of going to buy a house somewhere else.' I just thought, oh my God, not me too … I saw the rats outside, landlords getting lax with things and then my mom got smash-and-grabbed and I thought oh no, I'm going to be another guy who says 'I used to live in Yeoville and now I live somewhere else.' I never want to leave Yeoville under those conditions. It's a great place. I don't want to fall into the "it's gotten really dangerous, now" but it has. It has become a place you move up and out of. I feel like even the people who've lived here long enough, I think if you speak to enough of them, they'll tell you that they stayed here a long time not out of choice but because of circumstances. It's transitory because families leave their homes as doctors and teachers to come and share one flat and share a bed with their kids. And as much as they've probably left some horrors back home, Yeoville as much of a reprieve as it is, there's so many people coming and going that you're raising your children in an environment where it's lost its neighbourhood feel. There's too much going on, almost. There are too many cliques and corners and enclaves. It is a United Nations because of so many of us but the differences are sometimes very large. You've got Ethiopians, the corner there with Nigerians…[149]

What is of interest is to what extent the views of the interview subjects can be ascribed to the influence of state and capital. The lack of direct involvement of the local state in Yeoville while it has clear policy objectives in the area, produces an interesting contrast to the views expressed by interview subjects and their possible influence. The views could be related to what expectations (of what space should be and should provide) or arise from the fact of being governable subjects. Maurice Smithers for example talks at length about the protections that structure is supposed to provide, which in the case of Yeoville he deems it fails to. In his view, structure should provide a common template from which community members refer when addressing issues, and should allow for the peaceful resolution of disputes. He deems this to be absent in Yeoville, where he is currently embroiled in a dispute with his neighbour over the latter's decision to erect a 5-storey structure (without plans) while the stipulation is a height limit of 4 storeys in the neighbourhood.

It is worth mentioning that the interview subject's imaginings of space resonate somewhat with the objectives of the state in Yeoville, despite that they equally feel that the state has failed to implement. Harisson Gumede for example, when asked about his impressions of street traders and possible solutions to the consternations around their presence, defers to structure. He says:

---

[149] Harisson Gumede, Yeoville Resident, 23 December 2014

I feel like the state could be teaching people how to run businesses. A lot of these people run small-to-medium enterprises, but with not much training. Lots of them aren't compliant and have little knowledge of compliance, supply chains or anything beyond the everyday person-to-person sale. Government has a role in communities that are previously disadvantaged or communities where there's a serious lack of compliance. Compliance gets everyone at the same page. If the government could at least come and have these classes for small community businesses …this is what you do and this is what you do not… at least for them to know, than for their stuff to be confiscated. In the very least, if government is going to spend the money, let people be at least informed. And if the government cant do it, let them at least inform people of the NGOs that can assist them. I'd rather our Recreational Centre was converted into a Thusong Centre where people can go and get things done in Yeoville. I wish there was one in every neighbourhood, actually… Home Affairs, the licencing department, everything.[150]

In the case of the apartheid city one might have been in a better position to identify the influence of state (+capital) in the way ordinary persons regard space given that the state was visible and exacting in its production. This is a point of analysis in and of itself, which ties in with the idea given more detail in the social movements section, that notions of democracy as non-violent curtail social movements' ability to make overt or radical claims. I relate this back to the limited ability to identify the voice of the current state in the way persons regard space. It is an aspect worth discussing in the second tier, how together with the theory of quiet encroachment of the ordinary, from below, structure on its own side deploys a quiet/benign violence in part through notions of democracy as non-violent or relief from authoritarianism. Through an inverse technology of detachment the democratic city is producing a spatiality not much different to the apartheid city save for the context in which it is occurring, of democracy on one hand (such that radical claims have less currency owing notions of democracy as more permissive) and a labour surplus that cannot currently be integrated into structure and equally pose threat to its interests. This unique context is where I locate the discussion of the push-back from below, of informality (meaning that which and those who exist outside of structure) as suggestion of an alternative city.

It is important to look at the aspect of continuities between the apartheid and democratic cities particularly in the context of a labour surplus in today's economy. The Yeoville case presents a few opportunities to do this. To be precise, it raises interesting consistencies between the apartheid and democratic cities as well as some significant variances. To ground the discussion in a historical account, Smith's reference to the apartheid city as having structured the presence of Africans in the city to meet labour demands and no more,

---

[150] Ibid

applies here. The democratic city in itself, while it has no overt policy tends to problematize informality in terms of mass unemployment and the need to drive job creation/integrate the informal classes into structure.

Within the democratic city, which is bounded in development and urbanization; Desai, Bond and Ngwane point out a pattern whose origin can be traced back to the apartheid city. Certain "sectors of the economy – construction, finance and commerce – are booming while many other former labour-intensive sectors of manufacturing were deindustrialised (or shifted from general production for a local mass market to niche production for a global upper-class market, such as luxury autos and garments). Large sections of society are still peripheral – aside from serving as a reserve army of unneeded surplus labour to the interests of capital, domestic and global."[151]

Furthermore in the current economy, Bond et. al. unlock further uniquenesses in terms of the new dynamics in labour. The unemployed, they say, "are as often also the marginally employed, the unofficially employed, and the precariously employed, which means, as well, that they play no role in the preeminent labour organization in the country, COSATU, which has its base in the country's heavy and extractive industries and public sector."[152] This plays out interestingly in Yeoville, where various respondents deem that issues of economy are driving people to regard and shape space in different ways. They also point to new ports of connectivity and collectivisation, which exist outside of traditional seats such as social movements and labour unions. George Lebone observes that incomes aren't enough to cover ridiculous rents so the new forms of collectivism that are coming up are sharing-based. He posits, "It's not that it's consciously planned and organised but just an off-beat … responding to the need… 'I need accommodation; you need it so why don't we share?' That type of thing is prevalent here."[153]

[151] Bond P., Desai A., and Ngwane T., Uneven and Combined Marxism within South Africa's Social Movements, International Journal of Socialist Renewal, February 2012, pp. 2, sourced via http://links.org.au/node/2757 on 10 January 2014

[152] Op. Cit, Bond et. al., pp7

[153] Interview with George Lebone, 19 December 2014

Fig.6

"looking to share" Yeoville Community Message Board © S. Ngobese 2015

George Lebone also criticises a worker-party-union nexus (within the Tripartite alliance) which serves the party at polls but which has grown limited in its ability to represent workers' interests. Brought within Yeoville instance (of a labour surplus, an increase in occasional work, and a population of predominantly foreign nationals who by their status lack access to traditional seats for mobilisation) one can conclude that the operations of informals (some of whom operate completely outside of structure) amount to collectivisation and do transform space.

A host of assumptions prevail about ideological and form(al) differences between the Apartheid city and the democratic city. The relevance of these is articulated in the definition of terms, where the concept of the democratic city is explained as a useful analytical tool. This is in terms of analyzing claims of the intrinsic benefits of democracy against the options available in unstructured space. On the surface, it is often assumed that the democratic city delivered freedoms that the authoritarian apartheid city actively withheld. However, a host of literature suggests key parallels between the two cities/models of governance and consequently, how they manifest space. What's more, the recent proliferation of literature that deals with Johannesburg (and South African cities in general) from a governance perspective provide scope to re-examine the apartheid city as a technology of governance. The prevailing notion of the 'World Class City', the neoliberal model of managerial governance (e.g. cost recovery + citizens as clients) provides such an opportunity. Desai identifies quite surprising parallels in his account of the interaction between the City of Durban and the poor township of Chatsworth:

Amidst the pageantry of change there was an observance of the rules and values of the old. Shortly after the 1994 elections, severe rent increases were promulgated. As the months passed, the shakedown became unremitting – the authorities were brutish. Echoes of the apartheid past were heard in the neoliberal present. Evictions, relocations and disconnections of water and electricity vied with promises of housing, water and a culture of human rights. Community leaders were marked with the labels of agitator, radical and counter-revolutionary.[154]

Thus, whereas the democratic city ideologically sets itself apart from the apartheid city, as a looming growth machine and developmental urban regime it produces a reality not too unlike the apartheid city, for the urban poor. I relate this to the earlier discussion of policy language appropriating the language of rights and social justice while practice tends to manifest and compound the status quo of exclusion. It also relates to the prior discussion of new public management models and how they have reconfigured state-society relations.

Thus the democratic city, though not overt in so doing, continues to produce segregation of the poor to peripheries, a safety and security consciousness that facilitates visible policing in affluent areas (growing in the inner city which is experiencing a resurgence as the business hub it once was in the 1950s), public discourse that regards the poor as inherently criminal, and which justifies police brutality and torture towards these classes through the languae of safety and security. In an example related directly to movements and protest, the national broadcaster often covers service delivery strikes as acts of criminality. Reports often focus on police having had to foil yet another violent strike. The use of force against strikers (rubber bullets, tear gas) is framed, by police and media, along the democratic language of the rule of law, public safety and security. "Morning traffic reports on radio merely warn motorists as to routes they should avoid."[155] Civil and political rights are thus understated though overt in the Constitution.

In post-1994 South Africa aspects of the neoliberal governance and development discourse have seen an increasing need by municipal governments to become globally competitive and attract investment. This has put the 'world class city' project on overdrive. Informality, the life circumstance of the poor classes, is its antithesis.

The current and future city is rooted the political economy consolidated in the Thabo Mbeki presidential era. It emphasized good governance, market orientation and an overt rejection left-leaning politics. This led to significant shifts in state-society relations. The welfare statist model of operating gradually became a vestige of ideology as citizens became customers

[154]Desai A., We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa , pp 16, pp 37 and pp 40
[155] Nieftagodien N., publication launch: Driving Change in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni: Community Activists Tell Their Stories, Wits University, 2013

and consumers. Service delivery took a cost-recovery mode, with those who cannot afford the rising standard of living increasingly cut off from essential services. Municipalities increasingly erred on the side of a clinical interpretation of otherwise progressive policy paradigms. For example the Millennium Development imperative of slum eradication has often translated to, inter alia, forced evictions and the refusal to formalize or provide essential services to some informal settlements. The poor classes, though not without challenges and limitations, push back in various ways (e.g. litigation, land grabs, and service delivery strikes). In big metropolitan municipalities such as Cape Town, Ekurhuleni and Johannesburg, for example, privatization, the segregation of the poor to peripheries (furthest from income-generating activity), informal settlements, housing and labour; among others, has produced highly contested urban spaces.

It is important to note that the neoliberal shift coexists with a comprehensive Constitution[156] guaranteeing rights as well as the state's obligation to deliver on these. In the quest for social justice and equality the battle is being waged at several levels to differing degrees of success. Judicial activism (emphasizing the justiciability of equality and social justice) has produced several rulings which affirm the state's obligations and offer systemic relief to affected persons (though this is questionable in practice).[157] The human rights advocacy sector, through inter alia court processes, has enhanced the ability of the poor to claim a right to the city. Street battles (spontaneous protest/direct action/resistance), which are very much steeped in political or politicized claims for delivery, have ensured a balance of power – though precarious – between the state and the governed. Within the context of increased global migration, it is important to contextualize the above as traditional seats for contestation, ones that are embedded in and unlocked by democratic citizenship. Protest, while radical, is an option availed by one's proximity to structure.

In Yeoville, I argue that over 50% are rendered out of traditional seats of mobilisation by virtue of being migrants (granted, their status in the country varies, with a significant number lacking regular status (illegal or undocumented). As such, the ability to engage in more overt forms of contestation is stemmed.

Today's "Johannesburg is increasingly a member of a network of world cities. Governance is shifting in response to global changes. Local, provincial and national government are pressured to provide an environment conducive to more successful competition in the global economy. [158] Matsipa further observes that, "similar to other global cities, Johannesburg is undergoing processes of spatial reorganisation constituted by market-led

---

[156] Section 26 of same speaks directly to the right to housing and the state's obligation to, within its available resources, progressively realize.
[157] See Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others VS Irene grootboom and Others, CCT 11/00
[158] Mabin A., Johannesburg: South Africa's Aspirant Global City, in Segbers K. (ed.) The Making of Global City Regions: Johannesburg, Mumbai, Sao Paolo and Shanghai, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, pp 36

real-estate redevelopment, by public-private management models such as City Improvement Districts (CID) that attempt to create distinctive thematised precincts in the inner city for middle-class consumers, and also by ostensibly unmanaged, rapid, informal urbanization".[159] This explains lofty developmental aspirations like the Joburg 2040 Strategy, currently being spearheaded by the City of Johannesburg (+ densification along transport nodes and Corridors of Freedom spatial transformation objectives). These demonstrate the boundedness of the democratic city with urbanization and development. Relating this to history, embedding it within Beavon's discussion of 'protected white space' earlier on, I draw on the critique that densification in other parts of the world has had the effect of driving up rents and driving out the poor to peripheries.[160]

The aforementioned read together has its effects on the public imagination, which to an extent explains the aspect discussed earlier, of the possible influences to how some of the interview subjects regard space and the protections that structure should provide, respectively.

In closing this chapter, some literature ascribes the development/urbanization, participatory and neoliberal paradigms (technologies of the democratic city) with bringing about the cultural and economic manifestations of increased individual agency/autonomy, such that social movements and issues don't enjoy popular support (a retreat from public space). The Yeoville case demonstrates similar, but goes further to unearth something more directly linked to the new economy and the totalizing preoccupation with survival it precipitates, such that no energy is left to dedicate to larger concerns of public life and active citizenship. What is interesting however is that while totalizing, the economy is birthing new ports for collectivization, shown partly in emerging forms of sharing space (sub-letting). To this extent, informal operations (as opposed to the operations of informals) can be characterized as responsive to economy/structure (and thus speak directly to the nexus between state and capital). The social movement exploration, following, should further clarify whether and to what extent informal operations can be discussed within the ambit of the radical suggestion of an alternative city.

While the apartheid and democratic cities show elements of being anti-politics the heavy-handedness of the former, to its own credit, is seen as "a blessing. It founded a politics that is unrepentant and unusually clear."[161] On the other hand, the peace time positioning of the democratic city make it difficult for more overt expressions to emerge. Particularly for those that exist outside the democratic construct, suggestion takes place in more benign/quiet

---

[159] Matsipa, M., Street Values: A Spatial Analysis of Bree Street in Johannesburg, Architectural Education Club, Date unknown, accessed via http://www.architectural-education.club/street_values_mpho_matsipa on 6 January 2015
[160] Vawda, A. Considering Inclusive Cities, Plenary Session of the SA Urban Conference, City of Tshwane, March 2015
[161]Op. Cit. Desai, A. pp 10

ways. The The central concern is whether such suggestions, benign or not, are transformative ad suggestive.

How each of the cities applies notions of temporariness/transience of the poor or marginalised and the technologies it dispenses is interesting. In the specific case of Yoville and the democratic city's vision for a return of the middle class, however utopian and fuzzy in that it has never really materialised, explains the 'idiom of urbanization' (or application of informality as a technology of governance) which is discussed in more depth in the second tier of analysis. Informality also opens up room for the state to institute sweeping change at any time; in as much as it's a spatiality of opportunity for informals themselves. "Urbanisation under apartheid, no matter how carefully the state contrived to control it, undermined apartheid itself; bringing South Africa and its cities to the brink of significant, if still uncertain, change."[162] The democratic city and its spatial (dis)order, given it works through the idiom of urbanization instead; or what Maurice Smithers supposes is the management of the decline of Yeoville instead of its growth; or what I refer to as benign neglect of Yeoville as a form of governance, creates a space for capture or its possibility, by either polarity.

Discussion of the Case from a Social Movements Theory Perspective

As stated prior, notion of the democratic city is deployed as a way of understanding the operations of the state, the nexus between state and capital in how the produce and have produced space over time. This aspect of the analysis thus gives context to how South African cities manifest, more generally. The democratic city is thus put forward as the current mutation of the apartheid and colonial cities preceding it. This is a form of grounding, then, for the following exploration of social movements and their underpinnings as a challenge to capitalism, over time. This is predicated on the idea that the previous cities were also informed, in part, by a capitalist calculus (the creation and management of key nodes for accumulation). The Yeoville case is analysed within these terms to answer the central question of whether the operations of informals' operations are an off-beat response to the constraints presented by structure (pimping) or a radical suggestion of an alternative city.

Among some of the key definitions, Habib et. al. suggest that a social movements is "neither a party nor a union but a political campaign... a series of demands or challenges to power holders in the name of a social category that lacks an established political position."[163] This classification allows for an exploration of informality in Yeoville in the sense of a community that mobilises both on the basis of community (through a myriad of formations and associations, including the ward system, Community Policing Forum etc.), and is negotiating

---

[162] Op. Cit. Smith D., (ed.) pp. 2

[163] Habib A. in Ballard, R., Habib, A., & Valodia, I., Voices of protest: Social movements in post-apartheid South Africa, Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006, pp. 8

and reconfiguring space in a manner that directly challenges and co-opts power and its agents.

Yeoville comprising a 50% South African and 50% foreign national population, is interesting in terms of how one can interpret political disempowerment and classify the lack of an established political position as put forward by Habib. One of the key observations made during the interview process, unpacked in greater detail in the second tier, is that while foreign nationals are constrained by their lack of citizenship which translates to their limited ability to claim political space in forms that are mainstream or readily available to South Africans, such as protests and other similar claims embedded in [democratic] citizenship; South Africans are constrained by the increasing irrelevance of structures that support or found their own structure-based claims to space. Thus in contrasting and equally convergent ways, both sections of Yeoville society can be understood to be politically disempowered. It is important to note that these constraints are also, in and of themselves, levers for the mobilisation of claims to space by each of these categories.   This ultimately has bearing on if and how the state of Yeoville can be qualified as a radical suggestion from below.

It is useful to also define social movements by their causes. Castells cites the "search for spatial meaningfulness and cultural identity, the demands for social goods and services, and the drift towards local autonomy"[164] as having triggered urban protest movements that in various contexts have called for urban reform and envisioned an alternative city. Under this banner, Castells includes "the squatter communities in Germany, Holland and Denmark; the youth movement in Zurich; the neighbourhood associations in Spain; the massive uprisings over public services in Italy; the tenant struggles in France; the revolt of inner cities in England; the growing urban mobilisation in the metropolises of newly industrialised countries; the self-reliant squatter settlements of the third world, from Lima to Manila… all these movements have proposed a new relationship between space and society. They all have challenged prevailing cultural values and political institutions by refusing some spatial forms, by asking for public services and by exploring new social meanings for cities."[165] This definition, particularly the idea of a self-reliant settlement as movement, read together with the working definition of informality given here, provides a framework through which to explore space as manifested from below in Yeoville, as well as its significance. This aspect, too, is unpacked in greater detail in the second tier of analysis as well as in the discussion of findings. That is, the obliteration of planning through growing self-built structures and the informal sub-division of existing structures to meet demand for space (which the local state is seen not to be responsive to).

