

Vernacular Regeneration

Low-income housing, private security and
urban transformation in inner-city
Johannesburg

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by

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I, Aidan Mosselson, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

The thesis examines the process of urban regeneration currently underway in inner-city Johannesburg, paying particular attention to the roles social and private housing developers and privatised security services are playing in shaping the area. It also examines the lived reality of regeneration and focuses on the experiences of tenants living in newly-renovated residential buildings. It is based on a qualitative study involving interviews with various actors involved in regeneration and housing provision, including government officials, employees of agencies financing housing projects, housing providers, security and urban management personnel and tenants. It also draws on ethnographic accounts derived in the course of fieldwork. The thesis demonstrates the duality of the goals and agendas which the regeneration process is attempting to fulfil, and concludes that it is a contradictory, vernacular process. It shows how housing providers attempt to meet the demands of a market-based approach to housing and regeneration as well as respond to the social concerns and requirements which define the area. Drawing on the work of Lefebvre and Bourdieu, the thesis expands on the concepts ‘spatial habitus’ and ‘spatial capital’ to give theoretical structure to the discussion and demonstrate the mutually-determining relationship between habitus and space. Moving from the discursive realm to everyday reality, the effects urban management and security practices are having on the area and the ways people experience it are analysed. Urban management is also shown to be serving dual purposes, making the area safer but resulting in differential access to security and new boundaries of exclusion. Lastly, the significance of regeneration is analysed from tenants’ perspectives, accounting for the variety of ways it both facilitates as well as hinders their rights to the city and experiences of urban citizenship, making it a transformative and developmental but also exclusionary and restricted, and thus vernacular, process.

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List of acronyms

AFHCO: Affordable Housing Company

ASGISA: Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa

BID: Business Improvement District

BNG: Breaking New Ground

BBP: Better Buildings Programme

CBD: Central Business District

CDS: City Development Strategy

CID: City Improvement District

CJP: Central Johannesburg Partnership

CPF: Community Policing Forum

GEAR: Growth Employment and Redistribution

GPF: Gauteng Partnership Fund

ICHAP: Inner City Housing Action Plan

ICHUT: Inner City Housing Upgrading Trust

ICRC: Inner City Regeneration Charter

JDA: Johannesburg Development Agency

JHC: Johannesburg Housing Company

JOSHCO: Johannesburg Social Housing Company

JSDF: Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework

NASHO: National Association of Social Housing Organisations

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NHFC: National Housing Finance Corporation

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

RID: Residential Improvement District

TUHF: Trust for Urban Housing Finance

Chapter One: Introduction and rationale for the study

The regeneration of Johannesburg's inner-city is a dualistic, hybrid process. It is an intriguing amalgam of neoliberal, market-based approaches to urban renewal and housing provision, as well as an important attempt to bring developmental, transformative changes to the area and expand low-income households' access to well-located housing. It is therefore a process which forces us to question the salience of pre-formulated terms and understandings of urban change and seek out novel, open and nuanced analytical lenses and terminologies instead. Adjectives abound to describe the process of upgrading run-down, derelict urban areas, from 'urban regeneration', with its allusions to resurrection and the creation of something better out of the ruins of the past, to the promise of something fresh and new in 'urban renewal', to the critical, exclusionary charges of 'gentrification' and 'revanchism', which circulate and are gaining ever-more global reach and currency. All of these terms have their own traction, utility and truth, and can be used to describe a variety of processes, often simultaneously, depending on the element/s one is inclined to highlight. What this means is that there are a variety of causes, factors, motivations, conflicts and aspirations which drive moments of urban change, as well as a variety of outcomes engendered by them.

Multiple readings and interpretations of urban renewal processes are therefore not only possible, but necessary. There are always competing ambitions, actions and outcomes inherent in renewal and it should be the task of academic work to bring these to light and make sense of them. This thesis attempts to accomplish this by looking at the dynamics of three interrelated aspects of regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg. Firstly it examines the renovation of derelict buildings and their conversion to low-income, residential use. It shows how the process of redeveloping the housing stock in the inner-city is caught between the competing agendas of property-based, market-driven approaches to urban renewal and the developmental ambition of providing well-located, affordable housing. It will be argued that the regeneration process is framed within two competing paradigms and is thus having contradictory effects on the area and the people residing in it.

Secondly, the spread of privatised security and intensive urban management strategies in areas of the inner-city is scrutinised. Again it is revealed that these approaches to securing and stabilising the area proceed from divergent ambitions and are producing varied effects and experiences. On

the one hand, it will be shown that a revanchist, exclusionary form of policing is taking root which has as its goal the protection of private interests and the expansion of property values; however, it also will become apparent that security is a crucial element which allows low-income households to establish comfort and new forms of belonging in the inner-city. Urban management, whilst it pursues narrow, private interests, is also shown to facilitate and be geared towards the emergence of new forms of communal life and shared experiences of public space.

Finally, the effects the former two interventions are having on the lived reality of the area are brought to light. Tenants' experiences of living in renovated social and affordable housing developments are documented and analysed. Out of their narratives it emerges that the regeneration process is producing differentiated outcomes. Whilst tenants' rights to enjoy and benefit from urban amenities and resources are enhanced and they gain ease and comfort by living in inner-city housing developments, their urban citizenship is also circumscribed as they are disciplined and forced to assume the identities of passive, paying customers. At the same time, they also disengage from the inner-city as it is regarded by many as a temporary destination and stepping-stone into the urban economy. However, their practices also show that, whilst largely disinterested and resigned to lives defined by economic necessity, tenants also have capacities to redefine areas of the inner-city and transform its meanings and significance through their everyday forms of sociality and habitation. Thus their accounts demonstrate that living in the inner-city is a diverse mix of experiences of domination and marginalisation as well as transformative and progressive possibilities.

Therefore, through these different, overlapping lines of inquiry and argument the thesis shows that we need to open up our analytical vocabularies and accounts in order to do justice to the divergent and contradictory dynamics defining processes of urban change. In the discussion which follows the notion of vernacular regeneration is posited as one potential device through which this can be achieved. Arriving at a vernacular theorisation of regeneration entails avoiding assumptions that the logics and outcomes of urban change are fixed, settled or predetermined, and leaving room for a variety of experiences, meanings and results to arise instead. Doing so requires engaging with the particular and varied dynamics, motivations, agendas and actions which are shaping individual cases. In promoting this concept the thesis aims to make a contribution to the urban studies lexicon and uses lessons learnt and insights gained from

Johannesburg to do so. It approaches the research setting not as a site which exemplifies particular trends or processes, such as gentrification or revanchist renewal, but as one which can be theorised in its own right and from which new theorisations which have epistemological value elsewhere can be derived.

An overview of the inner-city and its history of decline

Johannesburg's inner-city is highly variegated and not clearly defined. The western side includes Fordsburg, a semi-industrial and low-density suburb home traditionally to South Africans of Indian origin and more recently immigrants from Bangladesh, the industrial suburb Selby, and the Newtown area, which has been redeveloped as a cultural precinct now housing Mary Fitzgerald Square, one of the few public squares in the city, as well as several museums, live music venues and the Market Theatre complex. Running eastwards, Braamfontein is a commercial district with a large supply of high-rise office space. It is also increasingly providing accommodation for students as the University of the Witwatersrand is located within this district and the University of Johannesburg is nearby too. The core of the inner-city is the Central Business District (CBD). This was originally the centre of the economy during the gold mining era, but a sustained period of capital flight and urban decay in the 1980s and 1990s left it in a state of disrepair. Today it is a mixed-use area, comprising commercial and retail services, both formal and informal, as well as residential buildings and the city legislature. The Johannesburg High Court is situated in the CBD, on Pritchard Street, as is the Central Methodist Church, which has become for all intents and purposes a refugee centre, housing migrants, predominantly from Zimbabwe, who flock to the church to find shelter and safety. Marshalltown, on the south-western edge of the CBD has also emerged as a commercial area of note and now houses a banking precinct, the headquarters of Anglo-Ashanti, one of the largest gold producers in the world, as well as other multinational companies, including mining giant BHP Billiton.

Adjoining the CBD on its north-eastern edge are the high-density, high-rise suburbs of Hillbrow and Berea. Occupying an area roughly 2km², these areas have some of the highest residential densities in the entire city and are presently home to approximately 200 000 people. Whilst they were originally established to house the white-collar, white population employed in and around the CBD, today they are home to a predominantly black population, comprising both South Africans as well as migrants from other African countries, particularly Zimbabwe and Nigeria.

Hillbrow is a particularly notorious area and for many people throughout South Africa is synonymous with danger, crime, sex work and drugs. North of Hillbrow are the lower-density residential suburbs of Yeoville and Bellevue, which are also home to large migrant populations, predominantly from the Democratic Republic of Congo. The northern edge of Yeoville is framed by Louis Botha Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares in Johannesburg which runs all the way from the inner-city to Alexandra township in the north-east of the city. It is one of the busiest roads in the country and forms the northern border of the inner-city.

The eastern side of the inner-city is largely made up of warehouses and factories. Ellis Park Stadium, the site of South Africa's famous victory in the 1995 Rugby World Cup, and the Johannesburg Athletics Stadium are also located in the industrial suburb Doornfontein. Jeppestown is a notorious suburb in the eastern part of the inner-city and has a reputation for being rundown, dangerous and full of illegally occupied or hijacked buildings, the bulk of which are former industrial sites. At the same time, however, the section of Jeppestown closest to the CBD is also home to the Maboneng Precinct, an area in which former industrial buildings have been converted into artists' and fashion designers' studios, high-end retail outlets, restaurants and residential units. It currently occupies 150 000m² and houses roughly 500 residents, but the developers have ambitious expansion plans (Propertuity 2013). South of the CBD and Jeppestown is the area known as City Deep and Suburban. This area bears the strongest traces of the city's mining industry and is proliferated by disused mining land and the city's iconic mine dumps, which along with the freeway also former the southern border of the inner-city.

The inner-city's decline is explained by multiple factors. On the surface, the initial development which precipitated capital flight and the retreat of white people was the increased movement of black people¹ into the area, starting in the late-1980s. This movement, however, was spurred by several socio-economic and political factors emanating from the tumult of the latter years of apartheid. By the 1980s the shortage of housing in the racially exclusive townships in which Indians, Coloureds and Black Africans were forced to live had reached critical proportions.

¹ In this study, the term 'black' is used in place of the more problematic term 'non-whites'. Black refers to all people of various racial and ethnic backgrounds who were excluded under apartheid (Biko 2002). In cases where more specific detail is required, the apartheid terminology of Black Africans, Coloured and Indians is retained. This is done with awareness that these are constructed and imposed categories, but that they are also salient features of people's identities and senses of self in contemporary South Africa.

Furthermore, following the 1976 student uprisings in Soweto the political climate in the townships had become increasingly fractious and rebellious and these areas became intense sights of conflict and resistance. They also became increasingly volatile and riven by violence between different political factions, prompting many of those who could afford to live elsewhere to leave. The first groups of black people to move into inner-city suburbs such as Hillbrow were relatively well-educated and the majority were employed in white-collar professions (Crankshaw & White 1995). Simultaneously, as black people started moving into inner-city areas in Johannesburg, aspiring white professionals were encouraged to move to decentralised suburbs. Low suburban house prices and the government's policy of assisting white professionals to purchase houses led to increased vacancies in the inner-city (ibid). Black people in dire need of accommodation rushed in to fill these, despite the threats of removal they faced from Influx Control and Group Areas laws². Many landlords were quick to seize on the opportunities presented by this new demand for inner-city accommodation, some capitalising on the precarious situation of their newly-arrived tenants (whose presence up until 1986 was actually illegal), exploiting them by overcrowding apartments and refusing to maintain their properties (Morris 1997). A spiral of neglect and destruction ensued, leading to the development of slum conditions in many inner-city buildings (Murray 2008). Financial institutions exacerbated this situation as, growing increasingly jittery about the fate of the inner-city, they began red-lining the area, refusing to provide finance for investments in properties. As a result owners wishing to maintain their buildings frequently could not raise the capital to do so, and higher-earning people were disincentivised from remaining in or moving into the area (Crankshaw & White 1995).

Influx control laws were eventually repealed in 1986 (Morris 1999a), greatly accelerating the movement of black people, particularly Africans, into the inner-city and causing the demographic composition and character of the area to change fundamentally. Whereas in 1986 only roughly 20 000 of Hillbrow's 120 000 residents were black, by 1993 85% of the residential population was black and by 1996 only 5% was white (Tomlinson et al. 2003a). This was a pattern repeated in the central regions of cities throughout South Africa, as apartheid began to be dismantled and

² Influx control laws were introduced in several stages during the colonial and apartheid eras and were used to regulate the presence of black people in areas designated as white or European. Under these laws black people were forced to carry passes which identified them and determined whether they had been granted permission to reside (always temporarily) in white urban areas. The Group Areas Act was first introduced in 1950 and it formed the basis of the country's segregated urban landscape. It divided the country's cities into different residential areas which were determined by race and forced people to reside in these areas. Under this law there were several neighbourhood demolitions and forced removals, and combined with influx control and Pass Laws, urban spaces were made inaccessible and hostile to black people (Morris 1999a; Murray 2008).

new urban relations and formations started to arise (Maharaj & Mpungose 1994). Faced with declining infrastructure, the increased presence of populations previously regarded as undesirable and un-urban (Robinson 1997) and rapidly spreading crime and grime, the flight of businesses and capital from Johannesburg's inner-city accelerated, culminating in 1998 in the relocation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to Sandton, a rapidly expanding commercial suburb in the north-eastern part of the city (Beavon 2004). This was also a period in which property speculation was increasing and investors were increasingly being encouraged by local government to look to suburbs like Sandton for new opportunities and profits (Goga 2003). The decision to move the stock exchange confirmed the ascent of the northern districts of the city as the new financial centre and effectively delivered the 'knockout blow' to the old CBD (Beavon 2004, p.259), leaving it to fall further into disrepute and decay.

Despite the decay, there is an incredibly diverse and large population currently residing in the area. The inner-city is one of the most densely populated regions of Johannesburg, with population densities of 2696 persons per km² (GCRO 2012). The income levels are varied; a growing middle-class is settling in the area, as 17% of inner-city households earn between R6366 (£331) and R12816 (£668) per month. There is also a sizeable low-to-moderate income population – 21% earn monthly salaries between R3500 (£182) and R7500 (£391). However there is also a very sizeable proportion who can be considered poor by South African standards, as 49% of inner-city households earn less than R3200 (£166) per month and there is a 25% unemployment rate (SERI 2013). These figures mean that the demand for housing in the area is significant and takes a variety of forms. Newly-arrived migrants need a 'landing area' where they can make contact with networks and ethnic associations which help them gain footholds in the economy; many also need a place where they can be anonymous and avoid the gaze of the state, which has a reputation for being particularly xenophobic and harsh on immigrants. Cross-border and informal traders need spaces to sleep and store their goods for short periods before making journeys back to their countries of origin. Blue-collar workers as well as upwardly mobile white-collar professionals need centrally located housing which provides access to transport and safe spaces to raise families. Alongside these demands from residents, supply is shaped by a powerful private sector who want predictable, manageable spaces which allow them to gain returns on their investments and a local government which is firmly committed to enhancing the image of the inner-city and making it attractive to corporate investors, whilst simultaneously working to

alleviate poverty and provide basic services and improved standards of living to the majority of urban citizens.

One of the most significant state projects is the quest to deliver housing to people who were discriminated against under apartheid and continue to struggle under the weight of unemployment and poverty. The predominant form of state-assisted housing available in the inner-city is social housing. Social housing institutions receive subsidies from the government which enable them to charge lower rates (HDA 2013). Rental in social housing starts at approximately R900 (£46) a month (£63), and occupants of this form of housing cannot earn above R7500 per household (£388)³. There are two main social housing entities in the inner-city: JOSHCO is a branch of the local municipality, although it is run as a separate entity, and the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC), which receives government subsidies but is an independent, non-profit business. ‘Gap’ or affordable housing caters for people earning slightly higher incomes than those who qualify for social housing. There are different forms affordable housing takes – the most basic units are studio apartments which provide occupants with sleeping quarters and have shared bathroom and catering facilities. On average these rent for approximately R1500 (£77) per month⁴. Going up the price ladder, open-plan bachelor flats cost between R2500 (£129) and R3000 (£155) per month. Larger one- or two-bedroom flats are more expensive; rents in one-bedroom apartments cost on average between R2500 (£129) and R3500 (£181) whilst two-bedroom flats start from approximately R4500 (£232) per month, requiring incomes of up to R10 000 (£517) a month⁵. There is thus a broad range of housing available formally and it has become an increasingly lucrative and competitive market, with several companies active in it.

In addition to the formal social and affordable housing markets, there is a huge informal housing market (COHRE 2005). This consists of sectional title buildings in which units are subdivided and rented to numerous occupants. There are also several buildings which have been abandoned and subsequently occupied covertly, as well as the infamous ‘hijacked’ buildings. These are buildings in which landlords are either absent or have been forced out. They are then taken over by syndicates who extract rent from the tenants, but do not contribute any money towards

³ ibid

⁴ <http://www.mh.org.za/projects>

⁵ <http://www.afhco.co.za/index.php/residential-2/>

maintenance⁶. Both illegally occupied and hijacked buildings have been the targets of the City's Bad/Better Buildings Programme, which aims to clear them of existing occupants so that the private sector can then purchase them and renovate them to rent as affordable housing (Zack et al. 2009). Since it is a clandestine market, it is difficult to gain exact figures. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that accommodation in these buildings ranges from R800 (£41) to R1000 (£51) per month and that it caters for a large number of people in the inner-city, particularly those who cannot afford available formal accommodation or cannot access it due to their status as 'illegal' immigrants.

In recent years the inner-city has also become the site of increasingly ambitious regeneration efforts. These have been formulated by the city's government, but are largely implemented by private sector investors and property developers. These new attempts at regeneration are becoming visible and having powerful effects on the material and social fabric of the area. This thesis explores the logics behind these efforts, the ways the process is unfolding and the effects they are having on the ways people reside and build their lives in the inner-city. Government policies and private sector initiatives both tend to stress the significance of increased capital returns and unlocking the latent value of the inner-city's property market (Bremner 2000; Beall 2002; Peyroux 2007). This carries with it the very real danger that urban regeneration means a form of gentrification and results in the poor being crowded-out as property prices rise and it becomes an increasingly expensive place in which to live. At the same time, however, companies seeking to provide housing for low-income earners are prominent in driving urban regeneration and addressing social issues which plague the inner-city. Therefore the urban regeneration being fostered is not necessarily of the revanchist or exclusionary kind and is contributing to making the inner-city a more accessible and hospitable environment for low-income earners. This thesis will therefore argue that regeneration through the provision of housing is an ambiguous process which is seeking to fulfil a variety of goals, some of which are complementary, whilst others contradict and oppose each other.

⁶ http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6802:task-team-targets-slumlords&catid=166:inner-city&Itemid=254.

The film *Gangster's Paradise: Jerusalem* (Ziman 2008) presents a dramatised version of these events, focussing on the rise to fortune and infamy of a character who comes to be known as the 'Hoodlum of Hillbrow' after he establishes an empire of buildings by using this tactic.

The research problem

At first glance regeneration processes underway in Johannesburg bear strong similarities to those which have been observed in other cities both in South Africa and across the world. Attracting investment, arresting physical decline through private-sector redevelopments, imposing heavy-handed security strategies and the use of governance models which privilege the interests of businesses and property owners are all discernible features of the regeneration process. These are being introduced into an area with stark inequalities, high levels of unemployment and poverty and where space is intensely contested. Regeneration in this context therefore raises fears that gentrification and revanchist forms of renewal have spread to Johannesburg, much as they have to other parts of the world. However, whilst these strategies are being implemented there are also considerable efforts in place which both challenge and complicate straight-forward readings of the process. The majority of residential redevelopments which have taken place in the inner-city have focussed on providing social or affordable housing. They therefore aim to provide accommodation and gear regeneration strategies to suit lower-income households and can thus not be considered to be pursuing traditional forms of gentrification. There are strong developmental ambitions and potentials in the regeneration process which exist alongside market-based approaches; the thesis explores the relationship between these competing agendas and the effects they are having on the area and people living in it. It therefore attempts to make sense of a varied and dualistic form of regeneration, and to build wider understandings of processes of urban change out of these experiences. The overarching research question, then, is as follows:

What effects are increased capital investment and privatised security having on the ways spaces are produced and forms of belonging and urban citizenship are experienced in post-apartheid inner-city Johannesburg?

The thesis also seeks to answer questions about how best to interpret and conceptualise the regeneration process underway. Thus it examines whether urban regeneration is entrenching a privatised, exclusionary social order – the social order of capital and neoliberalism – or fostering a post-apartheid, potentially democratic and transformative one. These questions speak to the broader trajectories, debates and contests that are playing themselves out in the urban studies literature, as terms like gentrification become globalised and are traced throughout the world (for example Atkinson & Bridge 2005; Lees 2012; Lees et al. 2015), whilst other scholars seek to formulate more ordinary, open and emergent ways of theorising urban change (for example Robinson 2002; 2006; Jacobs 2006). Through the case study of inner-city Johannesburg and by

proposing the concept of vernacular regeneration it is hoped that a contribution to these debates can be made.

To develop the idea of a vernacular approach to regeneration and contribute to urban studies literature the thesis also expands on the concepts ‘spatial habitus’ and ‘spatial capital’. These are inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Henri Lefebvre and are used in this thesis to explain the ways in which spaces are produced by dominant actors and their spatial representations and practices, which in turn embody, reflect and reproduce pre-existing forms of social stratification and domination. In this sense spaces which are produced through regeneration are the results of the prevailing dispositions, attitudes, motivations and aspirations of dominant actors, who acquire these from their positions in society – i.e. spaces are made through and come to reproduce forms of habitus. At the same time, however, it will be argued that space itself as a key component which effects the formation of habitus. Being able to exert influence over space requires an ability to be at home in particular places and to adopt the mannerisms, worldviews and attitudes which allow one to successfully inhabit them. This is the acquisition of ‘spatial capital’ (Centner 2008), which becomes a requirement for being able to alter places and engage with them. In exercising spatial capital actors are not only imposing their habitus onto spaces, but are reacting to the realities and demands which spaces inscribe within them. Expanding on these concepts is an attempt to introduce new frameworks and vocabularies to theorise the relationship between space and social action, and demonstrate clearly how the two are mutually entwined and productive of one another.

In order to answer these questions and achieve these aims three different avenues of inquiry and analysis are traversed. Because a city is made through the interactions and contestations among several different actors playing various roles and operating in different registers, areas of expertise and experience, it is imperative to engage with different groups of social actors. Regeneration is framed by discursive and policy frameworks; these frameworks and ambitions then translate into actions on the ground; finally, these actions come to take effect in an area and shape the way it is experienced by people residing in it. The three pathways described below represent these three levels or stages of regeneration and expand on how they are discussed in the thesis.

Pathway One: the social world of capital

The first aim is to understand the social world and actions of developers and housing providers. It is widely established that cities are shaped by capital, its logics, contradictions, and ways of structuring actions and social relations (Harvey 1989; 2006; Lefebvre 1991). This is increasingly the case in the era of neoliberal economics and governance, as the physical shape of cities as well as the social worlds and political hierarchies that they are home to are shaped by the doctrines of privatisation, intensified flows of capital, cycles of investment, and ‘small’ government (Jessop 2002; Theodore et al. 2011). This can certainly be seen in Johannesburg, as government plans for regeneration have come to focus on rising property prices as the vehicle for and ultimate goal of regeneration (Winkler 2009). Through urban governance structures such as City Improvement Districts (CIDs) and the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) the private sector is an increasingly prominent, although not the only, political force in the city (Didier et al. 2012). At the same time, by simple virtue of their ownership of large parts of the inner-city, private investors are dominant in shaping the infrastructure, both physical and social, of the city. They are thus key actors in the social life of the city and its regeneration process. It is clear then that any discussion of this process needs to take them seriously as social actors.

This has not been the case in the majority of literature on regeneration processes, city formation and gentrification. For instance, when it come to the urbanisation process, whilst Harvey (2006) provides an incisive account of the role capital plays in shaping cityscapes and the lives that take place within them, he deals with capital in a generally vague, disembodied form. In his account, city formation is due to the fixed logic of capital and its processes and contradictions, and appears as devoid of human agency or initiative. Similarly, Smith (1979; 1987) characterises gentrification as the return of capital to inner-cities and again asserts the inexorable economic logic of the process that appears to take place regardless of individual choices or actions; it is presented as an inevitable, coherent process, rather than a contradictory, socially produced series of actions and rationalities.

More recent work on gentrification, particularly in London, examines the social world of middle-class gentrifiers and analyses the motivations, aesthetic preferences and forms of capital which they mobilise and which frame their actions and worldviews (Butler & Robson 2001; 2003). Gentrification in these cases is understood from a demand-led perspective and seeks to give

agency to those who are driving the process. However, in many parts of the Global South such an approach is lacking and gentrification/regeneration projects generally are seen as the work of largely authoritarian states working alongside, and often in awe of, multi-national corporations (see for example Harris 2008; Shin 2009a; Shin 2009b; He 2010; Lees 2012). In many of these accounts the agency and self-reflexivity of the actors behind gentrification/regeneration processes is missing as World City ambitions and imaginations come to be seen as the defining forces. Although the process being studied in Johannesburg differs in some important ways from the experiences of cities such as Shanghai or Mumbai, this thesis seeks to emphasise that investment and urban regeneration are social activities which, although shaped by broader global patterns and flows, also reflect the particular dynamics and spatial processes which define local contexts. Therefore in the analysis presented investors and housing providers are situated in the wider post-apartheid context and the ways in which they negotiate and make sense of the competing agendas and concerns which define this period are illustrated. They are also placed in the context of the inner-city and the ways in which they respond to the spatial realities which confront them will become apparent.

The bulk of literature concentrating on regeneration in Johannesburg tends to focus on the planning and policy aspects of various initiatives, and consequently sees planners and government officials as the key actors (Parnell & Mabin 1995; Beall et al. 2000; Bremner 2000; Robinson 2003a; Lipietz 2008; Peyroux 2008). This is an important approach, as governments remain central actors in urban politics, even in the era of neoliberalism. However, if the claims of urban critics who see neoliberalism as eroding local government and popular democracy and replacing them with rule by the market and private sector are to be taken seriously, then private developers need to be included in the analysis of cities and the structures and processes through which they are shaped. If we are to gain insights into the ways in which regeneration is being conceptualised and unfolding, then the individuals at the forefront of this process need to be engaged with in academic research.

Despite their relative silence in and absence from academic research, private developers are part of the social life of the city and are embedded in and shaped by its context. They therefore need to be approached as socially-reflexive and engaged actors, both influenced by and central to the reproduction of social structures and forms of domination. To understand the ways in which

urban regeneration is being conceived, carried out and the potential effects it has, it is imperative to engage with people who are central in driving the process. This thesis thus explores the spatial imaginations and practices of housing providers and details the ways in which they perceive of and relate to the residents in the inner-city, their understandings of the city's spaces, and their ultimate goals and aspirations for the inner-city. It shows that housing providers are driven by competing goals and needs: on the one hand they are products of and central actors in the neoliberal order. They are therefore driven to make profitable investments in the inner-city and ensure that the housing they provide is run on effective and efficient business principles. In many cases commercial considerations are placed before any others, and this is a defining feature of their actions and worldviews.

In other cases, however, housing providers also reveal themselves as deeply committed to improving the inner-city and the lives of the people who live in it. They do not operate from pre-formulated views of and ambitions for the area, but have come to adapt their practices and aspirations based on the lived reality of the inner-city and the post-apartheid imperative to find forms of social redress and reconstruction. Thus they engage in pragmatic efforts to improve the area's liveability which are not based on middle-class or World City standards or aesthetics, but emerge out of the volatility, informality and developmental needs which now constitute the space. They therefore offer important insights into how dominant social actors not only make interventions into and exercise power over spaces, but how spaces and societal imperatives and challenges also shape practices and produce ways of acting in and towards the city.

These findings are discussed in detail in chapters five and six. Chapter Five, *An Overburdened Process: The Competing Agendas, Imperatives and Outcomes of Inner-City Regeneration*, discusses the framework and conditions under which housing providers operate. It outlines the general policy framework which is shaping regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg and pays particular attention to the roles being played by financial institutions in determining the ways housing is provided. It details the imperatives and practices of these institutions and demonstrates that they operate within a field which is driven by competing concerns: on the one hand they are firmly commercial in their outlook and practices and are thus required to fund housing projects which will offer returns on investments. This means that they cannot fund all forms of housing and so people with little to no incomes, who make up a considerable proportion of the inner-city

population, are being neglected. On the other hand, they are mandated and committed to funding projects which address the housing shortage in South Africa and contribute towards the integration of cities. They thus also seek to achieve socially beneficial and developmental goals through the finance they provide.

The following chapter, *The Contradictory Habitus of Housing Providers*, demonstrates the effects these strategies and competing demands are having on the ways in which housing providers operate and approach their inner-city projects. It shows that they have internalised both the commercial and developmental aspects of the framework created by state policies and housing finance institutions and they therefore aim to simultaneously run profitable businesses and expand low-income earners' access to accommodation in the city. Detailed interviews with housing providers reveal that they also respond to the conditions they encounter in the inner-city and the ways it is changing. The particular socio-spatial conditions of the inner-city embed developmental and transformative imperatives within the ways housing providers think about and act in the city. They thus work through a contradictory set of ambitions and worldviews which demonstrate regeneration is an ambiguous, hybrid and contradictory process.

The discussion and analysis in these chapters is framed by the concepts 'spatial habitus' and 'spatial capital'. Habitus is used to explain the relationship between external social forces and the creative capacities of individuals, who, although inventive and reflexive, act in ways which reflect and reproduce external structures. It will be shown that housing providers are able to produce spaces which reflect their habitus and the external factors which shape it, particularly the demands of the market, the policy conditions guiding urban regeneration and the developmental ambitions of post-apartheid South Africa. At the same time, however, they do not only inscribe these ambitions into spaces of the inner-city; the particular geographies and realities of the inner-city itself come to shape their actions and worldviews. They engage with the messy, diverse realities of the inner-city, which mean they have to be able to adopt harsh approaches to management as well as be flexible and socially-attuned. Their close engagement is shown to be an exercise in acquiring spatial capital, which in turn influences the strategies and plans they adopt, which come to be far more pragmatic, developmental and responsive to the needs of people residing in the area. Due to this they also become more suitable for the area and, consequently, have more influence over it. Through their practices, it thus becomes apparent

that regeneration is a localised, contingent, contradictory and adaptive process, and thus entails as well as gives rise to varied outlooks, ambitions, actions and outcomes.

Pathway Two: security, urban management and producing social order

The next line of inquiry focuses on establishing the ways in which urban regeneration is carried out and given form in the lived, material reality of the inner-city. To this end, focus is directed to the ways in which public spaces, particularly around affordable housing developments, in the inner-city are being policed and secured. Security is an essential component of social order in Johannesburg, where imagined and real fear of crime and violence characterise many aspects of everyday life (Dirsuweit 2002). In this context and driven increasingly by neoliberal logics and disillusionment with the state people have turned to private sector security companies to regulate spaces in the inner-city (Berg 2010). A situation has arisen in which ‘zero tolerance’ policing and intensive urban management have become powerful mantras and unavoidable aspects of urban regeneration. This trend situates Johannesburg alongside other cities, where revanchist, privatised forms of security and policing have accompanied or facilitated urban renewal projects. In fact, Johannesburg is potentially a leader in this field, as the country currently boasts the largest private security industry in the world (Diphorn 2015) and has an urban landscape which in many ways exemplifies the trends of gated communities, fortified private residences, enclosed neighbourhoods and privately policed spaces which some scholars see as defining features of contemporary processes of urbanisation (see Smith 1996; Caldeira 2000; Davis 2006). At the same time, it is undeniable that Johannesburg and South Africa are violent contexts and vulnerability to crime and violence are defining feature of people’s everyday lives (Steinberg 2008; Lemanski 2012). Therefore, whilst problematic in many respects, the establishment of privatised security and urban management processes in the inner-city is also potentially assisting in people’s abilities to settle and find forms of belonging in the area.

Again this demonstrates the duality of the regeneration process, as, on the one hand, private security can be seen as a way of bringing stability and safety into a volatile, dangerous area, but, at the same time, can be a way through which social exclusion and particular urban hierarchies are enforced and private interests protected. Security does not only encapsulate personal safety but is also a constitutive element of the social order (Abrahamsen & Williams 2007). The ways in which security is provided – private or public, violent or non-violent, surveillant or intrusive –

and the interests it serves are elements which are shaped by and enforce social order. The concentration of policing powers in the hands of wealthy corporate actors is a palpable signal of their increasing dominance over social and political life, and the identification, regulation, and elimination of threats and undesirable categories of individuals and behaviours is a way through which this power is exercised and made into reality.

The meaning of urban regeneration and its relation to the social order is given concrete, physical expression and experience through the management and securitisation of inner-city spaces. Chapter Seven, *Urban Management: Diverse Meanings, Practices and Outcomes*, demonstrates this by detailing the symbolic ways in which conceptions of threat, risk and security are produced and circulate, as well as the ways in which spaces are physically policed and experienced. ‘Spatial habitus’ and ‘spatial capital’ are again used to make sense of these activities and interventions. By using these concepts the thesis demonstrates that securitisation in the inner-city is an ambiguous process: it is an overt attempt to pacify the area and discipline its inhabitants, and therefore constitutes social and spatial domination. Inner-city buildings and the public spaces surrounding them which have been regenerated are produced in accordance with the needs of companies and are increasingly under surveillance, controlled and orderly. This makes them more attractive, hospitable and valuable. Urban management thus emerges as a practice which is utilising spatial capital to enforce the imperatives of the market onto people and the area, and is thus creating a social order and subjects who comply with and reproduce this order.

On the other hand, the security and urban management measures introduced by private security firms working in conjunction with housing companies are pragmatic activities which also respond to, rather than simply re-order, the inner-city’s sociality. Although they work to entrench and protect commercial interests and privatised forms of social order, they also strive to enhance social cohesion and communal safety in the area. Security and urban management are shown to be responding to the needs of low-income communities and facilitating their abilities to utilise spaces of the inner-city. Therefore they are contributing to the spatial transformation of the area. Safer, more manageable spaces are allowing tenants to become increasingly active in and assertive over public spaces, thus indicating that they are developing new forms of belonging and urbanism in the area. At the same time, new forms of exclusion and boundary-drawing are also emerging, as street children and the occupants of derelict buildings, who do not fit into and are

seen to threaten the form of civility being sought, become stigmatised in people's imaginations and targets of policing measures. Security and urban management actors are instrumental to this process, as are members of the community. The chapter therefore illustrates that the regeneration process is dualistic and diverse – it is having transformative effects on the area and enabling people who were previously excluded from it to enjoy stability and enhanced access to the city, but is also producing new exclusions and conflicts. In doing so it makes a new contribution to the literature about private security and urban management. It shows that whilst logics of revanchism and exclusion are prevalent, security also encompasses a variety of meanings and experiences and responds to the needs and fears of low-income people, whilst simultaneously enhancing the interests of powerful corporate actors. Process of urban management and securitisation thus combine divergent logics and agendas and are far more nuanced and diverse than the majority of existing literature acknowledges.

Pathway Three: living with regeneration

The third component of the thesis details the perspectives of tenants living in renovated buildings in the inner-city. Chapter Eight, *Regeneration as Lived Reality: Necessity and the Right to the City*, explores the significance of urban regeneration and the development of private-sector-led housing from the perspectives of those who make their homes in the area. It examines their experiences in from the perspective of the right to the city. The dual nature of the regeneration process again comes to the fore, as it will be shown that it is giving rise to a variety of experiences and outcomes for tenants. Security and management in renovated buildings are shown to be disciplinary and used to ensure tenants are compliant with housing companies' rules and pay their rentals regularly. They are also shown to be advancing the commercial needs of housing companies and entrenching market logics in the area. At the same time, security is also shown to be responding to the needs of tenants and a central component in allowing them to feel secure and make use of the spaces of the inner-city. It is therefore furthering their rights to the city and abilities to engage with the urban environment around them. Their rights to the city are also advanced through regeneration as they are able to live centrally and gain access to decent, secure housing. This enables them to enjoy better living standards, access to employment opportunities and possibilities for upward social mobility, and demonstrates the transformative benefits of regeneration in the post-apartheid context.

However, whilst significant developmental aspects of the right to the city are being advanced by the regeneration process, it is simultaneously limiting other elements of tenants' urban citizenship and experiences of the inner-city. Their capacities to appropriate and give new meanings to the area, which are key components of the conceptions of the right to the city proposed by various critics, are limited, notably by the enhanced security and management processes in place in buildings which are used to regulate tenants and create passive subjects. Thus whilst tenants' gain access to some elements of the right to the city, they also come to be marginalised in political and decision-making processes, and thus have limits imposed on their urban citizenship inside residential buildings.

Furthermore, because the housing provided is relatively expensive tenants remain pressurised and are forced to find ways to adapt in order to be able to afford it. Despite the benefits which they gain, tenants are generally not enthusiastic about living in the inner-city and live there because it is the best or only affordable option available to them. Their habitus is thus circumscribed and reflects the necessity and resignation which defines life in South Africa for many people who survive on low-incomes. The spatial capital and aspirations of tenants are confined by the geographies of post-apartheid South Africa, in which suburbs and gated communities, which remain predominantly white, represent affluence and comfort and black people remain confined to the peripheral townships and informal settlements, which, for many tenants interviewed, continue to represent hardship, deprivation and exclusion. The inner-city is thus an important option as a place to live, as it is better than the townships, but remains stigmatised and deprived in comparison with the suburbs. Tenants therefore reflect a habitus which is shaped by resignation to living in the inner-city and enduring its sometimes harsh and unpleasant circumstances. This habitus shapes their engagement with the space and limits their active participation in it. They thus live in the dichotomous situation of benefiting from some new opportunities and rights to the city, whilst having others circumscribed or curtailed.

But Lefebvre insists that spaces are not only lived in and imposed on people; they are actively constituted, reproduced and altered by the practices and forms of habitation which people engage in in them (Lefebvre 1991; 2003; Schmid 2008). Accounts of people's habitation and everyday life in the inner-city are lacking from academic literature. Although the inner-city is becoming a growing site of fascination, the majority of studies thus far focus on urban

governance, particularly CID initiatives (Peyroux 2006; 2007; 2008; Didier et al. 2012), city visioning and policies (see Bremner 2000; Robinson 2003a; Lipietz 2008) or informal trading (Bouillon 2002; Bremner 2004; Steck et al. 2013). This thesis thus makes a novel contribution by providing an account which represents the lived experiences of people who now make their homes in the area. It explores how tenants living in housing developments make worlds for themselves in what remains a hostile environment, but is also becoming stable and cohesive. It will be shown that tenants are establishing new forms of connection to and belonging in the inner-city, thereby subverting or undoing apartheid geographies and giving new meanings to an area that was once the embodiment of South Africa's racial order. They are also forging new forms of community and sociality and coming to live the inner-city as a cosmopolitan or 'Afropolitan' (Mbembe & Nuttall 2008) space. It therefore becomes clear that regeneration is contributing to transformation in the post-apartheid city and that a diversity of experiences, meanings and outcomes are inherent in processes of urban change.

Conclusion

The three different pathways of analysis outlined above allow the thesis to present a diverse and nuanced picture of the changes taking place in the inner-city. Steering away from totalising adjectives or explanations, it is shown that the regeneration process currently reflects a complex, contrasting and hybridised set of responses emanating from a particular combination of spatial, temporal and social conditions. These all combine to produce forms and experiences of regeneration which are not only neoliberal, privatised and exclusionary, but are also developmental, socially progressive and transformative. It is thus a vernacular process which needs to be theorised and appreciated from diverse perspectives. The notion of 'vernacular regeneration' is proposed as a way of understanding not only the diversity and multiplicity of the Johannesburg case, but potentially moments of urban change elsewhere too. It is argued that whilst terms such as gentrification, neoliberal urbanism and revanchist renewal are certainly important for understanding processes in a variety of settings, including in inner-city Johannesburg, these are only parts of wider stories and research and analysis needs to pay attention to the diversity of forces, points of conflict, experiments and imperatives which are driving moments of urban change. It is argued that paying attention to vernacular, localised experiences and outcomes is essential and a more fruitful way of thinking about urban regeneration as it allows localised logics, forms of knowledge and types of social action to come

to the fore and shape how we understand and analyse these processes and the wider social contexts they are part of.

Chapter Two: Thinking through complexity

This chapter sets out the central epistemological and theoretical standpoint on which the rest of the thesis will be built. It emphasises the multiplicity of urban societies and draws attention to the simultaneous discourses, agendas and actions which are always present in the urban. It will argue that diverse strands and pressures push and pull urban societies and actors in different directions and that single-sided causal explanations and evaluations should be avoided in favour of more rounded, context-sensitive and nuanced critiques. Experiences from Johannesburg are drawn on to illustrate this claim, again emphasising how the city is not simply a case-study which can be used to prove particular hypotheses or arguments. Rather, it is a productive site from which critical knowledge can be gained and wider theorisations can be drawn.

The argument is demonstrated by drawing on a variety of instances and examples: firstly, experiences of urbanity under apartheid are used to illustrate how even systems of oppression are never total and alternative dynamics, forms of urbanity and sociality are always present. Secondly, the development of macro-economic policy and urban regeneration strategies in the post-apartheid period is discussed. It is demonstrated that these policies do not follow a single trajectory, but are amalgamations of efforts to inscribe neoliberal, market-based orthodoxies into urban governance, as well as concerted efforts to achieve progressive forms of redress and redistribution. Thirdly, attention is turned to experiences of securitisation and the spread of privatised forms of security and gated communities in urban South Africa. These cases reveal that whilst logics of privatisation and exclusion are coming to the fore in the ways in which communities attempt to make themselves safe, simultaneously new forms of social relations are emerging in privatised spaces. It is also argued that critiques of these processes also need to be attentive to the demands poor and vulnerable communities have for security and that, in South Africa at least, securitisation is not simply a reflection of upper-class prejudices and fears, but is a defining feature of people's daily lives. It is therefore a process which exemplifies localised concerns, fears and discourses and needs to be understood in nuanced, ways. All of these examples thus contribute to establishing a theoretical framework which regards the simultaneity of logics, agendas and experiences as the defining features of urban life. In contemporary South Africa this simultaneity revolves around the tension between developmental, transformative ambitions and stubborn obstacles to realising these, particularly in the forms of privatised security and the spread of neoliberal, market-driven approaches to urban governance, as this chapter and the rest of the thesis will show.

Highlighting simultaneity and variety as the defining features of urbanity

Robinson (2006) urges urban scholars to regard cities as ordinary and to move away from stultifying, monolithic theorisations and interpretive frameworks. In the contemporary period the logic of neoliberalism does indeed influence and shape many aspects of urban life around the world, just as other forms of capitalism did in past eras. However, it needs to be recognised that alternative aspirations and discourses also pervade and influence urban governance, politics and sociality. Thus the creative, unanticipated and complex ways in which different discourses, structural factors and agentful practices come together produce distinctive urban forms (Lefebvre 1991). Whilst analyses of urban life cannot take place without giving due consideration and analytical importance to capitalism, neoliberalism, colonialism/imperialism and globalisation (amongst other determining influences), the ways in which urban actors resist, enact, hybridise and live with and through these determining macro forces needs to be at the forefront of how we understand the factors and flows shaping urban societies (Amin & Thrift 2002).

The notion of simultaneity is a useful heuristic device for accomplishing this task. It is a concept which is central to Lefebvre's reading of cities, which emphasises the vibrant, contested and always multiple and shifting nature of the urban (Schmid 2008). Lefebvre conceives of the urban as a space of multiplicity and constant becoming. It is a space which brings together diverse communities, customs, forms of habitation and sociality. At the same time, it is also a space which is engendered and dominated by capitalism and its mode of production (Prigge 2008). Hence cities are simultaneously spaces of creativity, complexity and emergence, whilst also being spaces of domination, oppression, stagnation and the crystallisation of inequality. In Lefebvre's conceptual schema these tensions all collide within urban spaces and play out in a dialectical, simultaneous struggle (Merrifield 2006). As he espouses:

The urban is, therefore, pure form: a place of encounter, assembly, simultaneity. This form has no specific content, but is a centre of attraction and life...Living creatures, the products of industry, technology and wealth, works of culture, ways of living, situations, the modulations and ruptures of the everyday – the urban *accumulates* all content. But it is more than and different from accumulation. Its contents (things, objects, people, situations) are mutually exclusive because they are diverse, but

inclusive because they are brought together and imply their mutual presence (Lefebvre 2003, p.118-119; emphasis in the original).

Thus thinking with simultaneity not only invites us to recognise the multiplicities which define urban spaces and the lives contained and enacted therein, but also shows how competing rationalities, motivations and outcomes are actually mutually-entwined or entangled and always present alongside each other. The forces which facilitate one type of action or process frequently hinder that outcome from being realised or produce unintended consequences; particular trajectories and ambitions also frequently open up spaces for alternative, counter-intuitive or oppositional actions and results too. In this vein, Colomb (2007, p.6) calls for research to pay attention to and highlight ‘the tensions, ambiguities and contradictions’ which are embedded in urban renewal policies. Additionally, it is not sufficient to only recognise that there are multiple logics and agendas influencing the directions policies, urban governance and everyday actions take, even though this is a step which still eludes many researchers who remain focussed on narrow, single-sided lines of enquiry and theorisations; rather, it is imperative to show how these multiple logics are actually mutually-constitutive of each other and that the outcomes of urban processes are results of the complex interplay between different actors, rationalities, temporalities, contingencies, events, ambitions and desires (Watson 2003; 2014; Parnell & Robinson 2012).

Cities bring diverse actors together and it is out of the differences, contestations, contradictions and commonalities which these actors live through that identities are formed, politics are enacted, daily life is lived and citizenship arises. Cities therefore simultaneously embody dominant interests, discourses and socio-economic systems, as well as challenge, disrupt and subvert them. Experiences from Johannesburg bring this point home. The city’s establishment and maintenance as a purified white space was central to the establishment of the South African racial order and the notions of identity and superiority on which it was based (Mbembe 2008). The colonial and apartheid systems were founded on the myth that there were irreconcilable differences between white people, who were portrayed as the carriers and defenders of European civilisation, and Africans, who were believed to be primitive, ‘tribal’ people, most at home in and suited to rule by tradition and custom (Mamdani 1996). Cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, which embodied European modernity, governance structures and urbanism (Chipkin

1993), were imagined as counter-points to the Bantustans or African homelands. They thus served to entrench notions of difference and sought to establish this as the basis for political and social life.

Johannesburg's birth through the mining industry also meant that racial oppression and capitalist exploitation of the most brutal type came to be both synonymous with the city and integral to its functioning and profitability. The city's mining industry was based on the destructive migrant labour system, which ensured that African miners were only permitted to be present in the city region as long as they were employed in the mines or associated industries (Bonner 1995). Through this system, the profitability of the labour-intensive industry was maximised (Wolpe 1972) and racial oppression came to take on physical, spatialised forms, as the movements, settlement patterns, and daily lives of migrant labourers and those granted permission to be in the city came to be heavily policed and regulated. In addition, South Africa's urban spaces themselves came to embody and enforce racial oppression, as urban areas were imagined and designated as 'White' or 'European' and were off-limits to all black people save those who were useful and necessary – that is, those who were employed. Measures such as influx control and pass laws ensured that experiences of spaces for non-whites were always heavily policed and carried with them the bodily practices of surveillance, discipline and physical monitoring. In this way, physical space was an embodiment of the racial order in South Africa, as well as a key mechanism through which it was enforced and made real (Robinson 1996).

Urban experiences for many black people, then, were enforced, oppressive and expressed their subjugation in unmistakable terms. Yet, in a powerful signal of the contradictory, plural nature of cities, it was the urban areas that provided the settings for new forms of African identities and politics to emerge. For example, Hyslop (2008) argues that it was the combination of their experiences of discrimination in Johannesburg as well as the possibilities and diversity contained in the city which provided the opportunities and inspiration for both Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi to be exposed to and experiment with cosmopolitan, inclusive political practices. For Gandhi, the simultaneous experiences of racial segregation and the cosmopolitanism of early 20th century Johannesburg meant that it was the first opportunity he had, as a high-born, middle class Hindu, to engage and organise politically with Muslims and lower caste Hindus. He was also exposed to religious and political philosophies and cultures

unavailable to him before his sojourn in the city, which came to shape fundamentally his progressive, inclusive politics (ibid).

Mandela, too, was energised and politically and socially enlightened by his experiences in the city, just as he was simultaneously constricted, oppressed and ultimately imprisoned by it. During his time in Johannesburg, Mandela was exposed to assertive African American literature and culture and came to be aware of the struggles of other non-white groups and the need for political organisation alongside them (ibid). He also came to embrace the freedom from cultural constraint and tradition that the city provided. As he recounts,

I was terribly excited to see the city I had been hearing about since I was a child. Johannesburg had always been depicted as a city of dreams, a place where one could transform oneself from a poor peasant to wealthy sophisticate, a city of danger and opportunity (Mandela 1995, p.56).

Thus, whilst being one of the most powerful sites of the racially oppressive economic and social order, Johannesburg also simultaneously became a space that fostered opportunities to challenge the racial regime it embodied and to imagine new possibilities for African modernity. In its own dialectic way it came to be a type of emancipatory urban space, providing transgressive, liberating and progressive possibilities (Lees 2004) through the very oppressive foundations it was built on.