---

[164] Castells, M., The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements, University of California Press, Berkely/LA, 1983, xv
[165] Ibid

Another dimension of defining social movements, relevant to this analysis is one focusing on social movement as directly linked to capitalism or as response to capitalist society, and as such, the leftist underpinnings of social movements. Writing on the operations of dumpster divers in New York, who take an overt anti-capitalist/anti-consumerism position, Barnard states that "Independently, a group of individuals gathering food from the trash does not translate into a condemnation of consumerism: if anything, it shows a lifestyle that is entirely dependent and parasitic on capitalism"[166]. It will be interesting to explore, along this understanding, the extent to which the individual and collective operations of traders can be read as a radical suggestion of public culture, as opposed to "non-rational expressions"[167] responding to constraints presented by structure (or the nexus between state and capital).

An aspect discussed in the history section, with a promise to expand here, is that not only are they failing to connect and speak with one voice, but social movements are having limited success in making radical claims on a collective basis. Desai et al observe that "On one hand, South Africa is among the most consistently contentious places on earth, with insurgent communities capable of mounting disruptive protest on a nearly constant basis. On the other hand, even the best-known contemporary South African social movements, for all their sound, lack a certain measure of fury."[168] This is interesting on various levels. On one hand it is a popular critique of social movements in South Africa, and one which has gained traction in recent times with the observation that while new social movements form on a frequent basis[169] responding to pressing social justice and service delivery needs that seem to cut across society, they are struggling to come together and speak with one voice. A further critique is that social movements are failing to survive beyond the parochial and often personal interests of their leaders. This perception also finds expression among respondents in Yeoville. George Lebone remarks that "collectivism has fallen down while individualism is standing strong. Collectives and organisations disintegrate soon after birth. As soon as the few individuals that realise they can benefit from it, they drive for gains for themselves, and leave the organisation to disintegrate and become ungovernable and unmanageable."[170]

On another level, the observation of the failure of social movements to make critical linkages occasions further consideration of the possible effects of democracy (bounded in development and urbanization) as a system that is propagated as innocuous (relief from authoritarianism). This is while increasingly, the economic order corresponding with democratic cities is shown to be directly linked to a growing preoccupation with survival that

---

[166] Barnard A., Waving the Banana at Capitalism: Political Theater and Social Movement Strategy Among New York's 'Freegan' Dumpster Divers, Ethnography Vol.12 No.4, December 2011, pp 419 – 444 (pp 19 of extraction)
[167] Ibid
[168] Op. Cit. Bond et. al., page unknown
[169] South Africa is reported to have recorded over 10 000 new social movements in 2012 SEE:
https://www.opendemocracy.net/civilresistance/matt-meyer/new-movements-in-south-africa
[170] Interview with George Lebone, Yeoville Resident and Chair of the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum, 19 December 2014

is driving a retreat from public life, and by the same token is driving new contestations and forms of negotiating space from poor and marginalised classes. Questions arising out of the aforementioned, then, are of what can be classified as movement/contestation/radical suggestion. Secondly, if social movements are inextricably linked to capitalism (as expression of its constraints or suggestion of an alternative), to what degree can forms of negotiating space emerging in Yeoville be classified along the social movements vantage? The inquiry is limited to the operations of informals or informal operations, as opposed to social movements or collectives in the traditional sense; which I concede abound in Yeoville.

Speaking of traditional movements, Bond et. al. observe that they tend to be intensely localised and thus self-limiting. If the idea of movement is applied to informality/informal operations in Yeoville, the case compounds the assertion, particularly if one looks at the fractured nature of cooperation in the area. A few respondents point to associations by nationality prevailing in Yeoville – Nigerians, Zimbabweans, South Africans, Congolese are associating and moving, for the most part, in their own circles and dispensing their own understandings of space and its uses. One particularly striking response was from Tendai[171], a street trader who points out that as street traders they associate or collectivise based on the fact of most of them being Zimbabwean. The extremely localised nature of cooperation and collectivisation goes a way in explaining what some interview subjects perceive as the lack of community spirit, and which Maurice Smithers clarifies as challenges arising from the ward system. In terms of how this administrative system affects collective action, Smithers says that Yeoville in whole is comprised of 4 different wards, which makes it difficult to consolidate community and mobilise collective interests on the basis of a community. On another level, the extremely localised associations allows for informality in Yeville to be considered within the rubric of social movements; that is, as contestation, reconfiguration and alternative suggestion of space.

The above occasions further contextualisation of informal operations as movement and the extent to which what moves can be classified, beyond immediate and incoherent operations towards survival, as radical suggestion of space. It needs an articulation of some of the strategies deployed that imply radical suggestion.

Through Barnard one is enabled to consider informal operations, particularly street trade, as a form of making/creating access by obliterating the exclusivity of space. While this aspect gives some leeway it is nuanced by, according to Barnard again, whether the operations are driven by interest or identity. That is, whether informals are operating incoherently towards the immediate interest to survive, or are informed by their own politics and identity. To overcome that nuance, I propose that while there is little evidence of a particular politics

---

[171] Interview with Tinashe, Street Trader in Yeoville, 12 January 2015

among street traders (particularly those who exist completely outside of structure to the extent of not being members of any collective or formation) this does not exhaust the question of whether what is afoot in Yeoville is a radical suggestion of public culture or an alternative city. Instead, it occasions further examination of assumptions that intent has any bearing on change and transformation, (particularly in respect of space in Yeoville) and its validity. As such, I argue that informal operations are transformative of space despite the intent or lack thereof of those who operate or negotiate space.

Barnard helps one's understanding by unpacking the identity politics and operations of 'freegans' in New York City. 'Freegan' is an amalgamation of the words "free" and "vegan". Freegans are counter-capitalist/anti-consumerism in terms of how they identify. They deploy their identity and politics by eschewing interactions with structure/the system (capitalism). They do not buy anything based on their beliefs around the wastefulness of consumerist culture. They counter this by dumpster diving.[172] They use this activity as a core part of their advocacy. They believe it shines the spotlight on capitalism by drawing attention to businesses who throw out food that is still suitable to eat.

Barnard then zeroes in where identity intersects with practical realities such as rent and sustaining a livelihood. In his investigations he finds freegans who maintain some level of connection to structure, such as those who have jobs and live in formal accommodation as opposed to hijacked buildings which are turned to communes. Barnard then concludes that treating freeganism not as a totalizing lifestyle but a limited set of practices deployed in specific situations may be a more tactical choice. Why freegans choose to emphasize some behaviours over others, though, is a question Barnard believes New Social Movement (NSM) theory— with some modification—can give more clarity on.[173] Following his application of NSM he further concludes that "freegans can be understood as a modern, urban analog to rural communes, whose 'very existence' is a 'challenge to the rest of society' but whose day-to-day behavior is not guided by any logic of political engagement."[174]

The above is instrumental to my understanding of informality as a totalising lifestyle or life circumstance. This is in the sense of intersections between informals playing/engaging with structure (as subject to it) and where they negate it completely.

Barnard introduces a further aspect that helps to contextualise informal operations (particularly those of street traders) as radical suggestion. He points out how state, capital and other actors deploy the politics of cleanliness around street traders. He says that "social conceptualizations of dirt and cleanliness express broad social symbolic systems: any object

---

[172] Digging in bins for discarded food and other useful items
[173] Op. Cit. Barnard, pp. 24
[174] Op. Cit. Barnard, pp. 25

that trespasses the boundaries between that which is clean and that which is not is bound to be 'condemned'; a person who does so becomes a 'doubly wicked object of reprobation." [175] Taken from this I would interpret condemnation as an indication of a counter-culture at play, on the part of those being condemned; again, despite their own intentions.

Flowing from this, I would articulate the strategies that amount to radical suggestion in Yeoville as inter alia, non-sanctioned street trading, house hijackings, self-built structures often without plans, illegal connections of essential services as well as emerging trends of space sharing both in business and in residential Yeoville. In respect of business, sharing of space amounts to informal the partitioning of shop space for multiple uses. With respect to living space, it refers to sub-letting and partitioning of spaces to accommodate more people. Informal operations that are actively reconfiguring Yeoville also include the increasing use of residential houses for business purposes – restaurants, churches, schools, cresches etc.

The above discussion opens the scope for informality in Yeoville to be viewed within the rubric of 'movement' or radical suggestion. Following this, and the historical discussion prior, the discussion in the second tier of analysis which focuses on planning theory, will unfold on the premise that informality or informal operations in Yeoville are a radical suggestion of an alternative city. The conclusions made in this and in the section prior constitute the aspects to be woven into the second tier. Prior to a more in-depth discussion in the next tier I conclude (preliminarily) that:

- On some levels informals work with the state in its own terms and in others they subvert/negate its spatial order radically. Beyond making do, informality is obliterating boundaries and creating a space of boundless possibility, despite what the intent is. This is a direct challenge to the staticness of space facilitated by formal visions. The reconfiguration of space is taking place despite whether those who are driving it overtly set out to do so.

- Proximity to structure is a constraint to both foreign nationals and South Africans in Yeoville. Non-nationals are constrained by their distance from structure while South Africans are constrained in various ways by their relative proximity to it, read together with the growing irrelevance of structure where economy is increasingly dictating the terms of engagement. This has a direct effect on the forms of contestation that abound, be they overt or take the form of quiet encroachment.

---

[175] Op. Cit. Barnard A., pp. 26

- The nexus between state and capital and this as what traditionally has given rise to social movements in their leftist underpinnings, enables the contextualization of informality as movement. In the context of the democratic city and its propagation of development/urbanization (+neoliberalism) as innocuous and it having had the cultural effect of increased individual agency or preoccupation with individual survival (which translates into a retreat from the realm of the public to the private) contestation has had to take on more subtle forms. As such, informality in Yeoville can be discussed as contestation.

In the same manner that this chapter demonstrates the linkages between the democratic, apartheid and colonial cities (from protected white space in the colonial and apartheid cities to the emphasis on clean cities in the present), it raises their boundedness not only to the notion of the antithetical other but their erasure before the vision can come into place. Setting the scene for the making of south African cities is critical to the in-depth analysis of the Yeoville case. The case itself (in terms of the physical environment and how it is inhabited) is a contrast to all formal visions. It compounds that despite a democratic dispensation, which through a range of technologies sets itself apart from the apartheid city, policy and planning continue to centre on utopian notions. These fail to capture opportunities and ports of entry for greater state intervention to support what is happening rather than what is envisioned. As a contrast to the imagined city, Yeoville reveals existing opportunities as well as the level of creativity needed in thinking about spatially transformed, inclusive and well governed cities.

This chapter further shows movement to be a response to state practice arising out of the state-capital nexus. It paves the way for the next chapter in that it provides the basis to discuss informality as suggestion, contestation and movement towards an alternative city. The latter is possible particularly in view of Yeoville's protracted recalcitrance to any national project.

4 (b) Analysing the Case Through Planning Theory

Background

The first tier of analysis lays out the rationale for considering informality in Yeoville in general, and informality specific to informal traders on Rockey-Raleigh Street, within the sphere of radical suggestion. In the second tier of analysis I embed the discussion more within theory supporting a departure from dominant views of informality. Thus the theories of Roy, Bayat and Holston converge to support the diffuse central argument. In the historical discussion, I drew a nexus between state and capital that set the scene for informality to be considered within the ambit of contestation and social movements more broadly and for it to be considered as both an outcome and response to the state-capital nexus. This opened the way for a contextualisation of what moves in Yeoville within social movement theory. Having done so, I will now unpack some of the relevant aspects to whether informality that exists in part or in whole outside of structure can be classed within suggestion and contestation. This is a form of stretching considerations in the first tier. In so doing I analyse the Yeoville case within theoretical arguments that place informality squarely within the realm of contestation or radical suggestion. I thus interact with inter alia, Holston's idea of insurgent citizenship[176], Asef Bayat's theory of quiet encroachment, Roy's thesis of slum as theory and of the slum as the icon for subaltern urbanism. These concepts dovetail well with each other as they explore informality as suggestion. To balance out the discussion I also briefly consider a key critique of the aforementioned theoretical perspectives; that they amount to the romanticisation of poverty.

In this research the operations of the state are understood through two modalities. In the first tier of analysis state operations are explained through the vantage of history, which draws on continuities between the colonial, apartheid and democratic cities. These continuities are also cemented within a planning perspective, which says that in most cities of the global south "the planning systems in place have been either inherited for previous colonial

---

[176] Holston J., Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries, Urban Peripheries Debate Series (Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona) 13 December 2007

governments or have been adopted from northern contexts to suit particular local political and ideological ends."[177]

In this, the second tier of analysis, the operations of the state are explored through overarching discursive and policy frameworks informing governanance; from the global level, filtering down to the local. This includes, inter alia, the UN-HABITAT framework for streets as a public good and development engine; in comparison and contrast with the Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) which informs development policy and implementation for South African cities and local municipalities. These will be then be read within the City of Joburg's own vision for a world class city (Growth and Development Strategy 2014), its pronunciations on Region F in line with the objective to attract the middle class back to the city and to a lesser extent, its objectives for transport oriented development (TOD), densification along transport nodes (as per the Corridors of Freedom document) and its use of the language of social justice (inclusive city) in doing so.

To turn the aforementioned aspects on their head, to get at nuances in the interaction between the formal and the informal, I return to Roy, this time to her contextualisation of state practice as, in and of itself, steeped in and dependent on informality.[178]

My approach will be to apply the theoretical concepts outlined in the review of literature to the Yeoville case. Following this I synthesise the argument to be reinforced in the overall conclusions. While the argument itself is diffuse, the various aspects speak to the tensions between the orderly city and the city being suggested from below. The former dispenses the language of incusion and transformation, while the latter returns these concepts to their radical underpinnings by pushing back.

The chapter breaks the discussion into three broad areas: residential form, business and informal trade. It begins with an outline of suburban concerns in formalistic imaginings of Yeoville contrasted with their subverion over time. This aspect draws largely on my interactions with different residents of Yeoville and how they regard the space. What emerges in terms of the changes to residential form is seen as inextricable to the latter discussion of informality as proliferating in business and trading, respectively, in Yeoville. The trader catergories are further broken down into market and street traders. The emerging nuances highlight the aspect of the argument pointing to the hegemonic facets of development and urbanization.

[177] Watson V., Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues, Urban Studies, Vol.46 No.11, October 2009, pp 2259 – 2275 (pp 22560)
[178] Op. Cit. Roy A., Why India Cannot Plan its Cities, pp unknown

Considering the Yeoville Case

I begin by reinforcing the aim to contribute to taking the informal sector seriously in scholarship.[179] In terms of the focus on informal traders I move from where existing literature ends by extending the focus to informality that exists, partly or in whole, outside of structure. My interest is the extent to which this level of informality can be discussed within the ambit of change, transformation, contestation and radical suggestion. This space, which Ananya Roy characterises as existing outside the visible order, is possibly a critical space for engagement with formality from below.

There are various dynamics involved but also nuances within them. The nuances highlight some of the assumptions precluding a more serious characterisation of informality that exists, wholly or in part, outside of structure. The dynamics and nuances are unpacked in terms of policy and its articulation of space, politics and governance and thirdly, through an analysis of the relationship of informal people with those who manage their spatial environment (authorities/practitioners), those who hold a formal spatial vision (e.g. Yeoville Ratepayers Association) and those who while operating in the space of informality, have some level of access to structure and formalisation.

In going about the above it is important to discuss Yeoville in general, first, as a suburb and the proliferation of informality on its character. Secondly it is key to consider Rockey-Raleigh Street in terms of the classical conceptions of a high street in a suburb setting; Yeoville as an identified development node in terms of both the plans for Region F and the overall Corridors of Freedom concept; and all this as related to what street traders make of Rockey-Raleigh. There is additionally the aspect of politics and governance and its causality on whether unstructured informality amounts to suggestion and contestation. Within the faultlines of each aspect I believe an argument can be fashioned and conclusions drawn about the extent to which informality can be contextualised under the banner of movement, radical suggestion and contestation.

In my foray into informal traders I make the distinction between market traders and street traders. Though to a lesser extent, I do the same with organised traders and traders whose networks are not predicated on a pronounced politics or carry clear potential for direct action/engagement with the state. My orientation is to the faultlines between those operating within a modicum of formality/formalisation or structure and those traders operating in unstructured conditions. What is lost and/or gained through formalisation is key to gaining a fuller picture of whether informality and street trading are imbued with the potential for change and radical suggestion and contestation.

---

[179] SEE: BEnit-Gbaffou C. (ed) A Political Landscape of Street Trader Organizations in Inner City Johannesburg Post Operation clean Sweep, CUBES, University of the Witwatersrand, November 2014

I will now consider the above within my observations in Yeoville. I begin with the concerns pertaining to Yeoville generally. From there I discuss informal traders in two catergories of market traders and street traders. The initial discussion of Yeoville generally is a form of contextualizing the latter as well as setting the scene for concluding on whether informality existing, in part or in whole, outside of structure can be discussed under the banner of radical suggestion, movement and contestation. Informality is seen as manifesting in two areas in Yeoville: residential form and business. The two are deemed to reinforce and create space for each other. Thus the discussion of informality as manifested in residential form is critical to the discussion of informality as manifested in business and particularly on the street.

Informality in Relation to Suburban Concerns & Yeoville as a Residential Area

As outlined in the concept note, I engaged in a series of interviews in which I spoke to residents of Yeoville, some active in the matters concerning the community either individually or collectively and others not. I further spoke to persons running formal businesses in the area, although what constitutes a formal business in the area is quite nebulous especially given Yeoville's spatial reality of a population that has more than doubled in the last 20 years. I will unpack this aspect in more detail shortly. Lastly, I interacted with informal traders. I spoke to traders working inside the Yeoville Market as well as street traders, who exist outside of structure almost completely, in that their status in the country is uncertain and they lack the protection conferred by some proximity to structure, in terms of their claim to space.

The various categories invoke, in various ways, some of the themes discussed above. I will deal first with my observation in terms of residents or homeowners in Yeoville. I will do so in terms of their conceptions of space and Yeoville specifically and how these mix with the current character of Yeoville and the spatial changes taking place.

In this category I spoke to Maurice Smithers, a longtime resident of Yeoville and activist in that regard. He has been involved in the Yeoville-Bellevue Ratepayers association in its various mutations over time, ranging from Yeoville Community Forum, the Yeoville Community Policing Forum to the Yeoville-Bellevue Development Trust.