Mandela's and Gandhi's experiences are elite examples of the liberating possibilities the exclusionary 'European' city provided. For less prominent people, too, the city was a space in which new identities and forms of social life could be experienced and embraced. Sophiatown is an excellent example of the new, modern forms of African identity that Johannesburg's urban spaces (although racially segregated and heavily policed) produced. This suburb, on what was then the far western edge of the city, became a hotbed of modern African culture. It brought together artists, authors and musicians who created hybridised forms of modernity and culture, blending African style and custom with American and European influences. They thus came to create a culture which was both distinctly urban *and* distinctly African and directly challenged the apartheid narrative and social order (Gready 1990; Matshikiza 2008; Nuttall 2008). This hybridisation and formation of an African urban culture was not only confined to the high-brow spheres of art and music, but was also expressed in townships and through popular cultural

pursuits and pastimes, such as the working class sport, football. Alegi (2004) shows that whilst football was initially introduced by the colonialists and maintained as a European pastime, over time it was localised and infused with unique, vernacular styles of play, spectatorship, tactics, cultural expressions and values which made it a defining feature of urban black culture. For others, both black and white, the city was a place to escape conservative, patriarchal and homophobic cultures and, even in its heavily racialised and oppressive context, offered opportunities for self-expression and liberation (Morris 1999a; Conway 2009).

Thus, Johannesburg has always existed as a hybrid space of difference, contradictions and contestations. Its meaning and the experiences it gave rise to were never uniform or the products of an inescapable logic and system. Even in its most oppressive period, it proved to be an open-ended social entity that could enable as much as it disempowered. What the city meant on a socio-political level, then, was never certain or fixed, and could be challenged, disrupted and altered. As Nuttall (2004, p.732) points out, it is incorrect to see the historical trajectory of South Africa and the consequences of apartheid as inevitable. Rather, it is more accurate and productive to regard and analyse both history and the present in terms of the ‘other possibilities [that] were out there, and are evolving now, in the aftermath of that oppressive system’.

The competing dynamics of the post-apartheid period: neoliberal urban governance versus democratic transformation

Following from this, the post-apartheid period too needs to be understood as complex and defined by simultaneous currents, ambitions, ideologies and possibilities. Social and political life in contemporary South Africa bares the influences of the liberation struggle and ongoing attempts to entrench a progressive, democratic order, but is also shaped by ongoing racial tensions, increasing socio-economic inequality and the spread of neoliberal forms of governance. All of these factors are co-present and together shape a dynamic, fractious, at times tumultuous and always diverse society. The triumph of democracy in South Africa came at a time when there was a shift globally towards neo-conservative politics and neoliberalism, as the Cold War came to a conclusion and the United States emerged victorious and secure as the global hegemonic power (Gumede 2007). The end of apartheid thus saw South Africa inserted into global circuits of governance and policy dissemination and the evolution of political and social life in the post-apartheid period stands as one of many examples of the global spread of neoliberalism and the

social order it gives rise to. This is reflected in the development of national macro-economic policy as well as in the ways in which urban governance and regeneration strategies have been formulated.

There is a substantial body of academic literature which focuses on the entrenchment of neoliberal policies and governance frameworks in the post-apartheid period. The effects of these have been studied on a variety of scales: Bond (2000), Desai (2002; 2010) and Gumede (2007) focus on the evolution of macro-economic policy, whilst Hart (2002) and Naidoo (2007) draw attention to the effects of neoliberal governing mechanisms, such as pre-paid water and electricity meters, at community level. Examples of how restructuring and the increased flexibility and casualisation of employment have effected people in the retail and manufacturing industries are found in the work of several sociologists (see Kenny & Webster 1998; Kenny 2004; Bezuidenhout et al. 2007; Mosoetsa 2011 amongst others). There is also a large amount of work which focuses on the urban level, which this chapter now turns to.

In the aftermath of its decay, Johannesburg's inner-city became the object of ambitious renewal plans. In the early 2000s local government formulated strategies aimed at reinvigorating the area. These sought to rebrand it as the 'Golden Heartbeat of Africa' and a 'World Class African City' (Bremner 2000). Whilst regeneration is sorely needed, the strategies articulated by local government are premised on attracting businesses back to the city, creating an entrepreneurial environment, and establishing the city as a high-tech commercial centre (Beall 2002). They thus pursue competitiveness and seek to make the city attractive to overseas investment and are captured by the discourse of and aspiration to World City status (Tomlinson et al. 2003a; Lipietz 2004). For many critics these emphases and the accompanying restructuring of local government signal clearly the advent of neoliberal forms of governance in the city. Thus, the hope regeneration offers in the post-apartheid period is tempered by ideological and structural constraints. For instance, whilst the City Council's short-to-medium term planning and strategy document, *iGoli 2010*, emphasises the need for redistribution, equitable delivery of services and resources, and the enhancement of deprived people's access to economic opportunities, the overall focus of the strategy remains augmenting Johannesburg's competitiveness and attractiveness as an investment destination (Johannesburg Development Agency 2010). In this

way, it draws on and continues the path set out in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic programme.

This national programme, adopted in 1996, emphasises the need for government to maintain fiscal discipline and focus on the cost-effectiveness of its activities (Bond 2000). It still maintains a commitment to social redress and the redistribution of economic wealth to communities excluded and impoverished under apartheid, but focuses on achieving these aims through ‘trickle down economics’, where economic growth and competitiveness are prioritised as the preconditions required to achieve wider social goals (Gumede 2007)⁷. GEAR is also the framework which established privatisation as an official component of economic policy, focussing on the need to sell-off state assets, establish public-private-partnerships and run state activities as profitable parastatals (ibid).

Thus, there are direct continuities between the principles of GEAR and those adopted by the City of Johannesburg. For instance, following the restructuring process recommended by the strategic document *iGoli 2002*, the provision of municipal services has been taken over by utilities which are registered as separate companies, such as Johannesburg City Power, Johannesburg Water and Pikitup (which provides refuse removal, recycling and waste disposal services for the City). These public-private companies operate on the business principle of cost-recovery, and have replaced the idea of citizens entitled to services with ‘paying clients’ (Khan 2000; Barchiesi 2007). This semantic and discursive shift represents an increased hostility on the part of the state towards the poor which has led to the erosion of citizenship and basic rights (Desai 2002). This oppositional relationship is encapsulated in and exacerbated by punitive measures such as electricity and water cut-offs and the installation of pre-paid meters. Local government has introduced these as strategies to discipline communities and to counter ‘the culture of non-payment’ which is particularly pervasive in townships⁸ (Naidoo 2007).

⁷ In contrast, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the first economic policy of the post-apartheid era, emphasised direct government intervention and the expansion of participation, welfare and government functions as the key features through which socio-economic inequalities and growth could be addressed.

⁸ Rent and service payment boycotts were one of the most effective means of political resistance used by black communities during the apartheid years. They remain popular and effective weapons used by communities to resist government policy. Ironically, wealthy residents, who objected to the merger of the Sandton Municipality with other poorer areas in the mid-1990s utilised this tactic by refusing to pay municipal taxes (Beall 2002). This action was partly responsible for the near-bankruptcy of the city and its going into administration in 1997.

Furthermore, urban governance in Johannesburg has become increasingly corporatist and business-oriented, with the formation of specialist agencies who work alongside local government to manage the business affairs, developmental needs and rejuvenation of the city. Organisations such as the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) and Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) are prominent in setting the direction and priorities of the city and serve to ensure cooperation between local government and the business sector (Lipietz 2008). These agencies are criticised for prioritising the private sector's needs above those of ordinary citizens. For instance, the JDA was established expressly for the purpose of encouraging partnerships between the City of Johannesburg and the private sector and encouraging businesses to invest in the city (Johannesburg Development Agency 2010). It focuses on 'greenfield' projects designed to boost the image and attractiveness of the city (Viruly et al. 2010) and which, consequently, prioritise the needs of investors over ordinary citizens. This creates a situation, Winkler (2009) argues, in which the success of regeneration projects is measured by increasing property prices and land values, rather than improved access for and redistribution towards low-income communities. In this way, the opportunities and powerful moment of inventiveness and possibility which the regeneration process presented has been constrained by a wider context and logics focussing on the market and narrow interests.

The ways urban regeneration strategies have unfolded situate Johannesburg alongside other cities which have been altered by neoliberal policies and governance interventions. The effect neoliberal restructuring has had on city governance has been commented on by a number of scholars (see Brenner & Theodore 2002; 2005; Theodore et al. 2011; Theodore & Peck 2011). There is also an increasingly influential school of thought which sees gentrification as a now global process and pattern which is tightly woven into the logic of neoliberalism (Atkinson & Bridge 2005; Lees 2012; Lees et al. 2015). Examples of gentrification have been documented in several cities around the world, and emphasis in recent scholarship is on how the process has spread to cities of the Global South or postcolonial world. Particular attention has been paid to Mumbai (Harris 2008; Weinstein & Ren 2009) Shanghai (Wang & Lau 2009; He 2010; Wang 2011), and Beijing (Shin 2008; Shin 2009a; Shin 2009c) and emphasis is placed on how, as these cities have become global, increasingly regionally dominant and plugged into international flows of capital and business networks, they have come to replicate urban patterns found in the West.

For instance, Wang & Lau (2009) focus on how the new middle class in Shanghai revel in the social status that can be acquired from living in elite enclaves and increasingly adopt Western consumption habits and forms of style and self-presentation. Harris (2008) too demonstrates how, under the influence of global neoliberalism, sections of Mumbai are being gentrified through state-led programmes and policies. Whilst his concern is with local iterations of a global phenomenon and how the experience of gentrification in the postcolonial world can inform understandings and critiques of the process in the West, the overall emphasis is on how an urban imagination originating in the West is spreading to the rest of the world and being replicated in a diversity of contexts, which increasingly come to look the same. Thus Islam (2005) finds that gentrification in Istanbul very closely resembles the form and experiences of gentrification in British and American cities and Vicario and Martinez Monje (2005) find the same in Bilbao.

With regards to Johannesburg, Winkler (2009) argues that the urban renewal policies formulated for the inner-city are further instances of the global spread of gentrification as a hegemonic project and neoliberalism as a global order. She thus argues that urban renewal in Johannesburg is ‘prolonging the global age of gentrification’ and reinforces Smith’s (2002, p.445) claim that ‘[t]he language of regeneration sugar coats gentrification’. According to Smith (2002, p.440), gentrification has been ‘generalized’ around the world and is a key component of a global strategy of neoliberal capitalism which has led to a ‘convergence between urban experiences in the larger cities of what used to be called First and Third Worlds’ (2002, p.441). Thus, whilst scholars may be uncovering new ways in which gentrification takes place (see for example Lopez-Morales 2011; Lemanski 2014), there is an overwhelming sense that processes of urban change across the globe are inextricably tied into and replicating the same overarching neoliberal order and urban form.

This point gains further traction with the spread of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) from their origins in the USA (see Ward 2006; 2007) into new territories, including Johannesburg and other South African cities. City Improvement Districts (CIDs) are South African variations of the BID model and, as Peyroux (2012, p.178) points out, are symptomatic of the increasing authority of ‘policy entrepreneurs’, who circulate globally and influence government agencies in policy formation and implementation. Using ideas, contacts, discourses and experiences from

other cities, these professional policy gurus have been highly influential in Johannesburg, introducing notions of ‘best practice’ and models of urban governance adopted from other cities, particularly the iconic World Cities, London and New York (Parnell & Robinson 2006; Theodore & Peck 2011; Didier et al. 2012). These models, it is argued, are symptomatic of the private sector’s increasingly prominent role in urban development and regeneration and are powerful administrative as well as spatial expressions of neoliberal ideology and practice.

CIDs are self-contained management districts which aim to improve predetermined geographic areas of the city by placing the day-to-day running and maintenance of them in the hands of independent, private boards. They are established when the majority of property owners and businesses within a circumscribed area agree to set up a non-profit management company. This company then charges every property owner in the defined area a levy, which is used to pay for top-up maintenance, cleaning and security services (Bénit-Gbaffou et al. 2008). They have been successful urban management interventions and areas falling under CIDs frequently experience enhanced cleanliness and safety (Berg 2004). Significantly, however, they are also increasingly criticised for the ways in which they fragment the urban landscape, introduce differential access to resources and services and pursue revanchist forms of urban management (Peyroux 2006; Berg 2010; Paasche et al. 2013).

They also concentrate a great deal of decision-making and urban governance power in property owners’ hands. Whilst the management boards established to run CIDs in theory consist of partnerships between residents, local government and property owners/the business sector, in practice, since voting rights are determined by the amount of property individuals own in the area and the amount contributed through levies, the more wealthy and powerful members come to have control (Bénit-Gbaffou 2008b). In Johannesburg, ‘the City of Johannesburg openly acknowledges that it seldom participates in the central CID’s management board’ (Bénit-Gbaffou et al. 2008, p.710), creating a situation in which the demands of the business sector are prioritised and they are given increased decision making powers and control over space.

This has given rise to new forms of inequality and exclusion, which have tempered one of the most significant achievements of the post-apartheid period. The apartheid city was severely

divided, composed of distinct, racially-defined sub-regions and locations. It existed as almost two separate worlds – the ‘European’, white inner-city and suburbs, on the one hand, and the surrounding satellite townships, on the other. Whilst the white regions of the city thrived and residents enjoyed high standards of living and quality of life, those confined to townships such as Soweto, located on the city’s southern edge, and Alexandra, located in the east of the city, were neglected, victimised and lived in conditions of degradation (Bonner & Nieftagodien 2008). This stark disparity produced a political vision in which a united city that would be inclusive and treat all citizens equally was a key goal of the liberation movement and post-apartheid government (Beavon 2004).

It was also a struggle for an equitable distribution of government spending and taxation. The slogan ‘One City, One Tax Base’ was prominent during the 1980s and 1990s as township residents fought to receive a greater share of municipal spending (Tomlinson et al. 2003b). Under the apartheid system taxes were spent where they were collected, so the wealthy white suburbs enjoyed the bulk of government services (Beall et al. 2000). The restructuring of the city after the democratic transition addressed this through the creation of a unified city administration in which all of the townships and suburbs making up the Greater Johannesburg region were amalgamated under one governing metropolitan council and four local regional authorities (Peyroux 2008). This marked ‘the first real possibility of envisaging and planning for the city *as a whole* after the fragmentation of the transitional period’ (Lipietz 2008, p.142 emphasis in the original). The intention was to achieve ‘bureaucratic uniformity’ throughout the region to ensure fiscal planning and government services and resources would be managed effectively and reoriented towards the poor (Beall et al. 2000, p.118).

After some initial difficulties and resistance, the restructuring process has been successful in amalgamating the disparate areas that make up the Johannesburg municipal region. However, the spread of CIDs, alongside gated communities and enclosed suburbs, has provided a new obstacle to realising the politically powerful vision of a united city. Whilst they are voluntary and are entered into with the agreement of the majority of participants, they present barriers to democratic city management and planning as they allow some regions to access financial resources and services which others cannot afford (ibid). They thus parcel the city up into wealthy, well-serviced and increasingly privatised areas, such as the commercial centres of Illovo,

Sandton, Rosebank and Randburg (all formerly white suburbs in which CIDs have been established in recent years and which already boasted more substantial services and infrastructure (Peyroux 2008)) and poor, marginal areas lacking in infrastructure and basic services.

Fears of urban fragmentation and exclusion are increased as CIDs focus on ‘place making’ and implementing measures designed to address the image of localities, making them more conducive for business and attractive for investment (Ward 2007; Didier et al. 2012). They thus place a great amount of emphasis on the aesthetic and environmental conditions of areas, making sure that they are free of ‘crime and grime’ (Béni-Gbaffou 2008b). This practice, whilst beneficial because it has brought improved cleanliness and maintenance to neglected, run-down parts of the inner-city and led to decreases in crime rates (Berg 2004), has also given rise to exclusionary, revanchist forms of management. The emphasis on aesthetic perceptions and securing places for investment has meant that urban populations deemed ‘undesirable’ are frequently targeted in areas falling under CIDs. Informal street traders, beggars, the homeless and others struggling to eke out livelihoods in South Africa’s urban areas are commonly removed (Béni-Gbaffou 2008a). This has reintroduced exclusionary policing practices into the regeneration process and severely limits the gains made towards creating a unified city. This again illustrates the complexity of the post-apartheid moment, as whilst new political possibilities are lived, they are also frequently negated or met with new forms of inequality and differentiation.

Expanding analytical accounts beyond the neoliberal narrative

There are, therefore, severe inequalities and forms of exclusion which need critical attention and urgent rectification. However, stress on the failings of the post-apartheid period and constant emphasis on the effects of neoliberalism can lead to the gains which have been made and the array of possibilities which are simultaneously present and driving urban change and policy development being obscured. For example, Houghton (2013) shows how the imperatives of global competitiveness and economic growth are entangled with the pursuit of post-apartheid redress and economic redistribution in the city of Durban’s urban development strategies and projects. Furthermore, whilst some of the urban renewal policies in Johannesburg are indeed instantiations of neoliberal ideologies and practices, it needs to be acknowledged that these are constantly played out whilst local government tries simultaneously to address legacies and daily

realities of social exclusion and widespread poverty (Seekings & Natrass 2005). The move towards neoliberalism and rule by market forces arrived at a time when new political possibilities were being imagined and sought. Therefore, the struggle for equality and liberation is never absent from South African discourse and daily life (van Holt 2012a).

Whilst government policies and programmes take on increasingly neoliberal forms, they retain commitments to redistributive and socially progressive goals. This is shown in *Joburg 2030*, the City Development Strategy (CDS) ultimately adopted by the City of Johannesburg in 2002. This strategy replaced the previous *iGoli* programmes as the overarching framework through which socio-economic growth and development would be pursued in the city. Parnell and Robinson (2006, p.342) argue that the strategy is ‘a serious attempt to reconcile the competing interests which frame the challenges of city development in Johannesburg’. They show that the strategy combines a focus on economic growth and global competitiveness (two of the key tenets of neoliberal policies) with redistributive goals such as skill development, the expansion of social services and environmental protection. In this way, the simple evaluation of Johannesburg as a neoliberal city can be called into question. Even the much-maligned *iGoli 2002* programme emphasised that the restructuring of local government and pursuit of economic growth were prerequisites to achieve the broader goals of pro-poor reconstruction and redistribution, and were also necessary to rescue the City from bankruptcy (Beall et al. 2000; Tomlinson et al. 2003b).

Thus, even with the increased neoliberal approach to governance and socio-economic life,

the provision of services and infrastructure to meet the basic needs of historically disadvantaged populations is a widely accepted priority of the post-apartheid government. Their provision, with that of housing, is a major if not *the* major fiscal commitment to anti-poverty activity in Johannesburg (Beall et al. 2000, p.114).

Additionally, the South African state has also increased its spending on social welfare and support, and is today one of the largest middle-income welfare states in the world (Doneva 2010). The 2010/2011 state budget allocated R89 billion for social welfare spending, including pensions, disability allowances, child support grants and health care provision (ibid). The numbers of people accessing various types of welfare grants has increased significantly,

particularly since the year 2000 (Lodge 2009), leading Burger (2007) to argue that that year marks a ‘second phase’ in South Africa’s economic policy, one in which a shift away from GEAR’s neoliberal orthodoxy towards a more developmental state model was adopted. This shift was made more palpable with the introduction of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA) in 2006. Whilst not replacing GEAR as the fundamental macro-economic policy, ASGISA attempts to address some of the shortcomings of GEAR and accelerate the poor’s access to economic opportunities and employment (Burger 2007). As such, a massive expansion of infrastructure development, education spending and skills training has been put in place, and labour-intensive export sectors are also prioritised in government strategy and spending (Gelb 2006). In these ways, the neoliberal framework in South Africa, whilst still highly influential, is not entirely dominant. There are subtleties and variations in economic policies and practices which need to be acknowledged.

The above point is further emphasised by the time and attention given to participation and consultation in drawing up development strategies in Johannesburg. The importance of collective struggle in the fight against apartheid and the negotiated settlement has meant that participation has been entrenched in national legislation and political culture (Cameron 1996). The consultation process is envisaged as including debate between and inputs from business organisations, civic associations or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), political parties as well as trade unions (Parnell & Robinson 2006). And whilst in Johannesburg, and elsewhere in the country, this is usually a messy, incomplete and acrimonious process (Lipietz 2008)⁹, it does create both formal and informal opportunities for collective input and pro-poor goals to be included in policies. Both Lipietz (2008) and Parnell and Robinson (2006) show how Johannesburg’s CDS, although giving extensive space to pro-growth strategies and not fully living up to the ideals of participatory planning, does include measures to enhance redistributive goals and service delivery to the poor. Pressures placed on elected representatives and local democratic processes of contestation, in particular, are as seen as giving voice to the concerns of poor communities and keeping their interests on the table (ibid). This means that the interests of the business community and influence of consultants are always tempered with the demands of the majority of the city’s and country’s citizens.

⁹ The consultation process for establishing Johannesburg’s CDS was in fact boycotted by the largest and most influential representative of municipal workers, the South African Municipal Workers Union (SAMWU), as well as the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO), which was an extremely influential civil society movement during apartheid and the early years of the democratic period (Lipietz 2008).

Therefore, it is shown that the policies and political programmes adopted in the post-apartheid period cannot be classified simply or made to fit into one overriding narrative. Attention needs to be paid to the ways in which alternative discourses, new imaginations and possibilities exist alongside powerful structures and inequalities, and how the city itself is a field through which these competitions are played out (Isin 2008). The different trajectories and policy programmes which have shaped Johannesburg in the contemporary period illustrate this and serve as powerful reminders and evidence that the post-apartheid social order, particularly as it is expressed and lived through cities, remains uncertain, in-process, diverse and hybridised.

Examples of this complexity and diversity can be found within CIDs too. Miraftab (2007, p.604) draws attention to how governance and local realities in Cape Town's central CID follow a form of revanchist, exclusionary policing and spatiality, but are simultaneously also 'flexible', 'premeable' and open to 'the possibility of resistance and change'. She demonstrates how pressure and contestation from different groups, particularly local informal traders' associations and welfare workers, led the CID management to soften its stance and pursue more inclusive approaches to urban management and branding. The revised strategy was both more in line with and a product of the ongoing struggles for citizenship, democracy and equality which define the post-apartheid moment (Miraftab 2007). Ultimately this struggle was largely lost, as the pressures and logics of real estate capital and the juggernaut of the 2010 Football World Cup eroded most of the gains and succeeded in cleansing central Cape Town of undesirable populations (Paasche et al. 2013). However, this process was not uncontested and inevitable; hence Miraftab's argument that governance and spatiality in contemporary South Africa, whilst heavily influenced by neoliberalism and the fissures of the past, remain 'undetermined' (2007, p.620) and far more complex than simply further instances of 'a global roll-out of neoliberal urban policies' (2007 p.602) deserves attention and further elaboration.

In Johannesburg, whilst the majority of CIDs clearly do serve to consolidate the control the wealthy have over city spaces and generate hostile responses to marginalised members of society, the more recent application of the model to inner-city residential areas attempts to integrate residents and create communities rather than simply business-focussed districts (Peyroux 2012). Peyroux (2012, p.186) shows how the Business Plans for the Hillbrow and Berea improvement

districts (which will be discussed in more detail in later chapters) represent a shift to a ‘more socially aware vision of the city’ and emphasise the need for partnership between private investors and local government as well as the importance of fostering social cohesion between residents and property owners. She further shows that the Berea CID is justified in terms of its ‘*integration into public interventions* [italics in original]’ and wider social commitments, such as contributing to shared growth, facilitating social mobility and pro-actively serving the needs of the poor (Peyroux 2012, p.188). There are thus diverse imperatives which characterise these interventions, which remain divided between post-apartheid developmental ambitions and the demands of neoliberal approaches to urban governance and restructuring. These examples add impetus to calls for urban researchers to be aware of and open to the diverse impulses, contradictions, tensions and outcomes which coexist in and ultimately shape urban spaces and societies (Roy 2009; Robinson 2002; Comaroff & Comaroff 2012; Watson 2014; Lemanski 2014).

New barriers in the post-apartheid city: the effects of fear and insecurity on the post-apartheid urban order

However, whilst opportunities to re-imagine or remake post-apartheid society still exist, there are significant barriers which are preventing these possibilities from coming to light. In addition to the spread of neoliberal forms of governance, the ongoing prevalence of violence and crime is one of the biggest obstacles preventing the development of an open, inclusive society. The post-apartheid moment, which was meant to signal the beginning of freedom and an open society, has been captured by an urban geography dominated by fortified fragments, gated communities, suspicion and fear. Vladislavić (2007) describes in vivid and personal detail how excitement about the end of apartheid was muted by the sudden appearance, at least in white suburbia, of crime, which became increasingly violent. In a paradoxical sequence of events, the coming of political freedom coincided with and resulted in a simultaneous retreat into fortified private realms. City residents across the country, feeling under siege from the crime epidemic coursing through society, began to barricade themselves in their homes, erecting ever-higher and more impenetrable, treacherous and offensive security barriers and employing black people as security guards to protect them and their personal property (Lipman & Harris 1999; Vladislavić 2007). Gated communities and enclosed suburbs began to mushroom around urban areas, meaning that mobility and publicness were negated precisely when they were becoming possibilities and crime became a new form of oppression and segregation.

South Africa is one of the most violent and crime-ridden societies in the world. The most recent available figures show that in the financial year 2010/11, 2 071 487 cases of serious crimes were reported. This figure, which represents an overall reduction in crime rates from previous years, is broken down as follows: contact crime accounted for 30.8% of reported cases, other serious crime 25.8%, property-related crime also 25.8%, crime detected as a result of police action accounted for 11.2%, and contact-related crime 6.4%. In addition, in the 2010/11 period 15 940 murders were committed.

Figure 1: Serious Crime in South Africa: 2010/11. Source: South African Police Services, 2011, Crime Report 2010/11, pg.5.

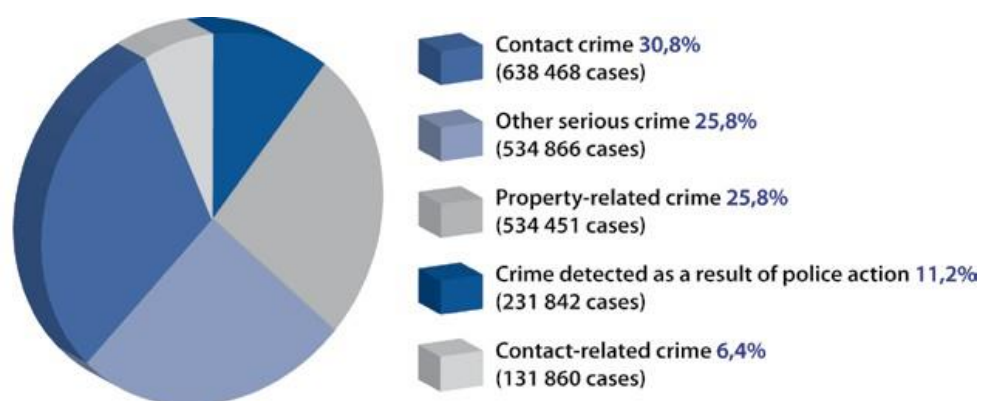
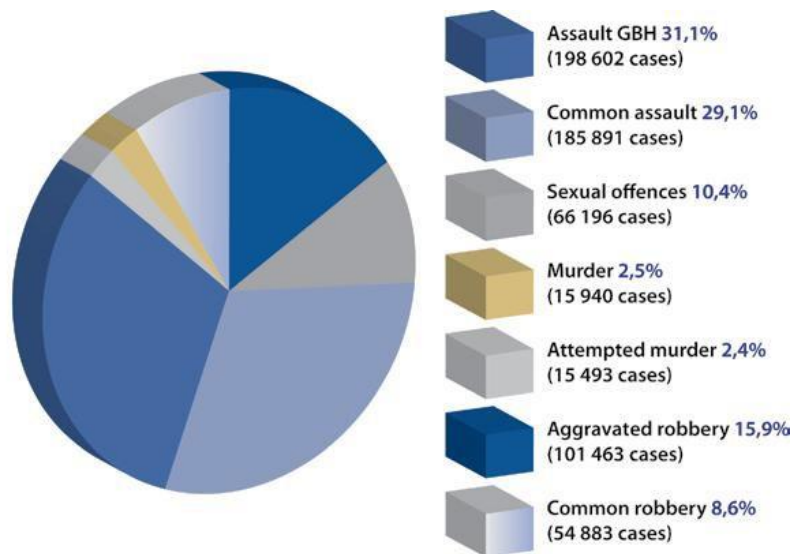


Figure 2: Crime in South Africa, 2010/11. Source: South African Police Services, 2011, Crime Report 2010/11, pg. 5



These figures show high levels of interpersonal violence as well as general crime, and it needs to be borne in mind that these are only the crimes which have been recorded in official police statistics, which are disputed vigorously in South Africa as they have previously been manipulated for political purposes (Baker 2002). Furthermore, some crimes, particularly those relating to sexual violence, are severely underreported (Vetten 2005). Talk of crime also circulates widely, ensuring that fear and security consciousness are not only the preserve of those with direct experiences of violence. An awareness of crime is thus widespread and deeply entrenched in South African society, and can be regarded as a ‘social problem’ – something that is distinct from a ‘personal trouble’ in that its causes and effects are structural and embedded in the nature of the society as a whole, even though experiences of it may be deeply personal (Mills 1959).

However, in South Africa there is an increasing movement towards privatised responses to crime, which exacerbate the spatial fragmentation and inequalities which continue to define the country’s urban geographies (Berg 2010). Private security has become increasingly pervasive, to the point where private security firms now employ more personnel than public police services. This mirrors patterns in many countries, including the United Kingdom, the United States and Brazil (Johnston 2001; Dirsuweit 2006; Clarno & Murray 2013). South Africa currently has the largest private security sector in the world. At present there are 9031 registered private security companies and 445 407 registered security officers (Diphoom 2015); their services range from bodyguards, crowd and venue control, private investigations and protection for cash-in-transit

vehicles, to dog training and locksmiths and even providing security for police stations (Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority 2011)! They also possess more resources and better, more advanced equipment than public police (Clarno & Murray 2013). The increased spread of private security has fundamentally altered the practices through which security is pursued. Given that security is a fundamental part of the way in which social order and urban space are produced, these changes have significant implications for the ways in which urban life is structured in contemporary society.

Security is a broad concept with several definitions. For instance, security of tenure is a term used frequently to discuss people's abilities to live in conditions free from arbitrary eviction or homelessness (Kariuki 2004). The United Nations has adopted a perspective which emphasises the human aspect of security, in addition to State security, and comes to define it as a condition which offers people 'protection from severe external threats (e.g. hunger, disease, crime) and safety from disruption in daily life' (Lemanski 2012, p.3). It is also defined as 'freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live in dignity' and is thus bound up in discourses about development, livelihoods, entitlements and human rights (United Nations 2012, p.5). However, when it comes to aspects relating to local policing and physical threat, security comes to denote community's experiences and perceptions of risk and fears of harm, and the strategies that they use to counter these (Johnston 2001). It relates to people's experiences of physical environments and encounters with others, and the ways in which these can be managed to reduce apprehensions or actual incidences of harm (Pain 2000; Jackson 2004). Thus, even in a more narrow sense, it remains a concept and practice that is deeply subjective and embedded in social processes and relations.

Security is therefore an element of everyday life that both reflects and reproduces social order. The ways in which risks come to be defined reflect normative conceptions of what is considered safe, desirable and right (Loader 1999). At the same time, the abilities to pursue security are unequally distributed in South Africa and elsewhere, and are thus reflective of and come to entrench precariousness, historic processes of dispossession and an increasingly exclusive urban order (Miraftab 2007). For instance, despite pervasive discourses of fear of crime circulating amongst many upper-class communities in South African and Brazilian cities alike (Cladeira 1996; Lipman and Harris 1999), it is the poor in these countries who are at greatest risk of crime, particularly

violent crime (Dirsuweit 2002; Bénit-Gbaffou et al. 2008; Lemanski 2012). The influence of social stratification is thus deeply embedded in security and people's access to it. Due to this, the strategies which different social groups use to make themselves safer, or at least feel more secure, need to be understood as techniques and mechanisms which reproduce social order and reflect other fears, prejudices and insecurities (Johnston 2001; Carrier 1999; Lemanski 2006a).

The most graphically visible outcome of privatised solutions to security fears and the way they feed into the creation of social order is the spread of gated communities or security estates. These developments afford property owners and developers the right to parcel off particular areas and enact their own measures of policing within them. Gated communities serve to control access into selected areas, ensuring that only those who are wealthy enough to afford housing in them and visitors who are deemed fit and proper can gain entry (Berg 2004). The market and local communities themselves then become authorities, able to decide who is deemed appropriate to be within a particular space (Ballard 2004b; Hansen 2006). This shifts power away from public authorities and allows for the creation of select enclaves within urban areas. Increasingly in South Africa a situation is arising in which wealthy residents are establishing themselves as political communities outside of conventional and, most significantly, accountable political structures.

This can be seen in the example of Dainfern, an elite gated community or security estate in the north of Johannesburg. Hook and Vrdoljak (2002) demonstrate how residents in this community foster a sense of exceptionalism and wish to separate themselves from broader South African society. One of the main ways in which this is done is through controlling access to the estate through racialised and class-based practices which make evaluations about who does and does not belong based on appearance and the mode of transport used (ibid). Residents in Dainfern and other estates like it, which proliferate in the northern regions of Johannesburg and increasingly in other parts of the metropolitan region too, thus establish their own mechanisms of regulation to preserve the social order they are attempting to create in their exclusive community (Duca 2013).

Ballard (2004b, p.68) notes that the ‘spatial strategies of the powerful...generally revolve around the control of inclusion and exclusion’, and are enforced through mechanisms such as ‘influx control, perimeter fencing, access gates and removal.’ We can add heavily armed guarding, street patrols and electronic surveillance to these mechanisms, as all of these tactics are employed by private security companies in Johannesburg to control spaces and manage threats (Berg 2010). The spread of private policing has thus given rise to a type of urbanism that is defined by ‘fortified fragments’ where privately defined social orders are administered by private security companies and demarcated through gates, razor wire, electric fences and surveillance cameras (Baker 2004, p.167). They therefore directly challenge the vision for a united city which the struggle against apartheid and the restructuring of local government in the immediate post-apartheid period sought to achieve (Dirsuweit & Wafer 2006) and, like CIDs, give communities and security personnel abilities to enact their own forms of law and order.

The political antagonism between communities and larger society is made more explicit in cases in Johannesburg and other South African cities in which local residents have banded together to control access to pre-existing suburbs by putting up security barriers such as fences or guarded boom-gates. These actions are clear signs that local communities, founded on the basis of property ownership in the sealed-off areas, are asserting their interests over the rights of others. Whilst local municipalities do approve the closing off of public roads under certain conditions (see Landman 2006) and the impact security booms make to residents’ feelings of safety and security have been acknowledged, the South African Human Rights Commission has ruled that these enclosures also violate people’s rights to freedom of movement, dignity, equality, employment opportunities and safety (South African Human Rights Commission 2004).

The hiring of private security services, too, entrenches differential policing into the daily lives of urban residents and exacerbates suspicion amongst people. On the surface, private security firms offer their customers focussed, personalised services which compensate for the state’s continued inability to guarantee peace and safety (Shearing & Stenning 1983). Security firms adapt to clients’ needs and are focussed on responding to customer demand (Bénil-Gbaffou 2008b). Thus, rather than relying on public police who have multiple and sometimes competing mandates, customers of the private security industry are able to direct those whom they contract as they see fit (Shearing & Stenning 1983). This means that people’s subjective perceptions of

risk and vulnerability are more easily and readily assuaged through engaging specialised services. In South Africa, where visible policing and intimidatory tactics are regarded as the norm and most effective forms of regulation, wealthy suburban communities have banded together to employ security firms which conduct round-the-clock patrols in highly militarised, aggressive manners (Steinberg 2008). They therefore cater to communities' perceptions about what constitutes safety and help assuage their fears. It has also been shown that private security guards in CIDs and at the entrances to enclosed neighbourhoods and gated communities wield tremendous power in determining who is entitled to be present, frequently policing poor people out of revitalised urban areas and denying black people access to predominantly white suburbs and public spaces (South African Human Rights Commission 2004). They therefore pander to subjective views which associate black people with crime and threat and give these prejudices lived, physical expression, even though most security guards are black themselves¹⁰.

In addition to responding to people's racialised views of the world and understandings of crime and its causes, the ability of private security to respond to people's subjective needs fits well with consumer culture, which many critics regard as the dominant form and expression of social life at present. Loader, (1999, p.375) explains this culture as 'the practices, beliefs and passions associated with consumption' and argues, alongside others (see Harvey 1992), that this way of engaging with the world 'play[s] a major role in structuring contemporary economic, social and cultural life' (Loader 1999, p.375) It is a way of life that is embedded in the market and thus conforms well with neoliberal approaches to governance, which stress market-based solutions and economic efficiency as the key criteria on which evaluations, actions and, ultimately, the social good should be based. Private security, then, presents the optimum solution for consumers, not only because it makes rational sense in terms of providing focussed protection which responds directly to fears and risks – be they objective or subjective – but also because it allows people to enact the politics of consumer culture and avoid reliance on the state, which has become increasingly stigmatised and seen as a last resort (ibid). The South African state is severely overburdened and security services are spread thin. Privatised security services allow those who can afford them to gain access to additional services which respond to their fears and

¹⁰ There is an awkward and bitter irony in the way in which poor, uneducated black men are hired to protect the lives and property of wealthy white South Africans, as well as South Africans of other races, whose wealth and privilege largely came on the back of their oppression and exploitation. It is, therefore, unsurprising to learn that the private security industry has a very high rate of labour turn-over, particularly amongst security guards. Low pay, poor working conditions, long hours, few to no social benefits and un-stimulating, 'dead-end' jobs result in a 15-20% rate of labour turn-over per month in the guarding sector (Clarno & Murray 2013, p.214).

desires for enhanced, more visible and sustained policing. In CIDs this means that the needs and perceptions of businesses are placed above considerations about poor people's access to urban areas, informal livelihoods and freedom of movement. In residential areas gated communities allow wealthy people, the majority of whom remain white, to buy their way out of reliance on and interaction with the state and to retreat into worlds of privilege divorced from the messy social reality around them (Lemanski 2006a; Lemanski & Oldfield 2009; Landman 2013).

Gated communities, boomed-off suburbs, CIDs and private security regimes therefore prioritise narrow communal interests above other elements of human security, such as those emphasised by the United Nations. This gives further political import to communities' actions, as the formation of political community and pursuit of interest are, by nature, conflictual and, more often than not, reliant on the negation of another community's or class's interests (Hirst 1999). As Bénit-Gbaffou (2008a; 2008b) notes, giving communities the ability to police themselves and decide who should be protected automatically also gives them the ability to decide who is a threat and should be excluded. Gated communities, neighbourhood enclosures and other strategies for promoting self-reliance and decreasing the role of the state, such as street patrols or neighbourhood watch programmes (Newburn 2001; Morange & Didier 2006; Bénit 2002; Lemanski 2006a), then, encourage communities to exclude those deemed unwelcome. In South Africa, these are generally poor black people, be they beggars, those seeking informal employment, informal traders or people simply passing through a suburb, all of whom are deemed not to belong and thus become associated with crime and are kept out of increasingly exclusive neighbourhoods (Bénit-Gbaffou 2008b; Clarno & Murray 2013). In this way, particular types of idealised, exclusionary social order are preserved and segregated communities are created, despite them being at odds with the broader social goals of transformation and social inclusion which have characterised post-apartheid political rhetoric (Martin 1996; Battersby 2004; Lemanski 2006b). These communities of privilege are reflections of a deeply unequal social order, one in which race still frequently correlates with privilege and where wealth and race and the signs associated with these determine people's abilities to be part of communities, access public spaces and facilities and even feel safe.

Complicating security narratives: new forms of sociality and social relations emerging in exclusive spaces and fear of crime as a shared social concern

Yet, whilst the spread of gated communities and privatised security and policing services do indeed deserve the criticism they have received in academic literature, there is also growing recognition that the spatiality and social lives produced in gated communities are diverse and do not follow only one process or form. For instance, research into two mixed income housing projects in Gauteng reveals that whilst racial identities and divisions are still salient in many people's lives, there is also increased association and integration across racial groups and a shared culture is developing amongst residents in these settlements (Meny-Gibert 2013); Lemanski (2006b) finds similar forms of solidarity and social integration in a mixed housing development in Cape Town. Middle-class townhouse complexes in Roodepoort, too, are evincing racial and class tensions reminiscent of the apartheid period, as well as novel forms of sociality and integration (Chipkin 2012). Jürgens and Gnad (2002) and Jürgens et. al (2003) also show that the proportion of black residents living in gated communities is increasing, thus bringing people who were previously segregated into contact with one another and giving rise to new interactions across racial boundaries.

These examples illustrate that the spatial landscape, even in gated communities, is not singular but is always defined by a plurality of experiences and the simultaneity of encounters, perspectives, agendas and processes. It always needs to be born in mind that post-apartheid society is in a state of transition and that this opens up possibilities for identities and social relations to change and novel experiences to emerge (Nuttall 2004). Chipkin and Meny-Gibert (2013) call on researchers in South Africa to pay attention to the innovative, unexpected and new social forms, spaces and relations which have arisen and continue to evolve in the contemporary period. They point out that 'the intellectual challenge post-apartheid is to be able to identify how South African society is changing and to recognise what is new even when major continuities with the past persist' (Chipkin & Meny-Gibert 2013, p.154). Thus, whilst security provision may be overwhelmingly influenced by privatised, racialised practices, it is also complex and contested terrain which reflects local tensions and realities and 'the resultant contradictory pressures' (Miraftab 2007, p.619) these give rise to.

The right to security has come to be recognised as a basic human right, both within the United Nations framework and within the South African Constitution (Lemanski 2012). Yet, it is a right which is severely lacking in many instances, particularly in the lives and daily experiences of poor black people. The desire for security and the formation of community policing organisations, self-defence committees and even private security firms have always been prominent features of black urban life in South Africa (Steinberg 2008). Yet, these experiences are generally not acknowledged and academic literature maintains a fixation with regarding desire for security as a white, bourgeoisie concern (Dirsuweit 2002; 2007; Czeglédy 2003; Lemanski 2004). Security, particularly in its privatised form, is regarded as representative of a fixed social order. This approach neglects the challenges, emerging forms of commonality and possibilities which in fact make up contemporary South Africa. Morris (1999a) shows that fear of crime was prevalent amongst all residents in Hillbrow in the early 1990s, regardless of their race, and was central to shaping their experience of the area. He documents a sense of threat amongst white, Indian and black residents and shows how a sense of suspicion of both the inhabitants of the area and the built environment itself pervaded. These two accounts, taken from black residents who moved to Hillbrow from townships, illustrate this:

“In the township I come from people will come and help if you get mugged. In Hillbrow it’s a different story. People will just walk past you. Once you arrive in Hillbrow and you begin to help a person the very same person that you help will hurt you” (Morris 1999a, pg.202).

“I am very wary of the people who live in Hillbrow... Maybe there are some good people in Hillbrow but some of my friends have had bad experiences with the people they’ve met...You can’t trust anybody here” (Morris 1999a, pg.201).

It is therefore apparent that ‘talk of crime’ (Caldeira 2000), suspicion and fear permeate the social fabric of urban areas such as Hillbrow and define social relations for most residents in the inner-city. So whilst it might be the case that urban discourses ‘tend to legitimise and privilege the fears of the bourgeoisie, their fears of those others who might invade or disrupt their homely spaces, their habitus’ (Sandercock 2005, p.232), it needs to be remembered that this is not always the case and desires for safety and security are not the sole preserves of the bourgeoisie alone. Whilst urban regeneration and affordable housing developments rely heavily on security as they attempt to formalise previously disorderly, ‘lawless’ situations in which slum economics, absentee

landlords, illegal occupations and tenure insecurity prevailed (Murray 2008), it is not only investors who are benefitting from this stabilisation. Tenants or residents are potential beneficiaries of security, and this is not something that can be dismissed. The need and desire for security emerged as a strong theme in the course of the research which this thesis is based on and thus demonstrates how expanded understandings of security and what it represents and the types of urban lives it facilitates are required. The chapters which follow elaborate on this and contribute to expanding our understandings of security and its significances.

Conclusion: opening up our analytic accounts

The story of post-apartheid South Africa's capture by neoliberal, pro-market, anti-poor and undemocratic forces is a well told and powerful one. Yet, it is not the complete story. Similarly, the narrative that emphasises the exclusionary nature of spaces and political developments in Johannesburg's regeneration fails to account for the possibilities, agency and imaginations that are shaping the city. However, emphasis on new forms of urbanism and reinvention cannot come at the expense of uncovering and highlighting conflicts, ongoing and new forms of discrimination, exploitation and violence. Johannesburg, then, needs to be seen as a complex paradox in which it is all of these at once – neoliberal, socially progressive, democratic, exclusionary, a site of violence and fear, as well as transformation and democracy. These different aspects all inform and mutually-constitute one another and thus come to establish the social reality and order of the city. The difference and social messiness which shapes the city and also comes into being in and through it needs to be retained at the forefront of our imaginings and analyses. Doing so requires theoretical and analytic frameworks which draw attention to and seek to understand the ways in which people creatively and pragmatically live with complexity and paradox, and in so doing shape the social life of the city and the social order it is home to.

Thus, just as Robinson (2006) argues that urban scholars need to abandon obsessions with hierarchies and schemas in which cities are First or Third World, Global or Developing, and let cities be ordinary, so too do we need to abandon attempts to classify the city and capture it within one discourse. Cities need to be seen in their complexity, as shaped by multiple and contradictory dynamics, histories, aspirations and social relations. In order to understand a place such as Johannesburg and the forces of neoliberalism, privatization, securitisation, transformation and democratisation which are shaping it, this appreciation for simultaneity and complexity

needs to be built into conceptual and interpretive frameworks. Far from reducing our ability to speak decisively and authoritatively, highlighting multiplicity, simultaneity and the vernacular form of each urban process gets us closest to its reality. The following chapter will argue that the theoretical perspectives of Pierre Bourdieu and Henri Lefebvre offer productive frameworks through which this task can be completed and complex urban processes can be thought through.

Chapter Three: Spatial habitus: Bourdieu, Lefebvre and inner-city regeneration

The previous chapter demonstrated that urban society is defined and shaped by competing currents and agendas. It thus also engenders a multiplicity of experiences, identities, perspectives and forms of social life. In post-apartheid Johannesburg this complexity takes its form in the division between and simultaneous influence of oppressive forms of neoliberalism and securitisation, on the one hand, and the imperatives of redistribution, development and democratisation, on the other. The aim of this thesis, however, is not only to describe these divergent agendas, but to analyse and make sense of them and, most importantly, to scrutinise the impact they are having on how urban regeneration is being conceived and pursued and the effects it is having on the lived realities of the inner-city. In order to accomplish this goal, the thesis constructs a theoretical framework which is attuned to the ways in which macro forces, such as economic and urban governance policies, the increased privatisation of services such as security and the transformative ambitions of the post-apartheid period, shape the actions of individuals driving the regeneration process. It therefore attempts to account for the ways in which regeneration is an active process determined by individuals and social groups, as well as a reflection of wider, contradictory ambitions and discourses circulating in society. At the same time, it also recognises that space is a productive entity – it is not simply something which is acted on or produced by dominant visions and actors. Rather, it is always imbued with social and cultural meanings which act upon people and produce ways of thinking, acting and being. Therefore the thesis demonstrates how urban regeneration produces space in ways which reflect the dominant discourses which define post-apartheid South Africa, but also how the way in which the process is unfolding internalises and reflects the particular dynamics and logics of the space of the inner-city, making it a localised, vernacular project.

In order to accomplish this goal I turn to the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Henri Lefebvre, and attempt to synthesise some of their theoretical perspectives into a framework which draws attention to the ways in which regeneration projects reproduce socially dominant agendas and worldviews, but also reflect, internalise and respond to the dynamics and complexities of particular spaces. This is achieved by utilising Bourdieu's theories of habitus, capital and social reproduction alongside Lefebvre's analysis of the production and appropriation of space. These are combined to create a spatial account of habitus – i.e. an account which demonstrates how

spaces are shaped by the predetermined perceptions, aspirations, preferences and ideologies of actors, but simultaneously exert their own influence on people's dispositions, identities and worldviews. In this way, it is argued that space and habitus are mutually entwined – spaces are shaped by and produced through people's habitus, but habitus itself is shaped by and an outcome of experiences in space. Thus a spatialised account of habitus is arrived at.

This account is utilised in the thesis to interpret and explain that particular form which regeneration is taking in inner-city Johannesburg. It shows how actors driving urban regeneration come to possess and act with a habitus which reflects the competing imperatives of the post-apartheid period, which then become inscribed in the spaces produced through regeneration and the ways in which housing is provided. At the same time, it also shows how their dispositions and practices, and the results which these engender, are shaped by the demands of the inner-city. They therefore adapt their worldviews and actions and adopt practices which are attuned to the messy, complex and volatile nature of the area and implement strategies which not only dominate the space, but also reflect the developmental needs of the people residing in it. The theoretical lens elaborated in this chapter thus allows the thesis to account for and make sense of the effects of simultaneous currents, agendas, perspectives and goals on processes of regeneration and the ways in which these come to take on as well as reflect lived spatial reality

An overview of Bourdieu's and Lefebvre's theories: towards a spatial theory of habitus

Lefebvre and Bourdieu have several common themes running through their work, although there are also several significant differences. At its heart, Bourdieu's social theory has a concern with social order and the ways this is constituted and reproduced in society (van Holt 2012b). Similarly, Lefebvre is concerned with how cities and urban spaces are central to the production and reproduction of the capitalist spatial and social order (Merrifield 2006). Both Bourdieu and Lefebvre are intrigued by and help us understand how people live under systems of domination and come to reproduce these, whilst simultaneously retaining the capacities for individual action and expression. They also demonstrate how, whilst people do remain creative, agentful and able to shape the worlds around them, their actions also serve to reproduce social order and systems of hierarchy and stratification. In the South African context, they help us understand the

tensions between constricting neoliberal impulses, and how these reproduce social relations and forms of inequality, and the optimism and progressive politics of the post-apartheid period.

Bourdieu's social theory regards domination and social stratification as reinforced and reproduced through individual's ordinary lives and experiences. His analytic account focuses on individuals' social practices, cultural activities, experiences of education institutions and economic decisions and how all of these not only express the effects of social domination, but also reproduce the hierarchies and forms of stratification which capitalist society rests on (Seidman 2003). His is thus a theory which sees domination played out in individual's ordinary lives and experiences, and which therefore centres on individual agency and activity. It is a multi-faceted approach to questions of domination and the relationship between social structure and agency, and helps arrive at a nuanced understanding of how social orders are constituted and reproduced (Kelly & Lusi 2006). Lefebvre too focuses attention on daily life and lived reality. He treats it as a site of both domination and rebellion. Daily life in urban spaces is produced and overdetermined by the capitalist mode of production, and this system moulds people's identities, social relationships, forms of habitation and daily routines. At the same time, however, Lefebvre calls attention to the fact that spaces are constantly negotiated and contested. The ways in which people inhabit spaces and come to make lives and dwellings for themselves within them shape these spaces and inscribe them with meanings which can challenge or refute the dominant narratives and schemas through which they have been produced (Goonewardena 2008). Both Bourdieu and Lefebvre's theoretical frameworks draw attention to the ways in which daily life is complex and open to a variety of readings and processes. It consists of complexity, domination, contests and creativity and is central to the production, reproduction and alteration of urban societies and social orders.

An approach which focuses on the relationship between daily life, reproduction and social order is suitable for exploring urban regeneration, as this too is a form of creating and maintaining social order, or at least attempting to do so. Urban regeneration is about the transformation of cityscapes, not only their built form, but also in terms of how they are experienced, who gets to use and inhabit them, and the cultural meanings they are inscribed with (Bridge 2001). In Johannesburg, inner-city regeneration is frequently a process which seeks to bring order into decayed and chaotic spaces, to economically uplift areas which have been crippled by capital

flight, to attract investment back into the city, and to cultivate particular styles of living and ways of being urban (Murray 2008). It is thus deeply invested in efforts to produce social order and to reproduce it through the spaces which are created and the lives of the people who inhabit them. However, as the discussion in Chapter Two illustrated, it is uncertain what this social order represents at the present moment – it has features of conflict and exclusion, as seen in the spread of CIDs, exclusive forms of policing and a regeneration agenda which centres on attracting private investment; but it also incorporates transformative and democratic features and possibilities, as efforts are made to make the city more inclusive and to include developmental goals and practices in the regeneration process. Paying close attention to the ways in which the social order is emerging and how it is being reproduced, as well as how it is contested and subverted, allows us to, ultimately, analyse what it signifies – an exclusionary, constraining order or a progressive, transformative one, or a hybrid combination of both.

In urban studies, Bourdieu's work has most commonly been used in scholarship on gentrification. Several authors have found that studies which explain gentrification as a fundamentally economic process, centring on urban property markets and cycles of boom and bust, over-emphasise the structural elements at work. Smith (1979; 1987) explains gentrification as occurring due to the existence, at particular points in time, of a rent gap – i.e. a disjuncture between the market value of land in urban areas and its potential value. He argues that gentrification occurs as investors, frequently supported by the state, seek to capitalise on this gap and buy properties in economically depressed areas (Hackworth & Smith 2001). New market interest in these areas then comes to trigger competition and increase the demand for property, as more investors seek to capitalise on available opportunities. This then drives up land and rental prices and comes to crowd-out existing communities, who can no longer afford to live in areas being subjected to this process. This is a trend which has been found to define and account for gentrification in many different parts of the world (Edwards 2000; Darling 2005; Shin 2009c; Shin 2010). However, this form of analysis tends to neglect the agency of people involved in gentrification and obscure the cultural elements which shape the process and the production of urban spaces (Bridge 2001; Ley 2003).

Gentrifiers are not only speculators and property moguls, but are often members of the emerging professional middle class (Ley 2003). This class is not distinguished by its economic

wealth but by its cultural characteristics. Authors such as Zukin (1987; 1989) and Bridge (2001) note that the forerunners of gentrification are frequently artists and other professionals associated with the creative industries, who are attracted to run-down areas due to their 'edginess' and supposed distance from mainstream, bourgeois values, as well as the depreciated land values which can be found in less desirable urban settings. They therefore argue that there is a cultural element which drives gentrification, and turn to concepts derived from Bourdieu to make this case. Gentrifiers, it is argued, constitute a class rich in cultural capital, due to their aesthetised styles of living, ability to reject mainstream values and status as cultural arbiters (Butler & Robson 2001; Ley 2003). Cultural capital is the basis of distinction – the intangible but extremely powerful set of qualities and characteristics which differentiate members of society and social classes and perpetuate stratification (Bourdieu 1984a). According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital refers to the social competencies and abilities which individuals acquire and which make them adept at navigating various social settings. It manifests itself in manners of speech and dress, educational attainment and physical appearance or presentation. These are all codes through which people come to distinguish and claim identities for themselves, which they mobilise in order to gain advantages in various social settings (Reed-Danahay 2005).

Bourdieu uses cultural capital to explain how some members of society who are not necessarily in economically dominant positions still come to achieve influential and prestigious positions in the social hierarchy. In the case of artists, who frequently lack the financial dominance of the wealthy upper classes, their capital stems from their command of highly-valued and sought-after cultural goods and skills (Bridge 2001; Ley 2003). Their presence in an urban area frequently enhances its prestige and desirability and thus attracts other middle class groups and service industries. This new demand ultimately results in an area becoming increasingly fashionable, expensive and exclusive. In this way, gentrification – conventionally a process discussed and examined in economic terms – is shown to be part of a cultural and symbolic order too, and it is this coming together of the economic and cultural that makes it a factor in the reproduction of social domination.

In other studies authors have focussed on social capital and used it explain variations in processes of gentrification across different neighbourhoods. Butler and Robson (2001; 2003) account for the variety of neighbourhoods and social relationships which emerge through

processes of gentrification by examining the different forms of capital which the gentrifying classes mobilise. For instance they find that the London area of Battersea has attracted a class who are rich in economic capital but do not have strong social and cultural affinities, giving rise to a neighbourhood which is defined by distant social relationships and privatised approaches to urban living (such as the provision of social amenities, maintenance and education). In contrast, the Tulse Hill neighbourhood in Brixton has attracted a class who, whilst wealthier than the rest of the inhabitants of the borough, have less economic capital than those in Battersea, but possess greater stocks of cultural capital. This has allowed them to create a neighbourhood which is defined by strong affinities amongst the gentrifiers, giving rise to an active resident population. They therefore are influential in lobbying the local council and protecting their interests and lifestyle preferences. In this way, the authors use Bourdieu's differentiated theory of capital to account for the ways in which gentrification is not a 'unitary phenomenon' and show how each instance has its own social logics and outcomes (Butler and Robson 2001, p.2160).

Bourdieu's conceptual framework thus demonstrates that social action and domination is multi-faceted. Whilst his attention remains focussed predominantly on class domination (as opposed to other forms of social antagonism and oppression, such as gender or race) he shows how the class structure is not only a function of economics, but is also bound up in cultural, aesthetic, professional, and ideological systems (Kelly & Lusia 2006). He therefore moves away from a reductionist view of class and embeds it in broader, more nuanced forms of analysis. Economic stratification and cultural capital work in different but overlapping ways and are facets which allow for the production and reproduction of social order and the forms of domination this consists of (Reed-Danahay 2005). In Bourdieu's work, the concept which ties the different processes shaping social order and the practical functioning of domination together is 'habitus'. Cultural capital, although this has been the concept used most frequently in urban studies, forms part of Bourdieu's broader theory of habitus and it is this which should be regarded as the central component of his social theory. No discussion of cultural capital or social domination should proceed without acknowledging and understanding this concept and the role it is seen to play in structuring people's lives, their interactions and the social world in which they are located. Yet, there are very few examples in the urban studies literature of sustained engagements with this aspect of Bourdieu's analysis (Painter 2000; Savage 2011).

Habitus is the lived, embodied expression of cultural, class and other systems of domination (Holt 2008). It is a concept which refers to the daily actions, thoughts, interpretive schemas and aspirations of people and situates these within broader structural forces and forms of domination (Bourdieu 1984a; Bourdieu 2005a). It thus expresses the roles social structures play in shaping individual biographies, tastes, views of the world and the people and objects which constitute it, and their senses of themselves and their place in society (Hillier & Rooksby 2005a). It is thus a concept which seeks to overcome traditional binaries in sociological thinking between structuralist and humanist explanations (Wacquant 2004) and attempts to integrate social structure and individual agency to show how individual actions, whilst maintaining strong degrees and expressions of agency, are shaped by the prevailing structural forces in a society (Painter 2000). In this way, Burawoy (2012a) has likened it to ‘structuration’, a concept introduced by Giddens (2009), which shows how structure and agency are mutually-constitutive – i.e. that individuals are driven to act in accordance with the objective social structures they are shaped by, such as their class position, or gender or racial identity, but that through their actions, which maintain aspects of creativity and autonomy, they also reproduce social structure. For Giddens (ibid), there is no structure without individual action, just as there is no action without structural influences. Bourdieu’s concept of habitus follows the same line of reasoning. Thus he argues that ‘habitus is a system of *dispositions*, that is of permanent manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, or a system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) schemes or schemata or structures of conception and action’ (Bourdieu 2005a p.43).

Habitus is therefore a concept which seeks to account for individuals’ propensities to act, think about and perceive the social world in particular ways, and how these are reflective of their positions in society. For instance, returning to the gentrifying class, their position in-between the upper and lower classes accounts for their tastes and preferences with regard to aesthetics and housing styles (Mills 1988). In choosing to move into lower-income, run down areas, they are displaying their rejection of bourgeois values and styles, as well as their limited economic means. In this way their action is reflective of their objective as well as active positioning outside of and in opposition to mainstream cultural tropes. But at the same time as they reject one type of structure, they seek to distance themselves from the lower-income communities in which they settle through their expressions of individuality and artistic or aesthetic taste (ibid). Ironically, these tastes ultimately reflect the type of structure they are rejecting, as artistic appreciation, aesthetic judgements, and displays of particular lifestyles, Bourdieu (1984) shows, are signs of

distinction which divide the upper-classes from the rest of society. This mutually-reinforcing relationship between individual actions and broader structures is explained by Thompson (1991, p.13) as follows:

The dispositions produced...are also *structured* in the sense that they unavoidably reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired...As a durably installed set of dispositions, the habitus tends to generate practices and perceptions, works and appreciations, which concur with the conditions of existence of which habitus is itself the product.

Gentrifiers also come to create new structures and forms of domination, as particular urban areas and styles become desirable and thus reproduce themselves as signs of distinction, whilst simultaneously driving low-income residents out of areas which, as they become more fashionable, become more expensive to live in too (Zukin 1987; Mills 1988). In this way, their action, whilst agent-centred, is structurally-determined and also reproduces as well as generates new forms of structure. This process confirms Bourdieu's argument that habitus is a system that provides meanings and determines actions, and also comes into being through action. Thus he argues that habitus is 'never a mere principle of repetition – that is the difference between habitus and habit. As a dynamic set of dispositions that interact with one another, it has, as such, generative capacity' (Bourdieu 2005a, p.46).

The generative capacity of the habitus brings it in close proximity to Lefebvre's understanding of the appropriation and production of space. Just as Bourdieu sees social order and hierarchy as produced through objective structural conditions and reproduced through daily and bodily actions and dispositions, Lefebvre sees space as something which is at once produced by the dominant mode of production as well as productive of this order and the types of social relations and behaviours which it requires (Merrifield 2006). Space, for Lefebvre (1991), like habitus for Bourdieu, is determined and determining, structured and structuring. Lived reality and ordinary practices are part of this dual process, as Lefebvre's use of the terms 'dwelling' and 'appropriation' demonstrates. Both concepts refer to the ways in which people come to adapt and shape spaces to suit their needs and desires, although Lefebvre uses 'dwelling' to refer to individual practices and 'appropriation' is more often than not a collective activity (Stanek 2011). Through these two concepts Lefebvre seeks to encapsulate and draw attention to the creative

activities of people and the ways in which people express their individuality through practices occurring in spaces and in so doing come to shape these spaces according to their personal and collective needs. At the same time, however, these activities are always bounded and take place within restricted, socially produced circumstances. People's abilities to adapt and use spaces conform to the prevailing socio-spatial and cultural conditions in which they live. Thus, Lefebvre (1991, p.143) asserts that

Activity in space is restricted by that space; space 'decides' what activity may occur. Space lays down the law because it implies a certain order...Space commands bodies, prescribing or proscribing gestures, routes and distances to be covered. It is produced with this purpose in mind.

Space, then, comes to symbolise, embody and give form to a social order, as well as serve as the platform through which this order is performed and lived. For Lefebvre this happens through the material realities and possibilities space creates, but also through the discursive meanings and forms of domination it is produced by and comes to contain and convey.

Lefebvre regards social order as consisting of three components: firstly, it begins from and is impossible without its material base; secondly, language and knowledge come to frame and legitimate this base; and thirdly, everyday practices express what this social order really means on a practical, lived level (Schmid 2008). The material base Lefebvre is most concerned about is physical space itself, particularly urban space. This forms the basis of a social order as it is not simply an empty receptacle into which meanings are placed, but is part of the very system through which meanings and practices arise (Lefebvre 1991). The production of urban spaces, according to Lefebvre, is part of the process through which capitalism circulates and renews itself. The built urban environment and property market within it comes to fulfil the 'subordinate function' of boosting the economy during times of crisis and also acts as a leading component of the production and circulation of commodities (Lefebvre 1991, p.336). In contemporary society, 'capital has rushed into the production of space in preference to the classical forms of production' which focussed on industry and consumer goods (Lefebvre 1991, p.335). This provides a 'spatial fix' for capitalism in moments of decline or crisis, and also ensures that the social relations of this system are reproduced (Harvey 2006). Capitalist space concentrates industries, people, services and resources together in cities, making cities centres of economic

and social life. In this way, they also become central aspects of the reproduction of capitalist social relations as they embody these relations and make them the basis for everyday life.

Capitalist space, for Lefebvre, is homogenous and abstract. It is exchangeable and emptied of its social and collective nature and use value, just like other commodities in this system (Shields 1999). Inhabitants of space experience it in this alienated way and are also alienated from their fellow inhabitants and the wider worlds around them. Capitalist space therefore reproduces the estrangement between people and the products of their labour, between individuals, and between people and the wider social system which defines the capitalist mode of production (Craib 1997; Shields 1999; Seidman 2003). Hence Lefebvre argues that spaces under capitalism are designed and conceived in order to be reproducible, and therefore to reproduce the social relations they are founded on. He thus argues that as space is '[o]riented toward the reproduction of the social relations of production, the production of space enacts a logic of homogeneity and a strategy of the repetitive' (Lefebvre 1991, p.189). Space is thus not simply the physical environment in which activities take place, but is, in fact, a central element shaping how social relations, practices and daily lives are lived. In this line of reasoning, it bears strong similarity to the habitus, in that it is both a product and reflection of a dominant social order, as well as a means through which this order comes to be lived and reproduced. Just as the habitus defines the types of behaviour which can be regarded as appropriate and desirable and inscribes ways of thinking and acting in individuals, so too do the ways spaces are constructed, imagined and conceived produce behaviours and lived realities in people who encounter them.

Furthermore, because people also make or shape spaces, the ways in which they act come to imbue places with meaning, just as the ways in which people act reproduce forms of distinction and stratification. Whilst practices of dwelling and appropriation have the capacity to produce new social spaces, they also reproduce social order and relations. Experiences of gentrification again provide telling examples of how this theoretical insight works in practice. Harris (2012) demonstrates how groups of artists moved into abandoned industrial spaces in the east London area of Hoxton in the 1990s. As they came to inhabit and appropriate this largely derelict area they infused its spaces with new meanings and experiences. Thus Hoxton Square, a small, barren park, became a platform for exhibitions, happenings and cultural fairs and slowly became one of the cornerstones of the area's emerging social scene and reputation. However, this reputation

was created by the artists emphasising particular aspects and features of the area's working class history which appealed to them and deliberately disengaging with and distancing themselves from the surrounding area's multi-ethnic and largely poor residents. They therefore produced a meaning for and experience of the area which reflected their backgrounds (largely white, middle-class), tastes and social practices. These came to define the area in the popular consciousness, and also attracted the attention of developers and businesses as the area's reputation as a cutting-edge, fashionable district developed. Many artists were quick to capitalise on this interest, forging partnerships with large developers and financial sponsors, thereby launching their careers and accelerating gentrification in the area.

In these ways, the artistic set appropriated spaces and infused them with new meanings, but did so in ways determined by the wider capitalist system. They therefore demonstrate the capacities people have to create new spaces, but how this creation is frequently over-determined by prevailing social relations. Thus, in Lefebvre's understanding appropriation is a 'creative and expressive negotiation between the spatial affordances and the cultural significations' which prevail in particular societies (Stanek 2011 p.93). In this sense, space provides the platform or possibility for action, but limits the type of actions which can take place. This is a function of the material limitations of space – topography, architectural layouts, physical constraints – but also due to the ways in which space reflects and reproduces social relations. Just as the habitus directs and motivates action whilst simultaneously prescribing and regulating it, so too does space facilitate action but also delimit and confine it.

Bourdieu comes closest to giving his theorisations of social domination and reproduction a spatial perspective in *The Social Structures of the Economy* (Bourdieu 2005b), in which he examines the housing market in France, particularly the market for single-family homes. In this work he demonstrates how the housing market is produced by, and in turn comes to reproduce, cultural and class domination. He examines the ways in which single-family homes are marketed and the types of cultural representations they come to signify. His research reveals that not only do the images associated with homes and homeownership reproduce the symbols and styles of living of the traditional nuclear family, but that they also replicate the class divisions and aesthetic judgements and lifestyles which are synonymous with the economic order in France.

Low-income individuals' choices in housing are driven by necessity, and they are the class most likely to rent accommodation in Bourdieu's (2005b) study. The middle-class, in contrast, seeks housing that allows them to live or appear to live an upper-class lifestyle, and therefore seek homes which carry the allure and pretence of style, grandeur and distinction. Their habitus, then, reflects the hierarchies of taste and distinction which characterise the division of the French social order. Bourdieu's research, however, reveals that these attempts frequently fail and that middle class homes are often simulacra of upper-class style and wealth. Just as in the art world, education and physical expression, the upper-class come to be the ones best able to capture and display the correct signs of distinction, and thus possess not only the highest amounts of financial capital, but the most cultural prestige and social capital too. It is, then, their habitus which prevails and reflects the qualities or capital which the social order valorises. Thus, Bourdieu's study not only establishes the ways in which the housing market functions through cultural distinctions, but shows how the significations of the demand for single-family housing, the cultural tropes and hierarchies that are mobilised in order to popularise different forms of living and the barriers to entry into the market different social groups face actually reflect and reproduce the social order. His analysis thus moves away from a 'strictly' economic account of people's decisions in the housing market, replacing this with a *social* understanding of how the economy functions and how people act within it.

Lefebvre (1991) too examines the ways in which housing reflects and reproduces the social order. For him, the production of housing is influenced by and forms part of the larger processes whereby spaces are produced by capital. Through the infusion of space with exchange value, space itself becomes an abstract commodity and a consumer good. This means that it becomes central not only to the sustained functioning of the capitalist economy, but to the reproduction of capitalist society itself. In his reflections on the development of the new town of Mourenx, he laments the development of a space in which every element seems to be carefully designed and thought out so as to facilitate 'the smooth circulation of people and vehicles', and thus to maximise time efficiency (Moran 2005, p.116). He revolts at the idea of a town divorced from other forms of history and cultural production, and thus of human agency and creativity. In contrast to his birthplace, the historic town Navarrenx, which he nostalgically characterises as a 'living creature', defined by layer upon layer of historic and cultural sediment, he sees an urban model developing in which 'everything is organized, neatly subdivided and programmed to fit a controlled, exact timetable' (Lefebvre 1995, p.119). It is a town which mirrors industrial space

and time, and reproduces the social relations and lived experience of the industrial capitalist order. It does this through managing the spaces people inhabit, and thus determining the everyday lives people lead, the opportunities they have to socialise, the ways in which this socialisation takes place, the forms of cultural entertainment they engage in, and the ways they reproduce themselves.

In *The Production of Space* (1991, p.232), he concludes that

in the extensions and proliferations of cities, housing is the guarantee of reproductivity, be it biological, social or political. Society no longer totalises its elements, nor seeks to achieve such a total integration through monuments. Instead it strives to distil its essence into buildings.

Housing, then, is a form of social reproduction. It is both the physical site in which the working class reproduces itself as well as the social and cultural expression of this social order. As Schmid (2008, p.47) points out, ‘spatial structures have a significant capacity to symbolise social relations and the distribution of social positions and roles’. Thus, the homogeneity, interchangeability, blandness and regulation which confront occupants of low-income housing (Milgrom 2008) – in direct contrast to the ways in which the upper-classes of Bourdieu’s study are able to express their ‘individual’ taste and distinction through their homes – is a powerful expression of their place in the social order. The production of space in general, and housing in particular, is a means through which the relations of production which constitute capitalist society are produced and reproduced, and space comes to serve as a means through which social relations are lived and ‘crystallised’ (Lefebvre 1991, p.34). It gives rise not only to a social order, but to the social and spatial practices on which this order depends for its reproduction.

Habitus and space therefore come to play similar roles in Bourdieu and Lefebvre’s theoretical frameworks. Both concepts emphasise how social life is structured and determined by macro forces, particularly capitalism, but also emphasise how social structures acquire meaning and are reproduced through daily activity. Inspired by Bourdieu’s interest in housing, for example, I propose that it is possible to draw the concepts together and move towards a theorisation of how space and habitus shape each other – i.e. how habitus arises in and through space, and how spaces are shaped by and in accordance with habitus. Bringing the two together adds analytical impetus to the respective concepts – despite demonstrating how habitus is embodied and

reflected in people's styles of dressing, eating, recreation and gender roles, Bourdieu does not have a theory of space, referring only to 'social space' or 'fields' in which different actors and classes struggle for dominance (Savage 2011). The addition of an overtly spatial element to habitus therefore aids in understanding the dynamic, mutually-determining relationship between people and the social and physical environments they inhabit. Bringing habitus into Lefebvre's analysis of space is also helpful, as the concept foregrounds the ways in which objective, external structures and forms of stratification shape people's dispositions, interactions, frameworks for thinking and everyday activities. It thus brings issues of domination and social reproduction to the fore and helps clarify his assertions that social order and domination are reproduced through space. Through a focus on habitus we can better understand and describe the different forms of domination circulating and reflected in people's actions, and how these come to shape spaces and the ways they are experienced. It thus becomes possible to understand space as a product of particular types of habitus and habitus as reaffirmed in and through space (Holt 2008).

Some recent work has already attempted to bring these theorists together. Centner (2008) uses the concept 'spatial capital' to analyse how certain groups take control of places. Using the example of tech industry workers in San Francisco in the late 1990s, he argues that the combination of shared economic, social and cultural capital imbues certain groups with abilities to claim and shape spaces through their shared consumption patterns and lifestyles. He documents how, as this group of young, extremely wealthy professionals became established in San Francisco, neighbourhoods began to be gentrified and other residents in these areas began to be pushed out and feel out of place. He therefore argues that spaces were produced by and as reflections of this class's lifestyles, preferences and tastes – i.e. their habitus – and that those who did not possess this habitus and the requisite forms of capital came to be excluded and marginalised in the city. He thus attempts to show how space is produced to reflect and appeal to forms of habitus. In turn as people successfully navigate and establish themselves in spaces, their stocks of spatial capital are enhanced and they became entrenched as geographically dominant.

Putting concepts to work: urban regeneration, spatial habitus and symbolic violence in Johannesburg

In addition to cases of gentrification, the concepts ‘spatial capital’ and ‘spatial habitus’ can be helpful for analysing urban regeneration projects too. The alteration and improvement of urban areas is an exercise in generating new conditions and ways of living. The ideas behind regeneration schemes may have their roots in socially acquired dispositions and perceptual frameworks, but regeneration is also an activity that brings these to life and imposes them on spaces and, consequently, on the people inhabiting them. As the previous chapter discussed, these projects and the management and security practices surrounding them frequently diagnose particular practices and uses of urban space as undesirable. This again reflects and reproduces the dominant hierarchy and classificatory schema at work in powerful groups’ habitus, and gives this spatial meaning as it determines who can and cannot be present in space and how particular spaces should and should not be used (Butler and Robson 2003). It is a practice which thus not only inscribes meanings and perceptual schemas into spaces, but also alters the lived reality of these spaces and shapes individual and social behaviour within them, once again reproducing a form of habitus.

Strategic documents outlining some of the City of Johannesburg’s ambitions and visions for inner-city regeneration demonstrate this process. The Inner City Business Plan, for instance, notes that a positive ‘sense of place’ needs to be created in the inner-city so that regeneration is possible, and that this entails the establishment of ‘coffee shops and similar activities’ (City of Johannesburg 2004 p.19). This sense of place is one that appeals to the sensibilities and interests of the business community and middle-class consumers. For instance, the CJP, promotes the idea that regeneration and desirable cities require ‘vibrant’ users such as artists and entertainers and consumer-oriented functions, such as cafés and retail outlets (Peyroux 2006 p.10). This coincides with an evaluation of the inner-city’s assets which foregrounds elements such as craft industries, live music and performing arts venues and printing and publishing establishments (Johannesburg Development Agency 2001, p.11). These are constructed as aspects of the inner-city which should be embraced and accentuated by regeneration. They are aspects which fit into a habitus and social order which emphasises forms of recreation and consumption enjoyed by the middle class and attempts to produce spaces which will reflect this.

At the same time, just as particular elements are classified as good and desirable, other elements of the inner-city come to be relegated and cast as problems or threats. The JDA, for example, highlights the need for regeneration to focus on addressing grime and urban decay, as these are seen to negatively affect investor confidence and increase perceptions of risk (Johannesburg Development Agency 2001). The Inner City Business Plan too argues that negative perceptions can be reduced through addressing 'sinkholes'. These are identified as abandoned and poorly maintained buildings. These buildings, which are health and safety hazards and are frequently controlled by criminal or building hijacking syndicates, do have serious detrimental impacts on the urban environment and its population. However, in addition to these buildings, which also provide accommodation for some of the city's poorest residents, properties used for 'illegal or unsuitable purposes' such as 'shebeens [unlicensed drinking taverns] and clubs in incorrect places, prostitution, drugs, sweatshops, panel beaters in residential areas etc.' are also highlighted as problems which need to be removed in order for regeneration to take place (City of Johannesburg 2004, p.11). Thus certain activities come to be seen as appropriate for the social and spatial order being created whilst others, whether they are legal or not, are identified as obstacles or threats.

This system of classification and specifying particular practices and the people associated with them as illegitimate or undesirable is what Bourdieu (1984) terms 'symbolic domination' or 'symbolic violence'. Symbolic domination refers to the ways in which certain styles, body types, classes and cultures are excluded from or subjugated by the social order, and thus classified as unimportant, undesirable, unproductive or even dangerous and socially detrimental (Dovey 2005). Symbolic violence refers to the practice of domination and the ways in which groups and the practices associated with them, once identified as undesirable, are relegated in the social hierarchy and prevailing habitus. Bourdieu uses it to show how domination becomes naturalised and consensual, as dominated social groups come to accept their marginal status and conform to the prevailing habitus and socio-cultural hierarchy (Burawoy 2012b).

Lefebvre (1991) points to a similar process happening in the production of space, particularly in instances of what he calls 'conceived space'. In this term he is referring to the spaces produced by dominant actors, be they planning officials, architects or other built environment professionals, businesses or property developers. In his dialectic spatial triad, Lefebvre

emphasises how space is three dimensional and can be comprehended and lived on three levels (Schmid 2008). The first he classifies as 'perceived space' – this is the realm of the senses, and designates the sensuousness and materiality of space, the way it is an essential element of people's and societies' corporeal reality. The second is 'conceived space' – the space which is thought and named. There can be no perception that precedes conception and all sensuous activity, in Lefebvre's dialectic theory, is mediated by thought and positivist knowledge (ibid). Thus experiences or perceptions of space are largely determined by conceptions of space and how spaces come into being in the realm of thought and reason before they are experienced. The final element of the triad is lived space, which is used to denote that, whilst spaces are conceived and perceived, they also always exceed our imagination, senses and awareness. It is the term Lefebvre uses to emphasise how space has an abundance or 'surplus' of meanings and experiences and can never be grasped, viewed or experienced in totality, as it is always more than the sum of what is readily perceived and conceived (Schmid 2008, p.40).

However, the tension in the triad emerges in the way in which conceptions of space attempt to create and impose spatial visions, ideas, plans and practices. Conceived space refers to the 'representations of space' various planners and specialists draw up in accordance with the mandates and interests they are serving (Ronneberger 2008, p.137). In so doing, however, they privilege their representations over the other aspects which make up space, and in so doing seek to exercise domination over particular places. Uses for and experiences of space which do not fit into these representations are written and planned out, and space is produced as empty, homogenous and replicable – i.e. abstract. Hence spaces of difference, encounter, artistic expression and spontaneity are neglected and curtailed by the plans for towns such as Mourenx, and these experiences, whilst never disappearing from space, which can never be completely controlled or determined, are deemed unimportant to urban life. This is akin Bourdieu's notion of 'symbolic domination', which relegates the practices and lifestyles associated with the dominated working classes whilst valorising those of the economically and culturally dominant (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990).

At the same time, symbolic violence goes beyond class domination; in particular urban regeneration projects it is expressed in spatial form, particularly in the representations of space on which these are based. In the case of inner-city Johannesburg, harmful, illegal activities such

as drug dealing and building hijacking/extortion obviously are threats to the social fabric. However, other activities which do not fit into the prevailing habitus and conceptions of space produced by local government also come to be classified and targeted as obstacles to regeneration or problematic features of the spatial landscape. They are, then, subjected to and negated through symbolic violence. This has been the case with informal traders, who have long been regarded as both signs and causes of inner-city decay. Popke and Ballard (2004) demonstrate how white residents of Durban regard the increased presence of black street traders in the city as signs of the area's decline and destruction. They express both psychic and physical revulsion at their presence and associate them with disease, chaos and physical threat (ibid). Similar practices of symbolic violence have been at work in other South African cities too, and have seen the livelihood strategies employed by economically marginal people, who are also predominantly black, come under increased threat. In Cape Town, the head of the Cape Town Partnership – the equivalent of the CJP – has designated informal parking attendants as “terrorists” (quoted in Didier et al. 2012 p13), and has declared forcefully that they are threats to the city's regeneration which need to be managed and eventually eliminated.

In Johannesburg, the conflict between informal traders, local businesses and the state has been prevalent since the 1980's (Beavon & Rogerson 1986) and has seen various violent ‘clean-up’ raids taking place. In less violent instances, it has also seen the roll-out of programmes which attempt to remove informal traders from the city's streets and confine them to designated markets where they can be regulated and taxed. In these schemes the authorities' goal is to convert informal traders from signs of the area's disorderliness, danger and inhospitably into disciplined entrepreneurs, representing the orderliness of the city and the role it plays in incubating enterprise and the neoliberal order (Gotz & Simone 2003). This is thus a discursive strategy which seeks to alter the ways in which particular social groups and their practices are defined and identified, but also a spatial strategy which shapes the nature and character of spaces as well as the people using and inhabiting them.

These examples speak to the ways in which a dominant habitus circulates in post-apartheid South Africa which persists in framing signs of informality and disorderliness as problems which are incompatible with the desired type of inner-city. It makes itself felt in the general perceptions and discourses which circulate amongst the South African public, particularly amongst the white

middle- and upper- classes, as well as in local government strategies and policies and the approaches adopted by the highly influential business community. The increased regulation and securitisation of inner-city spaces and policing of particular people within them demonstrates not only how a habitus which exercises symbolic violence circulates, but also how it is integral to the ways in which inner-city spaces are being shaped. Stanek (2008, p.125), quoting Lefebvre, explains how ‘space is produced according to “rules assigning significations to spaces, significations that are a function of a certain vision of social relationships”’. The rules which are being imposed in inner-city areas across South Africa, particularly in CIDs and targeting street children, informal traders and parking attendants signify the types of social relations and practices prominent in some forms of regeneration, and are turning these visions and the habitus they are born out of into spatial reality.

Accounting for multiple forms of habitus

However, theories which focus so strongly on modes and moments of domination and the reproduction of social order potentially miss the uncertainty, conflictual and diverse nature of urban societies. There is a danger in seeing domination and social reproduction as inevitable, and, as Chapter Two argued, theoretical perspectives need to remain open to the multiple forms of order, ideologies and agendas which make up urban societies and processes of change. Bourdieu’s understanding of social order and the ways in which it is reproduced has been criticised for being overly deterministic and, despite Bourdieu’s claims that habitus has a conception of agency at its core, lacking a theory of social change (Hillier & Rooksby 2005b; Burawoy 2012a). Therefore, in order for his theories to be useful in the South African context, whilst histories and current forms of oppression, discrimination and exploitation cannot be overlooked, these cannot be regarded as the only narratives which are present in post-apartheid urban South Africa (Nuttall 2004). Analysis needs to pay attention to the contestations and breaks with these forms of domination, and must leave room to account for the creative ways people shape their realities and the multiplicities of experiences, discourses and processes which are circulating in society.

Lefebvre provides a framework for this mode of analysis as, whilst he does focus on how spaces are reflective of and produced in accordance with a dominant order, he shows how the meanings of spaces actually emerge through the ways in which they are used, experienced and appropriated

by people. His concept of 'lived space' is contrasted with the static, pre-determined category 'conceived space' (Lefebvre 1991; Shields 1996). Whilst the latter emphasises the ways in which spaces are planned and regulated, the former emphasises the creative and in-process nature of space (Schmid 2008). The different uses spaces are put to through people's everyday lives imbue them with meaning and frequently disrupt the official and intended forms and representations of space. Therefore, Lefebvre urges us to see space as constantly negotiated, contested and disrupted and to recognise that the right to the city is exercised not only through formal processes and overtly political statements or actions, but through the inhabitation of urban spaces and the ways a variety of people live in, make use of and appropriate them too (Purcell 2002).

Whilst Bourdieu has been criticised for utilising a theoretical framework which tends towards totalising explanations and assumptions about the effects of domination on individuals and social life and for making social order appear all-pervasive and static, he nevertheless contends that habitus, like space, is changeable and dynamic (Bourdieu 2005a). Indeed, his notion of habitus arose directly out of a desire to explain experiences of social change, as he witnessed Algerian peasant farmers' struggles to adapt to the world of French colonialism, as well as the plight of middle-aged bachelors in the Bearn region of France, who too found themselves and their habits and customs outdated, and thus lost within their society (Bourdieu 2000; 2005a; Reed-Danahay 2005). He therefore asserts that it is precisely this mismatch between traditional habits and ways of being and new social circumstances demanding different forms of self-presentation, social action and distinctions which led him to understand the effects of what he calls habitus – i.e. enduring, socially learnt dispositions and ways of apprehending and acting in the social world (Bourdieu 2000). At the same time, he and others who have utilised his concept note that allowances have to be made for both the creative ways people adapt to their social settings as well as the dynamic nature of social structures, particularly in transitioning societies such as those in the postcolonial world (Bourdieu 2005a; Hillier & Rooksby 2005a).

For example, Collet (2009) argues that as habitus is a concept which emerged out of people's experiences of changing social milieus and the disjunctures between their inherited, enduring practices and contemporary social worlds, it is a concept which actually assists significantly in understanding experiences of social change. This is demonstrated by Kelly and Lusi (2006), who

argue that Filipino migrants living in Canada retain some elements of the habitus and cultural practices which they learnt in the Philippines, whilst simultaneously adapting these to suit Canadian society. They thus show that habitus is both enduring and dynamic and gives important insights into the ways in which people cope with and experience changing social circumstances, as well as how these changes manifest in their daily lives, interactions, value systems and identities.

In order to make sense of the processes underway in Johannesburg's inner-city, it is essential that the effects of transition on social actors are taken into account. It is also crucial that analysis is sensitive to the ways in which previously entrenched perceptions and assumptions are maintained. As Bourdieu points out, in 'rapidly changing societies, habitus changes constantly, continuously, but within the limits inherent in its originary structure, that is within certain bounds of continuity' (Bourdieu 2005a, p.47). This again echoes Lefebvre's theory of space, which insists on reading spaces as producing the dominant social order but also holding possible avenues for its subversion and alteration. Yet, the subversion which takes place occurs in and against pre-existing spatial limitations, which ultimately shape the forms which everyday life and forms of appropriation take. Thus, Stanek (2011) explains that Lefebvre saw space as simultaneously proscriptive of certain actions, but also enabling of others. Hence he writes that since space is "an outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others" (Stanek 2011, pp.141-142). In this sense, then, 'space is simultaneously an instrument and a goal, a means and an end, a process and a product....space "is at once result and cause, product and producer"' (Stanek 2011, p.141).

Thus, spatial practices and everyday forms of appropriation and inhabitation need to be understood as always in dialectic relation with the past and the over-arching structures and discourses which give rise to them (Shields 1996). Practices which challenge and break away from dominant forms of habitus and spatial domination remain produced within and in relation to these frameworks. This is well illustrated by inner-city Johannesburg and the process of racial transition which it has gone through. During apartheid African urbanity was strenuously denied and restricted and urban spaces were used to produce and reinforce the racial order. This meant that at times the very presence of black people in white spaces was an act of rebellion or subversion. It also meant that inner-city spaces became sites of struggle and were used to assert

new identities and political orders. In the early 1990s black people residing in the inner-city, previously the heart of the discriminatory system, became a powerful expression of the changes the country was undergoing and also served as a precursor to the collapse of the formalised system of segregation. Morris (1999b) notes how the increased desegregation of Hillbrow was accompanied by increased assertiveness on the part of the black population.

This assertiveness is seen through the transposition of boycott strategies and collective, neighbourhood organisation models from the townships into inner-city buildings. In order to combat exploitative landlords and assert their right to belong, tenants and local activists organised boycott campaigns and attempted to set up committees to manage the day-to-day running of buildings (Morris 1999c). The liberation struggle was thus extended into the fabric of the inner-city. Even acts of vandalism came to express this political assertiveness, with political slogans such as 'Viva Tambo' and 'Viva Mandela' being scrawled on the interiors of buildings (Morris 1999c, p.518). This can be seen as a form of appropriation and a practice which exercises the right to the city (Schmid 2008) which the black population was denied during apartheid; it was a way of asserting who buildings actually belonged to and who had the right and ability to give them meaning in the emerging social order.

The streets too became spaces of assertiveness, as they allowed for interactions between the different races to take place. For instance, one white resident recoils from the new confidence and sense of belonging which black people began to evince in the area's public spaces by complaining, "I mean they [black people] don't give way for you, you know. They just bump into you. You've always got to give way for them. They'll never give way for you" (quoted in Morris 1999b, p.688). Another white resident also notes that public spaces became sites for staging overtly political sentiments and forms of rebellion. With fear she narrates

"The blacks in Hillbrow, their attitude is, 'I'm ANC and you will bend to ANC'. And that's the attitude. You walk in the streets you know, like I'm not concerned about politics, but now I'm standing at the robot [traffic light], three or four black chaps or whoever comes past you, saying 'Black power' and they keep on waiting for you to say the wrong thing. They stand next to you, 'Black power, black power'" (quoted in Morris 1999b, p.687).

These examples show new ways of being in the city, and what being urban came to mean in democratising South Africa. It shows how daily life and actions are infused with political significance and how experiences of apartheid gave rise to ‘a habitus composed of dispositions to resistance, bravery and defiance’, which continues to define many elements of collective life and daily interactions (van Holt 2012c, p.202). This habitus was born out of spatial experiences from the past and reshapes spaces in the present. The above examples therefore illustrate the compatibility of the concepts ‘habitus’ and ‘the production or appropriation of space’. In inner-city Johannesburg urban spaces are key sites in which new identities are emerging and being articulated. Inner-city spaces, then, are not only the physical spaces where a new political order is coming into being, but are vital components of this process. The post-apartheid order, like the apartheid order before it, is not made in urban space, but *through* it (Robinson 1996).

These instances show that even as the inner-city has been a site of domination, it has also engendered resistance and been ascribed new meanings. These meanings also do not necessarily disappear, even in the face of large-scale regeneration projects and spatial representations emerging from powerful actors. Rather, these different experiences and forms of habitus circulate simultaneously. The post-apartheid order is far from certain, stable or even unitary (van Holt 2012a). It is messy, contested, contradictory and paradoxical and South African society is better understood as having multiple social orders. There are also, therefore multiple forms of habitus circulating in and shaping the society (van Holt 2012c), which are also giving meaning to and being shaped by urban space. Thus, whilst forms of habitus associated with racial prejudice continue to prevail amongst some sections of the population and whiteness still connotes privilege and distinction in some milieus, Nuttall (2008) describes how certain advertising billboards around Johannesburg are representative of new forms of racial identities and cultural hierarchies that have emerged in the post-apartheid period. She demonstrates how advertisers play with images and symbols of race and oppression from the apartheid period, and rework them to brand and popularise products, but also to assert a new social order, in which urban black identities take precedence and are deemed the ‘coolest’ or most fashionable (Nuttall 2008, p.109). They therefore speak to and demonstrate new forms of distinction, classification and hierarchy which are emerging in the post-apartheid period and thus represent and reproduce a new type of social space and social order.

This new social order has arisen out of and been built on the foundations laid by the previous order. It therefore demonstrates both breaks from and continuities with the past. Space is integral to this, as it is infused with multiple meanings and formed through processes of domination as well as subversion. Hence advertisements on buildings do not only represent the changing racial order, but also represent South Africa's increased integration into the global market and quest for World City status. Advertisements for luxury whiskeys, multinational corporations, cosmetics, telecommunications giants, and even world famous footballers now adorn the surfaces of buildings and dominate the Johannesburg skyline. In this way, 'billboards, newsprint, magazine covers, road signs, even the entire surfaces of buildings constitute a stream of local and global city signs, of Johannesburg representation' (Nuttall 2008, p.91). But representations of Johannesburg are also found at street level, in the more subterranean images and signs of everyday life in the city. They are found in the ways in which people come to re-use and re-imagine spaces which they were previously denied access to. Hence the presence of informal traders at intersections and on street corners demonstrates how people are finding new ways to extract economic opportunities from the city (Bremner 2002; Bouillon 2002; Steck et al. 2013). Similarly, people sheltering in abandoned buildings and industrial spaces around the inner-city, whilst forced to endure severe hardships and precariousness, are also finding new uses for the remnants of the city's built environment and are constructing spaces of survival and stability out of them.

These different representations of and uses for the inner-city's spaces have engendered new forms of sociality and ways of being urban. These are slowly gaining increasing acceptance in different strata of society, demonstrating that changes in spatiality are able to change people's conceptions, dispositions and views – i.e. their habitus. For instance, whilst some of the strategies which regeneration rests upon have, as this chapter has discussed, pandered to the tastes and preferences of the middle classes and sought to exert order and stability over a messy, complicated place, other documents chart more flexible, nuanced territory. For instance, the Inner City Housing Action Plan (ICHAP), developed by the City of Johannesburg, seeks to find ways to support the creation of a range of tenure options in Johannesburg's inner-city, including social rental housing, affordable, low-income accommodation, boarding houses with communal bathroom and kitchen facilities, emergency accommodation for people who are displaced from buildings undergoing renovation and even short-stay options for cross-border traders (City of Johannesburg 2007a). The plan thus recognises that there a variety of income levels, forms of

livelihoods, types of people and social practices present in the inner-city, and tries to build an approach to housing which reflects these. It demonstrates how habitus and policy is able to change in the face of fluid social and spatial circumstances. If housing is the guarantor of social reproduction, as Lefebvre argues, then the approach adopted in the ICHAP demonstrates that a more flexible, hybridised and diverse form of social order is potentially being reproduced in the inner-city, which acknowledges a variety of needs and urban experiences.

Furthermore, whilst the City of Johannesburg has waged an ongoing battle against informal traders and generally maintains the view that they are blights on the urban landscape which need to be removed, this form of employment enjoys widespread acceptance amongst many members of the public. In a recent survey, the Gauteng City Region Observatory (GCRO) finds that 43% of the people who participated in their research felt that informal traders damage the image of an area, indicating that the majority did not agree with this assumption¹¹. Furthermore, 50% of their informants agreed with the statement 'People selling on the street make the area feel safer'¹². In this instance they dispute the association between informal trade, urban decay, danger and crime and show they are able to accept changing uses of the city's spaces. This shows that there are multiple forms of habitus and modes of appreciation circulating in South African society and that no single viewpoint, lifestyle and classification system can be seen to be dominant. There are therefore a range of habituses in circulation, and these respond to and reflect the changing spatial order.

Therefore, as much as there are actors and forces seeking to impose order, to regulate space and produce an inner-city which conforms to World City status and a habitus which values middle class consumption styles and senses of propriety, there are also actors who are driven by different imperatives and forms of habitus who are as influential in producing the lived spaces of the area. The various survival strategies, ways of fighting for space and opportunities and attempts at making homes which are playing out on a daily basis in the city demonstrate the way spaces can be appropriated, contested and transformed. Just as the city fails to conform to one narrative or political programme, so too do the city's inhabitants refuse to adhere to one habitus and, in so doing, continue to make it an evolving, uncertain space. Attention to their lived experiences and practices steers one away from a conception of the city as coherent and orderly,

¹¹ See GCRO Vignette 20: Informal Sector Activity in the GCR available at <http://www.gcro.ac.za/>.

¹² *ibid.*

and maintains a focus on it as a contested social order which is still in the making. Bourdieu's theory thus needs to be adapted to account for multiple habituses, or to be able to account for the effects on the habitus of multiple and competing social orders. Lefebvre's attention to daily practices and the subversive and creative capacity of these helps in this regard, and serves as a reminder that spaces, and thus the social order, are always open to invention and disruption.

Conclusion: creative applications of the theory

The South African case reminds us that 'the relationship between habitus and social world, whilst structured, is not seamless' and is constantly experimented with, negotiated and contested (van Holt 2012a, p.50). Straightforward attempts to simply apply Bourdieu's ideas to this context risk neglecting and losing sight of this friction and openness, and therefore a far more nuanced and sophisticated engagement between the theory and the reality it can help to understand is required. As van Holt (2012a, p.50) forcefully demonstrates, post-colonial societies come into being through and continue to be marked by violence, tension, conflict, paradox and uncertainty, and consequently produce a habitus, or habituses, which are reflections of these volatile and 'polyvocal' social orders. At the same time, Bourdieu's understanding of social domination and the ways this is inscribed into people's behaviours, perceptions, tastes, classificatory schemes and actions remains a fruitful framework through which urban regeneration efforts can be understood.

Bourdieu's ability to synthesise daily practices with overarching forms of domination and the reproduction of social order helps us understand the ways in which regeneration both reflects larger systems of hierarchy, domination, interest and social organisation and comes, or at least attempts, to entrench these in both the material environment and in the daily lives and identities of urban populations. In the account which follows this form of analysis will be used to show how commercial practices and approaches to providing housing are shaping the actions of housing providers and personnel involved in urban regeneration, and how their actions thus come to reproduce neoliberal, market-based forms of domination and governance. However, the recognition that there are multiple ideologies, agendas and forms of habitus present in South Africa is vital for capturing the ways in which the regeneration process also includes developmental and transformative goals, which also influence the ways in which actors think about and approach their tasks.

At the same time, the understanding that spaces are defined by simultaneous currents and agendas and are able to produce identities, actions and forms of habitus is central in the discussion which follows for showing how dominant actors in the regeneration process do not only inscribe their habitus and representations of space onto the inner-city. The insights gained from Lefebvre will be used to show how people involved in housing provision and urban management come to respond to the spatial conditions which they are confronted by and adapt their worldviews, dispositions and actions to suit the changing nature of the inner-city and the needs of communities residing in it. In this way space is not taken as a static category which is only acted on, but is shown to be an integral element in the formation of actions and worldviews.

Thus the perspectives gained from Bourdieu and Lefebvre come to provide foundations for studying the forms of domination which are both framing the regeneration process, as well as the lived realities which the process is creating but is also produced by. The chapters which follow present accounts which demonstrate how localised concerns and experiences are integral to shaping processes of urban change and how these always combine multiple logics and agendas in vernacular ways. They will also show that engaging with both theorists (and any others) in the South African context, as well as in other post-colonial settings, cannot simply be about applying concepts to the reality and making the reality conform to the pre-conceived conceptual framework. Rather, the task is to find imaginative and critical ways to use theory to make sense of a complicated, volatile reality and, in so doing, push theory itself to engage with and formulate new and different perspectives.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Late one evening at the beginning of 2013 I was relaxing in the apartment in the inner-city which I had recently moved into. All of a sudden I received an unexpected phone-call from my partner at the time, who told me she was outside my building and I had to come downstairs as fast as possible. Not having time to find out what the problem was, I rushed down and jumped in her car. Frantically she explained that two of our friends were a few streets away and needed help. We didn't know any more details but rushed to where they were. We found their car parked on a street adjacent to Joe Slovo Drive – the main north-south thoroughfare connecting the eastern side of the inner-city with the nearby suburbs. A crowd was clustered around them and they were visibly upset.

It transpired that they had been driving away from the inner-city and while they were stopped at a traffic light a man had crept up to the car and smashed the passenger-side window. He then reached in, across the terrified occupant and snatched a cell-phone from behind the gear lever. Hearing the smash and the screams of his wife, the driver of the car accelerated in a panic, with the robber still leaning into the car, only to drive through the red traffic light and collide with another car heading across the intersection. The collision was minor and did not do significant damage to either car. In a state of shock and fearing that the collision was another potential robbery, my friend did not stop his car, but attempted to carry on driving to safety instead. At this point two other drivers, who saw the crash but did not witness the robbery which preceded it, took my friend to be attempting to flee the accident scene and chased him down, forcing him to stop where we found him, which happened to be only three streets away from the house I grew up in and which my family moved out of in 1992, just at the time when the inner-city was taking a turn for the worse.