Secondly, I conversed with George Lebone, the current Chairperson of the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum – a network of the majority of community-based organisations in Yeoville. The Forum comprises, among others, faith-based organizations (Christian and Muslim), schools, crèches, early learning/childhood development centres, women's groups, LGBTI groups, some business owners, foreign national organizations, youth groups (community and political), the Community Policing Forum, the Councillor and political organisations. The Ward Committee represents the broader community within the Forum.

Patience Nogcantsi is a former resident of Yeoville and neighbouring Hillbrow, before that. She has recently moved out of the Yeoville though she has maintained her links to the area given that she continues to own several residential buildings there and remains a member of the Yeoville Ratepayers Association in her capacity as a building owner. Her activism dates back to the days of ACT-STOP in the 1980s, through which non-whites (namely Blacks, Coloureds and Indians) mobilised their claims to space where apartheid law legislated against the presence of non-whites in cities on a residential basis. Primarily, ACT-STOP provided relief for this demographic from legislation and landlords who were exploiting the predicament by charging exorbitant rents knowing they could not be challenged legitimately.

I also encountered a group, in what was meant to be an interview with Sanza in his capacity as a former business owner on Rockey Street. The group was made up of about 5 males with similar but also contrasting trajectories in Yeoville. They are residents, some in Yeoville itself and others in neighbouring Observatory with strong links to Yeoville. What is interesting is that none seem rooted in Yeoville in the formal sense of home ownership. Some are renting, others continue to live with parents who bought homes in the area in the late 1980s and early 1990s, while another claims to have hijacked a house and so on. The group gives the necessary contrast to the views expressed by the other residents who are more formalistic in their claims.

Lastly, I spoke to Harisson Gumede, who is in his mid-20s and not active in any particular capacity in the community although he has lived in the area a very long time.

I want to interact firstly with Maurice's conceptions of space. As he explains his approach as an activist:

Yeoville-Bellevue is actually 6 different suburbs – Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Randview, Highlands and a small piece of a place called Lourensville. The boundaries are very clear. It's De la Rey Street on the east and Joe Slovo on the west and Louis Botha and St Peter's Road on the north and the mountain on the south. Our argument about the area is that we have 4 different wards here. So that means the four different wards have four different Ward Councillors, 4 different Ward Committees, 4 different everything. The state sees development or does development on a Ward basis, and our argument is that it should be done on a neighbourhood basis. What is a neighbourhood? A Neighbourhood is a place where you have a certain level of commonality people are neighbours, they share experiences, life, perspectives etc. They share facilities, they share resources... They should make the boundary of Yeoville-Belevue one ward so that you could then administer and do development properly.

Maurice's vision for Yeoville to be administered as one neighbourhood or community highlights a key problem that various respondents see and conceptualise in different ways. Harisson Gumede speaks of a lack of community spirit and so does Ma Selinah, who trades in the Yeoville Market and also lives in the area. I contextualise their sentiments as the social manifestations of what Maurice states as the challenges brought about by the fragmentation of Yeoville along the ward system. A divide that is intrinsically administrative also has political dimensions. The partisan politics of Yeoville are such that residents of one ward have no say in decisions made in another, though they have a stake and are directly affected in the sense of Yeoville as one neighbourhood.[180]

As such the ward system, coupled with other forces, is seen to have political, governance, social, spatial and economic manifestations. Within each of these catergories interests are inherent which transpose themselves on the character of today's Yeoville. Taken from Maurice's characterisation the ward system, with its benefits for those in control of it at the level of partisan politics, is seen to have a fragmenting effect that is critical to the production of unstructured space in the specific case of Yeoville. The latter is seen as specific to Yeoville because of the fact of a majority of residents being non-voters and as such neither bound nor enjoying the benefits of democratic citizenship (and the claims that can be mobilised through it). Thus at the level of its relevance in the administration of Yeoville the ward system amounts to a formal arrangement that complements politics.

Maurice's impressions resonate with literature that explains suburbanism and homeowner activism. Purcell characterizes homeowner activism as "spatial (as opposed to race class and gender) engagement because it involves a normative spatial vision and is about what those surroundings should be like. What causes homeowners to act on their agenda is the constant mismatch between the geography they want and the one they actually experience."[181]

The above tensions between how space is imagined and how it is experienced, emerges in my discussion with Maurice, of informality, which we did in two respects; residential and business (traders). Of the spatial transformation in Yeoville due to emerging, albeit informal, residential forms in response to a growing population (with no coherent plan or implementation by the state), Maurice frames it as illegality as opposed to informality.

There has been a shift but it's not according to a plan. Individuals are erecting illegal structures. By illegal I mean they've not submitted plans. And they're doing it in quite creative ways. For example, you will get a property like this, where somebody will build a 3-

---

[180] SEE: interview with Maurice Smithers, 14 November 2014

[181] Purcell, M., Neighborhood Activism among Homeowners as a Politics of Space, The Professional Geographer, Vol. 53 (2), 2001, pp 178 – 194 (pp. 178)

storey building in the back garden. Techically it's not illegal in the sense that most properties in Yeoville are classified as 'Residential 4'. This means you can have any form of residential structure on those stands. The only limitations might be the height. Most properties in Yeoville have a 3-storey restriction (which you can apply to be set aside). The problem is they're not submitting plans. So there are structures which could fall down ...as we've seen in Nigeria in the church collapse. So on one hand it's a good thing that people are building but on the other it's not.

Maurice is formalistic and reflective of the dominant ideology around space outlined prior, to an extent. But while it appears the local state shares, and dominant discourse reinforces, a similar vision at the level of its plan for Region F (in line with the anticipated return of big business and the middle class to the CBD) the same is not forthcoming in terms of governance, planning and implementation. Maurice's allusion to social housing and the lack thereof in South Africa such that private investors fill this gap, is illustrative. It occasions a consideration of the state's role more within Roy's thesis of informality as a technology of governance; which largely explains what I have termed the state's benign neglect of Yeoville.

On another level, one could argue that in Yeoville, Roy's interpretation unfolds partly in the form of one, if not the only, conspicuous symbol of state presence; policing. I mean this not in terms of the institution itself but rather the operations of practitioners/implementers on the ground. This is where I draw the distinction between institution, formal arrangements and the everyday practices of their practitioners. I draw now on what Patience Nogcantsi says of this,

There's lot of corruption. There's a lot of corruption in this country. I at some stage, I called the police station when I saw people… there was a hijacked building opposite my building. And when I was standing there one morning, I saw two guys holding up things covered. You could see that this was a record player; a DVD whatever… and you could see that this was a hijacked house. And immediately, I called the police and said, come to Number so and so this street and see what is happening… people are running there with things hidden, and those are stolen goods. Believe me, they came immediately. But they came out, when they were in the gate; they came out holding hands, shaking hands with the people that went in. And I was sure that the thing they went in with were stolen goods. And you think what happened? They just gave them the money. And they forgot about it.

Of city officials and housing inspectors, Patience says,

We report things to the City Council people and you see nothing happening. For example in my building I reported the Crèche, and some inspectors came and all they wanted from that Crèche is to build small toilets for the kids, and demanded that they open the balcony, that

in case there's a fire, the kids are able to go to the backyard. They never looked at the place itself that is it fit to have 40 kids? Inspectors just came to advice the owner of the Crèche to build more toilets, even messing up the plan of the building. That building had a plan. It's got a plan in the City council that is fixed. When I bought a flat there, I was told, "Look... Outside the building, you do nothing, not allowed. Those are bylaws." But inside, I can do whatever. Hence now I'm asking, where are those bylaws now, when somebody can just open up a crèche, and do whatever? Building without plans… It's foreigners that are doing these things. It's not South Africans. People do what they're doing because authorities were paid. And now, when town planners intervene, they go to the police station, the police will be shot by those people… " I gave you money. You cannot come and tell me now that I cannot continue building." The corruption in the country is so bad. There's nothing that you report that goes accordingly. We report something to the authorities in this country, it dies somewhere.

Speaking of her personal interactions with the local state and the difficulty of doing things the right way, forcing even law-abiding people to resort to the informal to advance their interests, Patience says

One of my buildings was hijackedWhen I sent one of my cleaning guys to go and clean there, they found out people staying there. And where it's funny now, with the law in this country, if you tell the hijackers to move out of your building, you must know you put them somewhere. But let me tell you something… I actually did it my own way. I got the private security coming with the guns and take them out of my building. And I had no other way of doing it except that. I paid the bond for the whole year, and the hijackers were staying there. I tried the right way of going to the lawyers, but I felt that this one was going to take 5 years… Plan B was to get private security to come and chuck them out and that is exactly what I did. I went to the City council for seven months, just to ask them to cut the services. They were using the water, and the water was in my name. Seven months I went to the City Council, 'Please… this building is being hijacked, and it's in my name, cut the water.' When the water was cut, [hijackers] went to a Flea market to get water with buckets. They only moved when I actually got private security. And I paid that money, about 55,000 for two securities in the day, two securities in the night.

The above is relevant as an illustration of the complexities of relying on structure/formal arrangements to get things done in Yeoville.

In sharp contrast, on the other side of the spectrum of Yeoville residents, is Msa, whose trajectory from the Eastern Cape township of Mdantsane to Johannesburg and Yeoville is not atypical. He came to the city with no particular plan, but to see what he could make happen. On arrival as a teenager, he lived with others in the open space where the Yeoville

Market now stands. As Msa rationalizes their expulsion from that space to make way for the market, he does not see it as a case of their being unwanted there, but rather a case of what had to happen to alleviate the plight of women who had been trading on the street, to the chagrin of the local state. I interpret his view as a fluidity in conceptions of space, which on one level makes him open to giving it up and equally as open to appropriating it. To Msa, space is not fixed but ever negotiable, even in ways that depart radically from structure, though he is also South African. To this end he asserts that street traders are no hindrance at all. I understand his approach to housing in the same way.

Sanza also alludes to space as ephemeral – as something that can be gained, lost, reclaimed and lost again; as something that comes and goes as and with need. Playing with the analogy of The Dogs of Yeoville himself, he says

All we do is howling, loitering, roaming around the streets, looking like we belong to this house, looking like we are the dogs of this house so you may not enter but next time we are the ones on the street looking for food. And when you see another ... You understand, you know? It's all about survival. … We are taking Yeoville to RDP level so that any other foreign guy can buy it for cheap from us so we can go back to our slums that are Mdantsane and Soweto and then the whites can come back, because the whites want Yeoville so bad. That's why they sent her to interview us… cos I'm telling you, in 10 years' time some guy will come as say I'm Barney Simon's[182] great, great grandson and he can buy this back from Thebe for R2 million and Thebe will take it. That's how it is. We will lose Yeoville again"[183]

His statement highlights another dimension, of belonging that is not set in stone, that is also ever shifting, not quite confirmed. Thus belonging, rootedness and owning and shaping space are cyclical if not a question for each day.

Through conversing with Msa, particularly his characterization of his way of being as the 'appropriation of space', I get a clear sense, for the first time, of informality as movement or suggestion. I get a sense of one of my sub-questions going in, of whether there is a politics at play in how informals existing in part or in whole outside of structure, are engaging with space in Yeoville. Taking from the conversation held with Msa, Sanza and company I get an idea of the ideological stimulus to what moves not only in Yeoville but in this group's particular world within it. The responses reveal Pan-Africanist/ Rastafarian underpinnings to how the respondents view space. The respondents identify as Rastafarian and draw frequently on notions of Yeoville as African space. In Msa's own rationale,

---

[182] Interview held at the former home of Barney Simon
[183] Interview with Sanza & Others, Yeoville Residents, 22 December 2014

"there's an organic gravitation towards community here and collective ownership of space. Tsakane made an example, he said it's negotiated[184]. The negotiation of space is an African affair. It has got nothing to do with Yeoville."[185]

This aspect of the conversation placed Yeoville squarely within an African context and reinforced dominant assumptions around Yeoville as an 'authentic' representation of an African city and of Yeoville as a cosmopolitan, if not Afropolitan space. It moves the conversation squarely into issues of the world class city and a space like Yeoville as a radical challenge to that. Rejecting the inference of 'informality' as implying that Yeoville is already missing something and relating this tendency to South African exceptionalism, the group stress that we remember, Yeoville *is in Africa.

Various factors challenge the above assumptions about Yeoville as a truly African space: xenophobia, associations generally following nationality (Nigerians, Zimbabweans, Malawians, Congolese, South Africans) and impressions of a gross lack of community in Yeoville (isolation in a supposed African community). The same factors equally challenges assumptions about what makes or should make African cities and spaces. It is important to consider what drives the assumption that African spaces should be cooperative and socially cohesive and coherent? Sanza challenges this notion quite aptly. To that end he says"

the grandchildren of the French Huguenots, the grandchildren of the perverted Dutchmen and the great grandchildren of the… they are all living nicely in suburbia and they look like they're all one and they look organised and they look like it was properly curated and preserved and all that. And it's all bullshit![186]

I then redirected the conversation to the negotiation of space and more specifically, interactions with formality.

I again posed the question of policing as the only prominent signifier of governance in Yeoville. The response of this particular group contrasted sharply to views expressed by Maurice, Patience and others.

Yes, there comes the word, "policing". You see, there's one thing I could say… Nigerians they are collectively organised and they response collectively towards being policed. Their reaction is such that they collect themselves in the fashion they do …and so do Zimbabweans, so do Congolese, and so do 'Izinja ZaseJozi'[187]; this is us. Cos we are saying,

---

[184] Respondent reframed my inference of 'informality' as rather, the sharing and negotiation of space. 'Informality' he said, suggested that something was missing in Yeoville
[185] Ibid
[186] Ibid
[187] Dogs of Joburg as a reference to the South African set within Yeoville, particularly the Pan-Africanist set that has set out to localise and imprint the concept of an African city onto a South African context

under the whole umbrella, we have decided that *we are Jozi, thina[188]. We are the Dogs of the game.[189]

The above response invoked quite a few points of analysis. One relates directly to Bayat and his characterisation of collective action as something that happens periodically and is driven by specific needs or agenda which do not always sustain over time. This is the vantage through which I understood the reference to Nigerians, Congolese, Zimbabweans and South Africans (The Dogs) organising themselves in the manner they do; as a direct response to *being policed. This form of collectivisation as a direct response to structure is then contextualised within the ambit of movement/contestation, despite the absence of overt expression to that effect. It is also seen through the lens of quiet encroachment. In terms of its manifestation in space, I refer to the emerging forms of sharing and reconfiguring residential space informally (sub-letting, hijackings and building without plans) and cooperating with and co-opting authorities in so doing. The characterisation of informl behaviour as movement also applies to emerging business forms, in which basic services such as water and power are accessed informally/illegally. It amounts to quiet encroachment in terms of the operations of unlicenced street traders who take up space and consolidate their claim to it by returning each time they are removed and engaging in similar practices.

Secondly, the response prompted me to follow up with a question of how then, these various groups, *The Dogs* in particular, think they shape space and to what extent they do. They simply state, and without wavering, "we are now the authorities"[190]. In terms of the specific actions or practices they engage in that compound their claim, one respondent speaks of knowledge production and their role in shaping the narrative of Yeoville.[191]

The above invokes again that idea of the fluidity of space, that simply through claiming it by word or action, one shapes it. It was most interesting the idea that one is an authority simply because they said so – with no need for further investigation or legitimation by any authority, institution or structure. It makes the possibilities infinite and within this realm of infinite possibilities, structure does not have to be engaged at all. There is the option of ignoring or obliterating it completely. This is where I locate the link between informality in Yeoville generally (pertaining to residential form) and informality as it unfolds in business and on Rockey Street in terms of street traders. It is where I embed the idea that the informalities feed and speak to each other.

This idea of the complete negation and obliteration of structure is reinforced when I ask the group about the CoJ's vision for Region F as a node for the settlement of the middle class as

---

[188] Us 'Africanise' Yoville or 'localise' the concept of an African city or space.
[189] Op. Cit. Sanza & Others
[190] Ibid
[191] Sanza as a cultural historian and reference point in terms of the history of the area

business moves back into the CBD. Their responses speak directly to the idea of informality as radical suggestion of an alternative city.

You remember we said we claim this experience? We don't want to attract a middle class back into Yeoville, that's the one thing we've gone out of our way not to do. We realise that ABSA owns the land upon which Yeoville is built. And ABSA has deliberately made sure that we do not own property here. Home loans are non-existent in Yeoville. We need to be kept renting. So we are regulated in that sense.[192]

Asked how they push back against the above, the group responded:

~ Well, we've got lots of ways. We take houses ngenkani[193] sometimes. That's one. F*** them, if ABSA won't give me my house …I'm a young, decent, able-bodied young man with strength in my arms. I will take that house. Try me.[194]

~we'll make this place ungovernable. ungovernability! It's not even our creation. We are reacting to that social adjustment. We are literally reacting. If we did it our way, we wouldn't be jacking these houses. We'd have a different word for it perhaps.[195]

This aspect caused me to reconsider assumptions that a binary exists in which South Africans in Yeoville are for order, law, cleanliness and want to shape Yeoville as 'a place of South Africans' in Patience's vocabulary. I gained interesting nuances into South African-ness itself and conceptions thereof. Asked about issues of South African identity and how it features in shaping Yeoville this particular group had very interesting things to say, quite in contrast with Maurice, Patience, George and Harisson, in particular. In terms of asserting South African-ness in Yeoville, "we have found out that it is unimportant defining South African-ness,"[196] they said. In their view they are actively and simultaneously Africanising Yeoville and localising the idea of an African city.

Whatever you may have …drive yourself crazy about what you think Yeoville could be, should be and would be. None of that is important. I have here a primary school.[197] Those kids are completely indifferent to any of these constructs. They need to have a Continent entirely! I was walking down [Raleigh], these two kids about 11 or 10 years old are having a fight… in French. And then they get bored and switch to Swahili. They're fighting over a ball – the one had actually torn a button off the other one. As I'm walking away the other kid, the

---

[192] Ibid
[193] By force
[194] Op. Cit. Sanza & Others, 22 December 2014
[195] Ibid
[196] Ibid

[197] Sheik Antah Diop International School, Yeoville

smaller one, says "yazi niyabheda nina"[198]… so I said if this is the Africa, the possibility, that is what I will strive to create. We are making Yeoville. We are Continentalising Yeoville. We are going out of our way to localise it. [199]

This takes me back to anxieties expressed by Patience, that if South Africans don't stand up, they will lose Yeoville to decay and lose the ability to shape its character and culture along what she sees as South African principles of law, order and cleanliness, among others. Her sentiments contrast with the idea of the irrelevance of South African-ness in Yeoville and one that South Africans are saying they are actively propagating and shaping the space along; while in a tongue-in-cheek manner acknowledge South Africans' love for Mugabe and hatred for Zimbabweans that are here. The latter invokes that debate again around Yeoville as an open space, as recalcitrant to the national order on a protracted basis, and as 'Afropolitan'. It causes one to consider whether Afropolitanism necessarily equates to everyone getting along and cooperating/collectivising or having common purpose. Alternatively and as my encounter with Sanza et. al. suggests, an Afropolitan space/spatiality is one of fluidity, where there are no winners or losers; a constant negotiation and where space gives way to needs as and when they arise. The African city fluidity then, to an extent, explains why after the market, the streets experienced a new wave of traders. This is likely to be the case should the current street traders be evicted or allocated trading space in a market elsewhere. This suggests that it is not so much about acceding to structure but about fluidity.