When we arrived our friends were in need of comfort and calming. We waited with them as calls were made to the police, to report the theft, and the Automobile Association (AA), to come and tow the now damaged car. As the inner-city is heavily policed and regular street patrols are carried out by both the national South African Police Service (SAPS) and the local Metro Police (Vigneswaran 2014), the call received a swift response and shortly two heavily armed SAPS officers arrived. The call to the AA, however, was not as successful, and we were informed that because the inner-city is dangerous, they could not send an unaccompanied tow-truck driver to

come and assist. A call was then made to the car owners' insurance company, who said they would dispatch their own towing service, but this would take some time. We were thus left having to wait with three cars (by this time my friend's father had also arrived on the scene), on the side of a road directly outside a park, which the police claimed to be home to dangerous criminals.

The officers soon became irritated with us and said they could not stay and protect sitting targets since they had more serious incidents to respond to, including several reports of domestic violence. During the course of this conversation, one of the police officers made a point which was to come to resonate with me throughout the duration of my fieldwork, and long after too. Whilst telling us to get out of the area as quickly as possible, he pointed out that if we were in Hillbrow we would be fine. He went on to explain that Hillbrow is safe, whereas Yeoville, where we were stranded, is still dangerous. This was an extremely surprising observation, as all of us had grown up with the knowledge that Hillbrow is the most dangerous, crime-ridden area in the whole city, and is to be avoided at all costs, particularly late at night. Perhaps noticing our incredulity at his observation, he concluded, "Hillbrow is not what you think." Eventually we took the police officer's advice and risked starting the damaged car. Finding it was driveable we moved off, with caution, to the sanctity of Killarney, a suburb not too far from the inner-city, where my friends, and many more young professionals like them, live.

This incident contained many important lessons: firstly, it was a frightening reminder that crime is never far away in Johannesburg and vigilance is required at all times. More importantly, though, it gave me, just when I was about to embark on several months of research in Hillbrow, an important insight into what I was going to find. The police officer's words proved prophetic, as (in addition to illustrating the wisdom of always listening to men carrying large guns) during my research I was constantly confronted with the fact that the Hillbrow I was discovering was far from what I had thought it to be. Whilst I grew up with stories of its danger, iniquity, vice and violence, I soon came to find a suburb which, although far from ideal and still run-down, largely unkempt and dirty and home to a very visible drug trade, was also home to ordinary men and women going about their daily lives, trying to make a living in the city and raise their children. I recall on my first research visit to the suburb being struck by how many children there were in the streets and buildings, all of them dressed neatly in school uniforms and carrying

backpacks, some almost as big as the children themselves. To find such sights in an area notorious throughout the country was especially intriguing and exciting, and illustrated to me that Hillbrow was indeed not what I thought it to be.

In the course of the following six months, I constantly encountered incidents and people who drove this message home. At times the positive image of a thriving family neighbourhood was punctured by stories or incidents of crime and violence, reminding me not to take positive narratives about changes in the area too far. At other times I encountered many people, from a variety of walks of life, striving to make the place better. Every time I thought I had the area figured out, something else would challenge or complicate the narrative I was constructing. Thus, having completed the research process and spent many months grappling with interview transcripts, personal recollections, coding software and literature, I still come back to the words spoken that night, and am always reminded that Hillbrow is indeed ‘not what I think’, and that making sense of such a dynamic and complicated place constantly requires re-examining and un-learning assumptions and a willingness to absorb the multiple stories, accounts and lessons which such a space throws up. It is in this spirit of learning (Mcfarlane 2010) that the thesis proceeds.

Research site and sample

The research on which this thesis is based was conducted in Johannesburg over several months. An initial two month period of preliminary research was conducted between August and September 2012 and was followed by a more sustained period of fieldwork, lasting from January until July 2013. Key informant interviews were the predominant sources of data, and these were supplemented with ethnographic observation. The study is qualitative, and as such aims to provide detailed descriptions of and insights into the social world and the ways it is perceived and experienced by different actors (Dwyer & Limb 2001). A qualitative approach was chosen as this method provides data in the form of participants’ narratives and explanations about particular events, encounters and situations; these narratives offer insights into people’s subjective experiences and perceptions of the societies they are located in (Smith 2001). It is thus a research method and way of gathering and presenting data which is closely aligned and well-suited to the overarching concern of the thesis, which is to present subjective accounts of the regeneration process, and to situate and analyse these within a broader social context.

Interviews were appropriate methods of data collection as they provided opportunities to ask probing questions about particular topics or areas of concern and then expand on particular lines of thought or reasoning (Smith 2001; Warren 2001). Through this method I was able to gain in-depth insights into different events and processes and the ways in which participants made sense of and narrated them. Interviews are dialogic encounters between the researcher and interviewee/participant, and this was a crucial element of my research process. Dialogic engagement is fundamental to qualitative research as it facilitates richer, more thoughtful and intellectually challenging forms of data collection and allows one to probe and test the responses provided by participants (Burawoy 1998). It is also central to reflexive social research, which seeks to understand both the participants and the researcher as part of broader social contexts and processes, and aims to move between the specificity of individual cases and responses and broader levels of social structure, patterns and power dynamics (Wacquant 2004). The qualitative interview approach does not gain validity from replicability, generalisability and uniformity, but through the ways in which it situates individual cases and responses in wider social and analytical context (Burawoy 1998).

A wide variety of informants were interviewed in order to account for the multiplicity of the regeneration process and the complexity of life in the inner-city. This allowed the research to cover a broad range of topics and to assemble an account of regeneration that moves from the discursive, conceptual sphere down to the everyday level. In total 103 interviews were conducted. Interviews with housing providers and employees of housing companies were carried out to learn about the ways regeneration is being framed, envisaged and implemented. Contacts for developers were initially gained through my father, who works as an estate agent in the inner-city and therefore has contact with several housing companies and developers operating in the area. To avoid conflicts of interest and to emphasise that I was working independently of him, I contacted all interviewees myself and made it clear that I was conducting research solely for academic reasons.

The companies which feature in this research represent the predominant housing providers in the area – AFHCO is the largest for-profit housing company in the inner-city and JHC is the main social housing institution. Because the supply of affordable, for-profit housing is greater

than the social housing supply and there are more private companies than social housing institutions, I decided to conduct interviews with a wider range of private companies, including large ones as well as some which are smaller and more recently established. The tables below provide an overview of the predominant housing providers in the inner-city, rough indications of the rentals they charge and the amount of housing stock they own at present:

Table 1: Social housing providers in inner-city Johannesburg. Source: SERI (2013) and various company webpages

	<p>29 buildings providing 3462 units:</p> <p>Room with communal facilities: R1306 p/m</p> <p>Bachelor flat: R2000-R2500 p/m</p> <p>One-bedroom apartment: R2500-R3500</p> <p>Two-bedroom apartment: R4376</p>
	<p>308 transitional housing units: R600-R1200 p/m</p> <p>822 communal rooms: R1000-R3000 p/m</p> <p>126 self-contained apartments for people earning +R7500</p>
	<p>401 communal rooms: R600-R1000 p/m</p> <p>Emergency/transitional accommodation</p> <p>(no vacancies in any buildings at present)</p>

Table 2: for-profit housing providers in inner-city Johannesburg. Source: SERI (2013) and various company webpages

 <p>AFHCO Holdings</p>	<p>22 residential properties: 4000 housing units</p> <p>Bachelor flats: R1750-R2500</p> <p>One-bedroom apartment: R2500-R3500</p> <p>Two-bedroom apartment: from R4500</p>
	<p>3500 housing units in 100 buildings:</p> <p>R1700 for communal rooms to R4500 for 2-bedroom apartments</p>
 <p>CITY PROPERTY Addressing the Future</p>	<p>14 residential properties:</p> <p>Bachelor flat: R2750,</p> <p>One-bedroom apartment: R3350,</p> <p>Two-bedroom apartment R4750</p>
 <p>ITHEMBA <i>Your home away from home</i></p>	<p>13 residential properties:</p> <p>R2000 for bachelor flat</p> <p>1-bedroom, 2-bedroom flats available</p>
<p>Connaught Properties</p>	<p>9 residential properties in Hillbrow, Berea and Joubert Park</p>
<p>Jozi Housing</p>	<p>Information currently unavailable</p>

After making contact with housing providers, I requested to be put in touch with other personnel employed in their companies, particularly people responsible for overseeing urban management processes and housing supervisors/building managers¹³. Building managers are responsible for the daily running of residential buildings. They are responsible for maintenance, letting rooms, collecting rent, liaising with tenants, overseeing security arrangements and ensuring that the buildings are run smoothly. In both social housing and for-profit buildings they live on-site and are expected to attend to any emergencies or situations which arise. They are essential components of the urban management strategies implemented by housing companies and act as intermediaries between tenants and companies. Therefore they provided excellent information about the day-to-day running of housing developments and the challenges, idiosyncrasies, rationales and procedures which make up life in the inner-city. As residents themselves they were also in good positions to offer insights into the social life of the area and to reflect on the regeneration process they have both witnessed and participated in.

Communicating with housing providers was essential for getting closer to the ground and being able to access residential buildings. It was also important to approach building managers through official channels, as I wanted to make sure they knew the research was approved by their employers. On the other hand, being directed to them by their employers potentially meant that they felt obligated to speak to me and concentrated on presenting professional accounts which their companies would be happy with¹⁴. Housing supervisors/building managers were contacted via email or telephonically to establish whether they were willing to be interviewed for the study or not. In all cases those approached responded positively. Once I had met with housing supervisors/building managers, I explained my project and asked if it would be possible for me to meet tenants and conduct interviews with them. As residential buildings are tightly controlled and access is not granted without the tenants' approval, the building managers were crucial go-betweens in gaining permission to carry out research. It was only by obtaining their permission and getting introductions from them that tenants agreed to be interviewed. Interviews took place either in tenants' flats or in the housing supervisors' offices. They were conducted in buildings

¹³ Private for-profit companies use the term 'building managers' and social housing companies make use of 'housing supervisors'. The two fulfil the same functions, however, and some interviewees even moved from positions in the private sector to the social housing sector or vice versa. The terminology and the role it refers to is therefore interchangeable and used accordingly throughout the thesis.

¹⁴ These issues and other limitations and issues of positionality are discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter.

belonging to JHC (social housing) and Trafalgar and AFHCO (for-profit), as well as one which is owned by an independent individual but managed by Trafalgar.

I also used my contacts with housing providers to gain access to private security personnel. Interviews with Bad Boyz personnel were conducted fairly late in the research process as I wanted to ensure that my credentials were well established and I would have several people who could vouch for me and my project before I contacted the company, which has a notorious reputation and has been involved in sensitive, sometimes violent activities. I thus anticipated that the owner would be reluctant to speak to me and had to ensure that I had an established list of people whom he trusts who referred me to him. Eventually he was responsive to my requests for an interview, and proved to be a welcoming participant in the research. It was through him that I gained contact to other security personnel, including the organiser of the Hillbrow Community Policing Forum (CPF), whom I met in his office.

In order to meet other people who are active in the regeneration of the inner-city I also attended various public events. I attended a National Association of Social Housing Organisations (NASHO) workshop in Braamfontein in August 2012, which I was invited to by one of my interviewees. At this meeting I met other people who also came to participate in the research, including the Managing Director of NASHO and several members of the City of Johannesburg's Department of Housing. I also attended a conference organised by the research institute Urban LandMark. At this conference I met an employee of the National Housing Finance Corporation (NHFC), who then introduced me to some of his other colleagues. NHFC employees provided contacts for the other finance organisations which are represented in this project. I also gained contacts for some housing providers through these organisations, which widened my sample beyond those whom my father is acquainted with. Through these various channels I was thus able to compile a large and varied research sample which represents a broad range of positions and perspectives on the regeneration process. The table below lists the different participants and categories into which they fall:

Table 3 Interview Schedule

Category	Number interviewed	Type of institution	Organisation represented	Appears in text as
Housing providers	15	Commercial and social	AFHCO, Trafalgar, Jozi Housing, Take Shape Properties, Connaught Properties, Citiq, Harmony Galz, Do it Right Management (representing the private sector), JHC, JOSHCO, Madulammoho Housing Association, NASHO (representing social housing)	RP (twice), NB, GP, JT, SR, PL, AS, SB, WL, ES, TA, MM, RE, RG, MM, AR
Finance institutions	5	Commercial and public	TUHF, NHFC, GPF	PJ, PN, CM, TH, KN
Local government officials and representatives	4	Public	City of Johannesburg Department of Housing, Johannesburg Development Agency, ward councillors	ZK, LB, CM, JC
Urban management and security personnel	4	Private security and housing companies	Bad Boyz, AFHCO, JHC	HdK, BB, K, CdW
Community policing volunteers	3	Public	Hillbrow CPF	S, Street Patroller 1, Street Patroller 2
Housing supervisors/building managers	7	For-profit and social housing	Trafalgar, JHC, AFHCO, Madulammoho	Pr, E, G, P, EM, M, PM
Community-building initiatives	3	Non-profit organisations	eKhaya, Makulong eMatala	JA, BM, LM
Civil society	2	Non-Governmental Organisations	Socio-Economic Rights Institute, Inner City Resource Centre	KT, SS

Tenants	57	For-profit and social housing	JHC, AFHCO, Trafalgar,	Tenant 1-9 Rochester, Tenant 1-5 Cavendish Court, Tenant 1-6 Ridge Plaza, Tenant 1-5 Greatermans, Tenant 1-4 Constantine Tenant 1-9 Lake Success, Tenant 1-18 Gaelic Mansions
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In addition to formal interviews, I also made use of ethnographic observations and informal discussions to conduct my research. The second aspect of the research project – exploring security and urban management practices in the inner-city – was accomplished by conducting formal interviews with security and urban management personnel, as well as by holding several informal conversations with security guards at the entrances to residential buildings and in the streets of Hillbrow. These conversations and interactions were revealing and allowed me to observe the ways in which guards act, rather than just talk about themselves and their roles. Although not formally referred to in the text, these interactions proved crucial ways of gathering data since many guards encountered were not comfortable conversing at length and spoke limited English. A less structured approach to researching this aspect of the inner-city was also necessary as urban management happens in real-time and is an active, continuous process. It is thus something that is experienced and lived, rather than spoken about and described. It was therefore crucial to adopt a research method that included participant observation and active encounters, rather than only structured, pre-arranged interviews.

Participant observation is a branch of ethnographic research which aims at uncovering the minute rationalities, processes and experiences which structure and govern everyday life. It places the researcher in the field not simply as a passive bystander but as an active member of the society being scrutinised (Denzin & Lincoln 2012; Diphorn 2013). It therefore allows

research to take place outside of formalised settings and to identify recurring patterns of activity, interaction, discourse and routine and for these to be situated and interpreted within a broader analytical account (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994). The form of research I embarked on could be classified as ‘participant-as-observer’ (Angrosino 2007, p.6) – I actively engaged with various communities and individuals in the inner-city, but always from the position of a researcher, which the people with whom I interacted were aware of. I attended events such as football days and holiday programmes for children living in the inner-city, planning meetings for these events and a public meeting about a proposal to establish a CID in the neighbourhood in which I was living. I also sat in on a shift with a private security company and participated in a street patrol with members of the Hillbrow Community Policing Forum.

Additionally, my time spent walking the streets of the inner-city, interacting with security personnel at the entrances to residential buildings, exercising at a gym in the CBD and living in Jeppestown all helped to familiarise me with the setting and the daily interactions and experiences which it makes possible. This was essential for adding context-sensitivity to my research and allowing me to know, on some level at least, what it is like to live in an area which I had avoided for so much of my time living in Johannesburg previously. One of the major strengths of ethnographic research is the way it emplaces research participants and pays careful attention to their physical, social and cultural worlds and the interactions which happen within these (Angrosino 2007). It therefore engages with people’s ‘full sensuality’ and is attendant to their actions, customs and habits and lived realities over and above the statements they make (Herbert 2000, p.552). This was vital for my attempts to detail regeneration and its effects on people’s lived, everyday realities.

However, it also needs to be borne in mind that my experiences were deeply subjective and cannot be taken to stand in for those of any of the other people who informed and participated in my research. Ethnographic research is by nature interpretive and reliant on the researcher’s observations and experiences. It therefore runs the risk of mistaking the researcher’s subjective point of view for a general view or experience, and thus needs to be approached with caution and qualification (Herbert 2000). Hence I do not draw on my experiences in the inner-city as empirical evidence per se, but rather use it to add detail and descriptions which supplement the data obtained through formal interviews. Furthermore, because participant observation takes

place in particular settings in particular moments in time it is not easily generalisable to wider experiences, settings, groups or individuals (Atkinson & Hammersley 1994; Herbert 2000; Denzin & Lincoln 2012).

Map 1: Locations of buildings in which interviews were conducted



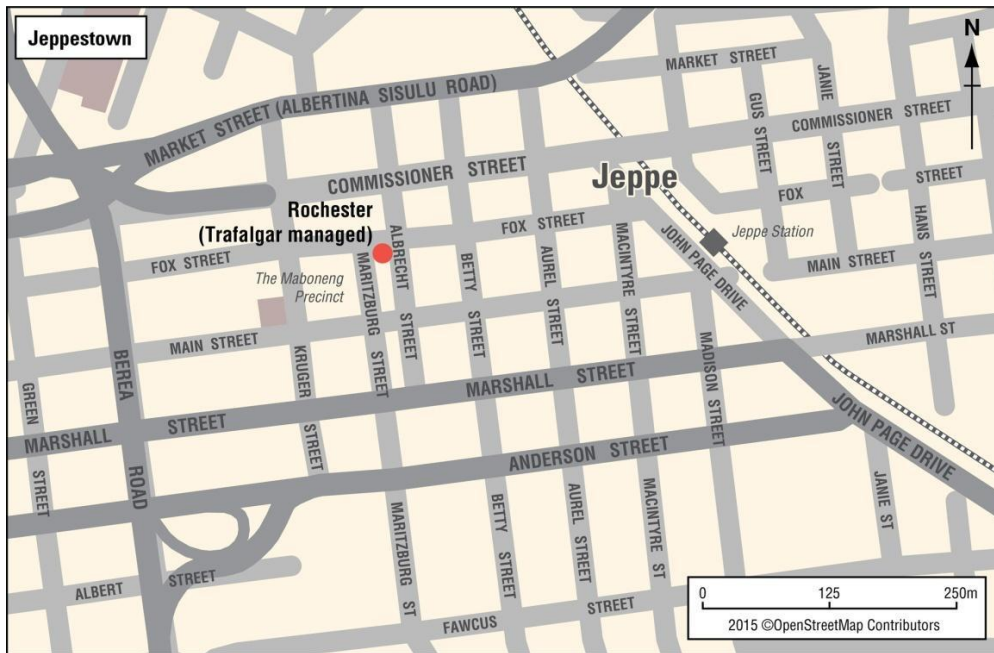
Map 2: Locations of buildings in Hillbrow in which interviews were conducted



Map 3: Locations of buildings in the CBD in which interviews were conducted



Map 4: Location of building in Jeppestown in which interviews were conducted



Operationalising concepts: spatial habitus in Johannesburg

Using the concept ‘habitus’ as an organising analytical term has certain pitfalls or constraints. In and of itself it is not an explanatory concept. It is conceptually amorphous and at times vague, and is not empirically verifiable or measurable (Everett 2002; Burawoy 2012c). It is a concept which the researcher/analyst introduces into the social world to categorise or name particular actions, behaviours, cognitive structures or perceptual schemas which emerge and is thus what Max Weber would understand as a heuristic device (Craib 1997). This means that, whilst it is introduced by the researcher, the form it takes emerges inductively out of the research process and is derived from the self-aware and reflexive utterances, explanations and actions of research participants. Rather than seeking to explain these, it is used to classify and situate them in relation to broader questions of domination, symbolic violence and reproduction of social order. For example, in this research project tenants were asked to name some of the changes they have seen in the inner-city and positive features of living in the area. Based on their answers to these and what they chose to highlight I was able to get a sense of what their tastes and preferences for the urban landscape and social environment are.

Similarly, when tenants, housing providers and urban management personnel highlighted certain social groups or features of the landscape in negative ways or as elements of the area which they did not like or which were hindering regeneration their visions for the inner-city and the type of social order regeneration is trying to produce were revealed¹⁵. This then made it possible to assemble an account of symbolic domination and violence; the lifestyles, forms of urbanism, identities and spatial practices which are endorsed by participants are symbols which demonstrate the type of social order which is desired and those which are constructed as unwanted or threatening demonstrate what the social order does not tolerate or wishes to remove. This is synonymous with the ranking of cultural practices and tastes in a way which mirrors the class structure of society, which Bourdieu elucidates in his work (Bourdieu 1984; Burawoy 2012d).

However, this process did not entail simply transposing Bourdieu’s concepts and research strategies into the Johannesburg context. As the previous chapter argued, Bourdieu’s theory needs to be adapted to suit a diverse, fractious social order. His work on habitus is specific to the

¹⁵ For more detail on interview questions see Appendix One.

Algerian and French societies he was studying and this means that the concept and the frameworks through which he operationalises the concept cannot simply be imported into different settings and societies (Reed-Danahay 2005). Rather, it needs to be adapted to examine the different forms of hierarchy, distinction, capital and domination which circulate in specific societies and to understand these and the dispositions which they give rise to as having their origins in the particular socio-historic contexts framing the lives of the people being studied (van Holt 2012b).

In South Africa this means being attuned to the ways in which people's perceptions and experiences of the social world are shaped by both the apartheid period and the contemporary post-apartheid moment (Bonner 2013). Although never a monolithic or utterly totalising social system (Nuttall 2004), apartheid certainly did structure many aspects of social and economic life. It entrenched racial stratification and domination and made distance, antagonism and suspicion between different race groups cornerstones of people's daily life and experiences. This took on spatialised form, as racial difference and oppression were enforced through spaces which were classified according to which racial group was allowed to reside or be present in them. The effects of this were discussed briefly in the previous chapter, with the popular associations white people came to make about race and practices of dwelling exemplifying the spatialisation of racial differences and attitudes. The fact that some lifestyles – which are associated with particular race groups – were, and in some cases still are, deemed incompatible with the modern urban form indicates how racialised dispositions were in operation and have remained influential even after the end of apartheid. Thus research conducted by Lemanski (2004) and Ballard (Ballard 2004a; 2004b; 2010) demonstrates how even in the post-apartheid period white middle- and upper-class South Africans perpetuate classificatory schemas which denigrate lifestyles and cultural practices they deem to be African or associate with black people, and seek to preserve the homogeneity and insularity of their physical and social spaces.

Gated communities, for example, allow residents to cocoon themselves off from the rest of society (whilst at home, at least) and help preserve an idyllic way of living which largely shelters residents from the inequalities, struggles, animosities and hardships which make up much of contemporary South African life (Lemanski 2006). Various studies (see for example Hook and Vrdoljak 2002; Ballard & Jones 2011; Duca 2013) show how gated communities reproduce a

form of distinction which is based on class homogeneity and enjoyment of an orderly, semi-pastoral lifestyle. It is a form of distinction based on distance from what residents regard as the disorderly, lawless, violent nature of life in post-apartheid South Africa and their longing to, if not return to the system of the past, at least insulate themselves from the tumult of the present (ibid). In these cases there is continuity between the racialised habitus of residents in upmarket gated communities and the disposition which blames the deterioration of Hillbrow on the influx of African residents in the early 1990s (Morris 1999a), as well as the dismay and revulsion with which some white people regarded the intrusion of informal traders into inner-city spaces (Popke and Ballard 2004). Moving away from studies with explicitly urban focuses, other authors too have found discourses of racial prejudice and hostility to social transformation to be prevalent within white communities in South Africa (Ansell 2004; Steyn 2004; Walker 2005; Steyn & Foster 2008). Taken together, these examples point to a shared racialised habitus which circulates and shapes may white people's engagement with their contemporary social milieu.

In this research project, the above habitus was taken to be an ideal type (Weber 2013) to describe the overarching conceptual schema shaping the social lives and actions of many upper-class, white South Africans. It was used as a basis against which housing developers' understandings, visions and perceptions could be compared. The research sought to determine if housing developers, the majority of whom are white, and thus come from similar social milieus as the participants in the above mentioned studies, possess the same type of habitus, and are thus attempting to alter the inner-city in accordance with it. The ways in which developers regarded and understood racial transition and urban decay and formulated ambitions or desires for the area were all explored during interviews so that a sense of the habitus which shapes their actions and thus which they are acting through and reproducing could be determined. This line of questioning was pursued with the recognition that housing providers are socially embedded and reflexive actors and thus express the influence of wider social forces and processes through their dispositions and perceptions. Yet, as the previous chapter demonstrated, there are new forms of distinction and hierarchy emerging in South Africa which in many ways subvert or challenge the ones inherited from apartheid. Thus it was important to regard interviewees as embedded in and shaped by multiple types of habitus and social order and to also maintain a focus on their agency and ability to challenge pre-existing structures.

The extent to which there were continuities or breaks with the racialised dispositions demonstrated by previous research was evaluated by examining the discursive practices of housing developers and urban management personnel. It also needs to be remembered that racialised classifications and hierarchies were not the sole preserve of white people, but also came to be entrenched in the consciousness of some black people who were subjected to colonial domination (Fanon 1967; Biko 2002). The extent to which black people internalised apartheid hierarchies and assumptions and continue to mobilise these in the contemporary period was explored through discussions with housing managers, security personnel and community members, all of whom were black. There is also an emerging class of black property developers being actively promoted and supported by the City of Johannesburg and finance institutions. Two black property developers were interviewed so their perspectives and understandings of racial transformation and regeneration in the inner-city could be also be drawn into the analysis. In these interviews it was important to look at the ways their views and experiences coincided with other property developers, as well as the ways in which their experiences differed due to the social positions and backgrounds they come from. These interviews were very helpful for understanding the various forms of social capital which circulate within the inner-city and which grant different groups of actors power, prestige and influence.

Whilst people's narratives and the statements they use to make sense of the world are important indications of their habitus, it needs to be remembered that habitus is fundamentally a schema or framework for action (Wacquant 2004). The research thus sought to explore the effects worldviews and dispositions are having on shaping the lived reality of the inner-city and affecting the ways in which people experience the area. One of the central goals of the thesis is to mobilise the concept 'spatial habitus' and use it to capture the ways in which regeneration is an active, adaptive, vernacular and contingent process. It was thus important to explore the strategies and practices used to bring regeneration visions to life and to examine the relationship between representations of space, social and spatial practices and the lived reality of the area. This was done by learning about the way regeneration strategies and goals were developed by different housing companies and through gaining insights into the tactics and strategies security companies and urban management personnel employ to regulate the inner-city.

During these discussions, interviews and periods of participant observation the research examined the techniques of policing and producing security in the inner-city, as well as the ways in which these mobilise and are influenced by habitus, which then gets inscribed into the area's spatial form. In this way, it was possible to examine the ways in which spatial and social order is produced and what some of its distinguishing features are. In order to accomplish this, lines of questioning focussed on the features of the inner-city which security personnel highlight as problematic or threatening, what they regard as suspicious behaviour and who and what they choose to focus their surveillance systems on. This allowed the research to operationalise the concepts 'representations of space', 'spatial practices' and 'symbolic violence'. The ways in which certain appearances, forms of behaviour and characteristics are criminalised or constructed as threatening demonstrated the type of order which is being desired and pursued and what/who it is seeking to exclude. Further information on this issue was gained by finding out about the types of crimes community policing members identify and seek to control, as well as the role they see themselves as playing in the inner-city.

The research also focussed on procedural questions, such as how the surveillance system works, the powers given to private security personnel and CPF members, and how these actors deal with criminals, suspects or disturbances. It therefore was possible to gain insights into the policing systems at work in the inner-city and the complex forms of regulation exercised over private and public spaces. At the same time, these discussions revealed the ways in which urban management strategies are required to be flexible and responsive to the competing logics and needs which define spatial realities. These insights were gained by asking questions about particular challenges or incidents which management personnel are confronted with and observing daily interactions between security guards, building managers and tenants and other inhabitants of the inner-city. These instances revealed that management strategies and ambitions are actually produced by experiences in space, and thus point to the effects space has on shaping the actions and habitus of people involved in urban regeneration, thus allowing the term 'spatial habitus' to be put into practice.

Living in the inner-city – what is an African urban space?

Spatial habitus is a concept which draws attention to the active processes which create and reproduce social order and is used to show how experiences of space are crucial in shaping

people's outlooks, dispositions and actions. It also emphasises how spaces are actively produced through the practices and habitus of influential groups of actors, as well as the ordinary activities of people present in urban areas. Thus the research set out to examine how tenants both experience and contribute to shaping the everyday realities of the inner-city, and hence the meanings of regeneration. This aspect of the research was thus an examination of the relationship between macrological processes of securitisation and regulation and the micrological experiences of everyday life. It has been argued that in the neoliberal era, urban governance has increasingly ceded ground to the private sector, leaving them the predominant actors shaping contemporary cities (Brenner & Theodore 2002; 2005; Harvey 2008; 2012). This means that their visions, interests and, as the previous chapter discussed, habitus shape urban societies. The research sought to interrogate this line of argumentation and establish how low-income residents experience living in renovated buildings in the inner-city. It raised questions about whether the social order being established through regeneration is being imposed on residents, or if they are co-producers of the social life of the inner-city. It sought to gain insights into the social worlds and experiences of people residing in the inner-city and to examine their preferences, lifestyles, tastes and classificatory schemas. An account of the habitus of inner-city residents living in social and affordable housing was thus also sought so that the relationship between social structures and people's capacities to shape their social worlds, but also to reproduce forms of domination and stratification, could be arrived at.

In total interviews were conducted with 57 residents living in renovated buildings. These were spread between seven different buildings, five operated by for-profit companies and two run as social housing; three different for-profit companies were represented in this sample, which enabled the research to look for similarities and differences across the different companies and the approaches they use. In general there were far more similarities than differences in the management practices utilised by the companies, be they for-profit or social, demonstrating the collective nature of housing provision in the inner-city. A list of the buildings in which research was carried out and maps depicting the buildings' locations are provided below:

Table 4: Buildings in which interviews were conducted

Building Name	Type of housing	Number of tenants interviews	Location
Cavendish Court	For-profit	5	CBD
Constantine	For-profit	4	Hillbrow
Gaelic Mansions	Social	18	Hillbrow
Greatermans	For-profit	6	CBD
Lake Success	Social	9	Hillbrow
Ridge Plaza	For-profit	6	Berea
Rochester	For-profit	9	Jeppestown

In interviews tenants were asked about the length of time they had lived in the inner-city and the particular building they were residing in, as well as their reasons for choosing the various types of accommodation. In order to gain a sense of their priorities and preferences they were asked questions regarding how they felt about living in the buildings and the area; they were asked to identify the positive and negative features of the spaces they lived in as well as whether there were improvements they felt they would like made to their residences and the wider area.

As concerns about safety and security were recurring themes which came up in the interviews tenants were asked whether they felt safe in the inner-city or not, and what the factors were that influenced these feelings. These lines of questioning revealed the tastes, preferences, aspirations and worldviews – i.e. the habitus – of this group. In order to gain a sense of whether their experiences, perceptions and quality of life were influenced by living in the inner-city tenants were also asked to compare their current locations with other places in which they had lived and were encouraged to elaborate on the differences (and in some cases similarities) between the various places they had resided in and called ‘home’. Although the interview sample was disparate and comprised a variety of ages, genders, nationalities and income levels, it was possible to conclude that there is a collective or shared form of habitus amongst inner-city tenants, firstly by asking roughly the same set of questions in all interviews¹⁶, and secondly, through coding the interviews and identifying common and recurring themes and responses. The coding software Nvivo was used for this stage of the research and ultimately did reveal more similarities than differences across participants’ experiences.

In addition to exploring tenants’ habitus, the research aimed to construct an account of the daily experiences and lifeworlds of inner-city residents. Through detailing the reasons they moved to the area, the ways in which they engage with it and make use of its spaces, the relations between residents and their participation in communal life, it was possible to get a sense of what everyday sociality in this area is like. Assembling an account of everyday life in the inner-city is essential

¹⁶ Whilst all interviews were done using a standard set of questions, these had to be adapted to each individual participant. In some cases time constraints meant that some questions had to be overlooked or asked in passing, and in others participants’ biographies and responses determined which questions were and were not deemed relevant. For instance if a participant was newly-arrived in the inner-city, it was not relevant to ask him/her if they felt the area had changed in the time they had lived there. Similarly, if a participant was living with children different questions became pertinent than in cases in which participants were living alone or sharing with acquaintances rather than their families. Furthermore, if a participant was reticent to talk about one line of questioning this was abandoned and another topic was introduced.

for understanding the role the area is playing in Johannesburg's wider urban fabric and what it means for people's, particularly black people's and migrants', experiences of urbanity in the post-apartheid period.

The bulk of literature about urban life in Johannesburg and other South African cities remains sketchy and selective. As Pieterse (2011, p.10) points out, there is a 'continued absence of a dense and well-rounded account of lived urbanisms in Africa'. Mbembe and Nuttall (2008, p.1) describe contemporary Johannesburg as a space which exemplifies the emergence of African modernity and urbanism, or what they refer to as 'the African modern'. This, according to them, refers to 'a specific way of being in the world', and they consequently call on scholars to draw attention to the everyday realities of urban dwellers and the ways in which they invent and establish lives for themselves and, in so doing, come to define the contemporary African modern. However, in their work and in the work of others there is little specific detail about what African modernity and urbanity actually is and how it is experienced.

When it comes to Johannesburg's inner-city, and Hillbrow in particular, the dearth of dense, well-rounded accounts of people's lived urbanisms is even more pronounced. The majority of existing accounts focus on the dangers, violence, poverty and destruction of the area. The only in-depth study of the area was undertaken by Morris in the early 1990s. His work focuses on the neighbourhood's racial and economic transition and was done at a time when Hillbrow was still stable, but was beginning to fall into decline. After his study was completed conditions grew worse and research became increasingly scarce. What does exist focuses on the vice and violence which has come to define the way people imagine and discuss the area. For instance the popular BBC documentary maker Louis Theroux's account of Hillbrow renders it in such a frightening, apocalyptic light that a critic came to describe his piece as taking the viewer on 'a chilling tour of hell on earth'¹⁷. In fiction too Hillbrow is synonymous with hustlers, drugs, gangsters, sex workers, refugees and others living on the margins of society (Moele 2006; Beukes 2010; Mpe 2011).

¹⁷ <http://www.heraldscotland.com/a-chilling-tour-of-hell-on-earth-1.896759>

This trend has been continued in academic work, with Simone (2008a) describing Hillbrow's various spaces as defined by the different drug dealers and criminal gangs which control them. Leggert (2003, p.15) refers to the interiors of some buildings in Hillbrow as 'positively post-apocalyptic', whilst Murray (2011, p.145) describes the inner city as a visible manifestation of 'desperation, deprivation, and despair', home to 'forgotten, abused, and diseased children' (pg. 374), 'a teeming Mecca for prostitutes and their pimps, drug dealers and drug users' and 'a haven for criminal syndicates, sex clubs, and itinerant hustlers' (pg.145). He later claims that it is also home to new forms of African sociality (ibid), but gives no sense of what these actually might be. The predominant academic view, then, is that the inner-city is 'a veritable vacuum of belonging, where almost no one presently living there can claim an overarching sense of origin in this place or profess a real wish to stay' (Gotz and Simone 2003, p.129).

Thus, beyond accounts of informality and ongoing fixation with abjection and suffering, we still have very little sense of the sociality of inner-city Johannesburg or how urban spaces are experienced on an everyday level in post-apartheid South Africa. The research therefore attempted to address this and add to the African urban studies literature by exploring the mundane, routine and commonplace accounts and experiences of inner-city residents. Whilst overt moments and processes of conflict and domination were explored through observation of street patrols, arrests and surveillance procedures, the research also revealed more mundane aspects and processes of making lives and raising families in the inner-city. It sought to account for the experiences of single, working parents who are raising children in a volatile area, of students who are studying to improve their lives and the lives of their families, of people who are trying to find semblances of order and stability in precarious and pressurised times. It looked at how these are all taking place in a space which once exemplified South Africa's oppressive racialised order and more recently was an embodiment of post-apartheid urban fears and disintegration. The lives black people now construct for themselves in this formerly white neighbourhood, whilst sometimes riddled with tension, violence and precariousness, are also simple, mundane and ordinary. They thus offer powerful insights into what African urbanity might be and how urban transformation has been experienced by a large segment of the population.

At the same time, this is not to discount the ongoing social and economic problems, forms of social domination and exclusion and symbolic as well as real violence in the inner-city, or to overlook the stratification of its social order. It is, rather, to draw attention to the fact that social order is lived as daily reality, and this comprises acts of oppression, domination, subversion and resistance, as well as the search for stability, comfort and belonging. Thus whilst research did seek to reveal the points of conflict which constitute the inner-city's social order, such as looking at the differences between the interests of developers and those of residents, or at how certain populations are policed and harassed, it also observed the overlapping interests between the different actors who constitute the area.

Limitations and positionality

As with any study, there are several limitations which need to be taken into account. Allen (2008) and Watt (2008) both point out that one of the main challenges confronting scholars researching gentrification is that the harmful consequences of the process are often hidden. By its very nature displacement is hard to quantify and report on as those who have been displaced are no longer present. This means that the disputes and struggles which preceded a neighbourhood being renewed are often concealed or erased. In the initial period of inner-city regeneration there were several aggressive and highly visible evictions (see COHRE 2005). These took place in the early-to-mid 2000s and although evictions do still occasionally occur, generally the most intense period has passed. This means that many of the victims of the process are potentially absent from the area and this study, as they have already been displaced. It is possible to regard the tenants living in renovated buildings as the beneficiaries of the regeneration process; basing evaluations on their experiences runs the risk of overlooking the fates of those who suffered and coming to appraise the process in overly positive terms.

However, attempts were made to mitigate this particular limitation by paying attention to ongoing exclusions and stories of displacement in the area. In addition, the majority of tenants interviewed were long-term inner-city residents, rather than new arrivals in the area. Many had previously lived in run-down buildings and some had even moved to renovated buildings after being evicted from other buildings. This shows that displacement has not been complete and that some of those who would have been at risk of being displaced have actually benefited from the regeneration process. However, there are many more people who were not as fortunate or

financially stable and in all likelihood had to move away from the area or into other derelict buildings. Because derelict buildings are often occupied illegally and shelter undocumented migrants they are difficult to access and their inhabitants are not easily represented in research samples. People living in derelict buildings were thus not included in this research project, but nevertheless need to be factored into evaluations of the regeneration process. In order to gain some insights into the more conflictual side of the regeneration process interviews were conducted with civil society representatives who have been involved in court cases defending communities facing evictions.

The need to include counter-narratives and oppositional voices also arose as the interview sample largely comprised people with vested interests in the regeneration process. Representatives of housing companies and financing agencies have direct stakes in the process and are therefore likely to narrate it and their actions in positive terms. This fact is helpful as the research sought to explore the subjective, socially-embedded perspectives and dispositions of actors involved in the regeneration process, but also necessitates that the positionality and subjectivity of interviewees be acknowledged at all times. With this in mind, the views presented by interviewees are not taken as factual evaluations of the regeneration process, but are rather used to piece together an account of their habitus and the worldviews and motivations which underpin it. Including other people with different positions and stakes in the process, such as civil society activists and residents, was helpful in achieving this and balancing out, revealing and compensating for vested interests.

My own positionality also needs to be accounted for. Just as those interviewed are influenced by a larger social milieu and historical context, so too am I part of this shared social history. This meant that, as the vignette at the start of this chapter pointed out, when the research project was conceived the inner-city context was approached with ideas and assumptions which had to be let go of in order for research and learning to take place. This process was not easy or straightforward, and required many hours of reflection and time spent familiarising myself with the inner-city. Initially, journeys into Hillbrow were certainly marked by apprehensions and this limited the extent to which detailed ethnographies could be compiled. However, as more time was spent in the area and more contacts were made fears slowly slipped away. As this happened it became possible to see different sides of the area and to have different encounters, for instance

playing chess in Joubert Park and attending events organised to keep children occupied during the school holidays. Thus in the course of my engagement with the area I was not only learning how to view and understand the inner-city in a different way, I was also learning how to conduct research and actually live in it. The importance of local contacts, connections and meetings was demonstrated and the research would not have been possible without these.

In addition to pre-formulated apprehensions about the area, my social background also influenced the interactions which took place. Firstly, having a connection with some of the interviewees through my father's business certainly opened doors for me and granted me access which others may not so easily have gained. However, being in this position meant that interviewees potentially tailored their answers to suit what they perceived my interests to be. In order to downplay this and to ensure that interviewees expressed themselves freely I provided information sheets at the beginning of each interview which outlined my project and I personally emphasised my academic interests in the process. I also deliberately downplayed my family connection and focussed discussions on the issues which were pertinent to my study.

Secondly, being a white male researching black people's social spaces carries with it particular sets of obstacles and limitations, as well as opportunities. Firstly, as a researcher I was linguistically limited – although all interviewees spoke English, in the cases of building managers, security personnel and tenants English was not their first language and they had varying degrees of comfort expressing themselves. This means that in some cases the data obtained may be limited and if interviews had been conducted in different languages they might have revealed different narratives or accounts. Again, however, the similarities and patterns across interviews were sufficient to allow me to indicate that the research findings do justice to participants' shared sentiments and experiences. At the same time, not speaking vernacular languages also meant that my ability to observe and appreciate the nuances of some of the interactions taking place around me was limited. This potentially prevented more detailed and richer ethnographic accounts being compiled.

On the other hand, whilst linguistic barriers meant that some avenues and insights were occluded, in other cases my race opened avenues for communication. Building managers and

tenants were generally welcoming and open in conversations. In some cases they were extremely eager and excited to welcome a white person into their homes. Notably one interviewee pointed out that he had lived in Hillbrow for over 20 years and I was the first white person who had ever been inside his flat. Other interviewees pointed out that having a discussion with a white male in their homes was a novel experience for them and was only possible because they were living in the inner-city, rather than in the townships where they previously resided. This novelty potentially made them more expressive and willing to share details about their lives with a stranger. Venturing into a space most white people shy away from also possibly gave me credibility in the participants' eyes and made them welcome the opportunity to share their experiences and hospitality.

Similarly building managers went to great lengths to welcome me into their buildings – this may be because they felt professional obligations to do so, as I was referred to them by their employers, or because they felt responsible for presenting a positive side of the inner-city to an 'outsider'. Whatever the reasons, there certainly were stark contrasts between my experiences and the welcome I received compared to a Masters student who carried out research with housing managers shortly after I completed my fieldwork. In his thesis Mkhize (2014), a young black male, describes the suspicion and hostility he was met with when he approached building managers for interviews. The divergence in experiences may be due to the fact that people continue to associate whiteness with higher education and therefore determined that I was a more legitimate or credible researcher; Mkhize (ibid) relates that many people he approached did not believe him when he said he was a student and suspected him of being an undercover journalist instead.

Additionally, he approached interviewees informally, whilst I was referred to building managers through their employers, and building managers then made introductions to tenants. Going through the formal channels, which was necessary because of my distance from the social milieu of the inner-city and lack of personal contacts on the ground, potentially made gaining access and open accounts easier. On the other hand, it also potentially distorts the accounts I was presented with as people could have been participating under perceived obligation. For example, whilst some tenants were welcoming, it was also possible that others regarded me as an intruder and were only participating because the building manager's introduction made them feel they had

to. In order to limit this I presented all interviewees with consent forms which stated that their participation was entirely voluntary and granted them the option to terminate the interview or remove their consent for their data to be used at any point in time; I also explained this verbally at the start of each interview. Furthermore, I also used my discretion. In some cases if interviewees were not responsive or clearly in a hurry for the interview to be over I would ask what I considered at the time to be the most relevant questions and cut the interviews short so as not to further intrude.

My linguistic limitations also meant that I was not able to capture the subtleties of the interactions taking place around me, unlike Mhkize (2014), who draws some of his conclusions from observing interactions inside buildings between tenants and housing supervisors. Whilst as much effort as possible was made to gain familiarity with the inner-city and establish connections with people in it, social, economic and historic factors all combine to maintain my position as a relative outsider. This position in some ways made it possible to conduct research; because as I was not too closely embedded in the context I was able to see it from multiple perspectives and gain access to a variety of actors and insights. At the same time, however, my distance meant that I was experiencing and accumulating snapshots of information and interactions, rather than living the inner-city as a daily reality, as the majority of my informants do. This thesis is therefore framed by an awareness of this distance and is an attempt at learning about and from the inner-city and the people who give it its form.

Lastly, it is important to emphasise that this thesis is driven by a desire to inscribe a politics of hope and optimism into critical urban studies. It thus pays attention to the positive aspects of change which are emerging in post-apartheid South Africa, whilst still highlighting instances of conflict, exclusion and inequality. It is vital that critical scholarship acknowledges and learns from moments of successful and progressive urban practice and does not confine itself to critique from the safety of dispassionate distance. Thus whilst a critical perspective is maintained and the shortcomings of the regeneration process are emphasised in the relevant sections, emphasis is also placed on the progressive developments which regeneration is fostering. In this way it is hoped that the thesis can contribute to rediscovering the optimism which defined the transition to democracy in South Africa, and which is steadily declining in both academic scholarship and public life.

Chapter Five: An overburdened process: the competing agendas, imperatives and outcomes of inner-city regeneration

This chapter provides an outline of the ways in which the redevelopment of the housing stock in the inner-city is being financed. In doing so it argues that there are a variety of competing factors which are influencing the ways in which regeneration is being conceived as well as a diversity of needs which it is attempting to fulfil. The provision of low-income housing in the inner-city is also discussed in relation to broader housing policy in South Africa and local government's regeneration strategies. Through this discussion it will be shown that the simultaneous pressures of post-apartheid society combine to make regeneration a contradictory, conflictual and overburdened process. It will be shown to be one that is shaped by a neoliberal, marketised paradigm, which resembles forms of regeneration documented in other cities around the world, but that it also departs from international experiences in important ways. Regeneration is being envisioned and financed in ways which also pursue and realise localised developmental goals and purposes. From this it becomes clear that urban regeneration policies are defined by ambiguities, tensions and conflicts and attempt to fulfil diverse, frequently contradictory agendas (Colomb 2007).

The regeneration of the housing stock in the inner-city is being financed in ways which take proactive steps to make the delivery of social and affordable housing possible. Finance agencies, both state-linked and private, make it possible for housing companies to gain finance on favourable, relatively inexpensive terms, thus reducing the costs of the developments and enabling housing which caters to households with restricted incomes to be provided. Their practices therefore represent concerted efforts to realise developmental ambitions in the post-apartheid city. At the same time, however, their practices continue to be based on commercial imperatives and thus continue to make returns on investments and the long-term profitability of housing projects priorities. Thus whilst they take proactive steps to ensure housing is provided to low-income households, they also continue to replicate neoliberal, market-based approaches to housing delivery and these restrict the extent to which affordable housing can continue to be supplied and expanded. Regeneration and the ways in which it is financed is thus a process which needs to be understood as a complex hybrid which is engendering transformative as well as narrow and exclusionary results.

Furthermore, when the process is situated and examined in the wider South African context it becomes apparent that it is being used to fulfil a variety of functions and ambitions, some of which oppose one another. On the one hand it compensates for some of the failings of other state-led housing strategies by creating centrally-located, affordable accommodation options. On the other hand, increasing property prices and commercial interests in the inner-city also become tools through which local government can increase its financial capacity and resources can be freed up to deliver services to poorer areas. The inner-city thus comes to subsidise other areas of the city, giving local government a vested interest in seeing the commercial success of the regeneration process continue and expand. Whilst this approach makes sense in a city-wide perspective, it also has deleterious effects on poorer communities living in the area already. This makes regeneration and housing provision an overburdened process which is trying to fulfil competing, hard-to-reconcile needs and ambitions. Again it becomes clear that regeneration cannot be taken to have a single meaning or result, but needs to be understood as an amalgamation of a variety of impulses and goals, rather than a process of gentrification which mirrors property-led redevelopment schemes experienced in other parts of the world.

The discussion in this chapter is also used as a precursor to the line of argumentation followed in the chapters which follow. The policy and funding frameworks established come to define the field in which urban regeneration and housing practitioners operate. They thus shape the types of practices, identities and dispositions which are enacted in the regeneration process, and provide the foundations for housing providers' habitus. This chapter shows that the habitus and forms of distinction which are being established valorise social commitment and developmental practices, whilst simultaneously enacting and reinforcing neoliberal values and the logics of the market. The chapter does this by drawing on interviews conducted with representatives of finance agencies and demonstrates the ways they operate and make sense of their activities and how they narrate the ambitions behind inner-city regeneration.

The provision of housing after apartheid: successes, limitations and the ongoing need for centrally-located, affordable housing

Housing, or a lack or inadequacy thereof, is one of the biggest and most stubbornly enduring social problems confronting post-apartheid South Africa. The post-apartheid government

inherited a country marked by stark inequalities in the population's access to housing and one of the earliest promises of the ANC government was the mass provision of free housing for the poorest of the poor (Charlton 2009). This was one of the key campaign pledges made by the ANC government in the first post-apartheid elections (Tomlinson 2007). It was a promise which responded to the black populations' precariousness and the way in which they were denied housing and property rights during apartheid. Thus state-provided housing continues to be a highly emotive and significant issue in the post-apartheid period. After the ANC's victory in the 1994 elections the extremely ambitious Reconstruction and Development Project (RDP) housing programme was launched. In this project, the government sub-contracts private firms to construct houses for people on state-owned land (Huchzermeyer 2003a). These houses are provided on the basis of a small financial contribution on the part of the beneficiaries, who in 1994 were defined as households earning less than R1500 (£78) per month. This figure has been adjusted upwards to accommodate inflation and the rising cost of living and at present the project caters for those earning below R3500 (£182) per month (Lemanski 2014). Through the RDP programme, since 1994 over 2 million houses have been constructed to the benefit of almost 11 million people, certainly a remarkable and significant achievement (ibid).

However, the scale of the housing crisis in South Africa is such that the units delivered thus far have done little to dent the shortage of housing or numbers of people living in inadequate conditions. At present 13.6% of South Africa's population of 51 million people live in informal dwellings (Statistics South Africa 2012). The process of acquiring an RDP house is long and arduous, and has been characterised by inefficiencies and corruption. To get an RDP house, which are only available to South African citizens aged over 21, people are required to lodge applications with their local ward councillors. They are then placed on waiting lists and allocated houses as and when they become available, which can often take many years. There are stories of entire communities being on waiting lists for more than a decade and these delays fuel anger and are some of the leading causes behind the violent protests which occur frequently around the country (van Holt et al. 2011). Delays in rolling out RDP housing also contribute to the spread of informal settlements and shack houses constructed in people's backyards, as the country's growing population finds alternative ways of securing accommodation.

In addition to delays in rolling out the programme, the biggest failure of the project has been the way it has failed to integrate beneficiaries into urban society. As RDP housing projects have been constructed on state-owned land and are aimed at the poor they are costly and absorb a great amount of government resources. Due to this they are most frequently situated on marginal land, located far from urban centres, in some cases even beyond the peripheral townships which are the enduring spatial and structural legacy of apartheid (Tomlinson et al. 2003a). The areas in which RDP housing settlements have been constructed are consequently far-removed from employment opportunities and lack social amenities such as schools, health care facilities and recreational spaces. They have, then, maintained the marginalisation of the poor, who remain overwhelmingly black, and have also enhanced the spatial fragmentation and sprawl of South Africa's cities. It is a bitter paradox that one of the most important symbols of post-apartheid citizenship has, in practical terms, done little to enhance recipients' access or rights to the city (Huchzermeyer 2001).

The combination of the undesirable location of the land, and hence the inflated expenditure on public transport that this necessitates, and the precarious and marginalised economic positions of recipients has meant that many who have qualified for houses have ended up selling them or renting them out and moving back to informal settlements instead (Tissington 2011). This behaviour is often vilified by public officials, particularly as there is an eight year moratorium on recipients selling the houses they are given, but is in fact a rational outcome of the project, which has created a population which is asset-wealthy but still financially precarious (Huchzermeyer 2003b). Thus in addition to further entrenching fragmentation and marginalisation, the project has also been criticised for its inflexible approach, which frequently does not suit recipients' economic conditions or livelihood strategies. Citizens are only allowed to access the RDP scheme once. Thus once a house has been provided they remain tied to it and risk losing it if they have to relocate to find employment (ibid). This is another factor which encourages beneficiaries to violate the projects' conditions and rent out their houses.

The sale or renting out of RDP houses has led to downward raiding which is resulting in individuals, households and even companies who are wealthier than the actual intended beneficiaries profiting financially from the programme (Lemanski 2014). It has also created a significant black market for state-provided housing which is an ongoing point of tension within

communities. Around the country opportunists, often in collaboration with local ward councillors, have bought up RDP houses which they then rent out illegally, frequently to migrants from other African countries (Gabara 2009). This has generated high levels of suspicion and resentment, as locals who remain in backyard shacks or informal settlements take umbrage when they see foreigners benefiting from state-provided housing. Housing has thus become a flashpoint for conflict and violent xenophobia in poor communities, who vent their frustrations on migrants (HSRC 2008). The vulnerability of foreigners in South Africa is exemplified by the fact that they, rather than the unscrupulous business people and local councillors who manipulate housing for their own personal gain, are the targets of resentment. These incidents of violence also demonstrate the powerful symbolism of housing and its close relationship with citizenship and people's aspirations in the democratic period, as well the ways these are frequently failing to be realised (Hassim et al. 2008; Mosselson 2010).

Further compounding the problems which bedevil the process, the houses which have been constructed are frequently sub-standard. In 2010 alone R1.3 billion, 10% of the Department of Human Settlement's budget for that year, was allocated to repair or completely rebuild the 40 000 houses that a national survey found to be inadequately built (SAPA 2010). This reflects the ways in which initial project was hurriedly rolled-out with a greater concern for putting units on the ground than with the actual quality of the housing itself and the benefits which it would bring to recipients' lives (Tomlinson 2006). In light of these shortcomings, it has come to be recognised that a variety of housing solutions are required in South Africa and the standardised approach of 'four-roomed houses', whilst politically significant and emotive, needs to be accompanied by access to rental accommodation, incremental upgrading of informal settlements and the development of low-income housing which is well connected and integrated into the rest of the urban environment (Tomlinson 2006; Tissington 2011).

Facilitating housing provision and urban regeneration through targeted finance

However, there are several significant obstacles which make it difficult to provide the variety of housing typologies and solutions which are required. One of the biggest factors which constrains low-income households' opportunities to access decent housing is the shortage of loan and mortgage finance available to them. The RDP programme rightly focuses on the most destitute

and precarious members of South African society, but it has also been recognised that a large proportion of people who earn incomes above the RDP threshold are also not able to access housing. Households earning above R3500 (£182) per month do not qualify for RDP housing, but for those earning between R3500 (£182) and R14000 (£731) per month there are minimal options and forms of support available, even though over 20% of South Africa's population falls within this income band¹⁸. This segment of the population has come to be termed the 'gap market', as they are not serviced by either the government or commercial banks. The support for this income group that is provided by government comes in the form of a social housing subsidy which is allocated either on an individual household basis or to registered social housing institutions. Individuals are provided with grants worth between R10000 (£522) and R87000 (£4546), which are calculated on a sliding scale with beneficiaries who earn less being allocated greater proportions of subsidy¹⁹. This amount is too little to cover the cost of purchasing a suitable house on the market and is only available to households who have acquired additional mortgage finance²⁰. However, commercial banks are reluctant to finance households in this income bracket. The boycott campaigns and politically volatile climate of the 1990s made it difficult for them to recover loans and enforce evictions and they thus developed a strong reluctance to deal with this segment of the population (Pillay & Naudé 2006). Even though the political climate has stabilised and there have been concerted efforts on the part of government to encourage them to begin lending money, the banks remain recalcitrant and unwilling to tailor their approaches to the needs of the majority of South Africa's population. This has created a situation in which even people who do qualify for loans from banks are reluctant to make use of these services, as they lack information and do not trust commercial institutions, and an even greater number of people are refused the financial assistance necessary for them to acquire housing of their own (ibid). Low-to-moderate income households thus have few options and frequently resort to renting backyard shacks in townships, thereby exacerbating the sprawl of South Africa's cities and placing greater infrastructure burdens on already stressed areas, or downward raiding and either purchasing or renting RDP houses from their original owners (Lemanski 2014).

Recognising the shortage of agencies willing and able to provide finance for 'gap' housing and the constraints this places on people's abilities to access accommodation, the South African

¹⁸ <http://www.housingfinanceafrica.org/blog/how-will-south-africas-new-flisp-subsidy-work/>

¹⁹ <http://www.housingfinanceafrica.org/blog/how-will-south-africas-new-flisp-subsidy-work/>

²⁰ ibid.

government took the proactive step of establishing the National Housing Finance Corporation (NHFC) in 1996. This agency was originally founded with capital provided by the government with the purpose of providing loans and financial assistance to households who earned above the RDP threshold but were unable to secure housing finance from commercial banks. They have also increasingly become involved in funding large-scale projects and housing developments. This has meant that they are very active in the housing sector in Johannesburg's inner-city and helped finance the first private-sector-led acquisition and renovation of inner-city buildings. They continue to be one of the main sources of finance for social housing.

As the NHFC's Managing Director explains, they were given the mandate to explore any "innovative method of housing delivery" and were exploring ways to expand the supply of affordable housing (CM 16/04/2013). In 2003 they were approached by a private developer who wanted to purchase disused office buildings in the inner-city, turn them into housing and sell the units. The NHFC saw this as an exciting idea which matched some of their goals and mandate. However, they encouraged the developer to focus on rental accommodation, rather than developing units which could be sold and today this company is the largest provider of affordable housing in the inner-city. The agency is therefore one of the main catalysts of urban renewal in Johannesburg and has played a fundamental role in shaping the direction and form of the process. As will be shown, they, and the other finance agencies which have been established, are influential in facilitating regeneration, as well as introducing social and developmental concerns into the process. At the same time, however, they also operate on commercial principles and are concerned with securing their loans and getting returns on their investments. This entrenches commercial, market-based practices in the way housing is provided in the inner-city.

In addition to denying housing finance to low-income households, the commercial banks in South Africa also contributed directly to the process of urban decay in the inner-city. They adopted a policy of red-lining the area in the 1990s and continue to regard it as a dangerous investment destination at present (Murray 2011; PJ 07/02/2013). Low-income households were, and generally still remain, unable to gain finance to acquire housing in the inner-city, and property developers too were prevented from gaining access to capital to fund the purchase and renovation of buildings. This created a chasm in the supply of housing for the low-income

population and also led to the ongoing deterioration and destruction of the inner-city. The NHFC began to fill this gap with dedicated loan finance and because they have funded projects which are proving to be successful some commercial banks are now willing to lend money for projects in the area, provided developments are undertaken by large companies and are underwritten by the NHFC or other finance agencies. The NHFC do not act as the sole funders of housing projects, but rather guarantee loans and provide banks with assurance that, should a project fail, the portion they have financed will be paid back first (CM 16/04/2013). They therefore aim to attract finance back to areas like the inner-city and in this way aid in expanding the housing supply and enhancing low-income earners' access. Whilst the NHFC is a national agency and operates throughout South Africa (although a very large proportion of their business has been concentrated in inner-city Johannesburg), two other finance agencies focussing specifically on the Johannesburg context have also been established.

The Trust for Urban Housing Finance (TUHF) has replaced the NHFC as the predominant source of funding for housing projects in inner-city Johannesburg. The agency was born out of the Inner City Housing Upgrading Trust (ICHUT), an independent body which sought to fund urban renewal and housing projects in inner-city Johannesburg in the late 1990s and early 2000s. ICHUT provided the bridging finance for the Seven Buildings Project, a programme which purchased and renovated seven inner-city buildings and established them as housing cooperatives (Oelofse 2003). However, this pilot project eventually collapsed as tenants refused to accept rental increases, which made ongoing maintenance impossible, and loan repayments to ICHUT ceased. All seven buildings became mired in in-fighting and accusations of theft and corruption amongst the cooperatives' management bodies and eventually went into liquidation (Oelofse 2003, CM 11/06/2013). This experience demonstrated the need for a more focussed and systematic approach to financing, which would avoid making bad or risky loans but would still facilitate the provision of low-income housing, and it was out of this that TUHF was formed (PJ 07/02/2013). Learning from the negative experience of ICHUT, TUHF ensures that they have influence over the entire process: they help potential clients develop business plans for the properties they want to purchase, give their clients training in running residential buildings and attempt to put developers in contact with commercial banks who can provide additional finance (ibid). This holistic approach to funding regeneration helps nurture a new class of property owners and housing providers, entrenches commercial principles in the way housing is provided

and buildings are managed and also aims to enhance the banks' confidence in the inner-city, thereby creating more potential funding sources.

The Gauteng Partnership Fund (GPF) plays a similar role, although unlike TUHF, which is an independent commercial agency, it was established by the then Department of Housing (which was renamed the Department of Human Settlements in 2009) and is defined as a public institution²¹. Like the NHFC and TUHF they also seek to act as a bridge between the public and private sectors and leverage private finance for the construction of low-income housing. They provide "nurse finance" which helps to initiate projects and cover early capital costs so that additional finance from the private sector can be secured (KN 12/06/2013). For example, JHC's Brickfields development (a mixed-income housing project in Newtown, in the south-west of the inner-city) cost a total of R120 300 000, out of which R24 300 000 was provided by the GPF²². With the various subsidy mechanisms in place it is now possible for up to 70% of the initial costs of social housing projects to be covered (MM 08/04/2013).

National government provides subsidies for social housing institutions in the form of the Capital Restructuring Grant, which is used to cover the initial costs of projects, particularly the purchase of land or property in strategic areas, such as the inner-city, or the upgrading of former single-sex hostels in townships (Tissington 2011; HDA 2013). The other nationally administered grant is the Institutional Subsidy programme (ibid). In South Africa there is no continuous subsidy or housing benefit awarded to individual households; however, individual households can access a once-off subsidy grant or registered social housing institutions can apply for subsidy grants for individual projects which are aimed at households which fall within the income bracket supported by social housing (TA 12/02/2013). Again, this grant is not continuous, but serves to help cover initial capital costs. After these grants have been exhausted social housing institutions are expected to acquire additional funding from agencies such as the NHFC, TUHF and GPF and to become self-sustaining through viable commercial practices.

Thus whilst there is a strong element of state support assisting the social housing sector, there is also a significant emphasis placed on commercial principles and market-based practices. As the

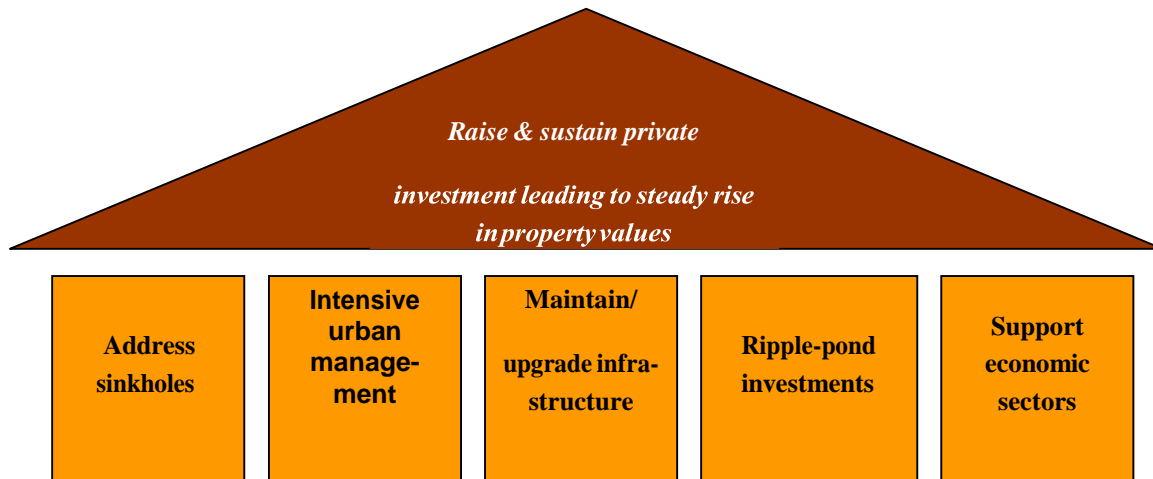
²¹ <http://www.gpf.org.za/About-Us/Company-Profile>

²² <http://www.gpf.org.za/Projects-Funded/Brickfields>

CEO of TUHF explains, “At its most basic, TUHF believes that if you address the causes of market failure – because there was substantial market failure in the inner-city – and if you introduce liquidity the market will work and property prices will increase” (PJ 07/02/2013). Even though they support low-income housing, they also aim to ensure that there is increased demand for and value accrued through property in the inner-city. They are therefore committed to the vision of regeneration developed by the City of Johannesburg. In this conception, urban regeneration is predominantly understood and evaluated as an increase in the value of property in the inner-city and is measured by the amount of private sector investment and formal property transactions which take place (Viruly et al. 2010). Commenting on urban renewal across all of South Africa’s urban centres, the General Manager of NASHO points out,

“most of the strategic driving of inner-city rejuvenation is coming from municipalities and most of them have policies which say ‘We will invest in infrastructure in order to increase the quality of the environment in order to get the private sector expenditure in,’ and that investment doesn’t include government-financed housing opportunities” (MM 08/04/2013).

In Johannesburg specifically, the central component of local government’s regeneration strategy is the Inner City Regeneration Charter (ICRC). This document outlines the guiding framework and overarching principles under which renewal is pursued. Overwhelmingly the emphasis in this document is on attracting private investment back into the inner-city. This is achieved by local government addressing the factors which detract from business’s confidence, particularly crime and grime issues, and making investments in infrastructure which are designed to improve the area’s image and send positive signals to investors (City of Johannesburg 2007b). The diagram below is taken from the Johannesburg Inner City Regeneration Strategy Business Plan and represents the overall imperatives behind the regeneration project, reflected by the top part of the diagram, as well as the role local government is to play in this process, reflected in the lower parts of the pyramid (City of Johannesburg 2004, p.10).



Following the principles set out above, several high-profile infrastructure development projects have been undertaken by local government in the inner-city. These include the creation of the Newtown cultural precinct, the Diamond and Fashion Districts in the eastern segments of the CBD and the flagship Mandela Bridge. These were all commissioned in the mid-2000's and were intended to show investors that government is paying attention to and has confidence in the inner-city, and therefore private investments will be secure and profitable (Viruly et.al 2010). There have also been several highly visible police campaigns aimed at by-law enforcement and rooting out petty criminality from the inner-city. Undocumented immigrants and informal traders have borne the brunt of these 'crackdowns' which are intended to send signals to private investors that the City is serious about safeguarding their interests and protecting the area from disruptive or harmful elements (Klaaren & Ramji 2001; Reitzes 2002; Winkler 2006).

Therefore on one level this process shares a great deal of similarities with experiences of urban renewal from several other locations around the world. It resonates with the revanchist forms of policing and regulation seen in cities such as New York (Smith 1996), Mumbai (Appadurai 2000; Fernandes 2004), Rotterdam (Schinkel & van den Berg 2011) Quito and Guayaquil (Swanson 2007) and many others and thus seems to bear out Smith's (2002) claim that in the neoliberal era the central goals and results of urban renewal projects are the return of capital to and the removal of poor populations from derelict urban centres. Harvey (1989; 2006; 2012) maintains that the contemporary period is marked by governments pandering to the private sector and doing everything in their power to attract investment into urban property markets. Around the world a situation prevails in which governments carry the risk of investing public money into urban infrastructure, with the goal of creating conditions for private investors to accrue the

benefits and reap the profits (ibid). This has certainly been the case in Johannesburg, where, some academics argue, public investments are made with a greater concern for how the private sector will respond to them and how they will boost the image of the inner-city than with the needs of the area's poor population in mind (Bremner 2000; 2004; Murray 2011). These features lead some critics to identify Johannesburg as falling within the sphere of global gentrification and argue that the regeneration process underway is yet another iteration of the global spread of neoliberal urbanism (Winkler 2009).

Attempting to create an inclusive inner-city

However, whilst sharing some of the similarities which define gentrification and revanchist renewal, the Johannesburg case departs from the dominant narrative of processes of urban change in marked ways. One of the main differences between the regeneration in the inner-city and other cases is the way in which the rent-gap has been utilised. Studies of gentrification across a variety of contexts have found the rent-gap to be one of the decisive factors instigating the process (Smith 1987; MacLeod 2002; Lopez-Morales 2011; Bernt 2012). In Johannesburg, however, whilst a very substantial rent-gap or deflated property market existed in the 1990s and first decade of the 2000s, it was not sufficient to attract new investors into the area; the lack of finance available and persistent instability and insecurity prevented redevelopment from taking place. Local government therefore had to stimulate interest in the area and create demand for property in it. The infrastructure developments, more visible and harsh policing and innovative financing strategies have all fulfilled this purpose. In addition, Johannesburg's inner-city has been declared an Urban Development Zone²³. This allows any tax-paying, property-owning individual or entity to claim reductions on taxable income that is generated from investments in the area²⁴. It is focussed particularly on investors who make improvements or extensions to buildings in order to provide housing and is a another measure aimed at stimulating private investment as well as housing provision (South African Revenue Service Legal and Policy Division 2006). Therefore, the approach adopted towards regeneration is fundamentally business-centred and geared towards getting developers to capitalise on the rent-gap. However, there remain a variety of factors and agendas at work which temper the neoliberal aspects. Alongside the market-based goals, regeneration is also being conceived and pursued in ways which promote the provision of housing to low-income households.

²³ http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=120&Itemid=58

²⁴ ibid

In addition to offering tax incentives, local government also launched a strategy which stimulated demand for derelict properties. Many of the buildings which are used at present to provide social housing were acquired through the Better Buildings Programme (BBP). In this programme, launched in 1997 and originally known as the Bad Buildings Programme, the City Council took over derelict buildings whose arrears owed to the Council for services had become greater than their market value. These properties were then sold to pre-approved developers for the difference between the arrears and the market price (Zack et al 2009; Murray 2008). The City Council also seized certain properties and sold them on auction to private developers. A condition of this programme was that individuals or companies acquiring buildings would have to sign agreements ensuring ongoing good management of the building and that rents would cater to low-income communities after renovations were completed. It thus augmented the subsidies available to social housing companies and enabled them to acquire properties at prices which allowed them to charge low rentals and still be sustainable. The Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) was able to acquire several buildings through this programme, which stands as an unconventional and creative use of the deflated property market. The low cost of acquiring properties allowed companies to set rentals at rates affordable to low-income households, whilst still covering operating costs and generating small profits. It thus served to stimulate the property market and deal with problematic, run-down buildings.

The strategic use of derelict buildings simultaneously facilitated the provision of centrally-located housing to low-income households, thus assisting in spatial integration, which has become an increasing area of focus for national and local government, as well as finance agencies. The General Manager of NASHO explains that social housing policy in South Africa increasingly pays attention to the location of potential housing developments (MM 08/04/2013). Unlike the RDP programme, in which the construction of a high volume of units is the biggest concern (Tomlinson 2006), the goal of social housing is to provide accommodation which enables its beneficiaries to be integrated into the urban fabric. Hence he points out that “The major arguments [for social housing] have largely been around creating greater opportunities for integration of our cities and helping people who would have been deprived of that access to have access to well located economic and other opportunities” (MM 08/04/2013). South Africa’s housing policy has evolved in recent years and, whilst still overly-reliant on the limited RDP formula of stand-alone, four-room houses (Huchzermeyer 2003b, Charlton & Kihato 2006), its

scope has also been expanded to emphasise the need for housing to be developed which connects communities to employment opportunities, amenities and urban infrastructure (Tissington 2011).

These goals are spelled out in the Breaking New Ground (BNG) strategy document, launched by the Department of Human Settlements in 2004. This document introduces a new definition of and approach to housing, placing emphasis on the term 'human settlements' and highlighting the fact that these settlements have multi-dimensional needs and thus have to provide for not only the forms of shelter people have access to, but the quality of their lives, their access to employment, amenities and resources and long-term environmental sustainability too (National Department of Housing 2004). There is thus a shift to a more holistic approach to housing which seeks to overcome some of the failings of the RDP project. The inner-city is a strategic and valuable site in this regard, as it is centrally-located and well-resourced. Property in central areas and close to amenities is generally more valuable than on the urban periphery. However, due to the decay and abandonment of the inner-city properties in it were extremely undervalued and thus could be bought and refurbished at lower rates. These reduced capital costs make it feasible for housing companies to provide accommodation at low rentals and to work towards fulfilling some of the broader goals which have come to define housing and urban restructuring policies, including spatial integration.

Another important step made in the BNG strategy is the goal of expanding the supply of rental housing (Tissington 2011). Rental has not enjoyed popular support or endorsement in government policy in the post-apartheid period, as it was the main way in which the apartheid government provided housing for black people. It is thus associated with insecurity and oppression and opportunities to own one's own home are emotive symbols of transformation. However, rental is still a vitally important form of tenure, particularly in a context where few people have income streams which are large and consistent enough for them to secure deposits on houses or maintain repayments on mortgages. The 2006 Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (JSDF) (City of Johannesburg 2006) thus follows BNG in calling for a range of housing typologies to be established so that the variety of needs which households and communities have can be catered for. Similarly the Inner City Housing Action Plan (ICHAP)

(City of Johannesburg 2007a) also urges for the provision of a variety of housing options in the inner-city (as discussed in the Chapter Two).

There has also been a push towards densification in South African cities with national and provincial government and local municipalities all including densification of housing in existing settled areas as both an economic and socially developmental goal in their strategic planning. For example, the JSDF lists the containment and compaction of the province's cities as a one of the core areas of focus²⁵. The document points out that housing development at high densities in the inner-city takes pressure off land on the urban edge, which has to this point been the site of intense and continuous decentralised sprawl. It thus recognises the short-comings of existing approaches to housing delivery and their negative impacts on the spatial form of the urban region. The JSDF furthermore emphasises the need for an increased focus on in-fill development projects which utilise vacant land between suburbs and for more support to be extended to regeneration programmes taking place in areas in close proximity to existing employment opportunities and infrastructure²⁶. The aim is therefore to bring local planning strategies in line with the broader national framework. The ICHAP also elaborates on the JSDF's goal of promoting forms of regeneration and housing which grant poor people access to urban livelihoods and resources (City of Johannesburg 2007a).

This approach to development has also been adopted by the agencies providing finance for low-income housing. The Operations Manager at the NHFC explains that they focus on "integrated housing solutions" (CM 16/04/2013). They thus move away from the RDP model, which provides "just a house" and instead fund projects which will provide access to "all the facilities, amenities, everything together" (ibid). Their mode of evaluating projects does not simply consider the profitability of the project: "our criteria for approving finance is, is all these things there? Is there transport? Is there work nearby, employment opportunities? What else is there in terms of facilities, hospitals, schools?" (ibid). Because of this approach, Johannesburg's inner-city has been an extremely attractive location. Whilst it is still largely run-down, it still boasts better infrastructure than the peripheral township areas and is also the central transport hub for the city. Enabling low-income earners to gain accommodation in it helps to integrate them into

²⁵ http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/2007/pdfs/sdf2007_8/sdf2007_s1.pdf

²⁶ ibid.

urban society and thus promotes their right to the city and centrality (this point will be elaborated on in Chapter Eight). This is an essential step in the restructuring of South African cities and achieving a form of post-apartheid redress. So whilst market concerns are firmly entrenched in the way in which regeneration has been conceived and pursued in Johannesburg, there are also broader developmental goals at work which reflect the demands and imperatives of contemporary South African society.

Finance agencies are proactive in efforts to ensure that there is a supply of affordable housing in the central city and use their positions to enforce conditions on the developers they deal with. They therefore insist that projects which they fund not only have to be well located and close to amenities, but also have to cater to people with incomes between R3500 (£182) and R14000 (£731). According to the 2011 census data, 21% of households in the inner-city earn between R3500 (£182) and R7500 (£391) per month (SERI 2013) and thus fall within the income bracket which qualifies for social housing. A further 17% earn between R6366 (£332) and R12816 (£669) (ibid) and are within the ‘gap’ market which private housing companies target. In recognition of these realities, the CEO of TUHF explains that “We often turn down projects where the product is too high-end, this million rand plus kind of stuff. It’s got to be low-to-moderate income” (PJ 07/02/2013).

In order to achieve the provision of housing for these income brackets and maintain rentals at low rates the NHFC, TUHF and the GPF provide loans which do not put pressure on developers to become profitable immediately and add only minimal costs. Companies securing loans are given lenient terms and extended periods to pay them back. Loans the NHFC makes to private developers are charged at the prime interest rate plus 2%, whilst for social housing institutions they charge the prime interest rate with no additional costs (TH 09/03/2013). Private rental projects are also charged an administration fee amounting to 2% of the loan value, which is waived for social housing (ibid). The GPF grants recipients of their finance a three to four year moratorium on paying back the loan to ensure that the projects are viable first (KN 12/06/2013). As there is no rent control in South Africa, finance organisations insist that projects qualifying for their assistance cannot charge initial rentals above R4500 which can then only be increased by 8% annually (TH 09/03/2013). Thus, according to an employee of the GPF, the loans which are provided are concerned more with the creation of housing than return

on investment or profitability (KN 12/06/2013). However, these also remain central concerns and are not absent from the ways in which finance is provided.

Furthermore, housing finance agencies are also committed to urban regeneration which promotes social cohesion and has beneficial effects on local communities. The GPF employee quoted above emphasises the priority his agency attaches to regenerating the inner-city by stating “in order to be successful you have to have that focus and want to make the place [inner-city Johannesburg] a better place” (KN 12/06/2013). They seek to inculcate sympathy and understanding for low-income households’ precarious financial situations in their clients and will only support responsible landlords who are committed to improving the inner-city and assisting their tenants. The CEO of TUHF maintains that what differentiates them from the commercial banks is that they take the social values and operating practices of their potential clients into consideration. When evaluating proposed projects they do not only make assessments based on the feasibility and figures they are presented with, but also on the individuals behind the projects, their track records, interpersonal skills and general understanding of the housing environment in South Africa. As he explains, “We have this saying, if a good landlord comes in with a bad deal we’ll work with him to get it right; if a bad landlord comes in with a good deal we won’t touch him with a 45 foot barge pole” (PJ 07/02/2013). He elaborates further and describes the type of landlord or client that TUHF supports as “a person that we can ascertain is hardworking, down to earth, hands on, resilient...and able to manage the vagaries of *residential* real estate, because not only you have to be good technically, you have to be good interpersonally” (ibid, emphasis in the original). Because of the nature of the market that landlords funded through these entities deal with, being able to make judgements and consider the difficult circumstances of their tenants is important. So “if somebody arrives and says ‘I genuinely have a problem’ [a good landlord] will say ‘Fine, you can have a few weeks to pay me’. And it’s being able to make those kinds of judgements, that interpersonal stuff [that makes or defines a good landlord]” (ibid).

The NHFC also adopts this approach; the Operations Manager explains that they encourage landlords whom they work with to be sensitive to the needs and potential difficulties experienced by tenants who survive on low incomes, whilst at the same time adopting stringent management practices. As he relates,

“What entrepreneurs are learning as well is that if they have a client that has been paying for a while and if that person is a good tenant, even if that person goes through difficulties they wouldn’t evict that person, they would look at mechanisms of rehabilitating the customer. So evictions are almost a very last resort. Which for us resonates with what we’re trying to achieve; you don’t just put somebody out on the street. I think those are the mechanisms which is almost a softening up of the code by which entrepreneurs are driven and this is a piece of the thing and our financing always makes these things known to the people: we’re here to make sure there’s housing provided and not to put people out on the street” (CM 16/04/2013).

It is therefore apparent that a form of developmental regeneration is being pursued, even though it is being done through the market. It can be read as a hybrid form of regeneration which fulfils diverse agendas and outcomes. One of the outcomes, as the quote above demonstrates, is the creation of a habitus which places emphasis on socially beneficial approaches to regeneration. Habitus is described by Bourdieu (1990 p.66) as a ‘feel for the game’, it is a way of understanding the codes of practice, mannerisms, forms of distinction and dispositions which are valued in a particular society and inculcating these into one’s everyday actions, personality and self-presentation. The possession and mobilisation of this type of knowledgeable habitus is what grants individuals cultural capital. Being a responsible, ‘good’ and socially aware landlord thus becomes a form of cultural capital as it not only grants developers access to finance – i.e. economic capital – it also ensures that they conform to the demands and forms of distinction which are coming to prevail in the inner-city. If developers fail to meet the standards and live up to the code of practice enforced by funding agencies their reputations will be damaged and this loss of cultural capital will also result in a loss of economic capital. So in these ways the finance agencies are determining the fields in which housing providers and developers act, and the terms on which they are required to do so.

The devalued property market therefore has not been used in the way which has become commonplace around the world, including in other South African cities. Cape Town, for example, stands as an example of urban regeneration based predominantly on market concerns and the maximisation of property values and profits. This has created a situation in which low-income populations are excluded from the central city, both proactively and through the ever-

increasing property values and ground rents (Miraftab 2007; Morange 2011; Didier et al. 2012; Paasche et al. 2013; MM 08/04/2013). In Johannesburg the experience has been different. In part this is due to the fact that the area underwent a process of transition which was far more destructive and violent than that experienced in Cape Town. During the period of transition Johannesburg's white residents and business owners were more inclined to abandon the area and relocate to the burgeoning suburbs springing up all around the wider metropolitan area (Morris 1999a). The relocation of the major enterprises and the Stock Exchange to Sandton also created a new business district in the city, which has attracted far more investment and property speculation. Cape Town, on the other hand, has retained a more compact urban form and has been far more successful in maintaining the central city as the focal point of the economy. Since 2009 it has also been run by the Democratic Alliance. This party is more unashamedly socially and economically (neo)liberal than the ANC, who have been the party in power in Johannesburg since 1994, and are even more inclined to be sympathetic to the interests of business. The party also traditionally draws its electoral support from the white and coloured communities and is thus more responsive to these constituencies' demands. This has meant that businesses and property owners have been given influential roles to play in running Cape Town's central city, as illustrated by the predominance of the Cape Town Partnership in driving regeneration efforts (Morange & Didier 2006). These have been successful from a business perspective (although harmful in social terms) and, together with the area's natural beauty, have established the city as one of the most popular tourist destinations in the world.

In contrast, Johannesburg's inner-city was overrun with crime, drugs and violence and today the area continues to be saddled with a notorious reputation for being a den of vice, violence and social problems which repels many investors and visitors. This stigma has come to define the inner-city in many people's imaginations and imbue the space with a particular socio-cultural meaning. Whilst this contributes to the area's decay, it has also come to serve a socially beneficial function as it has ensured that demand for accommodation in the inner-city, especially in the most densely populated yet also most notorious suburbs of Hillbrow and Berea, only comes from low-income earners who need to live in the area out of economic necessity. Whilst central Cape Town has been maintained as an exclusive area and has almost no low-income housing (MM 08/04/2013), inner-city areas like Yeoville, Hillbrow and Berea have thus far failed to attract high-end developments and upper class residents, who only have the Maboneng precinct to enjoy in the inner-city.

The demand for accommodation is coming from low-income earners and finance agencies and housing providers have taken cognisance of this. They recognise that high-end redevelopments are not feasible and simultaneously actively discourage them in favour of more socially beneficial forms of regeneration. In this way they are responding to the realities of the market. However, it needs to be recognised that these market realities are being determined by the spatial conditions of the inner-city. A central ambition of Bourdieu's theoretical project, as discussed in previous chapters, was to establish a social understanding of the economy²⁷. The case of the inner-city demonstrates that in addition to prevailing socio-cultural stratifications, forms of habitus and capital, spatial conditions also need to be factored into understandings of how markets and demand work and economic agents function. Space thus needs to be regarded as a central component which shapes socio-cultural expectations, definitions and habitus. The practices of finance agencies show how the market is actually subject to and produced by spatial constraints and actors have to adapt to these.

Finance agencies eschew high-end regeneration as they recognise it is not economically feasible. Whilst doing so, they also cultivate practices which entrench this recognition in housing providers and create an alternative framework for regeneration. They are able to take advantage of the rent-gap and low demand from wealthy people to expand the supply of social and affordable housing. Because the prices of property in the area are low, housing providers are able to charge lower rentals; the low costs of finance and relaxed repayment conditions also ensure that rentals can be maintained at reduced rates. Their approaches to providing housing are therefore influenced by and adaptations to the prevailing material and social conditions of the inner-city; as these adaptations become established as standard practice and valorised as the correct forms of behaviour, forms of habitus and cultural capital which reflect more developmentally focused goals emerge. This example furthers the argument that gentrification, which is frequently portrayed as a function of the capitalist market, rent-gap and an inexorable global process, is actually highly context-dependant and occurs only when political and spatial conditions are conducive to it (Bernt 2012; Maloutas 2012). The role space plays in structuring, permitting, restricting and influencing socio-cultural and economic practices therefore needs to be foregrounded in explanations of gentrification and regeneration.

²⁷ This view is in opposition to the prevailing economic view which sees the economy as driven by its own logics and people as fundamentally rational, self-interested actors (Bourdieu 2005b)

Commercial concerns and practices impose limitations on the developmental potential of regeneration

Concerted efforts are therefore being made to ensure that developmental regeneration takes place and some of the city's enduring spatial divisions are reduced. But there are also considerable tensions within the regeneration process and the ways in which it is unfolding. Whilst an interventionist approach has been adopted and investors and housing developers are not presented with a blank cheque, commercial logics and concerns still prevail. South Africa lacks a standard or coherent policy on urban regeneration (HDA 2013); rather, regeneration goals and plans are included in the various city-wide documents and policies which circulate. Certainly urban regeneration cannot take place in isolation from other planning and development procedures, but the lack of a focussed regeneration strategy means that frequently there is too little attention paid to the renewal of central urban areas and the strategic possibilities these contain.

For instance, the General Manager of NASHO argues that, in contrast to the prevailing goal of increasing property values in the inner-city, a more focussed policy of utilising state-owned land or buildings in the inner-cities for social housing is required. In contrast to the current situation, in which public investments in infrastructure are made with the aim of attracting private investment, he proposes that a certain proportion of buildings in urban areas should be reserved for social housing and that those upgrading projects will then take the lead in stabilising inner-city areas and attracting other forms of investment (MM 08/04/2013). As the following chapters will show, and as the interviewee quoted above argues, social housing has been a very successful driver of urban renewal and improved community cohesion and quality of life in inner-city Johannesburg. However, this has happened without any specific planning frameworks in place to ensure that the successes achieved are replicated and the building stock which remains undeveloped is preserved for these purposes.

Instead, a situation currently prevails where the commercial imperatives of the market, whilst restrained to some degree, are left in place. Thus TUHF's CEO explains that whilst the agency is dedicated to providing low-income housing, they continue to operate within a strict financial paradigm. He explains the agency's outlook as follows:

“TUHF is one of those organisations that we’re a hard-nosed commercial organisation but we’re also an organisation that worries a lot about doing good. So we have a very strong development objective in addition to our commercial objectives. That’s why somewhere here you’ll see the ‘Good Business Doing Good’ logo. So the ‘Good Business’ is hard-nosed commercial, growing, profitable, all those good things, and the ‘Doing Good’ is low-income housing, urban regeneration, access to finance” (PJ 07/02/2013).

They therefore seek to achieve divergent goals through regeneration, which places them in a contradictory position. For example, communal housing – where tenants rent bedrooms and share common bathroom and kitchen facilities – is the cheapest formal accommodation available in the inner-city. Rents in these buildings, which are provided by social housing and private companies, range between approximately R800 (£41) and R1700 (£88) (Tissington 2011). However, TUHF does not fund communal developments as it fears that if the projects fail the re-sale value of these buildings will be too low. In this case, commercial concerns trump developmental imperatives. Furthermore, the finance TUHF provided is actually more expensive than that provided by commercial banks (RP 08/02/2013; SR10/06/2013). The NHFC too, whilst being a government-aligned entity, has to be self-sustaining. Its operations are funded by the returns they make on the loans and investments they provide. Thus they have to ensure that any project they back is profitable, even if this is over the long-term and this prevents them from financing housing which caters to the most poor members of society (TH 09/03/2013).

Individuals who are active in the inner-city’s regeneration consequently find themselves caught between the two competing imperatives which shape the field in which regeneration is taking place. Employees of both the GPF and NHFC speak of the need to start recouping the funding given to social housing institutions, as the practice of giving them loans which are not market-related is unsustainable and unaffordable. They note that government cannot afford to continue to subsidise social housing indefinitely and that it needs to be a commercially viable sector (CM 16/04/2013; KN 12/06/2013). The rationality or habitus they act within is clearly market-oriented, as is the dominant rationality shaping a large proportion of the regeneration strategies being pursued. This is the type of habitus that Bourdieu (2005b) refers to as the economic habitus or *homo economicus*; it refers to the disposition that orients actions and values towards the market and bases desires, aspirations and evaluations of social processes on economic logic.

On the other hand, they also have social concerns and are influenced by a different form of habitus, which is much more socially concerned and committed to development. As CM points out, “I come from the perspective of saying my satisfaction is seeing people who previously didn’t have housing having housing” (16/04/2013). There is thus a strong social commitment that runs through the way he works personally and the organisation runs as a whole. But at the same time, the NHFC and other funding institutions “cannot get involved in something that will lose us a lot of money” (ibid). They therefore often have to be cautious and put business concerns before social needs. This has become even more pressing as in recent years the government’s fiscal constraints have reduced the money available to the NHFC. This has forced them to borrow money from additional commercial sources (ibid). Unlike government funding, this money is not interest-free and places pressure on the NHFC to be more commercially focussed and consistent in generating profits. This puts them in a contradictory position and restricts their ability to finance projects which may be risky or offer less return on investment. CM reflects on this and soberly concludes “there is a dissonance between what we’re trying to do on the social side on the one hand and what we *need* to do on the other hand to keep ourselves sustainable” (ibid, emphasis in the original).

Furthermore, reliance on market mechanisms to drive renewal also sets some limitations on the extent to which the process can be maintained and expanded. The gap in the value of properties in the inner-city after the period of decline and their potential value is what attracted investors to the area and made the provision of low-income housing feasible. However, as the inner-city has stabilised and more investors have been attracted, competition for buildings has increased and prices have gone up. An employee of the predominant social housing company in the inner-city expresses frustration with this situation and notes that the increased competition for buildings and escalating property prices are hindering their abilities to create more social housing in the area. He states, “We don’t raise rental so [increased costs and property prices] are killing it [social housing] at the feasibility stage” (MM 16/08/2012).

This situation is felt even more sharply by private housing providers who do not qualify for the subsidy programmes which social housing institutions benefit from. A small proportion acquired properties through the BBP, but the majority were purchased on the open market. At the time

when the bulk of the buildings used for low-income housing were purchased “there were a lot of hijacked buildings, buildings that were valueless, worthless in market terms” (MM 08/04/2013). This enabled private developers to acquire buildings for extremely low costs which effectively acted as a type of ‘subsidy’ which allowed them to get into the low-income housing market and still be able to make returns and run profitable businesses. Because initial capital costs were limited rentals could be maintained at low levels. However, as initial expenses and operating costs rise this has a knock-on effect on rentals charged, which have to be adjusted to keep pace with these increases. This makes low-income housing less feasible and replicable in more buildings which are yet to be renovated. Most housing providers do not make profits from rental accrued. Tenants’ rents help to cover operating costs and pay for the ongoing maintenance of buildings. Rather, the greatest source of profit for housing providers is the value of the properties they own, which has increased substantially in recent times. For instance, one property which was acquired for approximately R250 000 in 1999 was recently valued at R5 million (TA 12/02/2013). Another interviewee estimates that “since 2002 till now the value of buildings has gone up by at least 500%; if you had R350 000 [invested in property] in 2002 and you’d been able to get debt finance you [or your property portfolio] would be worth R35 million now” (PJ 07/02/2013). So the low prices of buildings when the inner-city was in a state of abandonment allowed developers to achieve lucrative returns on their investments very quickly. As the prices rise, however, the space for making these types of profits decreases and thus investments are less likely to offer substantial returns. The aim of creating a normal, functioning property market in the inner-city is largely being achieved. But this is coming at the expense of future opportunities to expand the social and affordable housing stock in the inner-city and illustrates clearly the conflict between developmental goals and commitment to delivery within a market paradigm.

Thus the Managing Director of NASHO notes that increasingly the most significant challenge in the inner-city is finding ways to “create the mechanisms that allow you to deal with a private property market that’s getting better and better but at the same time protect the rights of people on lower incomes to access the city” (MM 08/04/2013). These mechanisms are limited at present and are largely confined to the finance mechanism discussed in this chapter. Despite the presence of other ambitions and policy imperatives, local government’s focus remains on implementing orthodox market practices and this means that calls for reduced utility rates for social and low-income housing are being ignored and the focus remains on cost-recovery for the provision of services. Thus again there is a tension between the potential transformative benefits

of regenerating the inner-city through providing low-income housing and opening the area up to the private property market.

Whilst the social and political significance of housing low-income communities in the formerly segregated inner-city is recognised, increasingly local government endorses the view that the inner-city should resemble central urban areas in the Anglo-American world. This means, as the CEO of the City's social housing institution, JOSHCO, explains, that property should be more expensive and valuable in the inner-city than in other areas (RG 11/09/2012). There are thus two conflicting visions and programmes at play simultaneously – on the one hand there is the powerful, democratic vision of an integrated city which includes low-income households in the most central areas and thus integrates them into urban society and reduces some of the spatial inequalities which define the city. On the other, there is strong acceptance of and commitment to a spatial landscape in which the central city is economically vibrant and valuable and the poor are confined to the geographic (and thus social) margins. This is the pattern which apartheid was built on and is still being recreated through contemporary approaches and policies.

Adding further constraints to the developmental potential of regeneration is the discrepancy which exists between the rates charged for social and affordable housing in the inner-city and the rentals which the majority of the population living in the area can actually afford. Although a large proportion of households in the inner-city earn incomes above the R3500 (£182) RDP threshold, and can be classified as low-to-moderate income, 49% of households in the area earn less than R3200 (£167) per month and there is a 25% unemployment rate in the inner-city (SERI 2013). Thus whilst a substantial proportion of the inner-city population can afford the rents being charged, there is an even greater percentage who cannot. Some are able to gain access to renovated housing through sub-letting arrangements, as Chapters Seven and Eight will discuss. However, many others have to resort to living in dilapidated buildings or former industrial spaces. There is a huge market in inner-city 'spaces' – i.e. segments of rooms that people lease alongside other occupants, sometimes by the hour (Mayson 2014). There are many buildings, both residential sectional-title and formerly industrial, which run on this basis. Overcrowding is prevalent and in the worst cases people live in buildings without functioning electricity or water connections.

Whilst these buildings are in poor, hazardous states, they are important in providing housing for people who cannot access formal accommodation, either because they lack the financial means or requisite identification documents, or frequently both. Yet, as more and more properties are upgraded, the proportion of buildings accommodating poor people is being dramatically reduced. As the CEO of TUHF points out, “the space of living for free has been closed down to almost zero” (PJ 07/02/2013). This has meant that the poorest members of the population are being pushed out towards abandoned semi-industrial properties on the eastern edge of the inner-city. At present, areas such as Denver and Jeppestown are home to large populations who live in derelict buildings, lacking water and electricity connections. He later states, “the displacement of the very poor has been rampant” (ibid). This is partly an effect of the increased regeneration and formalisation of the rental housing market, which TUHF is a central actor in, and needs to be addressed as a particular matter of urgency. However, the approach adopted currently, whilst including principles and goals which do not conform to simple market orthodoxy, is exacerbating, rather than alleviating this problem. The successes it has achieved are limited by the overwhelming complexity, variety of needs and issues which characterise the inner-city and wider South African society. It therefore becomes apparent that regenerating the inner-city alone is not able to solve these problems and inequities.

Image 1: Abandoned but still occupied buildings in Jeppestown (photographs by the author 05/07/2013)



The tensions between regenerating the inner-city and addressing city-wide concerns

It therefore becomes apparent that the regeneration process is overburdened in terms of the expectations and functions it is intended to meet. In one instant it represents a meaningful attempt to introduce an alternative means of housing provision into the city's landscape and enhance the abilities of lower-income households to access centrally located, well-resourced housing. At the same time, however, it is also a process which operates on commercial logics and is intended to boost the value of inner-city property. This reduces the scope for accommodating poorer segments of the population and is potentially undoing some of the progressive gains which have been made. It is a process which is being framed in normative terms which regard the inner-city as too valuable to accommodate low-income residents, as the quote from JOSHCO's CEO demonstrates. Given the realities of the area and the needs of the population who inhabit it, these ambitions are inappropriate and are exacerbating social problems. However, when the process is viewed in wider geographic and economic perspective this logic has some justification.

As the inner-city starts to flourish and become dominated by private businesses, which are increasingly able to take care of maintenance issues themselves by contracting private cleaning, maintenance and security services in the CID and RID areas, this frees up local government to concentrate resources and efforts on other neglected areas, particularly peripheral townships and informal settlements. The view prevails that, because they are now attractive locations for private investment, "the inner-cities, in one way or another, will look after themselves and will look after themselves better than squatter camps [i.e. informal settlements]" (TA 12/02/2013). The South African government is burdened with incredible socio-economic problems and also has severe budgetary constraints. Therefore local government is increasingly looking to use the inner-city housing and property market to fund operations elsewhere (PJ 07/02/2013).

In South Africa the levies or rates charged on properties are determined by the properties' values. Thus as property values in the inner-city rise, local government is able to increase the levies imposed on owners. Property levies are important sources of income for local governments, particularly as there is a small tax base in South Africa. The City's reliance on these as a source of revenue is illustrated by the effects the rates boycott embarked on by wealthy

residents in the early 1990s had on its finances. In opposition to plans to unify the city's municipal areas and bring them all under one central municipal body, residents in wealthy suburbs withheld their rates payments. This damaged local government's income streams so severely that the City was almost reduced to bankruptcy and could only begin to function once the boycott ended and rates started flowing again (Tomlinson et al. 2003b). Therefore there is a great deal of benefit which can be gained from the rising property values in the inner-city, as this creates more income for local government, which can potentially be used to address more immediate needs, including maintenance, education, upgrading of infrastructure and informal settlements and health care provision. For example, one medium-sized for-profit housing company pays the City of Johannesburg R2million a month (NB 24/04/2013); the larger ones would be paying even more. Local government therefore has a direct interest in seeing property rates in the inner-city increase and the private sector flourish.

The formalisation of housing in the inner-city also allows for more efficient and regular billing and payment for water, electricity and waste management services. At present most residential buildings are billed directly for water and electricity; these charges are added onto tenants' monthly rentals and in this way the Council is able to collect on the rates owing²⁸. This system is much more controlled and regularised than in other areas of the city, especially Soweto, which has a long history of rent and rate boycotts and whose residents continue to resist paying²⁹. At present formal buildings in the inner-city are subsidising other more dysfunctional, disputed and poor parts of the city. In a context of severe spatial inequalities and a formerly fragmented and discriminatory approach to local governance, where wealthy white areas enjoyed far higher standards of service and maintenance, cross-subsidisation within the municipal area is a progressive practice and helps redistribute resources towards poorer areas.