I want to also pick up on the point about making and continentalising Yeoville. If considered within the central concern (of whether informality can be read as radical suggestion) the respondents place informality in Yeoville squarely within the realm of suggestion and contestation. The idea of Yeoville as a template for localising the African city/Afropolitanism poses direct challenge to how formality has framed the Africa in 'African city' as an incident of geography. I speak to the notion of a 'world class African city' as euphemism for imprinting [mostly assumptions about] western or global north cities onto African geography. It is interesting that the world class city is quite global in its conceptions while it relies on notions of the national to root itself. That is particularly if it is read together with the African city being produced from below; whose proponents are deliberate in framing the push-back through an obliteration of national borders (even if in the mind).

---

[198] isiZulu: you guys are full of nonsense, you know
[199] Op. Cit. Sanza & Others, 22 December 2014

Fig.7

"Localising Africa" Rockey St. Storefront © S. Ngobese 2015

Though its irrelevance is expressed in various ways by almost all respondents, South African-ness in Yeoville today, remains a critical point of discussion. The spaces and concepts that give it form are seen as the point where [partisan] politics, policy and governance congeal with consequences for both formality/structure and informality. One can also say this is where the nuance rests in terms of assumptions around formality and informality as binary opposites. I deal here with [partisan] politics where it meets governance – as something that both bolsters and obliterates claims to space along South African-ness and democratic citizenship. My respective encounters with Sanza + Msa et. al., Selinah, George and Maurice highlight the various dimensions to the nexus between [partisan] politics, governance and their effect on how formality/structure and informality negotiate, usurp or dictate space.

Explaining the demarcation of the area by ward system and its effects on the management of development in the area and the inability to consolidate a community or establish a modicum of commonality for the collective and cohesive mobilization of interests, Maurice says:

In the last municipal elections of 2011 we [Yeoville-Bellevue Ratepayers Association] were preparing to contest the ward boundaries because what was happening is up until a certain point, ward 67 dominated the area. There was a small pocket of ward 66 at the top and there was a pocket of 64 and 73. But it has always been 67 dominating the area and then in 2011 they excised 1 voting station and put them in ward 66, which is where we are. Actually our ward is not here. The bulk of our ward is Observatory and Bez Valley. We are on a little piece of ward 66. So the council there does make some effort up here but we are disconnected. We were gonna argue that they should make the boundary of Yeoville-Belevue one ward so that you could then administer and do development properly. One of the challenges that we have here is that we have a Recreation Centre, which is in Yeoville-Bellevue in Ward 67. So if the Councillor of Ward 67 calls a meeting he then might have a whole discussion about the future of that Recreation Centre. We in Ward 66 are not in that meeting. So we have no say but our Rec. Centre, our swimming pool, our police station, or our clinic. All of those things are in our area/neighbourhood but because we're in a different ward we are not automatically invited. We could go to those meetings and listen in but if we stand up and speak; particularly if we say some contentious thing to piss the Youth League off then they will attack us a and say, "but you're not from Ward 67. …I think it's much more important to find a way of living together. I believe that in an urban area that has to be mediated by the state. If I'm in my house and I have a neighbour, regardless of differences (race, gender etc.) if a problem emerges between us, who will mediate… whatever they do that somehow infringes on your space (litter, noise, they build a wall)? Theoretically you should be able to approach them and address than but generally speaking the person might say "piss off. I can do whatever I want." Now you're stuck. Alternatively I could go there and be unreasonably hostile and aggressive. Who is to mediate that/ It has got to be mediated through the state and it has got to be mediates in two ways. One is through law: the rules. E.g. the law says you can't build on someone else's property etc. Secondly there has to be enforcement and there has to be recourse to enable you to pull in law enforcement to back you up. If you do that successfully you create a thrird condition. That condition is that if you go to your neighbour about something, they will actually listen because they know what the rules are and they know that they will be enforced through authorities. So what that does is it limits disputes and it creates the space for people to respect each other.

This is where one deems decentralized governance, partisan politics (in the sense of the ward system as a key control mechanism in the negotiation of power) meet. They have a profound effect on formality/structure, its projection of space and how it manifests particularly when the everyday practices of its practitioners or agents are thrown in the mix. It is important to note that the concept of the local state's benign neglect of Yeoville is inextricable to how the aforementioned factors interact and their outcomes. Together these factors constitute where nuances between formality and informality rest, and where dominant assumptions about their sitting at opposite ends of the spectrum can be unpacked.

In doing the latter I engage with Maurice's characterization of partisan politics, meeting with what I term the benign neglect of Yeoville and what he terms the local state's policy of the managed decline of Yeoville; in a fashion similar to the management of the decline of Liverpool in Thatcher's Britain.[200]

Isn't that what the CoJ is doing here [Yeoville]? Because the city is doing nothing to develop it – they haven't got s strategy, they haven't got a proposal …there's no plan on the table that I've ever seen that says this is how we'll deal with housing, unemployment, litter on the streets, economic development, informal traders, spaza shops, liquor and so on. There's nothing like that.[201]

Painting the context for the nexus between neglect (governance) and partisan politics, Maurice says:

The problem is that here in Yeoville the issues are overshadowed by a number of factors. One is the poverty and what poverty does to people's sense of self-worth and their sense of entitlement to rise. People actually internalise the fact that they are nobody and that they have no rights. They may complain but ultimately the sense of self-worth is damaged. …Secondly, apartheid and the overhang of apartheid and thirdly, foreign nationals and their self-worth. All of those things are disempowering and culminate in a disempowered citizenry/community. Another thing is partisan politics and the destructive politics of the ANC, where the branch and councillors put the needs of the ANC before those of the people. Unfortunately it is a reality, and I speak as a member of the ANC. The other thing is the non-responsiveness of the state and the non-interventionist policy of the state. It does not do enough to create the right kind of environment … one of the critical things is that they do not have a participatory approach to development and to management and … they don't really listen to us. So we have a very disempowered and disengaged community. You have

[200] Interview with Maurice Smithers, Yeoville Resident and Activist, 15 November 2014
[201] Ibid

a handful of people trying to do things but they don't get very far. This is what's gotten us to the point where we're considering going the litigation route.

The above occasions consideration of the relevance of advancing interests through avenues of state in Yeoville. By this I mean claims that are rooted in structure, such as democratic citizenship which grounds participation by ward system, through the ballot and so on. While respondents in various expressions deem South African-ness and the structural freedom it should provide to be irrelevant in Yeoville (be this a constraint or freeing) to an extent I read it as privilege. This is in the specific sense of Yeoville. While informality is heterogenous (South Africans also form part of the demographic to varying extents), proximity to structure is understood to confer the ability to take a clear position in ways those outside of structure in the almost complete sense, cannot.

The above is how I explain my ability to observe a clear politics from South Africans whereas the political leanings or motivations of informal traders and business owners (particularly non-nationals) are grainy at best. Similarly, it is how I explain self-building in Yeoville. Residential form is being significantly reconfigured and reproduced. The techniques deployed mirror Holston's explanation of the self-built settlements of Latin America while there is little evidence, in Yeoville, of collective mobilisation or a clear politics. That no pronounced politics is emerging in the self-building taking place in Yeoville is read as an outcome of the lack of proximity to structure that is driving space production through alternative modalities (informal).

It no doubt has a profound effect on how politics, power, governance and space are negotiated where nearly 52% of the population have varying degrees, if any, access to conventional spaces for claim making. This latter aspect is a key consideration in the discussion to follow of traders and business owners.

I link the discussion also to Roy's characterisation of slum as theory in her discussion of subaltern urbanism. Firstly it is fascinating that one could discuss Yeoville in the context of 'slum' given that it is primarily a suburb and a planned residential area. The categorisation of Yeoville as slum, in the sense that Roy discusses it, is occasioned by informal residential form[202] taking place (at a radical pace), together with an increasing use of residential space for business and so on. Read together with the incidence of informal trading they have visibly transformed space. Furthermore they speak to an overall culture of informality (the reference to informality as culture is in the sense that Hunt does in my discussion below). But as a departure from views which would equate the 'slum' reference to the obliteration of Yeoville

---

[202] Building and additions without plans and municipal approval, sub-letting in apartment buildings

as legitimate place, I revert to Roy's characterisation which breaks from "ontological and topological understandings of subaltern subjects and subaltern spaces as failed." [203]

The discussion below considers the business aspect (informal business and informal traders) in terms of inter alia, a push back against the retreat from public space facilitated by the economic pressures of the 'neoliberal democratic' city (articulated in the first tier of analysis as the state-capital nexus). This is then related back to the discussion above, of informality as manifested in the residential. The two different forms of informal practice are deemed to speak to each other and open to an overall characterisation of informal space in Yeoville.

I move now to a discussion of business owners, market traders and street traders, in the sense of what these respective categories can reveal about the extent to which informality; particularly that which exists outside of structure, can be discussed within the ambit of radical suggestion, contestation and movement.

Business owners

I now shift the discussion to informal traders and business owners specifically, being the key demographic for the consideration of the topic and central question. Within the central concern of whether their operations can be classed as radical suggestion of an alternative city, and are transformative of space, I explore their perceptions of and claims to space. That is, how they mobilise and sustain their presence and 'ownership' of the respective spaces they occupy. Furthermore it is important to interact with overarching notions of suggestion, contestation, movement and what can be deemed transformative. I do so by exploring the fault lines between market and street traders on one hand and between organized and unstructured traders on the other. Furthermore I explore issues of policy, politics and governance (seen as the sum of structure/formality) in the production of public space as a site of privilege and the resultant criminalisation of the poor and informal people. This is tied to discourse that reinforces formality (in the sense of development) as both cause and antidote to overarching challenges of poverty, inequality and social exclusion. Inter alia, job creation (justified as an intrinsic benefit of development), formality's reluctance to take informal people seriously (treating their practices as desperate, lacking coherence and logic) and the formalization, cooption and dilution [204] of informal people and their movements are read within this lens. It is deemed that these techniques have much to reveal about the transformative potential of unstructured informality and the possibility of classing it within radical suggestion, movement and contestation.

[203] Roy A., Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol.34 no.2, March 2011, pp 223 – 238, (abstract)
[204] Through, inter alia, invited spaces of participation

In the context of or based on the theories being applied in this aspect of the analysis, there is a framework to consider informality and informal trade, despite the seeming absence of a pronounced politics (+ a discernible movement with systems for accountability etc.), within the lens of inter alia; change, transformation and radical suggestion. As such, this is the section in which I deal more directly with the hypothesis, which is that informals can only work within the confines of the system, they cannot pose direct challenge to it. I then relate this to the three central theories, which are considered both in isolation as well as within the critique that they amount to the romanticisation of poverty.

In going about the above it is important to first explain the relevance of each category of respondents. In my endeavor, I spoke to business owners, as well as traders working inside the Yeoville Market and on the street. In doing so I gained a sense of degrees of informality; that the concept itself is nebulous. My encounter with traders inside the market, in particular, allowed me a view into nuances introduced by a modicum of formality in one's continued presence in and claims to space.

My interaction with business owners was most instrumental to illuminating nuances to the idea of formal in Yeoville. Furthermore, this category of respondents was critical to forming the linkages between informality manifesting in residential form to informality taking place in terms of business (including street trading).

That I deem the business owner category as formal is partly relative to the market and street trader's category. Secondly, I categorise these respondents as formal because they operate within structures or shops, they have direct access to basic services like water, electricity and sanitation. In the case of Yeoville, various factors pepper the idea of what can be deemed formal. This is particularly true when it comes to the spatial. As revealed by longtime residents George Lebone, Patience Nogcantsi, Harisson Gumede and Maurice Smithers, space is being reconfigured in Yeoville. The reconfiguration is mostly in response to economic pressures (high rents). Resulting in densification without adequate state response, densification (in the form of sub-letting and sub-divinding spaces into smaller units + erecting new structures in place of old ones) has mostly take place without plans or proper procedures being followed. George Lebone speaks of a Yeoville in whose heyday, the lights sparkled like it was New York City. Now, he says, that has been replaced by mass informality and informal practice in addressing issues. Broken windows remain broken. A broken floor tile in a shop will be fixed by the owner's friend, who does a shoddy job of it, instead of a professional. Maurice brings attention to whole buildings being erected without plans or municipal approval and which are not built according to specifications pertaining to Yeoville. Patience as well, speaks of additions made to buildings, without municipal approval. These are some of the factors that bring nuance to the idea of 'formal' in Yeoville.

Furthermore they are the issues that characterize the radical and informal transformation of residential form in Yeoville. The transformation and reconfiguration of space in Yeoville falls more clearly within the ambit of the illegal. Whether it is radical is a matter of argument. I speak of it in terms of the 'radical' mainly because of the checks presented to formality and formal arrangements as the key mode of engagement and advancement of interests in that space. In the scarcity of specific actions (gleaned from interviews) that informal people engage in that amount to radical suggestion, I revert to policy visions and the perspectives of those with a more formalistic view, to get a sense of how space is being suggested and appropriated from below. To the extent that Yeoville is a suburb yet its character is changing such that and it can be discussed in the context of 'slum' or grey space, I deem this to be an indication of a radical shift. The latter is reinforced by Roy's take, which obliterates the association of these spaces with decay and lack.

In the category of business owners I encountered respectively Sanza, Bertha and Nana.

Sanza is the former owner of a restaurant in a busy part of Rockey Street. The most interesting part of my discussion with him in relation to his business are his reasons for eventually vacating the space. He operated his restaurant for over 2 years as one of few South African owned establishments in that particular section of the street. He left owing to a burst pipe flowing right in front of his shop, which the municipality failed to fix and which remains in the same condition today.[205] In his own understanding, he is not used to squalor, while others are quite prepared to work around it. In another observation Sanza says that by the time he realized he didn't have to pay for electricity, as other establishments in his vicinity were doing, he had already committed to a meter. I interpret this within what he and his set describe, in my interview with them, as that South African inculcation in structure. In sharp contrast to his observations, Sanza says he is contemplating returning to the same shop and reopening his restaurant. "I have tried the Bumfonteins[206] and Park Hurts[207] of this city."[208]

Sanza's account ties in with the overall discussion in that it highlights the form that informality in business is taking in Yeoville. Despite informality and the virtual absence of the state except in the form of visible policing, Yeoville remains an alluring place and a space of opportunity to define the city.

Bertha and Nana operate their respective businesses side by side. Their work space is interesting in that the two hole-in-a-wall shops are fashioned out of the front area of a residential home along Rockey Street. Although they both run registered businesses Bertha remarks that when Metro Police carry out operations they, too, become subject to illegal

[205] I confirmed this on a site observation of Rockey Street
[206] Sanza's quirky reference to Braamfontein and his stint as a stall holder at the Neighbourgoods Market
[207] Sanza's reference to Parkhurst
[208] Interview with Sanza & others, Yeoville Residents and Business Persons, 22 December 2014

search and seizures and thus are forced to close up shop when the police come.[209] This I deem to be a revelation of some of the nuances to formality and informality in Yeoville. Furthermore it undoes some of the assumptions, mainly that formality/structure equate to right and legal and does not engage informally or illegally.

Fig.8

Housing as retail space on Rockey St. © S. Ngobese 2015

I carried out a site observation in Nana's shop and held an interview with Bertha. Their context reveals a need for households to diversify the income-generating potential of their properties in Yeoville Furthermore Bertha and Nana's context shows that shared space proliferating in residential form (sub-letting) is also translating and transpiring in business; significantly changing the character of [formal] business in Yeoville. George Lebone also mentions this aspect, of shops where space is shared and sub-divided such that electronics, baby food and nappies and basic home supplies are sold under one roof.[210] While he speaks

---

[209] Interview with Bertha, Resident and Business Owner in Yeoville, 05 January 2015
[210] Interview with George Lebone, Yeoville Resident & Chairperson of the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum, 19 December 2014

of this in terms of the decline of Yeoville I locate it within the potential for informality to transform space and to create a space of opportunity for both formality and informality to reconfigure space radically.

The above is the sum of how the spatial reality challenges notions of the formal and what can be classed as such. It also allows us to stretch and rethink notions of challenge and the transformative potential of informality. In rethinking the formal, Yeoville occasions a fresh approach to what constitutes and makes a structure formal. In the absence of a plan and municipal approval, changes made to any given space, place it within what realm? What frameworks can be used to understand such spaces? Sanza's hole-in-a-wall restaurant, which harkens to major cities in Asia, together with Nana and Bertha's shops which are a makeshift addition to the front of a residential property (likely without plans or municipal approval) are illustrative this aspect of the discussion. Furthermore they highlight the linkages between informality as proliferated in residential form and informality as proliferated in business, including informal trade. Read together they open to a general characterization of informality in Yeoville and the extent to which it can be classed within the ambit of radical suggestion, contestation and movement. I refer specifically to informality as engaged in by persons who exist in whole or in part outside of structure and negotiate space as such.

Fig.9

Colours of Yeoville Market © S. Ngobese 2015

Market Traders

I discuss market traders within the prism of informality but begin by acknowledging how they differ from street traders. Market traders are seen to straddle formality and informality by their relative access to and operations within structure. I apply Stacey Hunt's exploration here, primarily because it is embedded in street trading. Overall it illustrates the practical aspects of Roy's thesis on the expediency of informality to the state. Hunt complements Roy in that she opens unpacks state practice in direct relation to informal traders: the state's creation of

public space through the lens of street vendors' culture of informality.[211] The account is relevant here because hunt sets out to move beyond characterizations of Colombia as a failed state. This is in line with Roy, who also sets out to debunk the tendency of western scholarship to frame the question of 'why India cannot plan its cities?' as an issue of bad planning and of failed institutions. One of the key observations made in Hunt's exploration of citizen construction, is that technologies of governance which are often interpreted within the frame of state failure allow the state more range to…

… recover *public space from street vendors in order to preserve it as a privileged site for citizenship. This process is made possible by the*

proliferation of state agencies, policies, and plans which define the problem of public space as one of its invasion by ambulant vendors, and the solution to this invasion as the relocation of vendors to spatially marginalized and state-regulated markets where they are taught to overcome their `culture of informality' by participating in political and economic transactions in state-prescribed ways. I argue that the recovery of public space and relocation of street vendors is a spatial technology of governance that codes structural inequalities as a question of culture while producing new forms of segregation in which citizens and street vendors have differentiated places and rights to mobility.[212]

Thus the exploration of market traders is oriented towards the exploration of state practice and how it co-opts and dilutes informal people and their movements and what this reveals of the ability to classify unstructured informality within the ambit of movement, radical suggestion, contestation of and transformation of space.