²⁸ Some housing companies have started installing pre-paid electricity meters in their apartments. Whilst these devices are criticised for the ways in which they enforce commodification and punitive user-pays principles on people (Hart 2002), they are also increasingly in demand due to the crisis in the City's billing department. For several years the City has been unable to provide reliable billing for electricity and water, and instead issue irregular bills which arrive haphazardly, fluctuate wildly and seldom reflect the actual amounts people have used or owe. For these reasons, pre-paid meters have actually become desirable; many tenants interviewed in this study called for pre-paid meters to be installed in their flats so that they could more easily budget and manage their consumption.

²⁹ A recent news article estimated that residents in Soweto collectively owe the national electricity provider, Eskom, approximately R3.6 billion in unpaid bills. See <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-11-19-sowetos-unpaid-bills-add-to-eskoms-financial-woes/>

However, this strategy is failing to account for the fact that majority of the population residing in the inner-city also survive on restricted incomes. They are coming under increased financial strain as ever-rising services charges are passed on to them. This affects their abilities to afford to live in the inner-city and further threatens to erode the gains made in providing low-income housing in the area. The overburdened, contradictory nature of regeneration is therefore apparent, as are the deleterious consequences. This is summed up bitterly but succinctly by the CEO of TUHF, who gives a powerful indictment of the limitations of the process, which he himself is actively reproducing. He declares

“[Displacement has] been huge, it’s inevitable, it’s consistent with city strategy. You know, people wring their hands about the very poor, ‘Create housing for them,’ etc. etc. but actually nobody gives a damn. What they like to see is that the city continues to regenerate, rents and property prices continue to go up, rates and taxes continue to go up, which feeds local government coffers” (ibid).

In this way, he gives a clear indication of the conflicted nature of the regeneration process and the way it reflects and reproduces a dualistic social order which is caught between the logics of the market and the developmental needs and ambitions of the post-apartheid city.

Conclusion: neither the market nor development prevail

Thus it can be concluded that neither the neoliberal, market-based approach nor the developmental agenda prevails. Rather, both simultaneously exist, overlap and compete with one another, making the process an uncomfortable fit with pre-given or standardised definitions or descriptions. Powerful neoliberal, market-based influences, forms of knowledge and habitus certainly are playing significant roles in directing the process. At the same time, however, these influences do not occlude possibilities for developmental and transformative agendas to be pursued and for these goals to be realised. As Colomb (2007, p.5) points out, the agendas behind urban regeneration strategies are frequently ‘potentially complementary, but also contradictory’. This is certainly the case in inner-city Johannesburg, where, due to the finance and policy regimes which frame it, regeneration is a hybrid, complex process which reflects competing demands and needs. On the one hand finance for regeneration is granting low-income people access to stable, formal and decent accommodation in the central city, which is a highly commendable and significant achievement. On the other, regeneration is being used to enhance the value of property in the area, attract more investment and increase tax income for the City Council; these

measures are vital in the wider context of the city, but are putting financial strain on the people who are living in the immediate area and leading to displacement. It is therefore an overburdened process which has to accommodate many competing needs and gives rise to contradictory outcomes.

These competing needs reflect the particular dynamics of the setting and social context in which the process occurs. They demonstrate that features and logics which reflect global processes and experiences, such as neoliberal forms of urban governance, property-based regeneration strategies and efforts to capitalise on a rent-gap, are always localised and reflective of the particular conditions and spaces in which they take place. They are therefore absorbed and translated into vernacular approaches and actions. Thus the ways in which urban processes unfold and the outcomes they engender cannot be seen as fitting into pre-determined frameworks. The urban regeneration strategies, approaches to utilising the deflated property market and financing the provision of low-income housing in Johannesburg demonstrate that gentrification is not simply an inexorable global phenomenon and inevitable outcome of urban renewal processes, even ones in which strategies focussing on private investment and property-led redevelopment prevail. Rather, when gentrification does come about it needs to be understood as the product of deliberate, social and political actions and decisions (Bernt 2012; Maloutas 2012). The case of Johannesburg shows that alternative decisions and agendas are not only possible, but already exist.

The following chapter will explore these alternative agendas and strategies in more detail and demonstrate how housing providers, both from the social and for-profit sectors, have responded to the conditions imposed by finance agencies. It shows how the competing agendas which are framing regeneration and which circulate in the post-apartheid context come to shape their dispositions, aspirations and actions – in other words their habitus and praxis. Like the employees of finance agencies discussed in this chapter, housing providers are shown to operate in ways which reflect and reproduce commercial logics and market-based approaches to housing provision. At the same time, they also demonstrate commitment to the developmental goals of creating an inclusive city and providing decent, affordable housing. They are therefore shown to have a split, contradictory habitus. Furthermore, the chapter puts the concepts ‘spatial habitus’ and ‘spatial capital’ to work and uses them to demonstrate how housing providers’ ambitions are

not only imposed onto the inner-city, but how their outlooks, goals and actions actually come to be influenced by and reflect the spatial conditions in which they are operating. These conditions inculcate tough stances and approaches to urban management, but also entrench developmental aspirations and produce outlooks which embrace the ways the inner-city has changed and is now a centre of post-apartheid, African urbanity.

Chapter Six: The contradictory habitus of housing providers

Building on the motivating logics and agendas which are framing the regeneration project, this chapter now focuses on the accounts and perspectives of property developers and housing providers and details the ways in which they narrate their experiences, ambitions and actions in the inner-city. Their accounts show that they are influenced by the social and spatial context in which they are operating and that their habitus and the actions this translates into reflect a combination of developmental goals and practices as well as commercial concerns and market-based approaches to housing provision and regeneration. The approach adopted here not only presents a new theoretical account and framework, but also offers a new perspective on regeneration. Just as Bourdieu attempted to produce a sociological account and explanation of economic action, this analysis offers a socio-spatial account of regeneration. It engages with developers and housing providers as socially-embedded and reflexive actors and examines the effects which the dual imperatives which have framed regeneration have on them. Thus those who are shaping the inner-city and driving the regeneration process are not taken as representatives of capitalist imperatives or a market system which operates with its own inescapable logics, nor as part of a relentless march towards global gentrification. Rather they are engaged with as complex social actors whose dispositions, views, interactions and ambitions are products of a conflicted, varied social order. Regeneration thus comes to be seen clearly as a messy, hybrid process which represents divergent ambitions and imperatives and gives rise to a variety of outcomes. It thus moves away from accounts which see regeneration as having single, fixed meanings, but emphasises the complexity and uncertainty of the process and the actions of those behind it. This variety, it is argued, is a consequence of the specificities and dynamics of the social and spatial order in which it is unfolding, thus demonstrating how the forms regeneration takes and the outcomes it engenders are always influenced by local, vernacular contingencies.

According to Bourdieu the structure of the social world is revealed and reproduced through the forms of capital which emerge as valued and which various actors compete over and seek to perfect. He argues that ‘the structure of the distribution of the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represents the immanent structure of the social world’ (Bourdieu 1986, p.214). In this way, social capital and the actions which go into acquiring and

mobilising it are the products of social order as well as some of the predominant mediums through which it is reproduced. Chapter Two discussed how the urban social order in South Africa is complex and defined by a variety of trajectories, value systems, hierarchies, ambitions and agendas. The previous chapter also demonstrated that there are two clear trajectories and ambitions shaping the field of regeneration. Thus in order to become dominant in the field of the inner-city housing providers are not able to rely solely on their ownership of property, but have to master and mobilise a variety of forms of social, cultural and, most importantly, spatial capital.

The discussion which follows in this chapter will show how they draw social and cultural capital from their abilities to master a ‘pioneering’ habitus and discourse around urban regeneration. This pioneer spirit is one of the components of the entrepreneurial habitus and business acumen which housing providers are required to possess and work through in order to establish themselves as influential and successful in the inner-city. At the same time, however, they also gain social status and are able to constitute themselves as successful actors in the inner-city through their abilities to act in the developmental ways insisted upon by finance agencies and the post-apartheid discourse. They are therefore situated between and embody (at least) two competing forms of habitus and capital. Furthermore, these forms of habitus are not simply projected into the inner-city – the dispositions, practices and worldviews of housing providers emerge out of their direct experiences and engagement with the spatial realities of the inner-city. This close engagement and appreciation of the complexities and dynamic nature of the inner-city is an extremely significant source of spatial capital for housing providers, and is also a constitutive influence on their habitus. The chapter therefore demonstrates clearly how habitus arises out of a complex interaction between different forms of capital and social values, as well as experiences of space. It therefore adds a geographic perspective to habitus and demonstrates how it is both an outcome and important element in the creation of place and space. Hence the concept spatial habitus is expanded on and put to work analytically.

Taking risks, seeing value: frontier urbanism and the entrepreneurial habitus in the context of inner-city Johannesburg

The abilities to recognise economic opportunities before others and to capitalise on situations are key components of an entrepreneurial approach to life, an approach which is given more and

more impetus and social gravitas in the era of neoliberalism (Bourdieu 2005b; Comaroff and Comaroff 2012). In the neoliberal milieu almost all aspects of social life (from love and relationships (Bauman 2003), personal security (Loader 1999), class identity and self-presentation (Bourdieu 1984) and even religion (Maxwell 1998)) can be commodified, subsumed under the logics of the market and approached through individual, privatised solutions or practices. This has certainly been the case with urban processes, with entrepreneurial urbanism coming to the fore through the spread of BIDs, gated communities or enclaves and gentrification projects, all of which aim to entrench and enhance the exchange value of urban space and promote private, consumerist approaches to urban governance, safety management and city building.

In South Africa, despite the redistributive ambitions of urban regeneration and many of the government initiatives and policies which define the post-apartheid period, there is also a strong emphasis on entrepreneurialism and the expansion of business practices into multiple spheres of life (Hart 2002). Through the privatisation of state and local government services, such as municipal waste removal, urban governance, security and electricity and water provision, the ethos and logics of business are entrenched in the way cities are run and spaces are controlled (ibid). This worldview spills over into the identities and behaviours people are supposed to adhere to, as citizens are replaced by clients and entrepreneurs become the ideal political subjects (Barchiesi 2007). In this context, the performance and mastery of entrepreneurial practices and the neoliberal habitus are powerful sources of cultural capital – the socially valorised competencies, behaviours, mannerisms and worldviews which actors in a social field convert into authority, dominance and other forms of capital, including economic capital (Bourdieu 1984).

In inner-city Johannesburg, because of the extent to which market-based practices and ethos are inscribed into the way in which regeneration is being pursued, housing providers gain a significant amount of social and cultural capital and domination through their abilities to enact the neoliberal habitus. As the previous chapters outlined, local government's regeneration strategies hinge on the private sector and their renewed interest in the inner-city. Their activities are therefore geared towards boosting private businesses' interest and investment in the area and public interventions are carried out with this goal in mind. This means that the way in which private investors respond to government initiatives becomes the yard-stick by which successful policies and projects are measured. For instance, a report completed in 2010 which assesses the

impact of the JDA's inner-city interventions confirms that the areas in which the entity has undertaken renewal projects, such as Braamfontein, the Ellis Park and Johannesburg High Court precincts, Newtown and the Fashion District, have, on average, experienced decreased vacancies and increased rental rates, property values and property-based transactions (Viruly et al 2010). According to the authors, these indicators reflect the health, and desirability of the inner-city and that land markets are functioning correctly (ibid). They thus come to endorse the approach to regeneration adopted by local government and deem the urban regeneration strategy to be a success.

This assessment is not based on the extent to which poor people's access to housing is expanded or the ways in which these interventions affect local communities, but rather on the way in which investors and the market react. This means that private businesses become the arbiters of government interventions and actions, and the success of policy is measured according to their responses. This approach is symptomatic of the dominant position private investors and businesses enjoy in the inner-city and how those who possess entrepreneurial approaches to urbanism embody the forms of capital which are validated in this social order. The head of the City of Johannesburg's social housing company, JOSHCO, confirms this. In reflecting on the success of urban regeneration in the inner-city he bases his assessment on the market and how people are responding to it. He thus declares that regeneration is succeeding since "Now the conversation is about people wanting to buy; they don't want to get out, they want to get in to the inner-city property market" (RG 11/09/2012). Thus even those involved in the provision of social housing respond to and inhabit the neoliberal habitus and forms of capital this revolves around.

Actors who are involved in inner-city regeneration can be considered to have a common habitus as not only do they express similar sentiments and opinions, there is also close collaboration between them. Housing companies share information with each other and have formal representation on city management boards through the Johannesburg Property Owners and Managers Association (JPOMA). As one for-profit developer points out, "We have a very collegial relationship, I think it's amazing. We compete tooth and nail for properties but that being said or that aside, we work very closely with the guys. POMA is a strong organisation...we work very closely together" (NB 24/04/2013). They also socialise together, for instance at events hosted by

TUHF (JT 23/04/2013). They thus can be considered to have a common social and cultural milieu or field and a shared perspective on regeneration and the inner-city. They are also all bound by the same conditions from finance agencies and policy frameworks, which inculcate common experiences and actions. As one developer explains, “We work towards a common goal which is more, yes the profit is necessary – everyone wants profit – but it’s more of rejuvenating the inner-city” (SR 10/06/2013).

Alongside developmental outlooks (which will be expanded on later in this chapter), the prominence of business principles in government strategies and approaches to finance mean that being able to act entrepreneurially and take risks are key qualities which housing providers are required to possess. The period of capital flight and abandonment of the inner-city defines the way in which the bulk of private businesses and investment firms approach the area. The ongoing redlining of the area means the majority of the population are unable or unwilling to regard it as a potential investment opportunity. However, those who are active in the housing sector do not regard it in this way and this translates into a significant amount of cultural capital for them. Particularly those who entered the housing market in the early stages of regeneration are accorded a great deal of respect by their colleagues, competitors, city officials and employees from finance agencies.

The General Manager of the NHFC, for instance, describes the largest for-profit housing company as innovators and points out that before AFHCO came to the NHFC with a proposal to purchase and refurbish buildings there was no meaningful activity in the regeneration and housing sectors in the inner-city. He reflects on the early phase of the NHFC’s relationship with AFHCO as follows:

“Prior to that the inner-city was almost going the other way, nobody wanted to [get involved], it was red-lined, banks refused to finance them and the buildings remained derelict. There was nothing significant that was taking place [before AFHCO] and it was almost a leap of faith on behalf of the NHFC to get involved” (CM 11/06/2013).

He therefore gives a lot of credit and respect to the entrepreneurs who saw opportunity where the majority of South Africa’s businesses were unable to. This sense of respect is shared by other participants in the regeneration process and accords the early developers a sense of authority. A

younger employee of JHC who joined them relatively recently speaks with admiration for “the guy who goes out first in that chaotic, crazy environment” and describes the first people to purchase properties and renovate them as low-income housing as “the pioneers who set the way” (MM 16/08/2012). The imagery and notion of urban pioneers has been associated with gentrification and class change, particularly in American cities. Smith (1996) describes how revanchist urban practices make use of an archetype invoking ‘frontier spirit’ and how upper-class gentrifiers assume identities and are depicted in the media and by the state as brave pioneers setting out to tame and settle hostile, inhospitable urban terrains. This cooption of the ‘Wild West’ spirit and imagery becomes a cover for revanchist urban practices such as crackdowns on vagrants and poor people and helps to sanitise or cover up the displacement and class conflict which gentrification brings about (ibid).

In Johannesburg’s inner-city the pioneering discourse is also present, but takes on different meanings and forms due to the particular nature of the social order. In one sense, being pioneering in this context does entail bravery, strength and an ability to take a strong-handed, revanchist-like approach to dealing with potential threats and criminals. It is encapsulated in housing providers’ abilities to exercise control over space. Doing so entails being able to apply market-based approaches to urban management and security, as well as being able to claim space and establish themselves as dominant actors in and over it. It therefore combines pioneering, frontier spirit, an entrepreneurial perspective and spatial capital.

In discussing how the early stages of redeveloping the inner-city required bold and aggressive dispositions and actions RP, the Managing Director of AFHCO, relates that in the early 2000’s when he first started to get involved in the inner-city

“[Investing] was considered high-risk, to the point where people thought we were mad; certainly there was chaos in the city, there were gangs running around with AK-47s hijacking buildings etc. and the perception certainly from the banks and from the general population outside the inner-city was that it’s a place you didn’t go near” (RP 08/02/2013).

The period of the late 1990s and early 2000s is described as the “wild days” (ibid) and housing providers reflect on and draw social capital from their abilities to ride out the dangers. RP relates that in the early stages of reinvestment a state of lawlessness reigned in which “Your risk was the

risk of hijacking, risk of rent not being paid and the risk of not being able to evict people, those were your risks. Hijacking was a big problem” (ibid). An incident in which two building managers were shot and killed in broad daylight by alleged building hijackers came up frequently in interviews and sums up the tumultuous period for many people who are involved in housing provision and urban regeneration in the area and the dangers they faced, but were also able to overcome (JA 12/09/2012; RP 08/02/2013; GP 29/04/2013; HdK 08/05/2013). The abilities to survive this period and bring order to the area are substantial sources of cultural, economic and spatial capital for housing providers. As one of the first social housing developers in the area recounts, “everybody who got involved and had the guts and the strength to stay there has done well” (TA 12/02/2013). The need for strength, the ability to take risks and to adopt a stern approach to managing buildings and surrounding spaces is emphasised in interviews and is one of the attributes which separates successful housing providers from those who have not been able to endure in the area. One for-profit developer declares that housing provision in inner-city Johannesburg is “not a game for sissies [a derogatory term for weak or cowardly people]; it’s hands on management. Dealing with the issues and the environment we operate in, it requires certain types of individuals” (NB 24/04/2013). RP too urges “if you don’t have the strength and capacity for a very hands on, involved approach, stay out!” (07/07/2012).

The capacity to which he refers includes the ability, particularly in the violent period, to utilise force and private policing. As discussed in earlier chapters, the state’s inability to guarantee security and social order has meant individuals and communities have increasingly turned to private companies for protection. This compensates for deficiencies in the public police and helps them feel safer and more assured, but also allows them to become arbiters of the boundaries of belonging and exclusion and to create spaces which conform to their dispositions and assumptions about what and who constitute threats. It is therefore a particularly forceful form of claiming and controlling space. Extending this logic and practice to the inner-city is therefore a way of exercising spatial capital over the area. RP explains the strategy his company adopted for dealing with building hijackers as follows:

“you’ve got to send in your security company with a task team, you know, 20, 30 guys and go and physically take them and throw them out because in those days if you relied on the police, they just wouldn’t bother to pitch up ‘cause quite a lot of the time they were part of the gang” (08/02/2013).

This narrative also draws on the ability to find privatised solutions to social problems, another essential feature of the neoliberal, pioneering habitus. It is an approach to urban management which has taken root in inner-city Johannesburg in CIDs (Peyroux 2007; Bénéit-Gbaffou 2008b) and also in the urban management practices housing providers adopt. In addition to overt displays of force, ‘taming’ this inner-city (Murray 2008) also requires the ability to formulate intensive, stringent, but also flexible and adaptive urban management practices. These are discussed in detail in the chapter which follows but stem from the social milieu and forms of habitus associated with pioneer or frontier urbanism and the forms of capital (cultural, social and economic) which this relies on and rewards.

In another sense, however, pioneers in inner-city Johannesburg did not only possess a habitus which allowed them to claim urban spaces and bring them under control, but also one which enabled them to formulate ambitions for the area and to see potential for hope and progress in it. The CEO of a for-profit housing company explains that when it comes to regeneration in the inner-city “that entrepreneurial spirit is critical, to be able to see value, to have vision, to be able to see, well, this shithole where everything’s destroyed and it’s been stripped can be turned...back to a functioning building” (NB 24/04/2013). Early developers and those who continue to be involved in upgrading the area and the buildings in it therefore do not subscribe to the doxa assumptions circulating about the inner-city. RP (7/08/2012) explains that the initial group of investors in the inner-city “didn’t see the risks in the same way” as the majority of people in the business community. A more recent housing developer³⁰ reflects on the incredulity with which his decision to invest in inner-city housing was met by people in his social circle. He relates that “Everyone told me I was nuts. The actual risk versus the perceived risk is very different” (PL 13/09/2012). He attributes people’s surprise and scepticism to the enduring racism which still prevails in many sections of white South African society and which continues to equate black urbanisation with decay and disorder. With frustration he explains,

“most white people are scared of Hillbrow; it’s just prejudice. People are surprised by black people in the inner-city. When they go to Maputo they expect it but when they find black people are the majority in the inner-city they are surprised” (ibid).

³⁰ This developer has a particularly innovative and pioneering spirit. In addition to providing affordable housing in the inner-city his company has also experimented with innovative forms of construction elsewhere in Johannesburg, including one development which constructs low-income housing out of shipping containers and another in the inner-city which has converted disused silos on the edge of Newtown into student accommodation, also using shipping containers (see Schnehage 2012) and <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-30450054>

The majority of housing providers in the inner-city, including the interviewees quoted above, are white, yet they have broken away from the doxa assumptions about race which continue to circulate in South Africa. Their pioneering quality was thus not only an ability to see economic opportunity in the inner-city, but to appreciate the racial transition which the area and the country as a whole has undergone. Crucially, they were able to discard attachment to the past, when the inner-city flourished but was a racially exclusive and discriminatory space, and do not harbour ambitions of returning to this period. In some instances local government has been slower to adapt to the new uses and users which currently define the inner-city. Rogerson (1996), Bremner (2000) and Gaule (2005) all criticise renewal plans developed by the City of Johannesburg for their enduring fixation with World City status and the desire to recreate features of European urbanism in the inner-city. There have also been ambitious and ill-suited plans formulated by developers. For instance, one investor hatched a scheme to renovate the iconic Ponte Tower and convert it into luxury apartments³¹. This plan failed and whilst the building has now been upgraded, it provides a much more modest offering. It currently serves as affordable housing, catering to people in the gap market, with rents starting from R2100 (£109) for a one-bedroom apartment to R3700 (£192) for a three-bedroom apartment, although a more luxurious option does remain – the two-bedroom penthouse apartment which rents for R4500 (£234)³². In 2011 in this state the building had a 75% occupancy rate (ibid) and can therefore be seen to be serving a more suitable purpose at present.

“We’re here, we live it every day”: engaging with and embracing change in the inner-city

In contrast to overly-ambitious and out-of-touch developers and government officials, the developers who have been economically successful are those who have been able to recognise and respond to the inner-city’s current form and function and who possess outlooks which embrace the racial and class transition which the area has undergone. Rather than regarding the area with apprehension, regret or revanchist ambitions, they accept it for what it has become and the role it plays in the current South African context. One developer declares excitedly, “We will never see the CBD of old, but there will be a new mix of service and retail sectors, not the heavy per square meter industries like finance, call centres and the like. A big portion will be residential

³¹ This project is chronicled in Rehad Desai’s (2010) documentary *The Battle for Johannesburg*.

³² <http://mg.co.za/article/2012-04-20-pontes-fourth-coming-an-urban-icon-reborn>

but commercial elements of a different nature will also be present” (MM 16/08/2012). He further captures this new outlook and appreciation for the inner-city when he says

“There was major panic and hysteria but when the dust settles it’s not all doom and gloom. The more we hold on to the past, the more we don’t succeed. It’s not the old CBD of banks, it’s something different. The people who were able to see that are the ones who benefited and made a difference” (ibid).

In speaking of the transition the inner-city has gone through, another private housing provider declares, “I think it’s all very exciting because of the strategic importance of Johannesburg, its location, the density of the population, the growing urbanisation into Johannesburg and what the potential there is for work and earning a living” (AS 14/05/2013). This thinking is reflective of the more progressive strategies developed by local government and finance agencies seeking to capitalise on the possibilities the inner-city has to provide decent, centrally-located housing and thus to contribute to the spatial transformation and densification of the city. Housing providers’ habitus then is aligned with and an outcome of the broader developmental and transformative agendas which circulate in post-apartheid Johannesburg and the transitions the country is going through.

It is also produced by their engagement with the space and abilities to respond to the challenges it poses. Thus housing providers are required to embrace the developmental needs of the inner-city and adapt their actions accordingly. Being able to do so makes them successful and grants them cultural capital and respect within the field of urban regeneration. The CEO of TUHF, for example, berates the continuing refusal of banks to fund regeneration and housing provision in the inner-city, and attributes this refusal to their staff’s inability to come to grips with the realities of the area. He suggests this stems from their attachment to the doxa fears and prejudices and their distance, both physical and social, from the inner-city. He explains,

“I think most of these banks are owned and managed by people who don’t live or work in and don’t understand the inner-city. They live in the northern suburbs and their life-view is very different. And I think that they’re not only owned and managed by that [type of person], a lot of the workers are that kind of person. It is absolutely beyond me!” (PJ 07/02/2013).

Successful housing providers, however, are embedded in the realities of the inner-city and therefore appreciate it in different ways. As the above discussion illustrates, they have vision and an ability to recognise the transitions the area has undergone and to embrace the developmental potential the area has. They have a much closer engagement with its realities, and thus a greater understanding of its possibilities and positive aspects. The successful housing companies all locate their offices in the inner-city, where their businesses and tenants are located. This ensures that they are familiar with the daily issues and encounters which arise in the area. As one developer explains,

“there’s a reason why our offices *are here, in town*; there’s a reason why AFHCO’s offices are there, in town. That is because you don’t want to run this business from an office in Rosebank. The moment you do that you lose control of the business and you find that all kinds of things go to wrack and ruin” (NB 24/04/2013, emphasis in the original).

This ability to engage with and understand the fabric of the inner-city is emphasised by JT, a black female, who used to be a domestic worker but now owns and manages a building providing student accommodation in the eastern part of the inner-city. She argues that being a black female gives her an added advantage when it comes to doing business and providing housing because she is familiar with and has more direct experience of life in the inner-city. Comparing herself to two competitors, who are white, Jewish businessmen³³ who, according to her, “grew up in property”, she explains that she has an advantage over them:

“because they were driving cars, I am walking. Now who is the better person? It’s the one who’s walking! Because you know on this corner there are tsotsis [criminals], I mustn’t go up there. They are always driving past, they don’t know what’s happening out there, so I’m the one who knows everything better!” (JT 23/04/2013).

She relates how even though they are competitors, they phone her and ask for advice about managing their property (demonstrating the close collaboration and shared project which

³³ In South Africa Jewish people have reputations for being successful and wealthy businesspeople. They have also been closely linked to the property market in Johannesburg from the city’s earliest days (Beavon 2004; van Onselen 2007) and at present a large number of developers continue to be of Jewish heritage, hence entrenching the association of this group with property ownership and investment.

housing providers in the inner-city have), which she is happy to provide. Here it becomes apparent that traditional forms of cultural capital (being from a business background) and institutional capital (higher education) are not sufficient as they do not translate into spatial competency in and knowledge of the inner-city. Rather, it is the developers like JT who are able to come to grips with its messy, sometimes dangerous realities who are in favourable positions and thus possess spatial capital. They are able to do this by situating themselves in its everyday contexts and having direct experiences of it, through walking its streets, locating offices there and dealing directly with the day-to-day management of the area. Through these located, place-based activities they come to possess intricate knowledge and understanding of the area. As NB (24/04/2013) declares, “we’re here, we live it every day”.

This point of view and experience is drastically different from many of Johannesburg’s residents’ relationships with the inner-city. For many, black and white alike, it continues to be a site of fear, a place to be avoided at all costs (Murray 2011; see Chapter Nine). Others have simply, like the bank employees reviled by PJ, distanced themselves and disengaged from it. In her ethnography of life in a golf estate in Roodepoort, an expanding commercial and increasingly residential suburb in the southern district of Johannesburg, Duca (2013, p.198) finds that amongst residents (who represent a variety of races), ‘There is a complete lack of interest in Johannesburg as a city’. She observes that these residents have retreated from the city and it is little more than ‘part of a memory of a very distant time, but almost forgotten. What persists in the minds of the residents is more the idea of the city and of living in that city than a spatial knowledge and use of it’ (ibid). In contrast to this, housing providers are intimately acquainted with the area and the people who live in it. As the above quote illustrates, they embrace it as a lifestyle and form of everyday life. To live the inner-city means embracing it as a socio-cultural milieu in and of itself. Living, running businesses and trying to bring regeneration in the inner-city all constitute a way of being in the world, a world with its own experiences, ambitions, goals, outlooks, forms of distinction, stratification, survival and measurements of success. It is thus a space as Lefebvre understands the term, in all its multiplicity, unpredictability and sensuousness (Schmid 2008) and is consequently one which produces distinct forms of habitus which arise directly out of the experiences, perceptions, identities and lived realities which it makes possible.

Housing providers who embed themselves in this world and live it every day thus come to engage with its complex and messy realities and actively work to find solutions and make improvements. This imbues them with spatial competence or capital, as they become able to master the environment and adapt their practices to most effectively deal with and manage it, thus making them successful business people and drivers of regeneration. As the head of the City of Johannesburg's housing department states, social and affordable housing providers have "an innate knowledge of how the city functions. It is hands-on knowledge" (ZK 20/08/2012). At the same time, this knowledge and experience effects their dispositions and outlooks, thereby producing a habitus which reflects and adapts to the contingencies of the space. Mobilising spatial capital then becomes an exercise in reproducing actions which reflect the realities of space; it is not the ability to transplant any vision of meaning onto a space, but the ability to formulate actions, ambitions and worldviews which are appropriate and reflections of spatial reality.

In inner-city Johannesburg this requires abilities to engage with the area's everyday realities, including its informality, volatile social relations, multitude of users and uses and even its violence. Acquiring these abilities then allows individuals to formulate appropriate development plans, to understand the ways the area has changed and to recognise that there are different people inhabiting it who have different needs and socio-economic circumstances, and to adjust practices to suit these. The vision and aspirations which developers and housing providers have are not simply the products of their entrepreneurial spirits and unique characteristics. They are, rather, reflexive reactions and adjustments to the realities they encounter. The tumultuousness, diversity and complexity of the inner-city at present means that it resists grand ambitions and efforts at imagineering, such as the luxury development referred to earlier. Rather, it has its own reality and this needs to be accepted and adapted to. Those who have been successful in the social and affordable housing sectors have been able to do so and this is a powerful source of social, spatial and economic capital for them. The Operations Manager at JHC becomes very emotional in explaining what his outlook or understanding of urban regeneration is. He does not define it as a descriptive term but rather as a lived practice – a form of habitus which arises directly out of and is necessitated by the social realities of the inner-city. Reay (2004, p.435) explains that habitus 'can be viewed as a complex internalized core from which everyday experiences emanate'. This is clearly demonstrated by the Operations Manager, who explains,

“urban regeneration for me, it has to be in your fibre and your way of looking at things and if you don’t have that positive outlook – you *have* to have that in this inner-city. If you’re not interested in urban regeneration you’re going to be very frustrated in this place because it’s a constant focus” (CdW 06/02/2013, emphasis in the original).

Thus he emphasises that acting in the inner-city requires a developmental outlook and ambitions to engage with the messy, complex realities of the area.

Another good example of the ways housing providers have adapted their outlooks to suit the conditions which prevail in inner-city is found in the ways they react to the upmarket Maboneng precinct. This area has become a focal point in the social lives of many of the city’s young, affluent residents. People flock to the weekly food market and attend social events and art exhibitions. It attracts a cosmopolitan, multi-racial crowd and in that sense is a welcome addition to the social geography of the city. At the same time, it is also a largely artificial space which attempts to recreate the feel of trendy urban areas around the world (Nevin 2014). It has a graffiti wall (which can only be used with the permission of the area’s management), a skateboarding ramp (which is used by children from the surrounding low-income buildings, rather than urban skaters or ‘guerrilla urbanists’ (Hou 2010)), and an organic food stall. It is celebrated by residents who live there for the spontaneity and unexpected encounters which it fosters, but is also valued for the security it provides and the way it detaches itself from the unruly, run-down and largely poor part of the inner-city it is located in (Walsh 2013).

The precinct has received a great deal of media attention and celebratory features about it have even appeared in the international press, including leading style and trend publications like Conde Naste, CNN and the Wall Street Journal³⁴. However, whilst it has captured public imaginations and responds to a form of habitus which is more closely aligned with international, upper-class consumer culture, the development is largely dismissed by housing developers, who are focussed on providing for the existing low-income community, rather than attracting new types of people to the area. As one developer points out,

³⁴ <http://www.cntraveller.com/recommended/cities/travel-guide-maboneng-johannesburg-south-africa;>
[http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/04/business/johannesburgs-crime-hotspot-transformed/;](http://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/04/business/johannesburgs-crime-hotspot-transformed/)
<http://live.wsj.com/video/developers-are-helping-rejuvenate-johannesburg/E566D66E-B516-4C99-9064-467E17DE43EE.html#!E566D66E-B516-4C99-9064-467E17DE43EE>

“I think that if we see the likes of a Main Street Life now starting to spread out and start to take over what was previously affordable housing, I think we have reason to be concerned. But I don’t think that will ever happen in totality... You know, there is a market for the young yuppie environment but it’s not a huge market, whereas the need for affordable housing is massive” (RP 08/02/2013).

He further argues:

“If we get into gentrification where the prices start getting pushed out of the realms of affordable housing, we run into trouble because then where are the masses going to live? What we don’t want to do is push them back out to the Sowetos of the world, out to the rural areas because that’s the only place they can afford. I think that as long as we can reach a happy balance it’s a very positive model but if gentrification, as I say, starts making what was previously affordable housing too expensive because the demand is coming from higher earners I think we’re just going to exacerbate the housing problem in this country” (RP 08/02/2013).

Another developer reflects that “there is the cool, arty regeneration, but that’s an artificial slice of Joburg, and then there people who have made it their home” (PL 13/09/2013) – people who come from across South Africa and Africa in search of stability and better economic opportunities and who “want the easiest, cheapest accommodation” (ibid).

These developers, then, are responding to and capitalising on the situation that presents itself. Rather than mimicking forms of urbanism or gentrification which are popularised around the world, their reading of and engagement with the space produces alternative ambitions and desires. In one respect this response is driven by financial concerns and, like the finance institutions discussed previously, adapts to the demands of the market. Unlike Maboneng, which is attempting to create a new urban lifestyle and thus a new market and form of demand, they capitalise on the demand which is already there. Thus RP (08/02/2013, emphasis in the original) points out that housing providers’ success in the inner-city is determined by them “understanding the market, making sure your product is affordable and value for money. Affordability I think in this market is *absolutely* everything”. They therefore recognise that the demand is for affordable, basic accommodation and that providing this will be the most economically viable strategy.

On the other hand, they also evaluate attempts at regeneration by the extent to which they create conditions for affordable housing. One for-profit developer compares his company to Maboneng, which he describes as “not viable” (NB 24/04/2013). In contrast, his company does not focus on “sexy stuff”, but rather provides “safe, solid, basic accommodation” which is much more in-line with the needs of the majority of people who settle in the inner-city. Using a metaphor of motor vehicles, he describes his business as follows: “We, again, are not as sexy, we’re not air conditioning, 16 valve, power-steering; we’re Citi Golfs³⁵, and you need a lot of Citi Golfs [in the inner-city] and that’s better” (ibid). In this sense, spatial habitus means being able to formulate appropriate development plans for the area and to recognise what the needs of the people inhabiting it are. This translates into economic success and capital, but this is earned through acquiring spatial capital and reading the space and the market it has created correctly. Through doing so, housing developers also gain more social and cultural capital and thus become dominant actors in the field of urban regeneration. Whilst they do not receive the public acclaim which Maboneng and its developers have received, they are heralded by local government, finance agencies and developmental/donor funders. This recognition creates more economic opportunities for them and also establishes them as significant and responsible participants in the area’s regeneration, rather than as non-viable or artificial businesses. This aligns them with both the commercial, neoliberal agenda and the broader developmental goals which define the post-apartheid order.

Whilst forms of cultural consumption and urbanism similar to those enjoyed in other gentrifying neighbourhoods around the world might not be suited to or needed in the inner-city, the area certainly has its own worldliness and international character (Mbembé & Nuttall 2004). Johannesburg’s ‘worlding’ has come from its insertions into circuits of labour migration, cross-border trading and the constant flow of political and economic refugees from the rest of Africa into the inner-city. It is certainly an internationalised space and is constituted by its connections with multiple elsewhere and socio-political realities (ibid). These all shape the inner-city and lead Mbembé and Nuttall (2008) to characterise contemporary Johannesburg as an ‘Afropolis’. They use this to describe the way in which Johannesburg has burgeoned in the post-apartheid period

³⁵ The Citi Golf was a hatchback motorcar produced by Volkswagen. It was extremely popular in the South African market and was renowned for its simplicity, affordability and reliability (it was only in 2009 that airbags on the driver’s side became standard features). It was discontinued in 2009 after 25 years in production and 377 000 units had been sold (<http://topcar.co.za/news/news-articles/goodbye-citi-golf/>).

and has shifted from being the archetype of racial domination and segregation into one of the most important and vibrant urban centres in sub-Saharan Africa (ibid). The term connotes the ways in which the city is now the setting in which new forms of African modernity and ways of becoming and being urban, multicultural and cosmopolitan are unfolding (Robinson 2003a; Mbembe & Nuttall 2008; Simone 2008a). Housing providers' abilities to engage with and respond to these changes is another significant source of capital for them. At the same time, this changing context defines their habitus and outlooks, and thus the practices and dispositions they adopt.

TUHF's CEO captures the changes the inner-city has undergone and its new dynamism and energy when he describes how

“more people live and work in Joburg than ever before, and it's much more of a 24/7 type of city, and it's much more Afrocentric rather than Eurocentric, and the people and businesses who have left Joburg aren't going to come back and the people who stayed probably aren't going to leave” (PJ 07/02/2013).

It is consequently a spatial reality which produces novel, sometimes improvised and clandestine, and always dynamic and highly charged forms of urbanity and survival. It also thus produces urban experiences, identities and habitus which are constituted in and by this diversity. For instance RP (07/08/2012), who lived through Johannesburg's segregated 'European' iteration and vividly recalls riding the tram into town as a child to visit the doctor, now points out that Johannesburg “will always be an African city with culture, vibe, traditions”. For it to be African, however, does not mean that it is proliferated by informality and disorder; he points out that the people who are in the inner-city today also “come to see gynies [gynaecologists], optometrists, dentists” and want “a clean, safe place to raise families” (ibid). At the same time, people also come into the inner-city to buy wholesale goods which they will take back to their countries of origin to trade; the inner-city is thus a “multi-national, multi-social environment” and “the shopping Mecca of Africa” (ibid). Similarly, an employee from his company enthusiastically points out that the inner-city is a “very fun environment” and describes it further as “exciting and thrilling” (AR 07/08/2012). She exclaims that she “loves the people, the energy” that give the area its own distinctive character (ibid).

Thus rather than resisting the changes the area has undergone, housing providers have been able to embrace and draw encouragement from them. This can be seen as a ‘worlding’ of their habitus and recognition of South Africa’s inclusion in the wider African continent since the end of apartheid. Many people in other sectors of South African society have failed to adjust their outlooks and remain intensely xenophobic and hostile to African migration (Peberdy 2001; Nyamnjoh 2006; Hassim et al. 2008; Landau & Monson 2008; Misago et al. 2010; Neocosmos 2010). In contrast, housing providers and property developers in the inner-city are far more adaptable and pragmatic. As one for-profit housing provider and property manager notes,

“we recognise there’s a very large population of foreign Africans in Joburg and we find it useful to work with them because there’s obviously significant demand and a large proportion of them. And also we find them reasonable payers because obviously a lot of them are here to work, they’re here because they’re earning an income and they need accommodation” (AS 14/05/2013).

Another developer explains that “in the CBD-proper, in the east, you see a lot of Ethiopians, foreigners, the signs aren’t even in English. We cater for those people” (MM 16/08/2012). In describing the commercial and social fabric of the inner-city he also highlights two buildings on the corner of Mooi Street and Pritchard Street in which Somali and Ethiopian traders have established businesses and states emphatically that “the commercial element is fantastic!” (ibid). They therefore accept the re-use and adaptation of inner-city spaces to suit new needs and purposes. Hall (2015) describes how shop spaces in Peckham, London are adapted by migrants to cater to a variety of uses and businesses. She explains how the interiors of buildings are subdivided into different sections, each catering to a different type of business and how this both symbolises and facilitates the super-diversity which the area is composed of. Worryingly, she also notes how the local council is increasingly hostile to these strategies and uses of space and is attempting to eliminate them. These types of creative leasing and retail strategies have also become commonplace in Johannesburg’s inner-city. The interviewee quoted above points out

“there’s also interesting trends with retail and commercial practices [in the CBD] with a lot of African trading where you get Ethiopian or Ugandan traders that take head leases on retail space and they sub-let garages or small spaces to a variety of traders which is quite interesting and quite common now in the inner-city” (AS 14/05/2013).

Property owners have therefore proven to be less resistant to these practices, again demonstrating their abilities to adjust to the area's changing nature and newly-constituted diversity and multiplicity.

This embracing of the changes in the inner-city and its new type of population can be seen as a new form of habitus – a different schema of perception and appreciation which is able to move away from a fixation with the city's past or with reinventing it in line with world class aspirations. It is both far more pragmatic and accepting of the new situation but also one that embraces it with eagerness and sees potential in it. It is a habitus which reflects the post-apartheid commitment to social redress and concern for the well-being of the inner-city and its population. It also reflects the diversity, worldliness and cosmopolitan nature of the area, and can be seen as a product of its spatial and social realities. Thus housing developers are not only working to create spaces of capitalism and further valorise the built environment; they are also responding to the needs and complex social realities of the area, which have come to shape their practices.

Torn between the demands of the market and developmental concerns

However, whilst housing providers operate in a field which valorises and fosters a habitus oriented towards the improvement of the inner-city and the developmental goals regeneration is able to fulfil, they are also active in and shaped by a field influenced powerfully by commercial practices. In addition to a pioneering habitus, business proficiency is highly valued and the most successful housing companies are those that have “access to capital, entrepreneurial and business experience and expertise” (NB 24/04/2013). For instance, two of the largest companies are headed by “big businessmen”, one of whom was the financial director of a large insurance company and another was a managing director of a corporate business that was listed on the Stock Exchange before they got involved in inner-city housing (ibid). This means that the capital, skills and habitus which contribute to success in the business world are introduced into and come to define the field of urban regeneration too. This does not only apply to for-profit companies as social housing institutions too have to possess these skills. The CEO of JHC, although she runs a social enterprise, asserts,

“The thing is, for a non-profit a lot of people have this idea that if you're a non-profit you can't do financial engineering, you shouldn't look at funding like businessmen – you should! Because that's the only way. For JHC, our development objectives are

crucial, but we cannot achieve our development objectives if we do not make enough money to do so” (ES 06/02/2013).

Another smaller social housing company which is part of a faith-based organisation still operates as “a lean and mean machine” and receive plaudits from its peers and government for “run[ing] on a very efficient business basis” (MM 08/04/2013). The head of the City of Johannesburg’s social housing company proclaims adamantly and with pride that “we formulate our business model on normal real estate principles. We are a business, not a municipality” (RG 11/09/2012).

Bourdieu understands habitus as a socially-learned competence or the mastery of the forms of presentation, expression and social action which are validated in a social field (Wacquant & Bourdieu 1989). Thus he explains that ‘when habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it is like a ‘fish in water’: it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p.127). In the case of housing providers, their actions are well-attuned not only to the new spatial reality of the inner-city, but also to the prevailing economic climate in which they operate. Thus, as the property market normalises and competition for properties and tenants becomes greater, developers are required to be adaptive and innovative. As a for-profit developer points out, “Guys who are more efficient, competitive will manage” and others will fail (PL 13/09/2012). In this way, the logic of the market becomes absorbed into their actions and ways of being and abilities to negotiate the market are powerful, essential sources of capital. Survival, in fact, depends on them.

This logic and form of habitus has been impressed upon social housing companies too. The CEO of JHC explains that her company has had to adapt to the property market and act in ways which allow them to take advantage of its upturns and declines. As she explains:

“what we did, and any social housing company should, when the property market went through the roof, we obviously didn’t buy in the inner-city because people were paying silly money for buildings. At that point in time we kept our capital; we were hoarding capital like you cannot believe. The moment the market came down and deals started falling apart, we started buying. So we buy anticyclical. That’s why in the last three years we’ve bought four – it’s now on the fifth building that we’ve bought because the

market is now *perfect* for us to do redevelopment; the prices are right, it makes sense to do it now” (ES 06/02/2013).

Thus, whilst transformative goals are central to the regeneration project, these have to be pursued within the constraints imposed by the market. Habitus explains individuals’ propensities to act in ways which are reflective of the broader socio-cultural situations which they find themselves in and which shape their actions. Thus ‘it is the interaction of habitus, cultural capital and field that generates the logic of practice’ (Reay 2004, p.435). Therefore, as housing providers compete for and exercise cultural capital, they come to adhere to the demands of the market and practices this imposes on them. Because of the conditions imposed by funding agencies as well as the demographic realities of the inner-city, developers have to both cater to a low-income population but also ensure that they are able to recoup their costs and charge rents which allow them to cover their maintenance and operating expenses. An employee of JHC notes that “We don’t cater to wealthy people with free resources” (MM 16/08/2012). Another private developer echoes this when he explains that “there are real affordability challenges for that demographic [that rents in the inner-city] if you just think about the poverty challenge in this country, the housing challenge etc.” (AS 14/05/2013). Thus, housing developers have to be cognisant of and adapt to these needs. They have introduced innovative practices such as offering cash incentives to existing tenants who refer new clients to them, providing one month’s free rental to new tenants and, in the case of social housing, offering financial support and covering funeral costs if the main lease holder dies. They also condone subletting, which enables tenants to divide the costs of rent between multiple households (MM 16/08/2012; NB 24/04/2013; AS 14/05/2013).

Murray (2011) complains that ‘rack-renting’ landlords prevail in the inner-city; in contrast, RP, whose company, AFHCO, is the largest provider of accommodation in the inner-city, explains that “we have a sort of philosophy in this organisation that you shouldn’t try and tighten the screw until it tips...You need to just keep that sort of level going and of course that issue around affordability, we watch it all the time” (08/02/2013). At the same time, however, the finance they have been able to acquire has to be paid back, at rates higher than those charged by standard commercial banks (RP 08/02/2013; SR 10/06/2013). On top of this, the increased rates charged by the City are passed on to tenants, who face even greater economic burdens. One developer explains “We’re facing a battle now where rates are going up by 600% on the value of our property. The impact on our business is significant, an extra R400 000 a month, so rates going from R710 00 a month to R480 000” (NB 24/04/2013). He is frustrated and economically

pressurised by this situation and complains that local government “should keep the rates low and get more Jozis [i.e. Jozi Housing] coming in and paying you R2 million a month” rather than continually raising the rates, which make it difficult for businesses to operate (ibid). Another points out that “over the past four years we’ve had a 164% increase in electricity [and] sewerage has gone up 80 or 90%” (RP 08/02/2013). This has meant that his company has had to take the needs and financial burdens placed on their tenants into consideration and consequently they have to “hold back on rental increases” (ibid). To compound matters, because some buildings have been converted from former commercial or office space they continue to be charged commercial rates, which are more expensive than those charged for residential properties (ibid; CdW 06/02/2013). Because social housing providers cater to people with lower incomes, they are pressurised even more by rates increases. As the Operations Manager for JHC explains,

“the biggest problem is our operating costs...at the end of the day we don’t get any discount because we’re nice guys, we pay the same for electricity as any commercial landlord, and for rates, and for security guards, all of that stuff...things costs the same whether your mission says you want to be below the market, it doesn’t give you any discounts” (CdW 06/02/2013).

Thus the enforcement of user-pays principles and cost-recovery practices by national agencies such as ESKOM and local government’s strategy of using inner-city property taxes to raise money to fund its operations are placing greater strain on the affordability of housing in the inner-city. The overburdened nature of the regeneration process becomes clear, as do the negative effects it has on the extent to which housing can be provided for low-income households. Developers have to negotiate between the conditions of funding agencies, social commitments and the commercial imperatives which are imposed on them. They therefore come to inhabit a habitus which reflects the contradictory social order they are acting within and are split between diverse goals for and approaches to regeneration.

These come to the fore when poor and vulnerable communities’ claims to space in the inner-city are discussed. Housing providers express concern for them and regret evictions and displacement, but simultaneously defend their own claims to property and the role they are playing in improving the area. A for-profit developer indicates this clearly when he reflects on evictions he has been involved in. He veers between concern and anger, declaring “It truly breaks my heart, but when someone steals your car you don’t say ‘Oh, shame [an expression

used in South Africa to convey sympathy or pity],’ you get angry; and it’s the same with property rights” (PL 13/09/2012). JT too is torn between her interpersonal concerns and the logics of the private property market. She describes her dilemma in having to evict occupants from the building she purchased so that renovation could take place as follows:

“It’s actually hurting inside. Firstly that time, it was raining from Monday to Monday and when I’m at home they were just in my mind, but I didn’t know what to do. Because I tried to speak to them, explain, trying to reason with them. But they didn’t want to understand, because they were not paying the rent, they were staying for free. So it’s not easy to take someone who’s staying for free and make her pay rent. So it was even hard for me to pass here because they were living on the street. It’s not easy to tell someone ‘Get out!’ It’s not easy. It was very hard for me. The court granted us the eviction order so the sheriff came. You know there was nothing I could do because they actually wanted to kill me. So I was even scared myself to walk on the street. It was very hard, thinking to do good on the person who wants to kill you”.

The habitus of housing providers and other actors involved in urban regeneration is thus pulled in two directions and reflects the fact that there are competing social orders and frameworks for organising and shaping social life in the inner-city at present. They are torn between the need to valorise space and convert it into more productive uses, as well as the needs to use it to enhance social and spatial integration and the inclusion of low-income communities in the urban fabric. This is exemplified by a social housing provider, who captures the paradoxes and conflicts which define inner-city Johannesburg and the habitus of those involved in regeneration efforts when he states

“I love [my job]. The stuff I used to be involved in was predictable. Now it is much more interesting. Who else will buy a building that’s up to shit?...Now I get to see people live in safe, clean nice accommodation. You forget about it because it’s just a job, but some buildings – if I was more emotional I would burst out crying. It’s so awful to see [the conditions some people live in] but I know when I buy the building it becomes safer, cleaner for people to live in. Sure, the existing occupants will have to move out...”

Conclusion: a contradictory, localised process

It therefore becomes clear that the inner-city is a space which produces and requires conflicting actions, practices and sympathies. Housing providers' habitus is split between the demands of the market and the imperatives of post-apartheid development and transformation. These dualities have arisen out of the contested and opposing ways in which regeneration has been framed and the contradictory effects they have when they are translated into social actions and spatial practices. Housing providers are shown to possess forms of habitus which reflect these contradictions and through their actions are reproducing them in the spaces of the inner-city. The regeneration process is thus not only framed but is actively pursued in dualistic, contrasting ways.

At the same time, housing providers are not only influencing the inner-city and imposing a (contradictory) project onto it. The inner-city itself presents and produces a complex lived reality which actively shapes housing providers' outlooks and practices. In order to be successful and dominant in the space, they have to acknowledge and adapt to its realities. This requires being able to act entrepreneurially, embrace a pioneer spirit and employ the services of private security companies. At the same time, it also requires the adoption of developmental approaches to regeneration and a willingness to work with the African populations who now reside in and define the area. Through their close engagement with the area housing providers' habituses have been adjusted and they have acquired spatial capital which allows them to formulate ambitions and approaches to regeneration which are appropriate for this diverse space. This makes the practices and ambitions they adopt, and thus the regeneration process, vernacular.

Whilst this chapter has focussed on those who are at the forefront of overseeing the regeneration process, the next chapter discusses the daily realities which this vernacular process both produces as well as responds to. It focuses on the urban management practices adopted within public spaces surrounding residential buildings and demonstrates how these practices, like the habitus of housing providers, reflect the demands of the market and are designed to enhance the commercial value of inner-city properties. At the same time, they are also pragmatic and make allowances for the hardships which low-income residents face. They thus also adapt to a given reality and attempt to make meaningful improvements to a stressed urban environment, which tenants and local communities benefit from. They are, then multi-faceted practices and

strategies which reflect and reproduce a diverse social order. It will therefore be demonstrated that regeneration has diverse trajectories and outcomes and always reflects the variety of dynamics which are present in urban societies.

Chapter 7: Urban management: diverse meanings, practices and outcomes

In order to demonstrate how the contradictory nature of the regeneration process and the habitus of housing developers translates into spatial practices and directly influences the ways the inner-city is experienced, attention now turns to the control of public spaces which are undergoing renewal. Regeneration efforts are not only being directed towards individual buildings (which will be the focus of the following chapter) but are also shaping public spaces surrounding them. It will be argued that the forms of security and management which are accompanying and facilitating the regeneration process are dualistic and more complicated than conventional urban studies literature allows for; they are products of and pursue both of the overarching imperatives which have been highlighted thus far in the thesis.

Firstly, they seek to maximise the value of properties in the inner-city and create spaces which are manageable, predictable and attractive to residents and investors. By doing so they enhance the profits which can be made through housing provision. Regeneration is being promoted through a precinct development approach that entails clustering housing developments together and bringing defined areas under the control of housing companies. This strategy has led to the establishment of two Residential Improvement Districts (RIDs) which enable highly spatially-concentrated urban management. Private security companies are also employed within these RIDs and conduct patrols on foot and in vehicles and also utilise CCTV cameras to monitor public spaces. Some of the consequences of these strategies are the adoption of stringent management tactics which follow exclusionary practices and bear resemblances to revanchist methods adopted elsewhere, such as New York and Cape Town. As such, the establishment of RIDs and installation of private security is a deployment of spatial capital as it allows housing developers and the management personnel they employ to produce spaces and the types of behaviours and uses which fit the normative assumptions about what is acceptable. Framing regeneration and urban management around private interests also exacerbates fragmentation and creates patchworks of safety and cleanliness in a still generally run-down area. Crime is consequently displaced and inequalities are emerging that follow the lines of investment in the inner-city.

Simultaneously, however, the new urban management techniques which have been introduced in the area can also be understood as following alternative logics and producing socially-beneficial outcomes too. Following the developmental concerns behind the regeneration project, there is a powerful focus on community building and enhancing safety in areas like Hillbrow and Berea. It will be argued that the security measures put in place, whilst in many ways draconian, also respond to the needs and perceptions of residents and are thus crucial in making them feel safe and secure in the inner-city. Securitisation is therefore an element which not only produces spaces for investment and private interests, but is also central to enhancing vulnerable people's abilities to use the spaces of the inner-city and to go about their everyday lives.

Furthermore, rather than seeking to solely discipline and police out particular people and behaviours, urban management attempts to work with the realities which define spaces of the inner-city, including informal traders, and create spaces which are conducive to shared forms of public life. Thus there are significant efforts being made to include a wide variety of actors and activities in urban management and for the process to facilitate interactions between people and the development of shared commitments to and forms of belonging in the inner-city. Therefore urban management too is revealed as a diverse practice which reflects the simultaneous currents which are shaping the inner-city and is a pragmatic response to these, rather than an exercise in social and spatial domination. This becomes apparent through the ways in which the local community in Hillbrow and Berea are participating in making the area secure and are therefore appropriating and reclaiming space. This is indicative of new forms of belonging and relationships to the inner-city emerging amongst the local population, but also results in new boundaries of belonging and inclusion being drawn, as street kids and occupants of derelict buildings become singled out as threats and exceptions to inner-city residents' self-perceptions of community. The spread of security and management practices throughout the inner-city therefore has positive and negative aspects (often dependent on one's positionality and analytical perspective) and cannot be defined by a simple label or term or be understood as producing a single outcome.

This chapter thus illustrates the diverse meanings and experience which characterise security and policing in public spaces and how these evade simple descriptions. Public spaces are constituted by multiple experiences and needs and processes of producing security and domestication are

subordinate to and shaped by these, as much as they are imposed from the top down. The chapter therefore draws attention to the ways in which security is multi-faceted and comprises both developmental as well as repressive or disciplinary actions. It therefore cannot be seen in singular terms or as a reflection of bourgeois fears (Sandercock 2005) and needs to be examined according to the specific socio-spatial logics that it is shaped by. Again it is shown to be part of a vernacular practice and process of urban change, rather than only an exercise of domination and repression, as it is frequently presented as in the urban studies literature.

Precincts and representations of space

Regeneration in the inner-city has focused primarily on the built environment. The period of decay left the inner-city in a dismal state, with broken pavements, blocked sewers, damaged street lighting and abandoned buildings defining the landscape of areas such as Hillbrow, Berea and the CBD. This devastation also had dire consequences for the social relations in the area, with suspicion, fear, hostility and crime becoming the defining features of inhabitants' social experiences (Morris 1999a). Combined, this meant that over a relatively short space of time the inner-city came to exist as an 'outcast-ghetto' of deprivation, social ills and crime (Murray 2011, p.149). Consequently, efforts to uplift the area have focussed on improving the condition of individual buildings as well as surrounding pavements, alleyways between buildings, vacant lots and street lighting. Additionally, there are concerted efforts to improve maintenance and cleanliness and policing and security have been drastically enhanced. Collectively these initiatives comprise urban management as they are practices which aim to regulate and define the area and the way its physical spaces are used. This form of management has been operationalised through the creation of precincts. This approach targets particular areas for concentrated renewal activities. It also entails highlighting certain features of these areas and gearing urban design, construction, management and governance to serve these pre-determined purposes. The features which are promoted are usually commercial functions, but this is not always the case, as will be shown.

Precincts focussing on specific services and industries have been established in several areas, which have subsequently become CIDs. The Newtown Cultural Precinct, located in the south-western side of the inner-city, is based around Mary Fitzgerald Square and features two museums, a library, a theatre complex, artists' studios and several bars and music venues³⁶. The

³⁶ <http://newtown.co.za/content/attractions>

Fashion District was developed in the CBD and was intended to concentrate small-scale clothing manufacturers alongside high-end fashion design and retail businesses³⁷. Jewel City on the eastern edge of the CBD serves a similar purpose for the diamond and jewellery trade³⁸. Precincts and CIDs complement each other as they both stress commercial functions within defined urban areas and focus urban governance, service provision, branding and regulation on these purposes.

The precinct approach is a way of inscribing visions and functions into particular spaces and in Lefebvre's terminology these can be classified as 'representations of space'. These are the spaces conceived and depicted by planners, architects and other specialist groups who are charged with giving physical form to urban spaces and governing the social activities which take place within them (Lefebvre 1991; Ronneberger 2008). In conceived space/representations of space, particular visions of and uses are highlighted, at the expense of others. In this way, differences, behaviours which do not conform to the dominant social order and alternative uses for space are written out of official versions and suppressed within them. The precincts which have been established in inner-city Johannesburg follow this process, as they privilege particular aspects at the expense and exclusion of others.

A good example of this is the Ellis Park Sports Precinct in Doornfontein, on the south-eastern edge of the inner-city. This precinct uses the Ellis Park Stadium, which was redeveloped for the 2010 Football World Cup, as a basis for further improvement in the area. Plans include establishing a high-performance sports academy, a sports museum and an extreme sports centre³⁹. In pursuing these developments other features in the area have been overlooked or even removed. For instance, the area directly surrounding the stadium houses many poor families. In the build up to the World Cup, these houses' exteriors were beautified by the local council to mitigate signs of poverty in the area, and some residents were forced to relocate as their homes were demolished in the name of urban improvement (Bénil-Gbaffou 2009). In addition, despite the fact that the precinct was renovated to host the Football World Cup, an area adjacent to the stadium which was used as a community football field has subsequently been turned into a cricket club, which in South Africa is a sport enjoyed by a smaller, more affluent

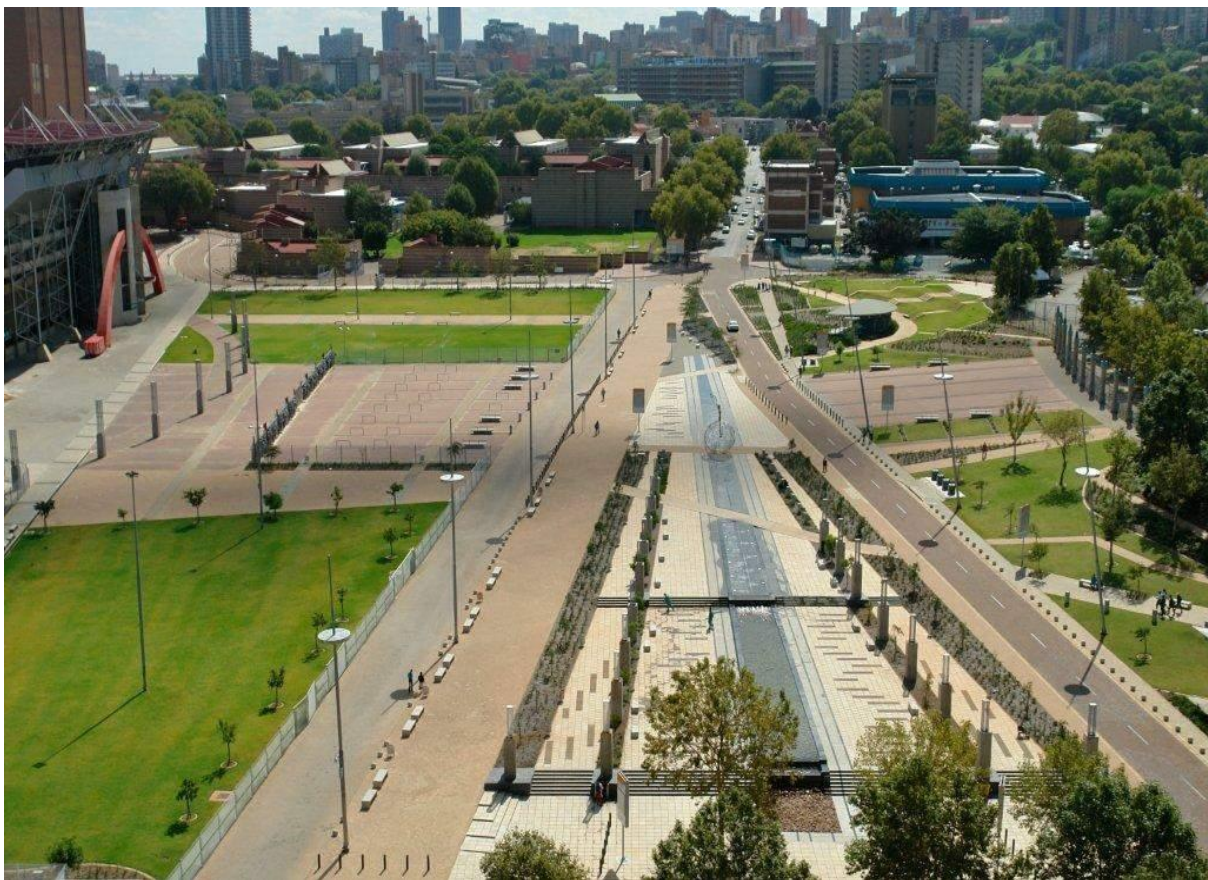
³⁷ http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=127&Itemid=58

³⁸ http://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7453&catid=88&Itemid=266

³⁹ http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1672&Itemid=49

community than football, which is the most popular sport amongst black people (Bénit-Gbaffou et al. 2013). The development was thus undertaken to eliminate spatial features and practices which were supposed to be unappealing to international visitors and did not fit in with the dominant conception of the precinct. This underscores how powerful forces can control spaces and produce them, as well as determine the activities which can take place inside them. As such, it is a process of exercising spatial capital. It entails forming a physical place and imbuing it with meaning, thereby determining how it is to be used, experienced and defined.

Image 2: The Ellis Park sports precinct: Source <http://iflaonline.org/gallery/ifla-africa-gallery>



Commercial and social housing companies have bought into these urban management approaches and are now employing precinct-based strategies and engaging in CIDs as they seek to regenerate areas of the inner-city. The companies who have properties in the CBD and Doornfontein participate in the formal CIDs established in those areas. Furthermore, housing companies in Hillbrow and Berea have come together to form two Residential Improvement Districts (RIDs) – the eKhaya neighbourhood in the southern section of Hillbrow and Legea La Rona in the east of Berea. These differ from the CIDs in that they are voluntary and are not formally legislated. Whilst CIDs are legislated and officially recognised by local

government once they have achieved the backing of 51% of the property owners in the area they seek to have jurisdiction over, the RIDs are not recognised by local government as they do not represent the majority of property owners and receive financial contributions and form their management boards on voluntary bases.

They also differ from CIDs as, being located in areas in which the predominant land-use is residential rather than commercial, they emphasise the needs of residents, rather than businesses and pay greater attention to liveability and sociability (Peyroux 2012). The residential aspect is emphasised by their names: eKhaya means ‘our home’ in a variety of Southern African languages and Legea la Rona means ‘our place’ in seSotho. Thus they devote attention to improving the residential experience of these areas and facilitate community-building activities (which will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter). As they are residential areas, they are also utilised constantly and therefore require more intensive security and maintenance services to be provided continuously, rather than only during business hours, as is the case in CIDs. However, like the CIDs, the RIDs are designed to give property owners greater control over defined areas and allow them to work together to pursue their shared interests.

Although housing companies concentrate on renovating derelict buildings, they have come to expand their focus and now seek to have influence over the wider urban area. The precinct approach developed as a way to deal with the overwhelming physical and social decay of the inner-city and to bring public spaces around renovated buildings under housing developers’ control. The aim of this was to enhance the attractiveness and safety of the area and therefore make it more conducive to running housing projects. Increasing the comfort of residents ensures that vacancies are reduced and a higher-earning population is attracted to the inner-city, which protects housing companies’ financial interests. The head of Bad Boyz Security, who are founding members of the eKhaya RID and active participants in the area’s management, explains that since the formation of the RID the value of properties in the area has increased substantially because the improvements which have been made to safety and cleanliness in the area as well as in the individual buildings have “stabilised” the tenant population and reduced the residential turn-over. He recounts,

“There was problems 10 years ago; tenants used to move on every three or four months, now the last five years it’s the same tenants in the same building so they sit with proper leases and they get better loans from the banks and they get better insurance and stuff” (HdK 08/05/2013).

This is reiterated by the eKhaya RID’s current coordinator, who explains that the main goal behind the project is “to improve the area so that the business people in this area, the landlords and business owners, all those who have invested in Hillbrow, get more profit” (BM 27/03/2013). In the same vein, the Area Manager representing AFHCO explains the goal behind the urban management tactics his company employs as follows: “to basically make sure that the buildings are full 100%, because that means you get a return on your investment and number two is to try and retain the tenants for as long as possible.” (K 16/04/2013).

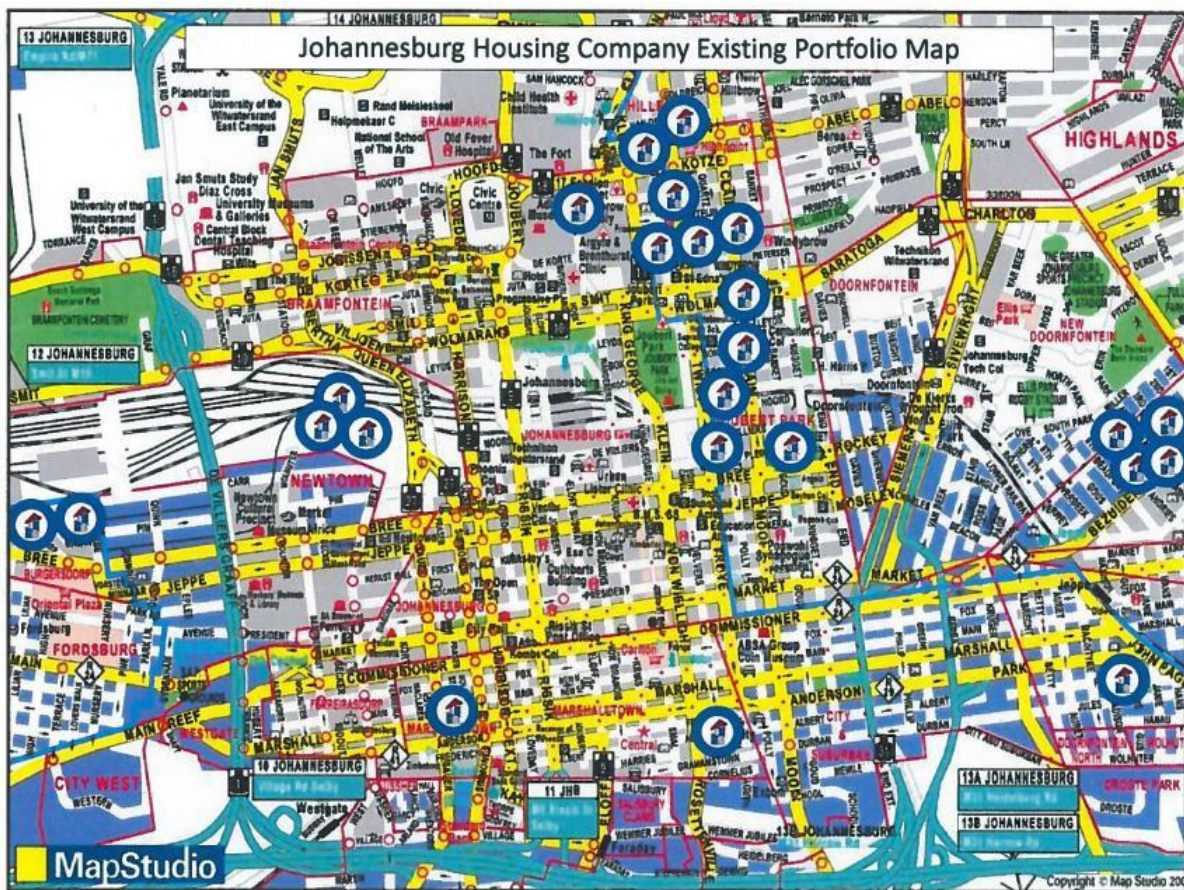
A precinct-based approach to regeneration helps retain tenants and make them more comfortable because it allows housing companies to address the wider material and social conditions of the areas in which their buildings are located. One private developer explains that when a building was redeveloped but remained surrounded by blight and danger, it was “an island in a storm” (PL 13/09/2013). In order to counter this, housing companies began buying buildings in clusters. They were able to do this because the depressed property market and prevalence of abandoned buildings allowed several properties to be acquired in close proximity to one another. The Area Manager representing AFHCO explains the benefits of the approach as follows:

“what you’re doing when you have a cluster of buildings together, you *uplift* that *area* because of your investment in that area, compared to if you’ve got one here, one here, one there it’s more difficult to uplift that area but if you’ve got three or four around one another it’s easier to uplift that area. Even if it’s not your own you can clean it; if this is a building here and there’s a building next door that’s not yours and then [the next building is] yours, if the one in the middle is not cleaning his pavement, your guys will clean the pavement because he doesn’t want his building to be bad; your two building managers will ensure that that area is clean and presentable” (K 16/04/2013, emphasis in the original)

He here demonstrates how clustering buildings allows property owners to exert influence over areas extending beyond their own properties. Housing companies are engaged in concerted

efforts to improve the quality of the inner-city's built environment and public spaces. They all employ their own cleaning staff who, as the explanation above demonstrates, do not only work inside buildings but clean the outsides too, and even the shared spaces between buildings. This is done to create a cleaner, more hospitable environment. JHC's Operations Manager expands on this logic and explains: "Our aim is to take that building and now make a difference in that area... The whole idea is for a building to affect the area that it's in, for us to drive that and how it affects it. It's easier when it's a group of buildings" (CdW 06/02/2013). The map below clearly demonstrates this strategy at work. It shows the different properties acquired by JHC. The blue circles represent their properties and it quickly becomes apparent that the bulk of them are located in close proximity to one another and clustered in particular areas, predominantly in the Hillbrow and Jourbert Park neighbourhoods.

Map 5: JHC building clusters. Source JHC 2013

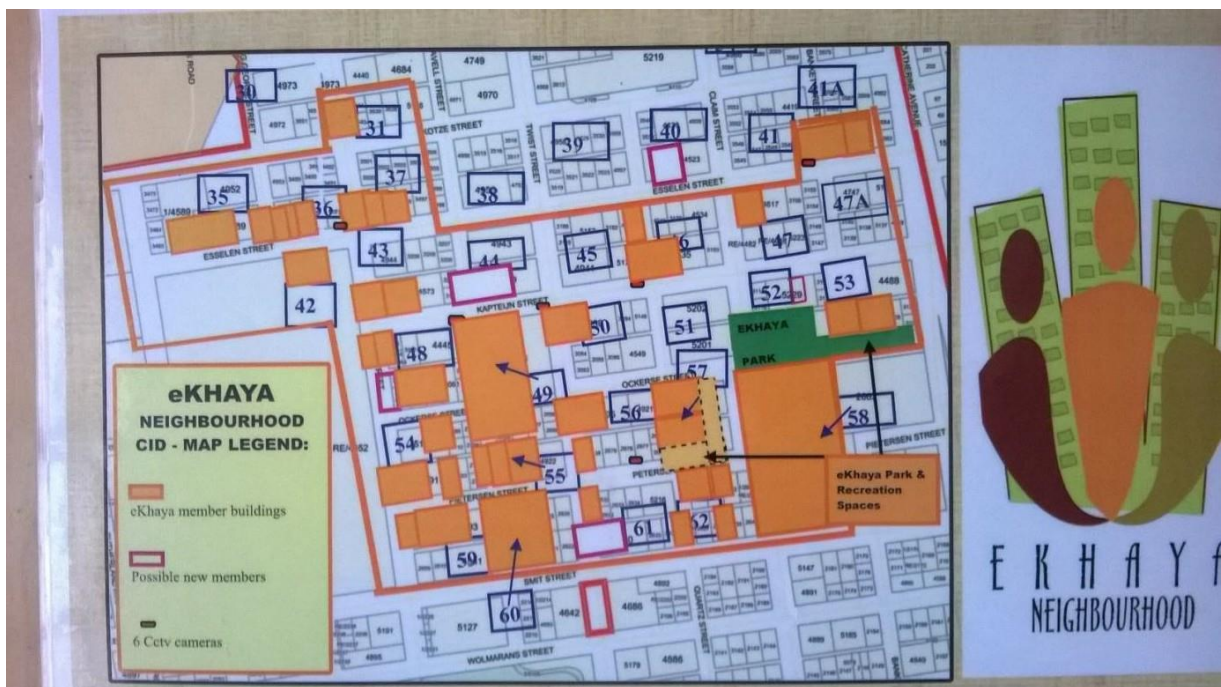


Other companies like AFHCO, Jozi Housing and Connaught Properties also make use of this strategy. Clustering buildings together allows housing companies to become the dominant actors in urban spaces. Companies have also begun working together. The eKhaya neighbourhood was formed by two companies, JHC and Trafalgar, who owned renovated buildings in the same

street. They began collaborating on security and maintenance provision and started to post guards outside their buildings to keep watch over the streets, rather than concentrate only on the buildings' interiors. As these efforts began to achieve results and make noticeable changes to the public spaces between the buildings, the foundations for the RID were laid.

At present the eKhaya neighbourhood comprises several city blocks in the southern region of Hillbrow and is supported by at least four major housing companies, as well as Bad Boyz Security. By working together the companies are able to maximise their resources, share information and collectively lobby the local council for services. The RID employs a fulltime coordinator who is responsible for liaising between the different parties involved and also running community engagement events. Together the companies have collaborated to create a precinct which allows them to enact their visions of regeneration and to exert influence on the spaces beyond individual buildings.

Map 6: Map demarcating the eKhaya neighbourhood and the participating buildings



This becomes possible because ownership of property allows them to control the public areas surrounding their properties and shape the behaviours which take place within them. The CEO of the City's social housing company explains clearly that the regeneration relies on shaping the ways people behave in communal space and exerting dominance over it. He forcefully declares "it must be clear that this is our [JOSHCO's/the City of Johannesburg's] space; it is controlled

by the municipality” and therefore compliance with the City’s by-laws and forms of order is required: “you shall not litter on my pavement, cross when the robot [traffic light] is red, drive up a one-way street” (RG 11/09/2012). There has thus been a focus on law enforcement, visible policing, patrols by Bad Boyz and the installation of CCTV cameras. These are all put in place to regulate the activities taking place in areas which have been declared CIDs or RIDs and where housing companies have clustered properties together. The purpose of these interventions is to define the meaning of the space and to establish what types of people and behaviours are acceptable within them.

Security practices in the inner-city: exercising spatial capital, shaping behaviours

In order to regulate spaces in which housing companies have acquired properties close scrutiny is exercised over the people present in them. Security personnel focus on people’s bodies and the ways they occupy spaces as the telltale signs of criminality. Bourdieu (1984) points out that bodily aesthetics and styles are markers of people’s class, occupation and social status; this becomes apparent in the way surveillance operates in the inner-city. A supervisor who oversees the CCTV operations in Hillbrow and Berea explains that when looking out for potential threats guards are trained to focus on “the movement, the dressing” of people (BB 08/05/2013). A person who walks up and down a street repeatedly or circles around a block several times draws their attention. The head of the company elaborates further on this profile when he explains that “somebody who goes to work, he’ll have a tog bag, he’ll have leather shoes, his shoes will be clean; the youngsters that’s loitering [and consequently singled out as potential criminals] will be in groups of two or three, they’ll wear hoodies, they’ll have All Star takkies [trainers]” (HdK 08/05/2013). He also points out that they pay attention to how people walk, as rather than walking alongside each other, muggers tend to work in pairs and walk behind one another, at a distance, so that they can “create that space where they can catch you” between them (ibid). In addition, “they’ll select to stand in areas where it’s dark, a normal person don’t select to stand in that area. So the guys just pick up that [sic] tendencies” (ibid). When the guards monitoring the CCTV cameras spot someone who is regarded as suspicious they notify the personnel patrolling the area in vehicles, who then go and perform body searches (BB 08/05/2013).

In these ways a 'selective gaze' (Coleman & Sim 2000; Coleman 2004) is turned on the bodily habits of particular groups and movements come to be the signifiers of people's social identities and the bases on which they are judged to be either normal, respectable members of the community or threatening non-members. In an area with high unemployment rates, a large informal sector and a diverse population the normative standard (as in the redeveloped buildings which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter) is established as a person who is employed, respectable and visible. Those who do not meet these requirements threaten the identity of the community and the forms of behaviour which are deemed to be acceptable, and are therefore targeted by policing activities.

Through the use of CCTV surveillance Bad Boyz also compile registers of people who are seen gambling on the streets (ibid). During the course of our interview the supervisor showed a variety of still images of young men captured by the cameras. He explains that "these are faces that we feel like they need to be monitored, people who need to be monitored because they are gaming [gambling] on the streets". Gambling on the streets is not prohibited by the City's bylaws, but young men who engage in this activity are singled out as threats because they are unemployed and have no discernible forms of income. They are therefore assumed to engage in other deviant and criminal activities. The supervisor further explains "tomorrow if this person is in The Star newspaper because he's committed a crime, we can help the cops" (ibid). Security therefore comes to take on panopticon-like features (Foucault 2012) and becomes instrumental in imposing a form of bodily habitus and identities on people in the area, thereby defining the spaces of the inner-city and the community who inhabits them. It is an instrument which aids in the creation of what is considered a respectable, predictable and legible population, and one which comprises the types of disciplined and employed residents which housing companies require in order to sustain their businesses.

Image 3: Image of Bad Boyz' policing activities and images taken by their surveillance systems⁴⁰ (photograph by the author)



In addition to looking for signs of criminality, private security companies also enforce other normative standards of behaviour. Bad Boyz, through their use of surveillance and street patrols, implement a harsh, 'zero tolerance' approach to urban management. This type of approach first came to prominence in New York City, and has subsequently been exported around the world. Schinkel and van den Berg (2011) describe how 'Exception Laws' and the singling out of 'Hot Spots' (which generally coincide with ethnic enclaves in which Dutch nationals are not the majority of residents) for intensive and differential policing in the name of urban intervention have produced, new revanchist forms of discrimination, exclusion and oppression in Rotterdam's urban areas. Furthermore, Swanson (2007) documents how the urban regeneration project in Guayaquil has produced a 'cleansed' urban environment from which indigenous peoples and the practices supposedly associated with them – predominantly begging and informal street trading – are banned. The city's urban regeneration policy was even developed with input from the former Police Commissioner of New York City, William Bratton, who was instrumental in developing the 'Zero Tolerance' approach. She shows that the intensive policing of regenerated areas, which utilises heavily armed police conducting foot patrols as well as CCTV camera surveillance, 'is not only concerned with crime control' (Swanson 2007, p.712), but is also a strategy to regulate the occupation and use of space. CCTV camera surveillance, the use of

⁴⁰ This is a photograph of an image which is posted on the wall of the office used by the eKhaya RID's coordinator.

private security and similar strategies to regulate behaviours and activities in both public and private spaces have also featured in regeneration projects in cities in Britain (Butler 2007), Brazil (Kanashiro 2008), Accra (Grant 2005; Asiedu & Arku 2009), Yaounde (Fer et al. 2011), and Caracas (Rebotier 2011).

The approach adopted in the inner-city strongly echoes these. As the head of Bad Boyz explains,

“there’s zero tolerance for everything. You will not urinate in the street here, you will not spit, you will not mess, you will not fight, a husband will not fight with wives, friends will not fight, you will not walk around with liquor here, that’s our zero tolerance from everyone, it’s spread through the whole area” (HdK 08/05/2014).

In discussing the company’s name, which he claims was invented by his bookkeeper when the company was being registered, he also insists that “We’re not bad, but we don’t tolerate crime, grime, any kind of form of misbehaving” (ibid). This approach has meant that intrusive forms of policing have become common, with private security personnel patrolling the streets, people frequently being stopped and searched and monitored 24 hours a day. Through these tactics urban management is attempting to create a space which conforms to a particular vision of civility and which is occupied by a regulated, ‘respectable’ community.

Additionally, urban management does not only make itself felt in moments of interdiction and revanchist policing strategies, but is also able to exercise subtle influences over the ways people apprehend and experience places and, consequently, how they behave in them. The precinct approach and clustering numerous buildings together is able to shape people’s behaviours through the ways in which they bring the built environment, and consequently the social environment too, under control. An example is narrated by the first coordinator of the eKhaya precinct when she reflects on one of the RID’s first successes and defining moments. During the period of decay and turmoil local government and service providers neglected the inner-city. Services such as refuse collection and street maintenance were absent and this was exacerbated by the lack of maintenance and management structures in high-rise buildings. Due to these factors it became commonplace for people to have no regard for the urban environment, and even if they did their efforts proved to be pointless as they received no institutional support. It was common for people to throw rubbish out of high-rise windows, causing the alleyways/lanes

between buildings to become clogged with litter and refuse. However, once a relationship was built between neighbouring property owners it became possible to reassert some form of control and to lobby the City to clean the alleyways. She relates that eventually they were able to get some of the alleyways cleared and cleaned and this led to an immediate change in people's behaviour. With some bemusement she points out "the JDA fixed the lanes, then suddenly people stopped peeing [urinating] there; something triggered something" (JA 12/09/2012).

The 'something' she is referring to is the relationship between space and action, specifically how space regulates and shapes action by instilling norms and rules of behaviour in people. In some cases this can be done overtly and forcefully, but it can also be done subtly or seductively, by exerting influence on people's dispositions and the signals which they read and internalise from the built environment – i.e. their habitus. Several authors (for example see Goss 1993; Mitchell 1995; Koskela 2000; Allen 2006) show how people draw signals about how they should behave in particular places from the state of the material environments which they encounter. Because spaces are products and conduits of power they are able to instil particular actions and subjectivities within people. Power relations and dynamics are always present in experiences of space and therefore shape the dispositions, actions and identities of those who are encountering and engaging with them, as well as how they relate to others who are also present in those spaces (Bannister et al. 2006). Thus research shows that people are more likely to feel threatened and vulnerable to crime in poorly maintained or dirty areas and that anti-social behaviours are also more likely to occur in these (Johnson 2001; Sampson & Raudenbush 2004). This correlation occurs because of the ambient, sensuous qualities of space. Disorder, messiness and neglect are taken to be signs that an area is unsafe, not policed and home to dangerous inhabitants, whilst orderly, well-kept, pristine spaces, such as shopping malls and regulated public squares, are regarded as safe, desirable and conducive to forms of consumption. These logics are now being extended into residential areas of the inner-city and housing companies are crucial actors in this process.

When asked about changes he has noticed in the inner-city, an Area Manager employed by AFHCO emphasises that maintaining clean environments and enforcing strict standards on tenants has led to changes in the ways in which they interact with each other and inhabit the area. He notes that tenants have "uplifted themselves; the building they're renting is clean and

nice, they don't want junk around them so they also look after the inner-city, if I could put it that way; they're trying to look after the inner-city" (K 16/04/2013). Here he focuses attention on the production and regulation of space and the ways this shapes its ambience and experiential aspects, and hence the practices which take place within it (Allen 2006). The current eKhaya coordinator also emphasises this point when she relates that as people have seen improvements being made to the physical environment and management has become more sustained and visible, destructive behaviours, such as public urination, littering and vandalism, have become less frequent. She too notes that people draw signals about the ways to act in an area from the state of its environment and how they perceive it. Thus she states that upon entering the eKhaya RID "You will tell yourself this is not the right place for that [type of behaviour]" (BM 07/04/2014). She further emphasises the way in which space inculcates habitus in people and thus reproduces social order and everyday life when she explains that the changes introduced into Hillbrow have become entrenched because residents "are now being controlled by the area" (ibid). This is echoed by a tenant, who confirms that the way people act in the area has changed: "People no longer throw items out of windows, you never see something like that" (Tenant Three, Lake Success 05/03/2013).

Domestication by football

It therefore becomes clear that urban management has been a process which has not only produced physical space but has also shaped the ways in which the space is lived and experienced. However, managing urban spaces and enhancing security, whilst frequently relying on forms of intimidation and coercion, are also not simply impositions which enforce representations of space onto places and people. The developmental agenda behind regeneration is also being fulfilled through the ways in which spaces are managed and created. Property redevelopment has been accompanied by efforts at community building and fostering communications and improved social relations particularly in the RIDs. These can be taken as acts of domesticating the area. Domestication is a term which entered the urban studies lexicon to describe the ways in which public spaces were becoming increasingly sanitised, regulated and homogenous. It is associated with clamp downs on vagrants, beggars and criminals and the colonisation of public places by middle-class consumers (Atkinson 2003; Fyfe 2004; 2006; Low & Smith 2013;) – hence Zukin's (1998) coining of the phrase 'domestication by cappuccino'. However, recent scholarship has challenged the narrowly pejorative sense of the term, recasting it instead as a concept attentive to the various processes through which people come to be at

home (or not) in shared urban spaces (Amin 2008; Koch & Latham 2013). Focussing analytically on how spaces come to be inhabited enables a more fine-grained analysis of the operations and effects of the multiple strategies, relationships, activities and encounters which give spaces meaning and through which public life is experienced. It helps attune research to the ambivalent and multifaceted nature of urban change.

Strategies aimed at fostering community-based forms of domestication are central components of the regeneration project housing companies have embarked on. JHC runs Makhulong a Matala, a community development organisation which arranges social events such as football days and cultural activities and looks after tenants' welfare by providing counselling services. In keeping with the non-profit ethos of the company, this organisation is funded out of the surplus revenues JHC generates. JHC employees also cooperate with the other housing companies who participate in the eKhaya RID. The RID facilitates regular meetings for housing supervisors/building managers so people can share common issues and challenges and learn from each other. They also hold meetings with service providers such as Pikitup, City Power and the Johannesburg Roads Agency to try and ensure that management and maintenance issues arising in the RID are dealt with quickly (Mkhize 2014). There are two goals behind these activities: on the one hand improved management and maintenance in the area raises the desirability and value of properties; secondly, regular meetings, social events and spaces to gather create an environment which is conducive to forming social relations and promotes cohesion in the area. Both strategies, then, are focussed on creating types of social order and domesticate space to achieve this.

The current eKhaya coordinator recounts that when the area was in its worst state there were limited possibilities for engaging with people or creating a sense of common purpose or concern. She relates that in the early stages of the RID it was hard to organise residents or get people to interact: "It was very difficult because you won't call anyone. For what? Everyone was minding his or her own business. No one wanted to know what's someone's business. Hence that anonymity [sic] was what was promoting crime and everything" (BM 27/03/2013). Through the development of the RID and relationships between property owners and their representatives, however, concerted efforts to overcome this anonymity and alienation have been made. The original organiser of the RID describes her work as liaising between different groups

of people with interests in the area, “getting people to know each other, reducing the space between people” (JA 12/09/2012). Thus, with regular meetings being held and community interaction at the forefront of how the area is being managed, a sense of common purpose is beginning to take root. Social events have also enabled a sense of shared social life to emerge in the area.

In addition to fixing the alleyways between buildings, another key moment in the process of regenerating Hillbrow was the establishment of eKhaya Park. It occupies a plot of land on the corner of Esselen and Claim Streets and is one of the few recreation areas in Hillbrow. Throughout the 1990s it was a dilapidated plot used for parking taxis and selling drugs. A joint operation between the JDA, the Johannesburg Metro Police and property owners in the area saw the police clamp down on the illegal activities taking place and remove the taxis and drug dealers. This temporarily cleared the space and a housing supervisor in one of the nearby buildings hit on the idea to hold a football day in the newly claimed space. This was a way of domesticating the space and demonstrating that new, more sociable uses for it were possible. It was not a seamless transition, as local drug dealers objected to losing their turf; one even tried to ram his car into the crowd who gathered for the inaugural football day (JA 12/09/2012). However, he did not succeed in deterring the efforts to take control and eventually the park was established. An artificial turf football pitch was built by the JDA, using money obtained from the 2010 Football World Cup, and maintenance is paid for by one of the local housing companies and carried out by Bad Boyz employees. Through this collective action a new environment was brought into the area and it has become one of the cornerstones of the new patterns of use and forms of sociability which have taken root in the neighbourhood. Children play in the park at all times of the day, under supervision by Bad Boyz guards, and regular football days are held where teams representing the surrounding buildings compete against each other.

Image 4: the eKhaya RID soccer day, eKhaya Park, Hillbrow, 04/05/2014 (photograph by the author)



Although football days, maintaining a park, hosting cultural events, such as those held at the Hillbrow Theatre, and holiday programmes for children could be dismissed as cosmetic initiatives, in practice they contribute to shaping the social fabric of the area. At these events tenants come together and build friendships. They are thus ways through which a shared public life is established and a new form of social order is created. In interviews, although the majority of tenants did not mention participating in communal activities, some, predominantly those living in social housing, did enthuse about the social life and communality within their buildings. For example, two tenants living in social housing emphasise the ways in which organised activities bring people together and improve relations within the building. When asked if tenants in the building socialise they respond: “Quite a lot – there are sports teams in the buildings, courses to bring teenagers together, in-house sports, pre-school and a crèche. I support the netball teams and do talks and career advice with teenagers” (Tenant Six, Lake Success); “We all know each other, we can play soccer together, children can do anything. People participate; we elders have two hours playing on Sundays” (Tenant Three, Lake Success).

People generally feel more cautious and distant from one another in the public spaces of the inner-city, although some tenants do feel that social relations have improved. One tenant living in Hillbrow points out that the public spaces are much more welcoming and friendly and that “We all greet each other” (Tenant Seven, Lake Success 05/03/2013). The coordinator, who gets

to know as many people in the RID as possible, describes the atmosphere in the streets in positive terms, explaining “If you go out, they talk to each other. People know each other, you see that by people talking to each other; it’s a greeting culture” (BM 27/03/2013). This culture has been created by bringing order and stability to public spaces in the neighbourhood and encouraging people to make use of them. Urban management tactics have thus altered the relationships between people and the space of the inner-city. The space has been domesticated, not in an exclusionary way but in ways which allowed shared public spaces and communal sentiments to come into being. Whereas previously the inner-city was a hostile environment which forced people to disengage from its public spaces and bred detachment and alienation both between people and between people and their physical environment, the concerted efforts at cleaning, managing and caring for the area’s infrastructure have enabled people to feel some comfort in it. They have stronger senses that it is a place they belong and can make homes in, and this encourages them to change their behaviour.

One long-term resident explains that destructive behaviours were consequences of the instability, violence and decay which characterised the neighbourhood and how these inculcated ways of acting in people. When asked in the interview why people used to throw rubbish out of windows in buildings he responds,

“They were justified, they were justified. I didn’t respect Hillbrow, I grew up in Hillbrow and I didn’t respect Hillbrow. Like I said, there used to be tsotsis [criminals] here, now they are gone. Like I said, in 10 minutes that you guys have been here, there could have been an explosion here, a gun, or a siren or ambulance. But have you heard any? None at all!” (Tenant Three, Constantine, 29/05/2013).

He therefore suggests that people’s attitudes to the area and ways of inhabiting it have changed as it has become more peaceful and orderly. The dual nature of space is demonstrated here – as something that is influenced and given meanings by the actions which take place within it, but which simultaneously produces ways of acting in people. Security plays a fundamental role in this as it enables people to have more sense of and engage in shared public life. One tenant describes how he has gained a new sense of confidence and belonging in the area through the enhanced policing and security which has been deployed. As he exclaims: “We’ve noticed heightened security, installation of cameras; you don’t just do as you please on the illegal side of the law. You can almost walk tall – you can compare this time to what it was five, six years ago, it’s relatively

safe” (Tenant Five, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013). Security and domestication in this case are not curtailing public life; they are actually making it possible.

It therefore becomes clear that concerns about security and desires for management are not only forms of domination which serve the interests of property developers; they are also real concerns which affect the day-to-day lives of low-income residents living in the area, and others around the country (see Lemanski and Oldfield 2009). When asked about improvements they would like to be made to the inner-city, tenants living in social and for-profit housing frequently called for better and more consistent cleaning and maintenance, as the quotes below demonstrate:

“They must carry on upgrading the buildings. They haven’t completed putting lights; there are still streets that are dark. There must also be an average number of people that can stay in an area. Maintenance is the biggest – everything else is here” (Tenant Two, Lake Success, 05/03/2013).

“They must deploy lots of cleaners, mustn’t just have 20 people, must have some working morning, lunchtime and at night – three shifts so it’s cleaner. They must also monitor it – check if those people are doing their work. Maybe then it can be better. With crime it’s already better” (Tenant Five, Lake Success, 30/05/2013).

Thus it can be seen that the desire for cleanliness is not only an upper-class habitus or reflection of World Class City aspirations, but is a concern of (low-income) people living in decayed urban areas. This is summarised by a Bad Boyz employee, who argues, “it’s not good for our clients, it’s good for anyone that will come here and pass through here that Hillbrow is clean and it’s good” (BB 08/05/2013). It also shows that the production of the space, and hence its abilities to shape people’s ways of acting in it, is taking place on an inclusive, rather than exclusionary or revanchist logic. By making neighbourhoods such as Hillbrow welcoming and attractive (at least in comparison to its dirty, run-down state in the 1990s), urban management personnel are enticing people into the area and encouraging them to use it in sociable ways. It is therefore as much a seductive experience of space (Allen 2006) and use of spatial capital as it is one which relies on coercion and the capacity to use force (although this does still remain in place too).

Image 5: Images of cleaning services undertaken in the eKhaya RID⁴¹ (photograph by the author)



Facilitating the formation of community and forms of belonging through securitisation

Securitisation and management strategies are thus more than exclusionary, revanchist activities. They are essential for enabling people currently residing in the inner-city to form attachments to and senses of belonging in the area. Security guards deployed to residential buildings also help serve the needs of tenants and create sociable conditions inside the buildings. They assist in managing the buildings and keeping the tenants safe, for instance through fire prevention and keeping watch over children whilst their parents are at work. They also break up fights between tenants and intervene in incidents of domestic violence. Bad Boyz also use their surveillance cameras to keep track of the maintenance backlogs in the area, compiling records of blocked drains, damaged pavements, broken street lights and uncollected rubbish, which are reported to the City Council and relevant service providers. They therefore move beyond simply policing the population and protecting private interests. A senior security guard working for Bad Boyz explains the outlook of the company and their practices as follows: “this is a neighbourhood, we don’t just look for crime only. We try always to promote the cleanliness of the neighbourhood, the improvement of the neighbourhood – that is urban management” (BB 08/05/2013). Thus,

⁴¹ This is a photograph of an image which is posted on the wall of the office used by the eKhaya RID’s coordinator.

in protecting the interests of private investors, urban management is also serving the needs of tenants, who require clean and safe spaces in which to live.

The original organiser of the eKhaya RID notes that the project has been successful because it mobilises the shared interests of property owners and residents. As she explains, there are “good tensions” in residential redevelopment because “tenants want the cheapest but most comfortable and safe places to stay and housing providers want regular payments and respect for their rules” (JA 12/09/2012). In contrast to these ‘good tensions’, in the 1990s there was intense conflict between tenants and landlords, and this was one of the key factors which led to the area’s decay (Morris 1999a; 1999b). The current situation is a far cry from this and demonstrates the importance of an approach to urban management which serves the needs of those who are affected directly by it. Narratives which construct security as revanchist, exclusionary and a response to bourgeois or white people’s fears and apprehensions thus fail to engage with the realities of precariousness and insecurity in the lives of poorer members of society. The privatisation of public space, security and maintenance functions are not solely neoliberal strategies which promote the interests of powerful actors. They are simultaneously, in certain conditions, interventions which foster communal urban life. Lemanski and Oldfield (2009) assert that scholars need to pay careful attention to the localised logics of urban processes. The diversity of uses and agendas which security and urban management is serving in the inner-city strongly confirms their argument and again draws attention to the vernacularised, diverse logics of the regeneration process.

Localised logics become more apparent when one considers the ways in which management practices adapt to spatial conditions and realities. I have argued that spatial capital is not simply an ability to exercise domination over space, but is gained by adapting to places and acquiring the forms of habitus which are required to engage with and become embedded in them. The ways in which Bad Boyz operate and urban management is carried out bear testimony to this. Because of the focus on precinct development and community participation there are concerted efforts made to prevent an exclusive security regime developing. The organiser of the Hillbrow CPF explains that they have good relationships with security companies operating in the area; they constantly engage with private security actors and property owners at public meetings, such as the Community Safety Forum, and remind them to be aware that “security does not only end at

your doorstep but *around* [the area] and the people around the neighbourhood” (S 09/05/2013 emphasis in the original). He thus illustrates that the production of public safety in Hillbrow, although relying heavily on private companies, has become a shared social activity involving a variety of actors. As he states,

“I’m very happy to have the large number of security companies that we have [in Hillbrow] at the moment because it creates a certain level of safety and security that for the place to be safe and secure it’s not only dependant on the police. You know that when you see any security company you can stop that person, you can stop that car and say ‘Please help here,’ which they do” (ibid).

Bad Boyz are embedded in the community which lives in the RID and see themselves as members of it. They hire employees from the area in order to entrench relationships with local communities. As the head of the company explains, “other companies will bring guys from different areas, from Soweto, from the East Rand, to come and work in Hillbrow; we take people from Hillbrow, they *must* look after their own” (HdK 08/05/2013). This approach helps them gain legitimacy amongst the community, rather than appear as an external force trying to impose order onto them. Police in South Africa frequently lack legitimacy, particularly in black communities, where they continue to be seen as impositions from the apartheid era or predators who abuse their power to take advantage of and extract bribes from vulnerable people (Steinberg 2008). The police have a tenuous hold on public space and are far more assertive and effective when policing private spaces, particularly in cases of domestic abuse (ibid).