Hunt identifies the gap in analysis as scholarship's tendency to identify only the use of coercive technologies by the state, to bring street traders under structure; such as forced relocation and licencing. In that way scholarship fails to explain vendors' participation in these processes. Hunt charts a new course by suggesting civic education as a great non-coercive technology that both empowers and subjugates the vendors.

This vantage opens the way to explore nuances within informality itself. In the explanation of my research intent, I do make the distinction between market and street traders. This is a way of both highlighting and hopefully exhausting some assumptions around informality, particularly of the homogeneity of the informal demographic. Exploring nuances and inherent assumptions, overall, helps to focus conclusions to be made about whether firstly, informality falls within the realm of contestation and suggestion, and secondly, whether it is a catalyst for [spatial] change/transformation. In the present discussion however, I apply Hunt

---

[211] Hunt, S. Citizenship's Place: the State's Creation of Public Space and Street Vendors' Culture of Informality in Bogota¨, Colombia, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, vol. 27, pages 331 – 351, 2009
[212] Op. Cit. Hunt S., pp. 331

to understand the faultlines and convergences between market traders and street traders (and to some extent, the state's production and co-option thereof). In keeping with the democratic city trope, which I allude to at various points in this discussion, I pick up where Hunt says:

democratization and ascription to neoliberal economic ideology in Colombia engendered a prioritization of public space as the privileged site of citizen participation, as well as the flowering of state institutions aimed at protecting this space from vendors' `culture of informality. One particular spatial technology of governance,`recuperation – relocation', seeks to minimize the threat street vendors present to citizens by spatially segregating them and inculcating them with market mentalities. This spatial technology of democratic – neoliberal governance has implications for theorizing the state and citizenship, understanding the perpetuation of dominant political and market models, explaining new forms of sociospatial segregation, and repositioning the role of `culture' in development.[213]

To link the above to the Yeoville case, one would use this to understand the conceptions of the market, in as far as it explains local state practice. Secondly it is useful to understanding market trader's own claims to space, especially those claims that relate to street traders. That is, the aspect alluded to prior, of the tensions between trading on the street and trading in the market (constraints and freedoms they present to the respective demographics).

In terms of concerns leading to or guiding the construction of the mall, the above, coupled with insights given by a respondent who trades inside the market but had been a street trader prior to that, shed some light.

Mama Kenya has traded in the Yeoville Market since its inception in 1999. Through her narrative, I gain a vantage into claims by formality/the state, to generate buy-in to the idea of a market, versus the calculus for markets as implied in the policy frameworks presented early on in the chapter, read together with Hunt's critique.

As Mama Kenya relays the thinking that led to the construction of the market:

They came and said they want to put up a market because it is not safe on the street… so that we could have shelter. So they said they were building the market for poor people who could not manage themselves. It is better here in the market because in the street they would come and take your goods …or the toilet was far from you. Now it is near. If you have children, its better here. So that's why they said they built the market so that our children are safe.[214]

---

[213] Op. Cit. Hunt, pp. 332
[214] Interview with Mama Kenya, Yeoville Market Trader, 30 December 2014

The above speaks to notions of safety and security being a key aspect of getting street traders' to buy into the idea of a market. Beneath this, one could read into policy and discourse for the possible interests in the construction of a market. The UN-HABITAT, IUDF and Corridors of Freedom documents, though more recent, draw quite strongly on the street as inextricable to development. Though their language appears innocuous and is ambiguous in that it implies a socially just, emancipatory and transformative agenda at a sweeping glance; local level interpretation, and subsequent practice and implementation suggest a preference for a clean, orderly, middle-class driven and investor-friendly city such that informality is antithetical. In this way policy and discourse, rather than producing socially just and equitable cities, produce public space as sites of privilege and of state institutions and practitioners as protectors of public space from [the culture of] informality. This applies to the case particularly if the CoJ's vision for Region F as a middle class retreat, is factored in.

To return to the way the state sold the idea of a market to traders, Mama Kenya does mention that while some traders welcomed the opportunity to trade there, others elected to remain on the street. By her account Mama Kenya says those who chose to remain preferred the relative autonomy of trading on the street where they didn't have to split their profits towards rent. This invokes a discussion of agency and the possibilities inherent in informality though the mainstream understanding tends to be of informality as a space of hopelessness and the least possibilities. Issues of agency are unpacked in greater detail and in relation to the central question further on, where I discuss findings on the street traders.

Mama Kenya's impression of street traders, though sympathetic to their plight, as in direct competition with market traders, illustrates clearly Hunt's point about the construction of citizenship through assimilation to structure and furthermore, her point about structure both empowering and subjugating traders by inculcating them with what she terms 'market mentalities'. Mama Kenya's understanding of street traders in relation to herself as a market trader, further demonstrates Hunt's thesis of the state's use of non-coercive technologies to assimilate and construct a tendency to structure among citizens.

It is particularly interesting the nuances in the fact that while Mama Kenya is in South Africa on Asylum status which does not confer much freedom to seek work and other opportunities or leave South Africa; her working in the market gives her some proximity to structure in a way that is essential to her survival and her further ability to take up space. Her claims to space are as an authorised, rent-paying trader in the market, in contrast to street traders who "sell for free".

I draw Mama Kenya on state response to traders' challenges in the market, specifically what she deems it implies in terms of how the state regards the work of informal traders. Mama Kenya speaks of over 20 years of struggles to get the local state to heed traders' cries for

parking, and closed stalls (the market is open, with no panels to close off working spaces, which does not bode well on rainy days). While the state is visible in the area in terms of police who ticket market patrons parked in front of the market illegally, this is not equaled by a cohesive response to the challenges faced by traders. The policing of illegal parking along the front of the market is offset by state failure to convert that space into demarcated parking bays, as has been the promise over the past 20 years. In the absence of relief from the state, Mama Kenya says traders lose out where patrons come to the market to spend about R100 but pick up a R500 parking fine. Thereafter they don't come back. She further remarks that stalls remain open to the elements "unless you have money to put up a cage like this one [pointing to the opposite stall]." Though not explicit, she draws a key parallel between state non-response and informality. She contrasts Yeoville with more recently constructed Markets such as at Bree and Randburg taxi ranks, which sport stalls with roller doors and where traders have better control over their goods.

Fig.10

Parking fine being issued to a market patron © S. Ngobese 2015

The above developments, of self-building in the market, are also illustrative of informality taking root within or diluting formality/structure. Increasingly, given that the planned structure is not completely suitable to the purposes of traders, albeit with state response to the gaps not having been addressed for years on end; traders are taking to self-renovation of their stations. They are building cages around stalls to overcome the issue of insufficient and inadequate storage.

To unpack the above further, I read it within Selinah's impression of the changes. For the most part, Selinah's claims to, negotiation of and expectations of what space should be and should provide, like Patience Nogcantsi, center on South African-ness and notions of *being South African as tendency to structure and order. Selinah observes that creeping informality and radical changes being made to the stalls coincide with changes in management. As she states, the previous manager gave preference to South Africans whereas the current manager, gives preference to non-South Africans. It is important to note that Mama Kenya also raises this aspect, of there having been more South Africans previously, and them having fought for and given preference in terms of the occupancy of stalls that face out onto Rockey Street. She laments that their claims to those stalls had been on the basis of their South African-ness. She remarks that most of them have since disappeared, and concludes that she "doesn't know if its laziness or what?"

I return now to Selinah's discussion of changes. She says that as a result of preference being given to non-national traders in the current cycle of management, "now there's construction … the cages weren't there before. It was open. Non-nationals mostly sell food stuffs so I think they spoke to the management to say they want to construct or add bars so they could lock up right there instead of using the store room or having their stuff stolen. And that's how it came about that they started construction and now all of them are doing it. Everyone is building. Each person does as they see fit"[215]

To Selinah this is changing the character of the market. Of this she says, "to us as South Africans it is not right. The thing is that the non-nationals are powerful when it comes to money. So when you approach the office they will be given preference over yourself."[216] The latter raises a point mentioned prior of the possibilities or space of opportunity created where structure loses relevance as the key mode for engagement and mobilizing interests. This is how I interpret the challenges as experienced both by South Africans and non-nationals in Yeoville. My encounter with Selinah gives insights into how, shifts in the modes of engagement are transforming space in Yeoville, both in business and in residence. It goes back to another observation made, that where informality is a space of possibility, South

---

[215] Interview with Selinah Ngema, 31 December 2014
[216] Ibid.

Africans are constrained by structure (the primary mode available to them for engagement and the mobilization of interests), whereas non-nationals are constrained by their existing for the most part outside of structure. In this space, very little is possible and equally, everything is possible. In respect of South African-ness and notions thereof as order, it appears that in Yeoville it is a concept that is increasingly hazy particularly when it comes to negotiating and shaping space.

Fig.11

'Self-built' Yeoville Market Stalls © S. Ngobese 2015

I now draw more directly on Selinah's own claims to space and how she deploys these towards her further presence in it. Her place on Rockey Street is legitimized primarily by her being a rent-paying stall holder in the market, where she has operated her sewing business since 2000. In terms of how she negotiates space, she does so by being respectful to others,

respecting the rules and listening to and respecting the authority of market managers (asking for permission before doing anything). In her own words:

It's necessary to be calm because the people can be harsh, very rude/disrespectful and forceful, thinking that they have a right to do whatever. There's this mentality that they're cleverer than you so you have to put a lot of things aside in order to be able to move forward. You can't move forward without working together. It's not a lot that I pay attention to because if I did that I wouldn't focus on what I'm doing. Other times there'll be quarrels so I pick my battles. I respect everyone and when you approach me respectfully I will be ok with you. Even the manager, I show him respect. If I want to do something or make certain changes to my station I approach him and ask and he will then give me permission.[217]

Selinah further mobilises her claims to space by taking on duties in the market. At the end of each day, she and some other traders clean and lock up the market.

Before there was security and cleaners but it was decided that the market should do those services itself because they weren't doing the proper job, the contracted people. So they figured it was no use hiring people to do something that could be done internally. So meetings were held and the plan was put forward that they no longer wanted the hired services. It happens every now and then, not every month, that they give us about R200 to motivate us to continue. It helps to do the cleaning ourselves because our market is now cleaner than when there were hired services. It is our market. After all, we work there so we must ensure its clean. People come from all over, like tourists, so when they come in they shouldn't find it in a bad state.[218]

In respect of the problems facing market traders, as opposed to self-built stalls, Selinah refers to a process they are involved in as traders, of trying to get the state and market management (Metropolitan Trading Company or MTC) to respond to the issues. She says, "management have tried and failed to alert MTC and bring them to see for themselves. Even their own offices flood when it rains, you find things floating. It's a mess! The market is not well built. Whoever got the tender to build it just took the money and dashed. You've seen how it's just open and the rain just pours in when it rains. It rains where you're sitting – it just pours murky water."[219] Of the process to upgrade the market she concludes "we are still lobbying and requesting the higher offices for them to upgrade our market as they have done in other areas. Our customers are running off!"[220]

---

[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid
[220] Ibid.

Selinah's claims to space contrast with what she later frames as the growing irrelevance of inter alia, formality, structure, and South African nationality and citizenship as primary modalities for claims in Yeoville. She says this with respect to changes in the market and Yeoville, more broadly, as a neighbourhood. I understand this, too, as her interpretation or experience of factors that primarily arise out of the ward system. That is, the division of Yeoville into over 4 wards, whose social manifestation as expressed by residents in various ways, is that Yeoville has lost its neighbourhood feel. In respect of the market Selinah speaks of money being the primary mode of accessing stall space, as opposed to due process. In the current cycle of management, non-nationals are given preference. This she interprets as the tendency of non-nationals to pay bribes where South Africans would apply for space and await the outcome.

It goes with the manager, how they see things. So if they feel the South African is a waste of time so they go with the one who is coming with something tangible. Some people who applied for space initially still haven't been able to come in. Too many of them, even now they're still waiting but you see new non-nationals coming in all the time.[221]

With regard to the neighbourhood, Selinah says:

You see in Yeoville, thinking you can trust in systems and report things, is a joke and a waste of time. The police station especially is a joke. They bribe each other. They'll take a person and as soon as they're around the corner monies change hands and you see the person back, threatening to kill you. What can you do? You can only trust in God now. We only call on God now here, nothing else. Law here does not exist. Municipal by-laws, the Ward Councilor… *sigh* we've had numerous meetings in the park. The Councilor has changed. We got a new one and thought he would make a visible difference but it seems as if things are regressing, no forward movement. My having and ID, being a voter and being South African does not benefit me much in this place. There are hijacked houses here, hijacked by non-nationals who are living in them rent-free. This place is grimy. There is nothing ugly that people are not prepared to do. I once saw a house where a white owner was the only one left, with non-nationals on each side. They intimidated him until he left his place. Then the Zimbabweans moved in, sectioned it off and rented it out in parts. What causes that is that now even South Africans have become deeply corrupt. There are houses that police know very well have been hijacked but they say to the hijackers "don't move, even if someone buys it." Honestly, systems have failed. You could even buy a house and follow procedure, go to Council etc. but it will be difficult to get those people out. Trying to follow procedure

---

[221] Interview with Selinah Ngema,Yeoville Market Trader, 31 December 2014

doesn't work here. But at the same time if you are not used to just doing things anyhow it is hard to change. You follow procedure even when you can see it's not conducive.[222]

While Selinah makes the distinction between South Africans and non-nationals, their respective modes of negotiating space are not something I accept as inherent to either group. I relate it back to an earlier observation that proximity to structure determines the modes available to one as well as the range of choices available to any given actor. The tendency of South Africans to rely on processes is seen as a manifestation of their greater proximity to structure – such that claims along nationality/citizenship are what is immediately available to them. Sanza et. al. have their own interpretation of this as South Africans being too inculcated in structure. Equally, I interpret the tendency of non-nationals to 'put money down' as a manifestation of their existing outside of structure, such that more legitimate forms are, in various ways, not immediately available to them. What is interesting of the latter is its ability to obliterate structured or formal claims almost completely by changing the basis for engagement.

What Selinah laments as the decline of Yeoville and the absence of a sense of community, I ascribe partly to an aspect unpacked earlier on, of the ward system having had a fragmenting effect on Yeoville as a neighbourhood. On another level I view it as a result of economic pressures driving a retreat from public life and space (active citizenship), to the private. In Selinah's own words:

People go to work and remain within their own private space. There is no public life. As you see, the police station is right here next to us. We are missing nothing in Yeoville so we should be living well. It is the people who are not well spiritually. If the new Councilor were sharp-minded things would be fine. He would call the whole community and lead. Take the Recreation Centre for example – We South Africans don't have place there, or space to meet and solve problems. When you go in there's a Nigerian section, Ethiopians and when you ask something you are told the Rec. Centre is for foreigners only. This is because foreigners take out money. That's what talks. We don't take out anything. We are just there with our IDs so they just shove you aside like you are irritating them, you understand? People are too used to bribes now. Its habit now so law no longer applies. The law that now applies is the law of places we don't even know. As for the law of the land…[223]

Overall it is interesting how the traders deploy notions and perceptions of the other in their interpretation of forces that more likely emanate from structure. I refer to how the relative absence of South Africans in the market today, which is possibly an outcome of shifts in management, is interpreted by Mama Kenya as a case of the laziness of South Africans. This

---

[222] Ibid.
[223] Ibid.

equally applies to how Selinah interprets the non-response of the state as resulting in self-built stalls; as a case of non-nationals instilling a culture of lawlessness.

I relate the above back to issues of state co-option and dilution through formalization by drawing on Benit-Gbaffou's exploration of the political landscape of street trader organizations in Johannesburg post Operation Clean Sweep. I pick up on Benit-Gbaffou et. al. in as far as their question of whether Operation Clean Sweep "created awareness that street trader organisations need to overcome their divisions or has it revealed lines of fractures between them?"[224] The question compounds what I have identified as the faultlines between market and street traders on one hand and organized and unstructured traders on the other. The report concedes "Operation Clean Sweep certainly has altered and reshaped the political landscape of street trading organisations. SAITF and SANTRA, the two organisations at the forefront of litigation which have eventually won in Constitutional Court, not only have gained visibility in the eyes of the traders. They also have gained a certain type of leverage on State officials– they are no longer treated with negligence and the City legal adviser is now constantly invited at each of their encounters."[225] The report then asks whether this is "leading to increased respect and consideration in engagements between the City and the sector (or part of it)? Or is it making constructive engagement impossible because of fear and distrust now rigidified into legal battles (but was constructive engagement ever going to happen)?"[226]

The above speaks to what is gained from a degree of recognition from structure. I now turn to what is possibly lost. This is aimed at producing what aspects, if any, of unstructured informality allow it to be discussed within the realm of suggestion, movement and contestation.

Of the possible limitations of formalisation and greater proximity to structure, Benit-Gbaffou et. al. discuss how more visibility and audience with structure goes in line with trader organisations formalising how they work. Interacting now at the level of legal advisors and more structured leadership (block leaders) "former informal ways of doing are challenged and take more of a legal edge."[227] Trader organisations thus "institutionalise their modus operandi."[228]

Benit-Gbaffou et. al. articulate what is lost, through a modicum of formalisation and opened up channels of communication, in terms of the 'divide and rule' effect of entering invited

---

[224] Op. Cit. Benit-Gbaffou C. (ed), pp 6
[225] Op. Cit. Benit-Gbaffou C. (ed.) pp 7
[226] Ibid
[227] Op. Cit. Benit-Gbaffou C. (ed.) pp 8
[228] Ibid

spaces of participation.[229] They cite the Department of Economic Development's Informal Trader Forum as an example of invited spaces. They then question the ability in such spaces to "follow up on meaningful and strategic inputs from the sector."[230]

I relate this back to the plight of Yeoville Market traders and their inability, over 20 years, to get the state to respond to their challenges though they enjoy some proximity to structure/formality in terms of the market being a project of the local state. Instead they experience what appears to be the state at cross-purposes with them and itself, in terms of frequent police operations ticketing market patrons in the very spaces it has promised to convert to parking since the inception of the market.

In terms of what the above reveals of unstructured informality, and the potential to class it within the realm of suggestion and contestation, I would say there is the space and ability to usurp or efface formality altogether; as illustrated respectively by construction taking place inside the market and unauthorised street trading outside.

While unstructured informality cannot be discussed in the more traditional sense of social movement, with a discernible politics, leadership and structured representation, decision-making and systems for accountability; this does not preclude the appropriation, reconfiguration and radical transformation of space. To take a thread from Houtzager and Lavalle[231] to say that if it is possible to base representation and accountability on alternative forms that depart from institutional mechanisms of authorisation (conferring legitimacy) then it is possible to classify the operations inherent in the culture of informality as movement towards and the radical suggestion of an alternative city. I speak of culture in the sense that Hunt does above and particularly in the sense of street traders deploying similar techniques though there is not much evidence of overt collectivisation beyond rudimentary networks.

Street Traders

I now move the discussion to street traders more directly.

In terms of the respondents working on the street proper I interviewed respectively *Alice, *Tinashe and *Promise[232]. I begin with an exploration of my encounter with Anna.

Alice is in her fifties and arrived in South Africa from Zambia in October 2014. In addition to working on Rockey Street as a roasted mielie seller, she lives in Yeoville. By her own account

---

[229] Formal spaces of participation i.e. platforms availed by structure to engage communities in a participatory sense.
[230] Op. Cit. Benit-Gbaffou C. (ed.) pp 8
[231] Houtzager P. and Lavalle A., Civil Society's Claim to Political representation in Brazil, Springer Science and Business Media, 2009
[232] Names changed for anonymity

her sons are in Cape Town. She has elected to be in Johannesburg. Through a very brief conversation due to a language barrier; Alice speaking in what sounds like Zimbabwean Ndebele and what isiZulu she has picked up in her short stay, I am able to glean some key insights. The relevant bits though they come through subtly, are somewhat illuminating of the central concerns to this inquiry. While not much of what Anna says speaks directly to a politics one can pick up on various aspects that point to agency, even within a situation of extremely limited choices.

Fig.12
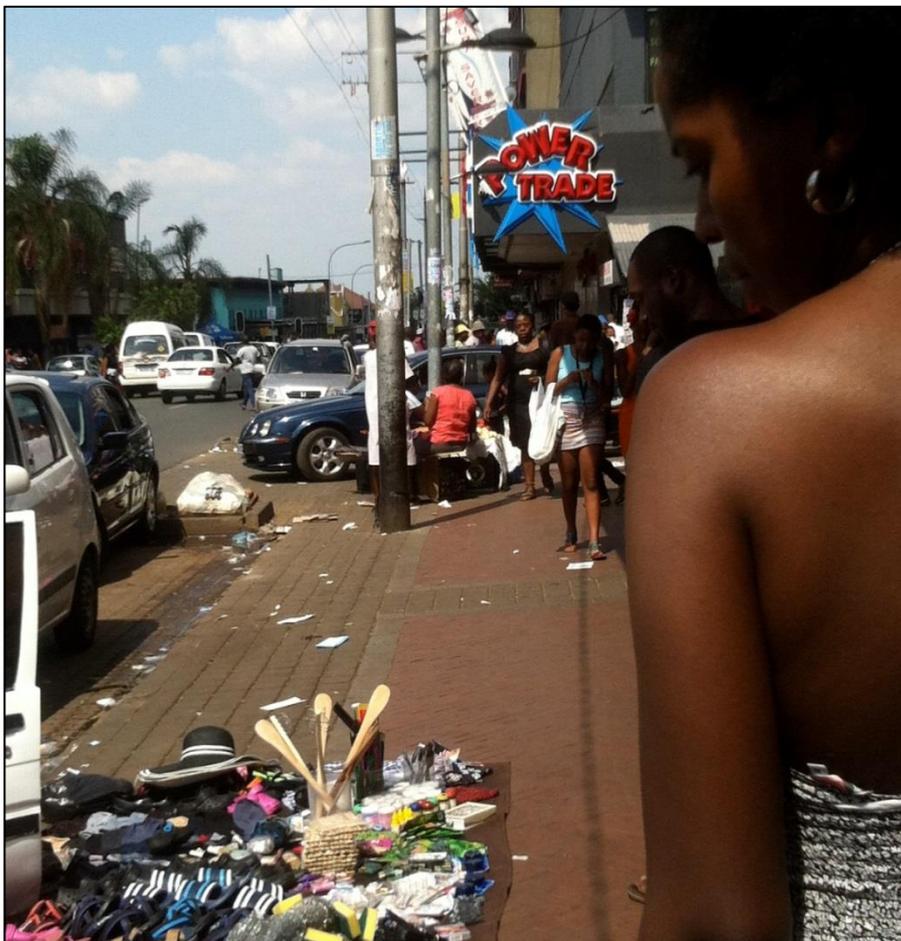
"Where the people are" © S. Ngobese 2015

Alice elected to be in Johannesburg whereas her two sons live and work in Cape Town. Secondly, Alice states her preference for her spot in the lower side of Rockey Street, as

opposed to the upper section where she deems it is busier, noisier and there is too much chatter and conflict. Thirdly, Alice works completely in isolation or rather prefers to work on her own even in the procurement of stock. Through my observation of the site and cross-referencing my experience with her with that of Tinashe and Promise, who I meet later, I do observe that she has adopted some of the practices of other traders. I refer directly to the negotiation of space in line with existing constraints. With the enduring threat of removal and confiscation of goods by the Metro Police, some traders keep their merchandise just a distance from their work stations. They keep just enough on them for a few customers at a time, most likely to minimise losses in the event of a police operation. Anna does the same. On this level traders' negotiation of space acknowledges the primacy of structure. At the level where Alice has gained ownership of the space by claiming it on a daily basis (returning to it each time she is removed), generating a customer base that in turn legitimise her claim through their repeated patronage. This aspect is explained by Bayat's theory of quiet encroachment, somewhat.

Tinashe and Promise, who are also mielie sellers, but on the upper side of Rockey Street, differ from Alice in that they work together. They are much younger, possibly in their mid-twenties and share their space with two male sellers of about the same age on either side of them. I take this as a form of security, which the ladies later confirm. They are at a busy section of Rockey-Raleigh Street, with a park behind them, a bar across the street from them and a popular franchise restaurant to their left. Collectively they've been at their station for just over a year. Promise joined Tinashe about 8 months ago. She says it is Tinashe who recommended she start and taught her the mielie business. They cite no major issues on their site except for the Metro Police who chase them off and confiscate their goods, criminals and others who pay them with counterfeit money. This is the sums of the inconveniences of being on the street and being informal, they say. Asked whether they would prefer to be in the market, they agree. Their reasoning is that the market space is much more structured and allows them to plan more. In their current situation, too much is unpredictable. For example, stock bought can be confiscated at any time. They would welcome the opportunity to be formalised and allocated stalls so that they can work without fear. Trading they say, although they would want jobs if that option were open to them, is how they make an honest living.[233]

From Promise and Tinashe, I get no clear sense of a politics that drives their being on the street although from my observation they have adopted a particular culture[234] and the practices that go with it. In terms of their claims to space, I found that this is the primary thing that roots them. The practices include how space itself is taken up. A new person would hear from others about the best techniques of doing this. The practices also include the responses

[233] Interview with Promise and Tinashe, Street Traders on Rockey Street, 12 January 2015
[234] In the sense that Hunt speaks of informality as culture

to authorities, which appear almost uniform among traders. Stations are abandoned and returned to shortly after the police have gone. One's presence in space is reinforced by both the trader and their patrons who return to them time and again (which I read as a form of generating legitimacy, though this can be undone by authority even if only for a moment).

Promise and Tinashe also allude to a network and cooperation rooted in the fact of most street traders in their vicinity being of the same nationality. In the event of Metro Police operations they communicate by text message. Customers also alert them to police as they walk by. Other forms of cooperation include collective buying and assisting each other to start up, though this tends to happen among people who know each other previously or are related. I relate this back to George Lebone's contribution, that in terms of collectivisation in Yeoville, it is occurring increasingly, beyond the traditional sites of social movement and labour organisation. Collectivisation is taking place at new bases of family, friends and countrymen. Collectivisation in a more general sense, encompassing community and more traditional social movements, George deems is often usurped by the personal and parochial interests of the people at their helm.[235]

Networks and their deployment, despite whether individual daily practices reflect a politics or characteristics of movement/organisation, allow the framing of informality as radical suggestion and contestation. This is in that it pushes against the exclusivisation of public space or its' cordoning off as a site of privilege. Unstructured informality, in as far as Hunt speaks of it as culture, counteracts the retreat from public space in radical ways; resisting structures intent to construct citizenship in the context of the street in exclusivist and sterile terms.

I further glean from Promise and Tinashe that relations with police are not a clear cut matter of formal versus informal. Within this interaction, police are sometimes patrons of informal traders. At other times, it is possible to negotiate their plight with police though they do mention that some are not as understanding as others. I explain this as a possible use of formality obfuscating informality. In this particular context it creates room to engage in informality with the backing of formal arrangements.

In my discussion of Alice, I made mention of agency and choice. I would like to return to this as a form of interacting briefly with some critiques of the theoretical perspectives applied here. The main critique is that of the romanticisation of poverty inherent in the theories of Bayat, Holston and Roy. The second critique is more directly at scholarship and asks "why do

---

[235] Interview with George Lebone, Chairperson of the Yeoville Stakeholders' Forum, 19 December 2014

academics turn every act by subject people, even under the most oppressive conditions into 'agency'?"[236]

My response to the main critique is that agency is critical to any discussion of [social] movement, suggestion and contestation respectively.

Secondly, while salient, in the context of the ubiquity and primacy of formal arrangements the critique tends to reinforce formality, rendering it the only solution. I refer to the tendency to capitalist development and formalisation as antidote. In terms of addressing the challenges of extreme poverty, structural inequality and exclusion (which I have alluded, though not explicitly, arise from structure particularly in the formal and informal arrangements supporting the state-capital nexus) development is offered as antidote. For example job creation is offered as one of development's key justifications. Tied to this, the formalisation of informal people and spaces is favoured as a general response to issues of poverty, inequality and exclusion.

I understand the above within the central theory of subaltern urbanism where Roy classifies the tendency to structure as cure, as the application of "apocalyptic and dystopian narratives to frame underdevelopment within various diagnostic and reformist interventions."[237] In relation to the central aim of this research, the latter has the effect of stemming a more serious consideration of informality. This is particularly true in the sense of categorising informality that exists, in part or in whole, outside of structure (unstructured informality), within the ambit of suggestion, movement and contestation. Roy's theory of subaltern urbanism in turn confers recognition on spaces of poverty and forms of popular agency that often remain invisible and neglected in the archives and annals of urban theory.[238]

A further response to the critique, is that though ubiquitous and despite the many positive aspects of modern life, capitalist urbanisation and development; viewed practically, are outrageous propositions in their own right. With respect to urban inequality, instead of produce socially just or pro-poor approaches that lead to more autonomy, the tendency to structure as antidote drives the management of public space as a site of privilege and on the other hand the criminalisation of the poor and informal (collectively, those whose ways of being are deemed antithetical to the urban).

In terms of the secondary critique, my response is that oppressive conditions do not necessarily equate to the complete absence of opportunities for capture of space and

---

[236] Tweeted by Africa is a Country (@africasacountry), 19 February 2015
[237] Roy A., Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol.34 no.2, March 2011, pp 223 – 238, (abstract)
[238] Op. Cit. 224

power. I return to my point that informality is a space of both limited and ample possibilities. While power and how it is actually exercised remains concentrated above (formality/structure) it is to some extent diffuse.[239] I conclude similarly on agency. While it is mitigated structurally and socially its dimensions reach marginalised spaces.

Furthermore, my sense is that critiques do not necessarily exhaust the possibility of characterising informality as suggestion. This goes back to the earlier discussion framing social movement as response to capitalism and/or the state-capital nexus. In that way, informality and responses to it are a manifestation of structure. To stretch this notion, I put forward that the quiet encroachment of informals is in line with the options for contestation that are open to them. For those who are rendered out of structure, whether in part or in whole, civil and political rights are not readily available such that direct action is, in the least, not a pragmatic option. I further put forward that in the space of informality, that space that exists outside of structure, while little is possible, the range of possibilities is equally infinite. It becomes possible to both acknowledge the primacy of structure and obliterate/efface it completely.

---

[239]SEE: Lindell I., The Multiple Sites of Urban Governance: Insights from an African City, Urban Studies, Vol. 49(9), 2008, pp 1879 – 1901 (pp 1881)

Thus far my discussion has centered on the perceptions of traders and business owners of their operations and my own observations of these as related to the central theory and supporting literature. It is necessary to also engage with [informal] practices. That is, the specific activities and practices indicative of unstructured informality as suggestion and contestation.

I begin with a brief contextualisation of 'informal practices'. I approach the concept broadly, as referring to "modes of actions and ways of doing things, rather than to specific kinds of actions."[240] Further to this I draw again on Hunt's discussion of 'the culture of informality', to also attach the concept of culture to practices. Culture itself is "the collective programming that distinguishes the members of one category of people from those of another. Culture is composed of certain values, which shape behaviour as well as one's perception of the world. Furthermore culture influences people's values, which in turn shape their attitudes and behaviours"[241] Within this definition the practices of informal traders derive from and are justified by their perceptions of the socio-economy and their place within it. This invokes gain, Promise and Tinashe's claim, that they engage in the practice of street trading in lieu of criminal activity; which has more negative social impact.

Where practice equates to 'ways of doing things' the informal connection of basic services like water and electricity by businesses and residences, is one example. Sanza, who owned a restaurant on Rockey Street, remarks that this is common practice among businesses in the area. The context for his remark is connected to the discussion of South Africans as tended to structure and that by the time he realised he could get free services, he had already committed himself to a municipal metre. Maurice Smithers also alludes to the incidence of fires in Yeoville, due to illegally connected and overpopulated apartment buildings and houses.

Practice as 'ways of doing things' also cuts at the level of the modes of engagement between, law enforcement and informals, which oscilates between enforcement, compliance and co-option through various forms of compensation such as bribery.

I also return to Selinahs discussion of how space in the market is usually secured though bribes, as opposed to due process, as a further example of not only ways of doing things but ways of making things happen.

Though more visceral I also draw on how Selina herself came into her line of work. With no formal training whatsoever, she explains that her sense for design and geometrics comes

---

[240] Varialle A., Informal Practices, Formal Regulations: Understanding Informality as Spatial Dialects, Advanced Engineering Forum, Vol.11, pp 136 – 141, 2014 (pp. 140)
[241] Aasland A. and Grodeland, A., Informality and Informal Practices in East Central and South-East Europe, Paper prepared for the 12 IACC Guatemala City Workshop, 15-18 November 2006, pp3

naturally. In her own words: "It is a gift I have. It started with visions while sleeping – I would dream of designs. I would become afraid and be overcome with this feeling that I had to get up there and then and make the things I was being shown. In the dream, God would show me everything, even shapes, how to cut, and how to put them together. I never drew patterns or took measurements – I would just look at the person and sew and it would always come out just right."[242] It is important to note that her way of doing things has seen Selinah work in the formal employment sector as a seamstress. She has sustained her own business in the market for over a decade. She was the second seamstress in the market, among mostly fresh produce and non-perishable food sellers, and claims to have the largest customer base of all traders in her line of work within the market. She ascribes this to her position in the market, right at the entrance but moreso to the quality of her work. Of this she says…

As the second person I came in and upped the standard. That's how I became popular because a person's work speaks for itself. So I brought a lot of people in and so that's how the manager started taking in more and more people who sew. Now there are a lot of us but even then, it hasn't affected me much because people still come to me because of the quality of my work. I produce things just as people want them. That keeps them coming back and telling others.

In terms of ways of doing things among traders who provide similar services, I asked Selinah if they work together around pricing. She said,

The street sellers sell at different prices to market sellers – cheaper. It causes conflict. Market sellers do get together and regulate the price of things. Seamstresses also standardize their pricing. Even now I stand by that, that now that the price of fabric has gone up, so should our prices. It's hard though because people are selfish – they will try to get customers in the wrong ways. So you'll decide together but they whisper to customers that they'll do it cheaper. It doesn't work if you do that because customers come back and ask me why I'm so expensive because down there they did it for much less? Disagreements start there. we come together and talk. I go to them and reiterate that we shouldn't do certain things. I have more customers than any other person who sews in the market. Some of my customers run off but eventually come back because of poor workmanship with the others. You hear them complaining that the person ruined their garment, butchered their fabric so they come back. Then they understand why I price things the way I do, because you won't have to come back or take it to another person to fix, no, no, no.

---

[242] Interview with Selinah, Yeoville Market, 31 December 2014

The above shows not only practices (ways of doing things) but how they come about as well as the purpose they serve. In the market, common practices are a way of maintaining relations, managing competition and the proper functioning of the work space.

It is equally important to characterise practice in spatial terms. I take a thread from Henri Lefebvre[243] who introduces the 'production of space' concept. Within the broader concept 'spatial dialectics' refer to spatial practices or the physical space when used in routinized and non-reflective fashions. By the latter, Lefebvre means ways of using space that are non-reflective of it as conceived from above (by planners or social engineers). Instead, space is reflexively lived by users who, while being aware of the political significance of spatial order introduced by the state, consciously contest it and seek to implement new ways of using that space. Therefore, whereas the above conceptualises spatial policies or formality, below, these are subverted in ways that provoke critical reactions.[244] Thus, informal street trading, in and of itself, is practice. That is in the practices involved, how they often translate read against policy (illegal) and the responses it invokes from the state; manifested through law enforcement in the particular case of Yeoville.

One of the limitations of this study, thus far, is that the sample shows little evidence of a specific politics guiding the practices of the key demographic (business owners and traders). This is with the exception of Sanza, who is explicit about coming from the Pan-African school. The former affects what can be said conclusively about how the informants flip space and more importantly, the weight of the response to the central question. As such it is necessary to drawn on observations beyond the specific spatial community of Rockey Street.

An exploration of spatial practices may work to supplement the opacity of politics in unstructured space. To illustrate this aspect I draw now from my observations and brief conversations with traders in an around the new market being constructed I the vicinity of Eloff, Plein and Joubert streets in the Johannesburg CBD.

One trader remarked that they had heard of and seen the market coming up but have not been consulted about whether they want a market, who would be allocated space therein and the process of allocating and securing space. What has happened is that the state now refuses to renew the trading licences of authorised traders; due to expire in the coming months. Licensed traders with stalls on the street are also now susceptible to police operations.[245] In response to these developments, trading has continued organically around the imposing construction. Unlicenced and licenced traders alike, have taken up space as

---

[243] Lefebvre H., The Production of Space, Oxford : Blackwell, 1991 (as quoted in Varialle A., Informal Practices, Formal Regulations: Understanding Informality as Spatial Dialects, Advanced Engineering Forum, Vol.11, 2014, pp 140)
[244] Ibid
[245] Informal chat with a licenced Bree Street fruit seller & member of SANTRA, 21 January 2015

the construction takes place – traders take up space almost immediately in the finished sections of construction. This is most evident in the south exit of Park Station leading towards Joubert Street.[246] The construction, which is happening in the mid section of Plein Street (between Eloff and Joubert streets which run paralell) has also significantly disturbed taxi services that operate in the vicinity. It is not known whether consultation took place with taxi operators. Though visibly constrained and reconfigured in terms of their prior working space, they too have continued to work in and around the construction almost organically. Taken from Lefebvre I read this as a form of cartography. That is, street traders and other informal occupants of space projecting themselves into the future of the city and actively actively imprinting themselves onto its imaginary and physicality. This reinforces Beavon's assertion of street trade as inextricable to Johannesburg, given it dates back to the time the city was proclaimed.[247] Having transcended defended white space in the colonial city and the 'move on' laws improved upon by the apartheid city[248], informal trade has found expression in and embedded itself as visibly in the democratic city's spatial form.

I would like to return now to issues of accountability and representation, particularly as intruments in the constitution and authorisation of movements. This is with the aim to read them together with the above characterisation of practices, as a form of firstly, supplementing the opacity of politics in unstructured space and secondly the ability to class informality (particularly unstructured) within movement, suggestion and contestation.

Earlier on I touched on the lack of a pronounced politics[249] among the street trader category. In a different discussion I explained the more vocal political expressions of respondents as influenced by their greater proximity to structure. This is in that the all were South Africans and are seen as having greater range to be more expressive because the dominant construction of citizenship favours them. The expressions range from Maurice, Patience and Selinah who are rather conservative, George Lebone who is a former labour union representative and Sanza, Msa et.al. who are Pan-Africanist in their leanings. The sample compounds the observation that South Africans are in more of a position to invoke civil and political rights and thus are freer to engage in more direct ction (e.g. protest) and legitimate contestation (e.g. voting rights). Though South African social movements are often critiqued as compromised by the parochial interest of their leaders, their very existence opens the way to consider their ability to drive change as well as contest and suggest space.

---

[246] Daily site observation (over 3 months)

[247] Op. Cit. Beavon K., pp 187

[248] Op. Cit. pp 188

[249] A specific issue being driven through the traditional social movement model and other forms of collective direct action

It is more difficult to glean the aspects that speak directly to movement, contestation and suggestion from unstructured space.

Earlier on I expored the business owner, market trader and street trader categories respectively, for nuances and what these might reveal of the agency vested in unstructured space. Furthermore I applied state policy and practice (institutional responses to informality such as formalisation and invited spaces of participation) more as a unit of assessing the challenge posed by unstructured informality to formality and its projection of space. While these techniques somewhat ease the limitation, they are not comprehensive enough answer to the hypothesis or conclude on the scope for discussing unstructured informality within the ambit of suggestion, contestation and movement.

In respect of the latter I stated that policy language is redistributive and transformative while practice and implementation defy the radical underpinnings of the language. This, read together with formality's co-option and obfuscation of informality occasions an exploration of both unstructured space and the informal occupation and use of space, in radical terms. This is where I locate the discussion of accountability and representation as relating to the constitution and authorisation of movements.

Earlier on, systems of accountability are counted as central to the legitimacy of a representative mandate. Accountability is defined as the ability of constituents to sanction their representative for failing to act in their interests and enact their removal. [250] Representation, Pitkin says in simple terms, is "the making present of those who are not literally present"[251] With an emphasis on the essential meaning[252] of 'representation' Pitkin further puts forward four key classifications. They vary in terms of the breath and depth of representation they each embody.

The formalistic approach to representation relates to the meas by which the representative obtains their mandate (e.g. elections). A critique of this classification is that it only says that the representative is authorised but is not clear on what a good representative actually does. At the othe rend of the spectrum, substantive representation centers on the activities of representatives – i.e. actions taken on behalf of, in the interests of the represented. The approach assesses the representative by the extent to which the best intersts of the represented are advanced.[253]

---

[250] Hovsha, J. The Concept of Representation (Summary of Pitkin, H., 1967), 09 March 2014

[251] Pitkin H., The Concept of Representation, 1967

[252] Op. Cit. pp10

[253] Dovi S., Political Representation, The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, accessed March 2014

The above is relevant to unlocking the radical aspects of unstructured informality. Doing so firstly, rests on a critique of the concept of representation. Secondly, it sets the scene for a synthesis of the overall argument.

One of the fundamental citiques of the concept of representation is that the idea of making present what isn't is contradictory. Secondly it is elitist; particularly in its formalistic conceptions, because the masses authorise 'qualified' elites to act on their behalf. Lastly representation is not true to democracy's radical origins of 'people power'. Without direct participation, political equality is illusory.[254]

Viewed within the radical conceptions of democracy as 'people power' I argue that informal practice, particularly in unstructured space, is an instance of self-representation and as such, an example of deep democracy.[255] In so doing I err on the side of depth in the classification of representation (substantive representation which emphasizes the actions taken on behalf of the represented and is assessed through the extent to which interests are advanced; and descriptive representation in which the resemblance between the representative and those being represented is central)[256]. The deeper classifications, together with the objective to return representation to its radical underpinnings of democracy, are reinforced by an emerging literature which supports the widening of these concepts. Houtzager and Lavalle, among others, engage quite extensively with forms of representation that are not underpinned by formal processes of legitimacy but which can command credibility even over formal structures.[257]

Unstructured space is unique because it constitutes that which lies outside the visible order. The radical classification of representation travels well in unstructured space, whereas the formalistic conception fails in that context [particularly in Yeoville, which is home to a significant population of non-citizens].

With the above, I put forward or argue that informality, particularly unstructured informality, doubles as a form of self-representation (deep democracy). I introduced this notion where I discussed issues of agency. I stretch it here by further asserting that it invokes the radical conceptions of democracy (people power) because it is direct or unmediated participation. Mediation, particularly the idea that representativity is characterised by authorised elites is made obsolete. The latter dovetails with the prior discussion of unstructured informality as

---

[254] SEE inter alia: Plotke (1997), Warren (2008), Houtzager & Lavalle (2009)

[255] Op. Cit. Varialle, A., pp. 137

[256] Op. Cit. Dovi S., 2014

[257] Houtzager P. and Lavalle A., Political Representation and Civil Organizations: New forms of Mediation and the Challenges for Legitimacy, Journal of Brazilian Social Sciences, vol.21 no.60, 2006, pp unknown, [taken from translated version available online]

space in which the formal can both be engaged (its primacy recognised) or ignored completely.[258]

Still within the frame of characterising unstructured space as self-representation, I return practices (ways of doing). Most relevant is the latter point, relating to informal use of space as the active contestation and implementation of new ways of using that space (Lefebvre H., 1991). I link this back to the discussion of street trading, particularly in Yeoville, as cartography from below, occupation of public space and rolling back of the retreat from the public to the private.   As such, it is radical counter-suggestion to the formalistic understanding that only qualified and authorised elites can make decisions and preside over space.

The application of the notion of self-representation to unstructured space and the practices therein satisfies several aspects of this enquiry. More broadly it fills the gap, between radical policy language and conservative implementation and practice, by returning the language to its radical underpinnings. Secondly it sufficiently stretches the observations made in the analysis of nuances between market traders and street traders in as far as these reveal more about the agency vested in unstructured space. It similarly stretches the analysis of state practice as indicative of the challenge posed by informality; particularly in unstructured space.

The above is reinforced by the central and supplementary literature, particularly that which covers new citizenships (in the age of migration) and emerging forms of collectivisation[259] (non-traditional, new social movements) challenging the structural and dominant constructions of these concepts.

Overall the various threads pulled out in order to conclude whether unstructured informality can be discussed as suggestion, support the early observation of unstructured space as a space of both highly limited and boundless opportunities for capture.

---

[258] What Lefebvre articulates as the informal use of space while users are aware of the political significance of the spatial order introduced by the state
[259] SEE: Simone A, *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities*, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2004

5. Conclusions

I began the analysis of the central concerns of this research through, respectively, a historical contextualisation and later on, an exploration of the extent to which social movement theory illuminates upon both the central question and hypothesis. In the first instance I drew parallels between the colonial, apartheid and democratic cities. In doing so a nexus emerged between the state and capital that creates the conditions for contestation and response to take place. Contestation and movement emerged as outcomes of the constraints presented by both economy and governance, which are read together as the sum of formality.

Following the initial foray, which was a form of setting the scene, I explored social movements with the intention to establish the possibility of discussing unstructured informality within the ambit of, inter alia, contestation, movement and the radical suggestion of space.

To recall the parameters of the exploration, the focus on unstructured informality specifically is informed by the idea that conventional social movements, though often opposed to informality/structure and the constraints they present, are given space by the latter. More explicitly put, those who engage in conventional forms of collectivisation (such as movements) are supported by their proximity to structure in their ability to engage structure in more direct forms such as protest (given effect by civil and political rights). By 'unstructured informality' I refer to those spaces that exist almost completely outside of structure and its protections.

From the social movements discussion emerged some aspects that allow for the consideration of unstructured informality as movement, contestation and radical suggestion. A thread is taken from Barnard, who frames the actions of dumpster divers within new social movement theory and as anti-capitalist. By exploring the politics of socially acceptable behaviours, their subversion by dumpster divers, one is enabled to consider both the formalistic interpretation of informality as undesirable and the practices of informal people themselves (particularly traders) as counter-suggestion of the city and as opening the way to consider unstructured informality within new social movement theory.

In this section my preliminary conclusions are that

•   On some levels informal people (particularly in unstructured space) work with formality in its own terms and in others they subvert/negate its spatial order radically. Beyond making do with the circumstances presented by formality, informality is obliterating

boundaries and creating a space of boundless possibility, despite what the intent of those who engage in informal practices is. That is to say a reconfiguration of space is afoot despite whether those who are driving it overtly set out to do so.

• Proximity to structure is a constraint to both foreign nationals and South Africans in Yeoville. Foreign nationals are constrained by their restricted access to structure while South Africans are constrained by the growing irrelevance of structure where economy is increasingly dictating the terms of engagement. Conventional social movements are documented to often give way to the parochial (and often economic) interests of those driving them. This has a direct effect on the forms of contestation that abound, be they overt or take the form of quiet encroachment or radical subversion or obliteration of formality and formal arrangements.

The more detailed second tier of analysis attempts to give the first foray greater context and depth. It is where the case is discussed in all its facets, embedded primarily in planning theory. The interweaving theories of quiet encroachment, insurgent citizenship and subaltern urbanism (Bayat, Roy and Holston) provide the general context for treating informality as suggestion and contestation. The possibility of the latter rests in the theorist's language which explicitly sets out to dislodge informal space from formalistic approaches with render it a problem to be overcome, rather than legitimate space. Among others, Hunt and Varialle provide more directly related context which is also complementary to the central theories. Together, the theories put forward support the aspect of the argument dealing with

I look firstly at informality in terms of how it has reconfigured the suburban [residential] form and character of Yeoville. This refers to the rise in self-building without plans and radical transformation of residential form to include large volumes of sub-letting. Secondly, I look at the case in terms of business and how the changes in this aspect are suggestive of space and in a wider sense, an alternative city. In so doing I explore 'formal' business, market traders and street traders, respectively. One of the recognitions made early on is that the frameworks for exploring the extent to which unstructured informality can be classed within movement and suggestion needed more depth. I attempted to address the limitation by focusing, firstly, on distinctions between the respective categories, of business owners, market traders and street traders. The aim was to gain a greater sense of informality in a suggestive context. The distinctions come up in various ways. In respect of market traders they arose in how this demographic view themselves in relation to street traders and the challenges street trading poses to their own operations. In the absence of overt expressions and specific actions by street traders to the effect of radical suggestion, the theoretical perspectives applied as well as the formal spatial vision articulated in policy discourse (from global to

local) also provided a backdrop to explore unstructured informality within the ambit of radical suggestion, contestation and movement towards an alternative city.

With the exploration of fault lines or distinctions the specific aim was to get at nuances that can be used to consolidate an argument for a look at unstructured informality as suggestion, movement and contestation. Doing so I applied my findings in my interviews with respectively market and street traders, the distinctions between organised and unstructured traders as well as the state's use of invited spaces of participation as a form of co-opting and diluting informal spaces and their actors. In all the above, my aim was to supplement the scarcity of findings that link informal practices to contestation and radical suggestion.

To further frame informality as suggestion and contestation, beyond the theoretical perspectives that provide great scope for this, I contextualized its embeddedness on the street as, in and of itself, a spatial economy with the street as its backbone. I relate this back to both UN-HABITAT and the Corridors of Freedom documents, which also set the street as the backbone of development; with street traders as antithetical to this (often countered through, inter alia, the politics of cleanliness, safety and security). Through this framework, I suggest that there is suggestion from above and counter-suggestion from below of what the street embodies; with both seeing it as inextricable to their respective intentions.

In various policy frameworks, particularly those applied here, the issues compounding spatial, economic and inequalities are clearly articulated as structural. High levels of inequality in income and access to services and opportunities are articulated as the legacy of apartheid and colonialism. The IUDF and Corridors of Freedom, respectively, reference apartheid education, the migrant employment system and apartheid spatial planning as among the stumbling blocks to be overcome. Furthermore, the IUDF ascribes the key challenges to, among other factors, inequality, economic exclusion, unemployment, poverty, weak governance, rapid urbanisation, poor urban design and the larger phenomenon of socio-spatial segregation.[260] Young people, women and children, it further says, are the most vulnerable to the threat of and exposure to violence. It is ironic that in practice, state responses suggest that the problem is the marginalised themselves; of which traders in the Yeoville streets comprise a large number of young people and women (with small children). I contextualised this within Holston's idea of differentiated citizenship, coupled with police operations against street traders, (whose hallmark is Operation Clean Sweep) as illustrative. Taken also within Hunt's exploration, I concluded that the approach to informality and informal people through the obfuscation of their practices and forms of being in space, amounts to a tacit admission, on the side of formality, that informality is counter-suggestive. It is in this context that I also discuss issues of agency and critique ethe critique that the

---

[260] Op. Cit. IUDF

overarching theoretical approach amounts to the romanticisation of poverty. In that facet of the discussion I conclude that "the so-called "marginalised" population is not, in fact, marginal at all. Rather, the exclusion of certain categories of people from basic services and from the fruition of civic [and political] rights is functional to the preservation of the well-being of the better-off strata of the society. Furthermore, the very concept of marginality is a political mystification, a discursive manipulation which justifies and reinforces the discrimination and the exclusion of the urban poor by the elites."[261]

One of the key limitations of this research report has been that it does not engage sufficiently at the level of street traders or rather that there is not much that points to a movement or contestation in the classical sense. I further concede that the absence of a discernible movement, politics and systems structuring, inter alia, representation and accountability; limit the ability to conclude on unstructured informality's admissibility as radical suggestion, movement and contestation.

I stated prior that in the absence of a convincing amount of specific indicators within the street trader category in particular, I applied state practice, in terms of the formalisation and co-option of informal traders and trader organisations, to glean what the inherent faultlines (between respectively, market and street traders and organised and unstructured traders) imply of the possibility to classify unstructured informality as radical suggestion. The rationale is that what the findings on street traders won't reveal, the fault lines will fill in the gaps to an extent. Unpacking the faultlines as I have done here, read together with theoretical perspectives offered by Bayat, Holston, Roy and others, open the way to view unstructured informality within the ambit of radical suggestion, contestation and movement. Further to this I interacted with the practices of informal people and categorised them as a form of self-representation. The explorations, read together, revealed and I argue:

- Normative and discursive blocks exist that preclude informality and particularly structured informality being perceived clearly and taken seriously. The obfuscation of informality, while it has an invalidating and delegitimising effect reveals its transformative and suggestive potential. This compounds the need to begin to create the space in scholarship (one of the central aims of this report). This ties in with Bayat's idea of stretching the concept of civil society to encompass silent and free-form mobilisation (on-the-spot resistance, legal battles or quiet non-compliance) as valid forms of resistance or even contestation and movement. To situate this within Yeoville, the lack of proper engagement around street trading (unstructured) and its drivers is

[261] Frank, G. and Perlman J., as quoted in W. Maloney: Informality Revisited, World Development, Vol. VII, No.32, 2004 pp. 1159-1178

responsible for a normative approach that seeks to merely manage the presence of traders as a defence of the clean, orderly and investor-friendly city.

- The normative and discursive blocks to a clear view of informality and unstructured informality in particular, find expression in policy and practice thus producing public space as a site of privilege and subsequently driving a retreat from the public to the private. Whereas development, public management and governance claim to drive inclusion and spatial transformation (a transformative and redressive agenda) they have tended to compound the status quo of the apartheid and colonial cities. Malls, gated communities, boomed-off areas and aggressive investment in transport infrastructure (imagined in rather sterile terms) have emerged from these systems in the post-apartheid or democratic city. They drive an insular interaction with space and moreover, fashion cities for the middle class (protected space). The democratic city thus has failed to live up to exceptionalism that frames it as transcendent. This aspect of the argument is anchored by the historical literature. I place it within Mamdani's unpacking of afro-pessimism and the making of postcolonial cities in a way that disallows their being imagined independently of the west or global north's gaze. Within the boundedness of South African cities to urbanisation and hyper development, those deemed antithetical to the vision are framed as temporary to cities. Mamdani's categorisation ties in with Roy's work on postcolonial cities; insisting on a break from ontological and topological understandings of subaltern subjects and subaltern spaces as failed [262] and which then facilitates the imposition of sterile visions that don't meet their own context.

- Informality, particularly unstructured informality, pushes back against the above in radical ways. Yeoville is relevant here as a sharp contrast and as ultimately antithetical to the overarching vision for cities. Street traders and the concentration of walking people in Yeoville are testament. A mixed-income community in which a cross-section of traders and business owners operate has formed organically. This, Roy frames as a vital challenge to dominant narratives of the megacity. The high street configuration of Yeoville supports the push back from below, although Yeoville in its conceptions is a suburb (the high street thus was made to support a very suburban vision which is strongly echoed by Maurice Smithers). The spatial set-up and how it is navigated and inhabited on an informal basis however, counteracts development and urbanisations' active production of exclusionary space. In terms of the central theory I link this to Holston's idea of those with a precarious stake in the city, the

---

[262] Roy A., Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol.34 no.2, March 2011, pp 223 – 238, (abstract)

'barely citizens', constructing a different order of citizenship by their ways of inhabiting space.

- This aspect occasions a broader conversation around the boundedness of South African urban development to the idea of an antithetical other and their erasure before any spatial vision can come into effect. Bayat asserts that city governments "war of attrition against street traders and attempts to halt 'urban disorder'"[263], much like the Colonial and Apartheid[264] city's spatial rationale for urban segregation, have failed. It dovetails with the argument that the approach to informality lacks the creativity and fluidity needed in thinking about spatially transformed, inclusive cities that support sustainable livelihoods in the authentic sense. The preoccupation with clean, orderly and investor-friendly cities that mirror their global north counterparts prevents in-depth engagement with what African cities are and what they should give to. As such the 'Africa' in the 'world class African city' remains an incident of geography. This aspect of the argument rests within the overall direction of emerging theory from the South, aiming to imagine African cities outside of the dominant gaze.

- What is articulated in Corridors of Freedom, that is, Transit Oriented Development (TOD) and the emphasis on non-motorised forms of transportation such as walking and cycling are already afoot in Yeoville. I conclude that because the suggestion is emanating from an othered space and populace, that in various ways privileges the African-ness of space over its world classness (and one that is erased and sterilised out, in Corridors of Freedom and policy pertaining to Region F, through imaginings of the city as a middle class dormitory) it is hardly acknowledged in the documents which still frame these concepts as futuristic and project them onto a future/imagined Johannesburg. The future city, in other ways, has come to pass in Yeoville. In the contextual chapter I alluded to the idea that Yeoville made the first suggestions of a 24-hour city as far back as the 1990s, and against the backdrop of an apartheid city that was security and by-law-oriented as well as exacting on the production of space (through by this time it is documented that it had all but lost its grip on the enforcement aspect[265]). Following a thorough observation of the site, I would argue that Yeoville continues to make overt suggestions of a 24-hour city. I cite the walking people that populate the streets well into the night and the early hours of the morning. I also refer to businesses that remain open until very late. Sanza's own restaurant is an example. I remember him quip, in my days as a frequent patron that

---

263 Op. Cit. Batay, pp 53
264 In so saying I equate the manifestations of attempts at fashioning Johannesburg as 'the New York of Africa' to the Stallardist view of who does and does not belong in the city.

265 SEE: Beavon K. Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City, UNISA Press, Pretoria, 2004

he "keeps brothel hours."[266] He would remain open until around 3AM. I further cite the 24-hour spaza shop just across the way from the Shell Garage on Muller Street. An informal establishment, again an addition to the front of a residential property, the owner has possibly taken advantage of the well-lit location (due to proximity to the Shell) and income-generating potential of their property. This is the argument for state intervention that supports what is happening rather than the making real of utopian notions of space. Seen clearly and managed progressively the informality and the informal sector, respectively, have the potential to contribute to a city that is inclusive and spatially transformed in the radical sense. Furthermore, it points to a need for a creative re-imagining and re-making of African or post-colonial cities, devoid of the western gaze. The latter point is made succinctly by Roy and Simone in their respective forays. Simone critiques the idea of 'failed cities in need of better management, more infrastructure and less poverty.'[267] Roy speaks of subaltern urbanism, a theory through wich she draws 'below urbanisms' out of apocalyptic and dystopian narratives.

- Unstructured informality is suggestion, movement and contestation in as far as the visible and 'imposing' presence of traders on the streets of Yeoville amounts to self-representation. Unlike policy, which invokes and appropriates the language of change and emancipation, whereas implementation practice compound the status quo; unstructured informals return the key concepts to their radical underpinnings. As such unstructured informality can be spoken of in terms of radical suggestion, contestation and movement towards an alternative city.

In terms of what the research process has revealed of my own assumptions going in, I would say I have found that the concept of informality itself is greatly nuanced.

Informality is not homogenous but has economic, social and political dimensions. The motivations for engaging in informality are influenced by these dimensions. This recognition alleviates one of the kety limitations of this study – that the sample shows little evidence of a specific/overt politics driving the operations of traders, allowing them to be classed as engaged in an active contestation and suggestion of urban space.

Thus, to take a thread from Varialle, it is better to define informality as practice rather than any particular catergory. For example, there is not a singularity in state practice which categorises it strictly within formality. States themselves (particularly their agents) engage in informal practices in various ways as formal arrangements are not enough in the day-to-day

---

[266] anecdote
[267] Simone A., For the City Yet to Come: Changing Life in Four African Cities, Duke University Press, London, 2004, pp 17

practices that amount to governance. Informal people also engage with formality in various ways, and sometimes are constrained by the state and its agents in making formalistic claims or engaging in space legally.

In terms of the overall argument as well as the overall concept of informality, I conclude on and conceive of it in three ways. Informality *is, in and of itself. Secondly, informality is a response to formality (particularly in the realities produced by the state-capital nexus). The former actively and directly produces and creates space for the latter. This coincides with social movement literature drawing a clear case for movement as directly responsive to the state and capital. Lastly, informality involves practices that do not necessarily fit a fixed catergory.

I return now to the initial hypothesis that informality can only negotiate space but has no power or ability to transform it. It is disproved, in a general sense, by the visible transformation of residential form in Yeoville which has taken place almost wholly without state intervention. I link it to Msa's analogy of of what is happening in Yeoville as similar to boxing. He likens the radical appropriation of space in Yeoville and its informal occupation to the thrill of negotiating space in a 4x4M square ("there is no space to work this out but we make do"[268]). This inspires me to class the spatial and econimoc practices of informals, particularly those in unstructured space, as a meeting of and struggle of wills. Yeoville, represents the above and below meeting in the arena of ideas and practice; with both making suggestions of the city.

---

[268] Intervie with sanza, Msa and others, Yeovill, 22 December 2015

Bibliography

Aasland A. and Grodeland, A., <u>Informality and Informal Practices in East Central and South-East Europe</u>, Paper prepared for the 12 IACC Guatemala City Workshop, 15-18 November 2006

ACMS, <u>Breaking the Law, Breaking the Bank: The Cost of Home Affairs' Illegal Detention Practices</u>, Africa Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), 2012

Africa Centre for Migration and Society, <u>Monitoring Immigration Detention in South Africa</u>, ACMS, September 2012

Albert I., <u>Between the State and transporters' Unions: NURTW and Politics of Managing Public Motor Parks in Ibadan and Lagos</u>, in Fouchard L. (Ed.) <u>Gouverner les villes d'Afrique: Etat, Gouvernement Local et Acteurs Prives</u>, Paris: Karthala 2007

Ballard, R., Habib, A., & Valodia, I., <u>Voices of protest: Social movements in post-apartheid South Africa,</u> Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006

Barnard A., <u>Waving the Banana at Capitalism: Political Theater and Social Movement Strategy Among New York's 'Freegan' Dumpster Divers</u>, Ethnography Vol.12 No.4, December 2011, pp 419 – 444

Bayat A., <u>Un-Civil Society: The Politics of Informal People</u>, third World Quarterly, Vol. 18 No. 1, 1997, pp 53 – 72

Bayırbag M., <u>Local Entrepreneurialism and State Rescaling in Turkey</u>, Urban Studies, 47(2), February 2010, pp 363 – 385

Beavon K<u>. Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City, UNISA Press</u>, Pretoria, 2004

Benjamin S., <u>Urban Land Transformation in Pro-Poor Economies</u>, Geoforum vol.77 no.35, 2004, pp 77 – 187

Benit Gbaffou et al. Driving Change in Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni: Community Activists Tell Their Stories, CUBES, Wits University, 2013

Benit-Gbaffou C. (ed) A Political Landscape of Street Trader Organizations in Inner City Johannesburg Post Operation clean Sweep, CUBES, University of the Witwatersrand, November 2014

Benit-Gbaffou, C., Yeoville Studio : Negotiating the Line Between Research and Activism, available at http://africancitiesreader.org.za/reader/chapters/030_YeovilleStudio.pdf

Bond P., Desai A., and Ngwane T., Uneven and Combined Marxism within South Africa's Social Movements, International Journal of Socialist Renewal, February 2012, pp. 2, sourced via http://links.org.au/node/2757 on 10 January 2014

Borda O., Participatory (Action) Research in Social Theory: Origins and Challenges, in Reason and Bradbury (eds.) Handbook of Action Research, Sage, London, 2001

Brodie, N., Street of a Past that Foretold a Future, Mail & Guardian, 10/08/2012 available at: http://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-10-00-street-of-a-past-that-foretold-a-future

Brenner, L., Johannesburg: One City, Colliding Worlds, STE Publishers, Johannesburg, 2004

Brodie, N., Street of a Past that Foretold a Future, Mail & Guardian, 10/08/2012 available at: http://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-10-00-street-of-a-past-that-foretold-a-future

Castells, M., The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements, University of California Press, Berkely/LA, 1983

Chambers, R., The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal, World Development vol. 22 no. 7, 1994, pp 953 – 969

Chatterjee P., The Politics of the Governed: Popular Politics in Most of the World, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004

Christopher A. From Flint to SOWETO: Reflections on the Colonial Origins of the Apartheid City, Area Vol. 15 No.2, 1983, pp 145 – 149

City of Joburg Region F, City of Johannesburg, date unknown, See : http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=178

Clavel P. and Krumholz N., Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell their Stories, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1994

Cornwall A., Unpacking Participation: Models, Meanings and Practices, Community Development Journal, vol. 43 no. 3, pp 269 – 283, 2008

Davie, L. Development Zones, City of Johannesburg, 2006 See : http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=5613&Itemid=266

Department of Cooperative Governance, Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) http://www.cogta.gov.za/index.php/iudf Access Full Document at http://iudf.net/downloads/SACN%20Integrated%20Urban%20Development%20Framework_web.pdf

Department of Cooperative Governance, IUDF Urban Safety Background Paper (Annex to the main IUDF document), pp 4, access full docuent at http://www.cogta.gov.za/index.php/iudf/1074-5-1-iudf-urban-safety-chapter-full-version-for-feedback-2

Desai A., We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Monthly Review Press, City Unknown, 2002

Diana, F., Migrants and the Urban Regeneration of Rockey/Raleigh High Street in Yeoville: A Case for a Successful Planning for Diversity in Inner-City of Johannesburg, Research Report, Johannesburg, 2008 available at http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/6038/Migrants%20and%20urban%20regeneration%20of%20Rockey_Raleigh%20high%20stree.pdf?sequence=1

Edensor, T. and Jayne, M., Urban Theory Beyond the West : A World of Cities, London, Routledge, 2012

Ekers, M.,Hamel P. and Keil R. <u>Governing Suburbia: Modalities and Mechanisms of Suburban Governance</u>, Regional Studies, vol.46 no.3, pp 405 – 422

Francis P., <u>Participatory development in the World Bank: The Primacy of Process</u>, in Cooke B. and Kothari U., (eds.) <u>Participation: The New Tyranny?</u> Zed Books, London, year unknown

Gotz, G. and Simone, A., <u>On Belonging and Becoming in African Cities</u> In Tomlinson R. et al., (eds) <u>Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Post-apartheid City</u>, pp 123–47, Routledge, London, 2003

Hamer F., <u>Hustling Clean and Dirty</u>, in <u>Abandoned in the Heartland: Work, Family and Living in East St. Louis</u>, California Scholarship Online, 2012

Harrison, K., <u>Less May Not Be More But it Still Counts: The State of Social Capital in Yeoville</u>, Johannesburg, Urban Forum, Issue 1 Vol.13, January – March 2002, pp 67 – 84

Holston J., <u>Dangerous Spaces of Citizenship: Gang Talk, Rights Talk and the Rule of Law in Brazil</u>, Planning Theory, vol.8 no.1, 2009, pp 12 – 31

Holston J., <u>Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries</u>, Talk given at the Centre for Contemporary Culture of Barcelona, 13 December 2007

Houtzager P. and Lavalle A., <u>Political Representation and Civil Organizations: New forms of Mediation and the Challenges for Legitimacy</u>, Journal of Brazilian Social Sciences, vol.21 no.60, 2006, pp unknown, [taken from translated version available online]

Houtzager P. and Lavalle A., <u>Civil Society's Claim to Political representation in Brazil</u>, Springer Science and Business Media, 2009

Hunt, S. <u>Citizenship's Place: the State's Creation of Public Space and Street Vendors' Culture of Informality in Bogota¨, Colombia</u>, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, vol. 27, pages 331 – 351, 2009

Kasrils R., <u>Armed and Dangerous: My Undercover Struggle Against Apartheid</u>, Heinemann, Oxford, 1993

Knudsen, A., <u>The Right to the City: Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship Among Pavement Dwellers in Mumbai, India,</u> Working Paper No. 132, University College London, Development and Planning Unit, 2007

Landau L. B., <u>Transplants and Transients: Idioms of Belonging and Dislocation in Inner-City Johannesburg</u>, Project MUSE, African Studies Review, Volume 49, Number 2 (September 2006), pp. 125–145

Lawyers for Human Rights/Africa Centre for Migration and Society, REPORT: <u>Monitoring Immigration Detention in South Africa</u>, September 2012

Lefebvre H., <u>The Production of Space</u>, Oxford, Blackwell, 1991

Lefebvre H., <u>Right to the City</u>, in Kofman E. and Lebas E., <u>Writings on Cities,</u> Oxford: Blackwell, 1996

Lindell I., <u>The Multiple Sites of Urban Governance: Insights from an African City</u>, Urban Studies Vol. 45 No. 9, 2008, pp 1879 – 1901

Mabin A., <u>Johannesburg: South Africa's Aspirant Global City</u>, in Segbers K. (ed.) <u>The Making of Global City Regions: Johannesburg, Mumbai, Sao Paolo and Shanghai</u>, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007

Maloney: <u>Informality Revisited</u>, World Development, Vol. VII, No.32, 2004 pp. 1159-1178

Mamdani M., <u>Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism</u> (Chapter 8), Fountain Publishers, Kampala, 1996 (Transcript by Dominic Peedie)

Manning N., <u>The Legacy of New Public Management in Developing Countries, International Review of Administrative Sciences</u>, vol.62 no.2, 2001, pp297 – 312

Matsipa, M., <u>Street Values: A Spatial Analysis of Bree Street in Johannesburg</u>, Architectural Education Club, Date unknown, accessed via <u>http://www.architectural-education.club/street_values_mpho_matsipa on 6 January 2015</u>

Mayer P., <u>Xhosa in Town – Townsmen or Tribesmen: Urbanization in a Divided Society</u>, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1961

Mayer M., <u>The Right to the City in Urban Social Movements</u>, in Brenner N. et al,, <u>Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and The Right to the City</u>, Routledge: Abingdon, 2012

Miraftab F., <u>Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South</u>, Planning Theory, 32(8), Sage, 2009, pp 32 – 50

Miraftab F., <u>Feminist Praxis, Citizenship and Informal Politics: Reflections on South Africa's Anti-Eviction Campaign</u>, International Feminist Journal of Politics, vol.8 no.2, 2006, pp 194 – 218

Moreno, L., <u>The Work of Architecture in the Age of Structured Finance</u>, in Gandy M., Urban Constellations, Berlin:Javis, 2011, pp 43 – 47

Murray M.J., <u>City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg</u>, Duhram, Duke University Press, 2011

Ngobese, S., <u>Putting safety at the Core of South Africa's New National Urban Development Framework (IUDF)</u>, accessible via web at <u>http://www.saferspaces.org.za/blog/entry/lets-put-safety-at-the-core-of-south-africas-national-urban-development</u>, 28 January 2015

Peberdy S. & Rogerson C., <u>South Africa: Creating New Spaces?</u> In <u>Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalisation</u>, 2003, pp 79 – 100

Pierre J., <u>Models of Urban Governance: The Institutional Dimension of Urban Politics</u>, Urban Affairs Review, vol.34 no.3, pp 372 – 396

Pitkin H., <u>The Concept of Representation</u>, 19167

Prabhala, A., <u>Yeoville Confidential</u> , available at <u>http://www.hotelyeoville.co.za/homelife/6-home-life/552-yeoville-confidential</u> appears in Mbembe A. and Nutall S. (eds<u>.),
Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis</u>, Duke/ Wits, 2008

Purcell M. <u>Neighbourhood Activism Among Homeowners as a Politics of Space,</u> The Professional Geographer, Vol. 52 No. 2, 2001 pp 178 – 194

Roy A., Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, vol.34 no.2, March 2011, pp 223 – 238

Roy A., Urbanisms, Worlding Practices and the Theory of Planning, Planning Theory, 10(6), 2011

Roy, A., Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization, Planning Theory, Vol.8 No.1, pp. 76 – 87, February 2009

Royston, L., South Africa: The Struggle for Access to the City in the Witwatersrand Region in Azuela, A., Duhau, E. & Ortiz, E. (eds) Evictions and the Right to Housing: Experience from Canada, Chile, the Domincan Republic, South Africa and South Korea, International Development Research Centre, Canada, 1998

SACN Conference: How Does Mobility Support Inclusivity and Efficiency in the City: A Case Study of the Louis Botha Corridor in Johannesburg, South African Cities Network, year unknown

Simone A, For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2004

Smith D., (ed.) The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanization and Social Change in South Africa, Routledge, London, 1992

Smith L., Neither Public Nor Private: Unpacking the Johannesburg Water Corporatization Model, UNRISD Paper 27

South African History Online, Harry Heinz Schwarz, http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/harry-heinz-schwarz, accessed on 24 February 2015

Stone, C., Urban Regimes: A Research Perspective in Judd P. an Kantor P.,(eds) American Urban Politics: A Reader, Pearson Longman, New York, 1989, pp 27 – 42

Ulloa, I., Unraveling Spaces of Representation through Insurgent Planning Actions, Journal of Urbanism, 26(1), January 2013

UN-HABITAT, Streets as Public Spaces and Drivers of Urban Prosperity, Nairobi, 2013

Varialle A., Informal Practices, Formal Regulations: Understanding Informality as Spatial Dialects, Advanced Engineering Forum, Vol.11, pp 136 – 141, 2014 (pp. 140)

Watson V., Seeing from the South: Refocusing Urban Planning on the Globe's Central Urban Issues, Urban Studies, Vol.46 No.11, October 2009, pp 2259 – 2275

Weber M., cited in Denhardt D., Theories of Public Organization, Cengage Learning, 2010

Weale A., Democracy, Palgrave/McMillan, City Unknown, 2007

Yeoville History, available at www.yeoville.org.za/yeoville-history.php

Yiftachel O., Theoretical Notes on 'Gray Spaces': The Coming of Urban Apartheid?, Planning Theory, vol.8 no.1, 2009, pp 88 – 100