In contrast, private security personnel cannot enter people’s private realms, but are highly effective in regulating public spaces. Whereas the official police are frequently apprehensive when trying to exert order over public spaces, as they fear resistance and backlashes from local communities (Steinberg 2008), Bad Boyz conduct their work in public spaces with confidence. When asked if his job is dangerous, the supervisor responds “to me this is not dangerous, as long as you stay calm and you know what you are doing and you do your job it’s not dangerous...as long as the people, the community appreciate what you are doing it’s not dangerous” (BB 08/05/2013). The CPF too, even though its members are civilians and have little legal authority, are generally tolerated in the streets and people cooperate with them. This was emphasised during a street patrol which I participated in. At one point a member of the CPF stopped a

young man in the street and, after identifying himself as a CPF member, asked if he could search him. After being assured that the street patroller did not have drugs or weapons which could be planted on him, he agreed. Once the search was complete and did not turn up any incriminating evidence, the street patroller apologised to the man and explained that he was simply trying to keep people in the area safe. The young man responded to this violation of his rights to privacy and personal integrity with a simple shrug and, rather than being affronted by the actions of the street patroller, simply stated “It’s allowed”.

This tolerance for intrusive policing measures stems from a variety of sources and logics. Firstly, black people in South Africa have only ever experienced coercive, repressive policing. Hence, even in the democratic period, the view that policing relies on force to be effective remains entrenched and shapes people’s expectations (Steinberg 2008; Vigneswaran 2014). Thus residents in the inner-city appreciate the high visibility and tough image of companies like Bad Boyz, and frequently make calls for more police to be in the streets. One tenant exemplifies this response when, when asked what could improve the inner-city she responds, “if police are patrolling the streets, searching everyone who they suspect and making sure the kids cross the streets safely” (Tenant Five, Cavendish Court, 09/05/2013). Another tenant echoes this when he responds to the same question with

“Mostly more security in terms of maybe, like, the cameras in the street. If they can introduce cameras in the streets and the police are working 24 hours ‘cause there’s few police that you see, you know. If they can put cameras around and the police are patrolling 24/7 you know that, ai, [speaks forcefully and claps hands for emphasis] when you turn around this corner, there’s a police, when you turn this side there’s a police, then you’re safe there” (Tenant Three, Greatermans 24/05/2013).

In the inner-city, then, strict, surveillant and heavy-handed forms of policing are not only repressive features, but direct responses to the habitus which people living in the area possess and their subjective expectations about what constitutes safety. Private policing gains legitimacy through its client-centred nature and focus on responding to the subjective needs and demands of the people it serves (Loader 1999). Thus it responds to the elements of people’s habitus which make them *feel* safe. This point is made clear by a tenant living in Hillbrow, who describes how interventions into the built environment have made her feel safer:

“previously we were not feeling safe ‘cause anytime someone can snatch your phone but now there’s, like, cameras by the streets, cleaning staff, and there are security guards around the streets. I’m feeling nicer. Most of them they are Bad Boyz. They are doing a good job” (Tenant One, Constantine, 29/05/2013).

The fact that people feel served by the company is emphasised by tenants’ responses to them. In interviews tenants spoke favourably about the security arrangements in the inner-city and Bad Boyz was frequently singled out for praise. As one tenant points out, “Most of the things they [Bad Boyz] do are for our protection.” (Tenant One, Lake Success, 05/03/2013). Another tenant also reiterates the way the company serves the needs of inhabitants, not just business interests when he states

“Security is now very good, private companies like Bad Boyz are patrolling on the streets. Last year the councillor only mentioned one street – Quartz Street – experiencing crime. Now the government and security company have placed people on the street and the crime rate is very low, people won’t get robbed. They used to keep informing us that we need to go out without money or cell phones but now you hear nothing about a street being dangerous. If you ask anyone people will tell you Hillbrow is dangerous, but now you find police vehicles moving around and you feel safe” (Tenant Three, Lake Success, 01/03/2013)

The security regime which has emerged in spaces of the inner-city, whilst confined to select areas, therefore gains legitimacy through its ability to serve the needs of people and to mobilise a discourse around community. Community members are also becoming active participants in this regime, further demonstrating the legitimacy which it enjoys and the desire that people feel for order and regulation. Some participate in the CPF and cooperate with Bad Boyz, whilst others also help in asserting order in the streets by coming to the aid of people who fall victim to crimes. There is evidence that new forms of community cohesion and belonging are coming into being as residents exercise greater control over public spaces. One housing supervisor points out that people now come to each others’ assistance when muggings occur. He narrates that “if maybe someone’s grabbing your phone and you make a noise then they come, they help each other to catch that person” (EK 28/02/2013). Another tenant living in the same building also reflects on this. He feels that there is a sense of cohesion and community in the area and that this

can be attributed to mutual concerns about safety. He reflects that “Fighting crime brought people together, when you see someone being attacked people try and help” (Tenant One, Lake Success, 01/03/2013).

It is therefore clear that security is a feature of associational life in South Africa and is one of the prerequisites for people to be able to form attachments to both places and the people around them. The ways in which they do so are key features in the formation of social order. In some instances this has negative connotations and experiences, as communities have come together to protect the exclusive boundaries which they draw around themselves (see Hansen 2006 and Steinberg 2008) However, in the inner-city, the involvement of community members, whilst perhaps focussing undue attention on street children, has also become a key mechanism through which people have developed attachments to the area as well as formed communal bonds. One housing supervisor who has lived in Hillbrow since 2005 recalls the sense of vulnerability, fear and powerlessness which prevailed when he first arrived in the area:

“When I first came here to Johannesburg, sho, the muggings, the robbings, it was a daily thing; you’ll get mugged during the day, broad daylight and nobody would do anything about it. Myself I never got mugged but I’ve seen a lot of people getting mugged and the tsotsis [criminals] were getting guns and knives and you would be afraid to confront them. I think people were afraid to confront them; it was horrible, actually, knowing that you couldn’t even talk on your phone outside when it rang, you had to put it on silent because you are afraid the tsotsis hear it ring and then they will come and mug you” (P 22/02/2013).

In contrast to this, as private security and more sustained policing have taken hold and community members have started to participate in securing the area, and therefore the boundaries of belonging within it, a new sense of agency, assertiveness and associational life has emerged. One tenant illustrates this and highlights the new agency and control tenants now feel:

“Hillbrow was very tough but [now] everything is cool. Now people have the authority to scream ‘Help me!’ and people will come. Before people were afraid to rescue you, now you get help easily. We beat whoever does crime and now we can move around at

23:00 or midnight and not be scared of anyone” (Tenant Three, Lake Success, 01/03/2013).

Thus the fact that communities are now becoming active participants in the policing of the area indicates that they are exercising forms of appropriation over its space, and are thus finding ways to inhabit a once hostile area.

Adapting to the situation, embracing varied forms of urbanity

Security is also being effective in the inner-city as it is not attempting to impose a form of social order onto people and the area, but works with and adapts to the space. The previous chapters argued that housing providers have developed a habitus which responds to and reflects the realities of the inner-city, rather than one which motivates actions which attempt to overtly dominate the space. It has been shown that the particularities and dynamics of the inner-city are key factors which shape housing providers’ habitus and outlooks; the same is true for actors involved in urban management. In keeping with Bad Boyz’ efforts to embed themselves in the community and to employ people from it, the head of the company again explains their success and the support they enjoy as follows:

“the difference is everyone else, they outsource people from different areas and they come and dump them here by the buildings and they don’t understand the concept or the environment that Hillbrow’s created of. It’s Nigerians, it’s Zimbabweans, it’s South Africans, it’s Angolans, it’s Russians, it’s a mix of all races so we’ve got a strict selection out of the area, we take people from the area that understand the concept, that understand the people, that understand the culture, they understand languages and we train them and leave them in the building and they adapt [to] the situation and they get managed well” (HdK 08/05/2013).

Adapting to the situation, as in the case of housing providers and finance companies, again becomes a central component of people’s success in managing the area and acquiring spatial capital, which then allows them to bring about regeneration. This means that desires for immaculate, ‘World Class’ spaces which reflect and respond to upper-class tastes and dispositions have been largely abandoned. The head of the City’s housing department reflects this when he states “The hope for a highly sanitised CBD has to be let go” (ZK 20/08/2012). In

place of this desire, a more practical response to the area is required and acceptance of the variety of needs and uses which the space is home to has come to drive people's actions and the logics behind them. In this case it is shown that for urban management practices to be effective, they have to be domesticated and adapted to suit existing norms, uses of space and the practical needs of those affected by them (Koch & Latham 2013). Regeneration is again confirmed as a vernacular, localised response to the spatial conditions of the inner-city, rather than a process of domination and imposition.

The head of Bad Boyz reflects this when, discussing informal traders, a particularly contentious issue in the inner-city, he states

“The hawkers, if they're off the street [it] will create that European feeling of the shops and all that thing *but* we must accept this is Africa and accept this is a kind of single-man business and they also have the right to be here, they just need to be regulated” (HdK 08/05/2013).

Tensions around informal trading in the inner-city remain and local government has generally adopted a hostile approach towards it (Nicolson & Lekgowa 2013). Within the eKhaya RID management personnel too express disdain for this activity, stating that it should not take place within its boundaries (Mhkize 2014). However, whilst the pronouncements people make in their official capacities delegitimise the claims informal traders have to space in the inner-city, in practice much more tolerant and flexible approaches are adopted. Trading remains a regular activity throughout the inner-city, including in the RIDs, and a whole host of items is available, including clothes, cigarettes, roasted meat and mielies (corn), sweets, household goods and even live chickens. Mhkize (ibid) finds that building managers, whilst officially saying the activity is prohibited, actually negotiate with traders and tolerate their presence directly outside their buildings, sometimes even working with them to keep watch over public spaces and using them to advertise vacancies. From his research it becomes apparent that a form of mutuality and acceptance exists between traders and managers in the RID and urban management is a far more pragmatic and complex activity than it often appears to be. These pragmatic practices turn attention back to the agentful activities of those involved in urban regeneration.

An Area Manager, who is employed by the largest for-profit housing company, which owns over 60 properties throughout the inner-city and thus has considerable power in the area, demonstrates the way the reality of the inner-city evades domination and forces actors to adapt to it; he illustrates how dealing with informal traders requires him to move away from the official requirements of urban management and rather appreciate their circumstances in the wider social and spatial context instead. He explains that whilst he will not allow traders to work directly outside the buildings he is responsible for, he permits them to operate in close proximity and adopts a tolerant attitude:

“you’re kind of inclined to close a blind eye because remember, that’s their livelihood, that puts food on the table for them on the end of the day [sic]. It’s a 50-50 scenario; do I let them stay there and live or do I kick them off and tell them to get knotted? *And don’t care?* Sometimes in life you need to close your eyes and accept what’s coming your way, unfortunately. And this is Africa, you *need to*]” (K 16/04/2013, emphasis in the original).

Here he demonstrates the way in which the space of the inner-city and the transformation it has undergone shapes his outlook on and practice of urban management. Rather than seeking to impose a form of social order, he, like others involved in urban management, acts through a habitus which adapts to the inner-city’s circumstances and spatial realities. Urban management in this case cannot be classified simply as interdiction (Flusty 2002), sanitisation (Smith 1996), ‘domestication’ (as Zukin (1998) and Atkinson (2003) use the term) or ‘taming’ the inner-city (Murray 2008). Rather, the process is characterised by an increased cognisance of the fact that cities are multiplicities and contain and are shaped by a variety of uses and inhabitants. The forms of urban management and regeneration which have emerged in the inner-city are not mimics of processes which have seemingly spread around the world, such as gentrification, revanchism, pacification and neoliberal urbanism. Rather, they are localised, hybridised adaptations to a varied social order which inculcates a variety of dispositions, outlooks and forms of action in people. Regeneration thus entails multiple meanings, logics, practices and outcomes.

New boundaries and forms of exclusion

These multiple logics and outcomes are evident in the ways in which enhanced security and cleanliness in the RIDs, whilst producing new forms of inclusion, associational life and forms of belonging, are also introducing new differences, inequalities and exclusions into the inner-city.

Whilst the RIDs have been important governance and management innovations, by only improving certain neighbourhoods they have also exacerbated inequalities across the broader inner-city and city as a whole.

The RIDs pursue the developmental goal of integrating low-income households into the inner-city, thereby reducing some of the spatial inequalities which characterise the post-apartheid city. There continue to be stark differences in the standards of service delivery and infrastructure maintenance between the former township areas and the wealthy formerly white suburbs. During the years of transition from apartheid the inner-city too was severely neglected, again reinforcing the inequalities in living standards enjoyed by the wealthy, still largely white minority of the city's residents and those endured by the poor black majority. For these reasons, raising environmental standards and ensuring that the local council delivers on its obligations are key concerns in the RIDs and precincts where regeneration has taken place. Bad Boyz are proactive in reporting maintenance backlogs and maintaining pressure on the local Council. As the founder of the company declares,

“we will not tolerate them not giving the same service that the white people get in Sandton and Bedfordview and we get less service here in Hillbrow. That's always my two areas that I measure service delivery: that tannie [old lady] in Bedfordview won't take nonsense, that lady in Sandton won't take nonsense; why must we accept less?!” (HdK 08/05/2013).

An employee from his company shares this sentiment and drive to raise standards in the area so that they are comparable with the wealthier parts of the city. He points out successful regeneration is measured by the extents to which, firstly, people are able to feel safe in and use public spaces, and, secondly, how this safety gives them access to the types of lifestyle enjoyed in other parts of the city (or at least which he imagines people enjoy). He states, “if you are able to walk free in Sandton then if I will walk free in Hillbrow, then it's better” (BB 08/05/2013). The integration of low-income households into the city, not just in physical terms but in terms of the living standards and support they receive from local government, is dependent on them enjoying enhanced comfort, maintenance and service delivery. This is a significant developmental achievement which regeneration in RIDs and precincts is bringing about. At the same time, however, these improvements are not spread equally across the inner-city.

Private security is criticised for creating fragmented and differential regimes of security, where only those who are able to hire privatised services are able to enjoy what hitherto was a public service (Garland 1996). It allows individuals and communities to hire private firms to protect their self-defined, circumscribed properties, and in so doing enact personalised solutions to the social problem of crime (Morange & Didier 2006; Bénéit-Gbaffou 2008a; Morelle & Tadié 2011). Uneven forms of policing are emerging in the inner-city. These follow the patterns of property investment, as, even though security does attempt to be inclusive and protect a community rather than only focus on properties, the efforts of private security companies remain confined to CIDs and RIDs. Thus neighbourhoods which are controlled by influential and wealthy developers are coming to enjoy levels of safety, maintenance and cleanliness which areas which are yet to attract significant investment do not.

One resident living in Hillbrow demonstrates the limited scope of the security measures which have been put in place when she explains that whilst she feels safe in the area in which she lives, which falls within the eKhaya RID, in other parts of the suburb there is a noticeable difference: “The other side [of Hillbrow], and Pretorius Street, there I don’t feel safe, and Banket Street and Twist going up, there it’s not that much safe” (Tenant, Lake Success 05/03/2013). Due to the self-avowed ‘zero tolerance approach’ drug dealing has largely been pushed out of the RID (although it does still take place in certain ‘hot spots’ which are the preoccupation of street patrollers and private security personnel (Vigneswaran 2014), and now concentrates in spaces a few blocks away. Pullinger Kop Park, a park named after a former mining magnate who built a home on top of the hill in 1890 and located right on the edge of the Legea la Rona RID, is now colloquially known as Bishop’s Park, after the drug dealer who controls it. Every day hundreds of drug users and homeless people cluster inside it. The local police, CPF and Bad Boyz are all aware of the activities taking place, but do not intervene, limiting themselves to simply monitoring the park and people in it. The head of Bad Boyz is also very frank in admitting that crime has been displaced, rather than alleviated, but does not see this as his concern. He unashamedly reflects “the crime just moved on, it moved out to Yeoville, it moved out to Jeppe, Jewel Street and we’ve got a happy police force here because it’s much less for them to do and they’re more accepted by the community now” (HdK 08/05/2013).

It is clear that a differential form of policing is being put in place, which continues to concentrate security around areas which have attracted private investments and where powerful companies have interests to protect. Whilst the improvement district has emerged in an organic way and does not have visible boundaries around it (JA 12/09/2012; CdW 06/02/2013), it is demarcated by the limits of the influence of property owners, and at present only has effect in areas in which there are enough people contributing to top-up service provision. The northern section of Hillbrow currently does not benefit from street patrols, cleaning services and CCTV cameras as there are not enough property owners in that part of the suburb making financial contributions to these services. Plans are underway to expand the district (BM 27/03/2013) but these are contingent on companies owning enough property to be able to control the public spaces of the area. Thus the regeneration approach, whilst achieving developmental results, is also being shown to be compounding inequalities. Because it has been formulated by private companies, whether they are social housing or for-profit, and has not been part of a coherent strategy to secure the entire area and improve it, it is giving rise to a fragmented urban landscape.

New boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are also arising. As a community forms and increasingly exercises its own spatial capital and appropriates spaces, certain types of people come to be defined as threatening to this community. 'Community' in this case – as in all others – is not representative of all who are living in the area, but is rather a self-interested collectivity who are able to mobilise around their interests, frequently in opposition to others' (Imrie & Raco 2003; Colomb 2007). Street kids attract a great deal of hostility from community members and management personnel and are increasingly policed out of the area. One resident indicates the antagonism and lack of sympathy that residents feel towards them and how their presence negatively affects people's abilities to feel comfortable in public spaces. She narrates that

“There were more than 30 street kids at the corner of Smit Street – they're no longer there, I don't know where they are. Someone saw they're a threat because you don't know what they are going to do. But at least I'm happy that they're gone” (Tenant Five, Lake Success, 05/03/2013).

A housing supervisor also describes the relationship other residents of the area have with them. He further points out that part of the urban regeneration and management process has involved

eliminating their presence, thus emphasising the conflicting interests which drive management and regeneration processes:

“Street kids, most of the people, they don’t trust them because of this thing of stealing. You can leave them here and then they can steal your phone, they steal whatever it takes, they deceive. So that’s a problem, you find that sometimes they [tenants] don’t want to live close to them ‘cause they feel that ‘Ay, this one’s going to steal my books or this one’s going to steal my watch, he can steal my necklace any time.’ That’s what they are doing. But they are not many in Hillbrow anymore, especially in our area...we are working very hard to make the street to be clear and nice” (EK 28/02/2013).

Processes of community formation always entail the construction of boundaries and the identification of people who do not belong. These processes are also inherently spatial and entail communities coming to define spaces as their own, thereby excluding others from inhabiting or using them (Staeheli 2008; 2010). During the street patrol I participated in I was able to witness this process of boundary formation in practice. Not long after we set out, one of the patrollers who had gone ahead of the group called for backup. Once he ascertained the whereabouts of the person overseeing the patrol, who is a police reservist and thus empowered to effect arrests, he came marching down the street dragging a young man behind him. This young man was dressed in very dirty, worn-out clothes and appeared to be under the influence of some form of narcotic, as he was babbling and crying incoherently and had a glazed look in his eyes; this may, however, have been a reaction to the obvious distress he was in. He was also carrying a bag which, along with his shabby appearance, had raised the suspicions of the patroller. When he was searched it was revealed that this bag contained some blank CDs and a long, thin kitchen knife. The knife was deemed to be a weapon and he was summarily hauled off into the back of an awaiting police van. This violent, extra-legal incident was just one of many which are almost daily occurrences in the area and demonstrate the fate of those who transgress the boundaries of the community which has taken shape and come to control space in the area.

In addition to street kids, the population living in derelict buildings is singled out as threatening and beyond inclusion in the ‘good’ community. In interviews with urban management personnel, local government representatives and tenants, hijacked or ‘bad’ buildings were frequently mentioned as obstacles to the regeneration process or problematic features of the inner-city.

Interviewees conflate derelict buildings with hijacked buildings and see them as incubators of illegality and criminals. Importantly, not all buildings which are derelict are hijacked; the majority are sectional-title buildings whose management structures have collapsed and have consequently run up substantial debts to the Council. In others desperate people have forced their way into abandoned properties and established their own improvised living arrangements (Mayson 2014). Whilst the conditions in derelict and hijacked buildings are similar, with no access to water and electricity, overcrowding, improvised living arrangements and insecurity and health and safety hazards (COHRE 2005), there are significant differences between buildings which are occupied by people who cannot afford to live elsewhere in the inner-city and ones which have been taken over by criminals. In general discourse, however, no distinction is made between building hijackers and desperate residents. This is an act of what Bourdieu (1984b) terms ‘symbolic violence’ as it constructs people who would otherwise be homeless and who cannot afford the rents charged in formalised buildings as criminals and threats to the community and social order which has been established in the area. It delegitimises their claims to spaces and housing and promotes a vision of the area in which all residents are paying customers and live in formalised housing.

This view is exemplified by a local ward councillor who, when asked to explain the difference between a building that is hijacked and one that is illegally occupied, responds:

“It’s one and the same. Some of the other ones you will find that one guy claims that he is the owner of the building and that he will collect rent at the end of the month. Others some people just get inside and stay in. It’s one and the same thing. Or we regard them as hijacked buildings” (CJ 03/07/2013).

Due to this conflation between informal occupation and criminality, derelict buildings are frequently singled out as problems in the inner-city and are blamed for both creating and harbouring criminals. As one housing supervisor, demonstrating again the ways people associate particular spaces with specific populations and forms of social activity, laments,

“That situation [of derelict buildings], I feel very bad about it because that’s a situation that builds, that grows criminality. Because in those kinds of buildings you don’t have any kind of management, most of those buildings, when they rob people they run into those kinds of buildings, the criminals run into those buildings, and it creates criminals” (P 22/02/2013).

A local resident who participates in the Hillbrow CPF also conflates the state of a building with behaviours which threaten the community and includes these types of buildings amongst the factors that are contributing to the presence of street kids and crime in Hillbrow:

“there are abandoned buildings in Hillbrow where these kids, they even stay in these buildings...there’s no owner of the building and they just stay there, that’s where they hide. They are dangerous those buildings...there are plenty actually” (SP 21/05/2013).

Another housing supervisor explains that renovating these buildings and making improvements to the physical environment is simultaneously an activity which reduces crime, as it is eliminating buildings in which criminals can hide. In this instance he again demonstrates the relationship between spatial alteration, the production of habitus and social ordering:

“our company started to take buildings which were abandoned. By so doing we were starting to regenerate the inner-city. And the other impact, by so doing we are trying to eradicate the hooligans and all those people who just maybe are doing things like pickpocketing and all those who just corrupt the place, because you can recall the abandoned building as it is, it’s dark inside, if somebody grabs that person with a bag and runs into that building, it escalates theft. So by taking on buildings we are also reducing theft around the inner-city, so it is important” (PM 19/02/2013).

Whilst it is easy to see how these buildings do indeed make ideal places for criminals to hide, the practice of seeing them exclusively as dens of illegality ignores and obscures the important role they are actually playing in providing shelter for people who cannot afford the rentals being charged in formalised buildings or cannot meet the entry requirements demanded by housing companies. Symbolic violence is therefore not only perpetrated against the buildings themselves, but rather against the inner-city poor, who come to be criminalised through the ways in which they access housing. Another housing supervisor acknowledges the socio-economic conditions of people who live in derelict buildings: “You know these hijacked buildings, those people who are failing to pay rent, most of them, they end up going there and they stay there because they can just pay R500 or R200 (EK 28/02/2013)”. At the same time, however, he still regards them as obstacles which should be removed for the upliftment of the area: “I think Hillbrow can be better, if they can close those hijacked buildings, those dirty buildings and then fix the pavement, stop this thing of taking long time to fix the leaking pipes on the streets, I think Hillbrow can be the best” (ibid). Here he demonstrates the antagonism that has arisen in the area, between those

who can afford the rentals charged in renovated housing, and are thus included in the community, and those who cannot, who are characterised as criminals and problems who need to be removed from the area in order for it to improve further.

Conclusion: the need to maintain (at least) two perspectives

There are therefore new, revanchist forms of exclusion emerging in the inner-city at the same time as new community relations and forms of associational life are being established. Urban management is therefore shown to be engendering diverse, contradictory outcomes. Whilst they attempt to be inclusive, urban management and securitisation inevitably draw boundaries and come to benefit some at the expense of others. This is apparent in the ways crime is being displaced from areas controlled by Bad Boyz, inequalities in service delivery and the safety and quality of the environment are emerging between the RIDs and areas which have not yet attracted investment, and street children, unemployed young men and occupants of derelict buildings are being singled out as criminals. It therefore becomes clear that the everyday practices which are making regeneration possible reflect and reproduce the duality of the regeneration process as a whole. Urban management strategies are furthering the commercial interests of housing companies, whilst simultaneously pursuing developmental goals and attempting to domesticate spaces in ways which are conducive to creating a shared sense of public life. However, just as the benefits of regeneration are not shared by all and the process is raising property and rental prices in the area and displacing some people, the benefits of security and belonging are limited to those who meet the normative standards determined by housing companies and management personnel. Both are thus part of a process of establishing a contradictory social order in the area which is based on neoliberal practices as well as transformative goals.

At the same time, just as housing providers are shown to adjust their outlooks and practices to accommodate the complexities and diversity of the inner-city, urban management and security are also shown to be contingent, adaptive processes. Whilst urban management and security personnel attempt to create social order and enforce standards of behaviour, they also come to accept practices and forms of urbanity which are less predictable and orderly. They therefore make allowance for the diversity of the inner-city's population and their different needs and survival strategies. The ways in which regeneration is being carried out are again shown to reflect

the local, spatial dynamics of the inner-city and illustrate that regeneration is dualistic not only in the ways it pursues two agendas, but also in the ways in which it both produces but also adapts to spaces.

It is this adaptive nature which has allowed management practices to be successful and gain support from the local community, as they regard them as serving their needs and responding to their desires and demands. Security and management strategies are thus not simply imposed onto people and the area, but reflect the experiences of local communities and their needs for safety, particularly in dangerous, stressed environments. Securitisation is also not simply pacifying public spaces and bringing them under control; it is allowing people to make use of these spaces and form attachments to the area and each other, thereby encouraging, rather than hindering social life. It is clear, then, that privatised forms of management can simultaneously be exclusive and oppressive *and* inclusive and beneficial. Accounts and analyses of these processes therefore need to maintain perspectives which allow these different meanings, experiences and effects to emerge. Likewise, the outcomes of the regeneration process also need to be understood in ways which allow for a variety of outcomes.

The chapter which follows will advance this argument and further describe the everyday lives which are coming into being because of regeneration. It will explore and analyse the ways in which residential buildings are being run and the effects the living arrangements they facilitate have on people residing in them. The regeneration process will be shown to be dualistic in this regard too; tenants are being disciplined and interpolated into the subjectivities and relationships which fit the profit-making requirements of housing companies. At the same time, buildings are run in pragmatic, flexible ways which respond to tenants' needs and facilitate their integration into the urban fabric. They therefore operate on two logics and are producing outcomes which reflect both.

Chapter Eight: Regeneration as lived reality: Necessity and the right to the city

This thesis set out to determine what type of social order is being created in the inner-city through regeneration – i.e. whether it is one which reflects neoliberal forms of privatisation and gentrification, or if it is giving rise to a transformative, democratic post-apartheid form of urbanity. Thus far it has been shown that both strands and pathways are present in the ways the process is being conceived and fulfilled. The experiences of tenants living in renovated buildings confirm this argument and demonstrate that regeneration has both commercial, disciplinary effects as well as transformative, developmental capacity too. It is therefore a process which both restricts and enhances tenants' rights to the city and experiences of urbanity.

Firstly it will be shown that the ways in which residential buildings are run reflect the commercial demands and logics of the regeneration process. Housing developments have strict rules and regulations in place which are designed to create passive, rent-paying customers and actively reduce the potential for tenants to engage in collective actions and challenge the ways in which the buildings are run. These management tactics, combined with the economic challenges tenants face, create experiences of the inner-city and worldviews which are defined by resignation, temporariness, necessity and endurance. Consequently tenants are shown to disengage from the spaces in which they live and to have limited capacities to re-imagine or appropriate the inner-city. Their disengagements from the area and temporary positions in it also continue to replicate some of the patterns of apartheid-era geographies.

Secondly, however, it will be shown that the management practices inside residential buildings are also flexible and responsive to tenants' needs, and thus simultaneously enhance their rights to the city and experiences of urbanity. Whilst disciplinary, security will be shown to be a feature which is highly-prized by tenants and an element which gives them senses of stability, comfort and improved abilities to utilise public urban spaces. Furthermore, it becomes clear that living in the inner-city represents a drastic improvement in many tenants' lifestyles and is far more desirable for them than residing in the townships. Regeneration is therefore bearing results which enhance tenants' rights to the city and is fostering a more inclusive and integrated post-apartheid city (although on a limited scale).

Finally, although it becomes clear that there are significant limitations being placed on tenants' abilities to engage actively and politically in the area, it will also become clear that their everyday lives, forms of sociability and experiences are transforming the spaces of the inner-city. These activities are made possible by the regeneration process, highlighting the potential it has for creating a democratic, African urban centre. The effects which tenants' everyday activities and forms of sociability have on shaping the environment of the inner-city and altering the way it is experienced emphasise how everyday life and ordinary ways of inhabiting places are in fact political actions and assertions of urban citizenship. Thus even in the face of domination and powerful structuring forces, such as private sector-led regeneration and securitisation, processes of urban change remain open, diverse and defined by multiple experiences and meanings.

Regulation in residential buildings

The previous chapters have shown how concerns about security and efforts to manage safety are ubiquitous features of life in the inner-city, as well as other urban areas in South Africa. The management, regulation and securitisation of space are defining features of the urban landscape and shape people's social interactions, dispositions and worldviews as well as their engagements with the places they inhabit and occupy. This defensive architecture and disposition is overwhelmingly apparent in renovated buildings in the inner-city. When you enter one of these buildings the first thing you are struck by are the heavily fortified entrances and the gaze of the security guard staffing the entrance. As the previous chapter discussed, the material design of places influences the ways they are perceived and experienced and the behaviours and identities people assume when they are present within them. In these inner-city buildings the prevalence of brutalist security features creates an ambient atmosphere of regulation, defensiveness and a constant awareness of crime and the need to be vigilant against it. It is therefore a central component which shapes the ways people inhabit these spaces and which gives definition to everyday life inside them.

The buildings which have been renovated are guarded 24 hours a day and are monitored by surveillance cameras which keep watch over the immediate surroundings and entrances as well as their interior common spaces. Their entrances are blocked by metallic turnstiles or gates which are operated by electronic keys/tags or fingerprint readers. The guards at the entrances also have

control over the turnstiles and can open them for visitors, who are required to sign forms and provide details such as phone numbers and identification or passport numbers and are not admitted until the person they are visiting comes down to the reception area to collect them (CdW 06/02/2013; PM 19/03/2013). These spaces are therefore impermeable without adherence to strict procedures (P 22/02/2013).

Image 6: Entrances to social housing buildings, Hillbrow (photographs by the author)



Image 7: Entrance to a communal housing building, Jeppestown (photograph by the author)



Image 8: CCTV surveillance equipment inside social housing buildings, Hillbrow (photographs by the author)



There are a variety of reasons for such heavy defences. Firstly they serve practical purposes of preventing potential burglars and other criminals from entering buildings. Whilst the security situation in the area has improved, crime rates still remain high and theft, burglary and muggings still occur regularly. These defences thus create safe spaces for tenants in a turbulent and threatening landscape. A housing supervisor managing a building on the edge of Hillbrow, who used to work as a senior security guard for the mining company Anglo-American, explains the logic behind and need for fortified entrances:

“Being in the inner-city, you can recall that in the inner-city there’s too much of intermingling of people, going up and down, all those things and that means anything is possible because you never know who is who. But for you to eradicate all those things your access point must be very much strong so that not everyone can come in and you have to put down some strategies and some processes and procedures so that you must have the right people in the right place. So that’s the other thing, if your access control is not good then that’s when you are going to have a problem” (PM 22/02/2013).

In addition to controlling who comes into the buildings, these fortified entrances also regulate what happens inside them. Housing companies use their tight control over buildings to ensure that rent is paid on time. One developer explains that when tenants are behind on their rent payments, their access to the building is shut-off. This means that when they try to enter the premises and find they are unable to do so they are forced to go to the rental office and sort out their arrears in order to be let in (WL 19/04/2013). Thus, whilst the security barriers are in place to protect tenants, they also serve as disciplinary instruments which make sure that tenants are supplicant to the demands of housing providers. Hence these barriers are effective in enforcing what one building manager refers to as the “laws of the building” (G 23/05/2013) and keeping tenants within the parameters and identities which housing companies demand of them.

Housing companies need tenants with regular forms of income so that they are able to cover their maintenance and operating costs and continue to be able to repay their debts to finance agencies. Therefore there are strict rules and processes in place to make sure that rental is collected. If payments are late some companies charge penalty fees: one building manager explains that the company he works for charges tenants R16 (£0.84) a day for every day after the

seventh of the month that rent is not paid. He also explains that tenants have a maximum of twenty working days to pay all rent due, or they are evicted (ET 22/05/2013). Other punitive measures include switching off electricity connections to flats when payment is late or even locking tenants out of their apartments (M 09/05/2013; G 23/05/2013). Tenants are also screened when they apply for leases to make sure that they can afford to pay rent regularly. One building manager explains what is required of tenants when they apply for accommodation and how she ensures that only the “right people” are given rooms:

“I interview them. Some they are coming and asking if I’ve got the accommodation or if I’ve got some empty units...so before I give them the accommodation I’m asking them questions like ‘Are you working? Can you show me the proof that you are working?’ If you are not a South African: ‘What are you doing, how are you getting the money?’ So most people show me the proof, what type of business are they doing” (G 23/05/2013).

Social housing too operates on these principles; as JHC’s Operations Manager explains:

“We cannot house someone who doesn’t have a regular income; whether he gets that income from a salary or some other formal thing, or whether he’s a taxi driver or he sells fruit on the street we can accommodate him, as long as he can show us that he’s got a regular, stable income” (CdW 02/06/2013).

In cases in which people are not formally employed they are still required to provide certified documentation, usually in the form of an affidavit from the police, proving their income is consistent (CdW 06/02/2013, P 22/02/2013, G 23/05/2013). All tenants are also required to pay two months’ rent upfront and housing companies only accept rent that is paid via bank transfers or deposits, not cash payments. They therefore require tenants who perform regular financial transactions, are able to open bank accounts and have predictable, regularised livelihoods. This places limitations on who can access accommodation, even in social housing. Criticising the strict requirements housing companies have for tenants, a researcher working for a legal advocacy group which deals with eviction cases in the inner-city complains that housing providers have “middle class ideas of income, that people have a salary cheque every month. JOSHCO [and all other housing companies too] want people with income slips, good tenants who can pay three months’ rent in advance” (KT 15/08/2012). In light of the informal livelihoods many inner-city residents are engaged in, such as collecting waste material for

recycling, informal trading and guarding public parking spaces, she concludes bitterly that “Social housing doesn’t cater for the poor” (ibid). Additionally, migrants in South Africa frequently lack the documentation required to open bank accounts, and even when they do possess the necessary residence permits or asylum papers, these are sometimes not recognised by bank officials (Kihato 2007). They are therefore unable to meet the requirements of housing companies and are prevented from accessing formal accommodation. For these reasons, the informal housing market in the inner-city continues to be extremely large and in-demand.

The commercial demands placed on housing companies as well as the needs to pay for building maintenance and also generate profits mean that rental collection is prioritised over expanding access to housing to poorer members of society. A building manager working for a private company illustrates how rental collection is the overriding concern; she outlines the priorities of her job as follows:

“You know, when you are a building manager number one, if you make sure that the tenants are paying their rent, that is the first step that you must do; then number two, controlling the overcrowding; number three, make sure that you don’t fight the tenants; number four is to make the building clean inside and outside” (G 23/05/2013).

However, whilst commercial demands are central to how the buildings are run, it is also important to note that housing companies also adapt flexible approaches which respond to the socio-economic realities of the inner-city. As argued previously, possessing and being able to exercise spatial capital does not only rely on being in dominant positions, but also necessitates an adaptive response and the acquisition of a habitus which is attuned to the dynamics of particular places and spaces. Housing supervisors and operation managers clearly possess this, and this influences how they interact with tenants and formulate management strategies. Their close proximity to the tenants and understanding of their socio-economic situation allows them to empathise with them and articulate their needs to the companies’ management. One building manager explains that whilst her employers initially adopted a policy which forbids tenants from subletting their apartments, and this is still written into lease agreements, she encouraged them to allow it as the rents being charged were too expensive and tenants were struggling to afford them. She explains: “We’ve got one-, two-, and three-bedrooms. For a two-bedroom [flat] there

must be four people, but when we sit down with my boss I said ‘Allow them to be at least six [people sharing] but provided they don’t have children’” (G 23/05/2013). She further elaborates on how subletting allows people who otherwise would not be able to access accommodation to find a place to stay:

“when they sign the lease, the lease said they must not sublet so now as you can see more and more people [living in the building] are working at restaurants, people are the securities [i.e. security guards], even if you see their pay slip, their money cannot manage to afford the rent of this building so it’s better if they combine their slips – maybe your payslip and my payslip, we can afford” (ibid).

Subletting has now become commonplace in all renovated buildings. This explains why, even though the monthly rentals charged are above the average incomes of the majority of the inner-city’s population, housing companies have negligible vacancies and demand for their accommodation remains unrelentingly high.

Running residential buildings, then, is not only a process which reflects and reproduces dominant visions and uses of space. It is responsive to circumstances and fosters new forms of identities and sociality amongst inner-city inhabitants. The rules which are in place in buildings help people from diverse backgrounds live together with minimal conflicts. Whilst some tenants may feel constrained and frustrated by rules which forbid them to play loud music or drink in buildings’ common areas, these rules ensure the comfort of other tenants, many of whom are employed in shift work and need quiet so they can rest. Increasingly buildings are also family spaces so peaceful atmospheres need to be maintained. As one housing supervisor explains, “we like to stay in peace” (PM 19/02/2013).

The need for house rules and forms of regulation to ensure that people live together without conflict is demonstrated by the fact that even communities living in derelict buildings devise rules of sorts and find ways to enforce them. Legal researchers working with occupants of San Jose, a derelict building on the eastern edge of Hillbrow, who came under threat of eviction and challenged this in a dispute that eventually found its way to the Constitutional Court, discovered that residents had created a hand-written list of house rules that they used to regulate life in the building (LEAP/CALS 2007). This building was in an extremely dilapidated state and had no electricity, running water, refuse collection services and processes governing tenure. In order to

make life in the building bearable an informal committee (the conditions under which it gained and exercised authority were not clear) was established to govern the building.

The rules they put in place made it obligatory for new residents to first obtain permission from the committee in order to gain access to a housing unit. This was intended to keep criminals out of the building. Residents also had to participate in ‘voluntary’ (i.e. unpaid) cleaning activities on Sundays, and parking cars in the building’s garage was forbidden. The last rule was intended to prevent illegal activities from taking place, such as drug dealing, sex work, and the dismantling and stripping of stolen vehicles. The authors of the report never mention it explicitly, but imply that coercion was used to enforce some of the rules and bring errant residents into line. They also point out that power and status differentials were evident between the committee members and ordinary residents and that many practices were consciously far from the democratic ideals which had previously mobilised tenant committees and their struggles in the inner-city⁴². These rules, however, also made it possible for the residents to form some sort of coherent, resourceful community and find ways to make the building relatively habitable and safe under conditions of extreme precariousness and deprivation. It was also this sense of community that enabled them to successfully oppose their eviction. They demonstrate the need for some form of order to exist and that rules and forms of regulation are not anathema to residents in the inner-city, but are, rather, elements which make the area liveable for them.

Making the area liveable also entails fostering interpersonal relationships. As discussed in Chapter Four, finance agencies look to support and inculcate strong interpersonal skills in the developers they support, and it is clear that these skills in handling relationships filter down to the ways buildings are run. Housing supervisors/managers are not only disciplinary figures but also live amongst the tenants and help to create convivial atmospheres in buildings (Mkhize 2014). During time spent in housing developments it became apparent that good relationships prevail, with supervisors/managers and tenants constantly exchanging greetings and jokes with one another as they passed in the corridors. Supervisors/managers know all of their tenants by name and appear to have good rapport with them. In instances in which tenants have to be

⁴² The authors point out that the building’s leader came to see himself as a chief and the other tenants as his subjects and coercive practices were justified by reference to ‘tradition’, ‘culture’ and “‘our way of doing things’” (LEAP/CALS 2007, p.27)

disciplined for failure to pay rent on time, supervisors/managers find ways around this so that they do not have to lock people out of their flats overnight. Even the most stringent and disciplinarian building manager encountered during interviews demonstrates that she is willing to be flexible and find ways to avoid inflicting too much hardship on tenants. She shows some degree of compassion for tenants who are facing being locked out of their flats for failure to pay their rent when she explains: “I make sure that I don’t lock at night ‘cause they will be stranded. I make sure that I wake up early in the morning and I tell them ‘They’re coming to lock’ then they will make sure that during the day they will pay” (G 23/05/2013).

The interpersonal aspect of the relationship between tenants and supervisors/managers was also demonstrated during one research visit paid to a for-profit housing development in the CBD. During the course of the interview conducted with the building manager a tenant came to the office to see her. It was late in the afternoon and the tenant was locked out of her flat as her rent had not been paid and it was already the 22nd day of the month. Her child was ill and seeing the distress she was in, the manager arranged for the tenant and her child to spend the night in her flat. She was unable to unlock the flat as this would be in dereliction of her duty but managed to deal with the situation with compassion and in a way that minimised the discomfort experienced by the tenant. It is therefore apparent that supervisors/managers are able to adopt pragmatic and flexible approaches to their jobs and relations with tenants. This can be seen to be a reflection of the spatialised habitus and forms of capital which housing providers in the inner-city have acquired. It arises out of people’s everyday and agentful responses to the context they are located in and the concerns they are motivated by.

An Area Manager working for a private company demonstrates how pragmatic practices are required and how these respond to the realities of the South African context when he discusses his company’s approach to dealing with overcrowding and visitors in buildings. Whilst the company he is employed by, like all formal housing providers in the inner-city, adopts a strict approach to overcrowding and monitors carefully the number of people in each flat and does not allow overnight guests as standard practice, he also demonstrates that these rules are not hard and fast and some cases merit reconsideration. He relates the following scenario, which demonstrates his embeddedness in the social context and how this influences his management practices:

“Sometimes there is times where you look at it, you look at the whole thing: a guy comes to you, knocks on your door and says listen ‘I’ve got this problem, I’m graduating, my parents are coming up from the Eastern Cape; can they come stay with me for the week?’ And you know there’s no [other] place for them, then you need to look at it and you need to be human too and say ‘Listen, there’s two students staying there, I think I’m going to allow it.’ So you need to use your discretion, you need to look at it and apply your mind. Nothing is written in stone” (K 16/04/2013).

It therefore becomes clear that management has a variety of components and practices and echoes the divergent needs, ambitions and imperatives which have shaped the regeneration process. Whilst furthering the commercial needs of housing companies, it also becomes possible to accommodate difficult circumstances and make allowances for the challenges people living on restricted incomes face. Again the market is shown to be subordinate to and shaped by social and spatial conditions, rather than exist according to its own logic and disciplinary practices. However, management retains an authoritarian edge as it does not only adapt in developmental and accommodating ways, but also adjusts to confront realities and practices which threaten housing companies’ control.

The stern measures taken to ensure rentals are paid consistently are to some extent a reaction to the experiences characterising the period of decay in Hillbrow, when rental boycotts were commonplace and asserted tenants’ agency (Morris 1999c). These actions, whilst important political tactics, also fuelled the collapse of inner-city properties and in many cases precipitated buildings becoming hijacked. Apprehensions about the ungovernability of the inner-city population continue to shape commercial financial institutions’ views about the area, although this fear is unfounded, according to interviewees (PJ 07/02/2013, RP 08/02/2013, NB 24/04/2013, KN 12/06/2013). The reason for this is that housing companies are able to successfully discipline the tenant population, predominantly through the security and access control measures in place. One private developer explains that his company runs bad debt ratios below 1% and rental collection “has never been an issue” (RP 08/02/2013). He contrasts the inner-city with an area like Soweto, which has faced numerous rental boycotts and resistance to the privatisation of water and electricity and points out that “there’s a culture in the inner-city that you pay your rent... You pay your rent or you go somewhere else”, and tenants accept this (ibid). He draws a clear causal relationship between the regulation and spatial form of buildings and the acceptance of these principles:

“the culture [of paying rent] developed partly because high-rise buildings are still a lot easier to control than spread out housing estates or housing suburbs. We can put – if you take our biggest building, we’ve got 940 units in a single building, but you can *absolutely* control your access control; we’ve got biometric systems, security guards sitting downstairs, and the ability to deal with individual tenants is that much easier. And I suspect that’s what the culture’s grown out of” (ibid, emphasis in original).

Thus security is not only a preventative and safety-enhancing feature, it is also a disciplinary mechanism which regulates life in the buildings and influences the ways tenants are able to act inside them.

In addition to physical forms of control, there are also rules which serve particular regulatory purposes. Housing companies not only require tenants who pay regularly and on time, they also feel that they need tenants who are passive and governable. Memories of the processes through which landlords lost control of their buildings previously continue to shape the way housing companies operate. Aside from one, all the housing companies in whose buildings interviews were conducted do not allow tenants to form committees and insist on dealing with them on individual bases. In one case, one company actually refused me permission to conduct interviews in its buildings as the owners felt me asking questions would raise grievances amongst tenants and potentially cause them to mobilise.

The Operations Manager for the JHC explains their refusal to provide space for tenants to form committees as a measure which helps prevent tenants becoming assertive and buildings being hijacked:

“Building hijackings, normally it’s not like a car hijacking where someone sticks a gun through the window – it’s a process, it’s people getting a little bit unhappy, then they form committees and it builds up and builds up until someone convinces them to not pay the rental to the landlord but pay to some other bank account and they will manage the building better.” (CdW 06/02/2013).

A private developer too points out that politicised and active tenants make management difficult and that there is a discrepancy between the requirements and interests of commercially-oriented companies and the goals a committee would seek to achieve. He explains that:

“We don’t encourage tenant committees because they tend to flare up when there are service interruptions or difficulties in the buildings and it becomes a platform for a whole variety of a shopping list of issues and it often becomes very political and polarised. Obviously everyone wants to have free housing and accommodation for nothing but commercially the building needs to be viable financially and to run at a profit because it is a private sector enterprise...we prefer to deal one-on-one and with problems individually rather than a tenant committee, which we find inefficient and it tends to become political and exaggerated in terms of its response” (AS 14/05/2013).

There is thus a concerted effort in place to de-politicise housing (even whilst these are inserted into and aiding in reproducing a different form of socio-political order).

A building manager sums up the approach that has been adopted and how the pacification of tenants is one of the cornerstones of management when she declares, “those rules, they are made for them to be followed because if we allow them [tenants] to just say what they want to say there won’t be any management” (M 09/05/2013). Thus, rather than being engaged with as active citizens, tenants are increasingly made to play the roles of customers. The above-mentioned developer explains that tenants can raise issues with the building manager or contact the head office via email, telephone or in person, as they have offices within walking distance of all their properties in the inner-city (AS 14/05/2013). Other companies also have dedicated customer service centres located in the inner-city and some also provide suggestion boxes in the foyers of their buildings (even those these are never used, according to interviewees) (RP 08/02/2013; PM 19/02/2013; NB 24/04/2013). These measures are in place not simply to ensure that tenants can report any issues which they encounter and to facilitate communication channels between housing providers and their clients, but to impose identities and ways of acting on tenants and to inscribe the parties involved into formal, regularised commercial relationships. In this case, regeneration and the urban management practices which facilitate it are not only processes of improving and altering urban environments, but of shaping the population and how it lives within the area; it is a process of creating and imposing social order and reproducing this order as daily lived reality.

Several tenants complained about the absence of avenues for collective engagement and participation in their buildings. For example one tenant living in for-profit accommodation

complains that “Everybody minds his business in this building. We are not united as tenants, we don’t even have tenant meetings, just in-out, in-out, in-out” (Tenant Four, Greatermans, 24/05/2013). She argues that tenant meetings would be welcome as they would allow for a variety of voices to be heard and would provide alternatives to the top-down management processes which prevail. She explains, “It would be better [if regular tenant meetings were held] because people have different opinions, at least you’ll be sharing your opinion and showing others what can be done in the building or showing others what is not right in the building, things like that” (ibid). The limitations that housing companies place on tenants’ abilities to act collectively is powerfully illustrated by another tenant living in for-profit accommodation. He notes that the company which runs the building he lives in is very responsive and quick to deal with maintenance issues and problems which tenants report. He points out that “they’re very professional compared to other places that I’ve been” and that this enhances the comfort he and his family feel in the building (Tenant One, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013). However, he complains that when it comes to larger concerns, particularly about rental increases, the company is unresponsive and difficult to engage with. He bemoans the way they diffuse political mobilisation by individualising tenants and refusing to deal with them on a collective level:

“Trafalgar apparently have a policy whereby they don’t want their tenants to converge and discuss problems amongst their tenants. They want us or they expect us to go to them as individuals, address the problem as individuals, but that’s not solving the problem because the problems that we have here in this building, they affect each and every tenant who lives in this building! So Trafalgar, they don’t want us as tenants to meet, converge, convene, compare notes and go to them as a team; they want us to come individually. And that’s something I don’t like” (ibid).

His complaints are further fuelled by memories of the past, when buildings were intensely contested and sites of black people’s growing political agency. He recounts, “long long before I came into this building and before it was Trafalgar, I’m told that people used to convene, hold meetings, discuss issues and stuff like that but when Trafalgar came on board they stopped that, they didn’t want that.” That these measures are put in place to protect the commercial functioning of the buildings is acknowledged, as well as criticised. He continues:

“the last rental increase that we had, we as the tenants of this building, we felt that this, no this was way way too much, so we went there to Trafalgar to try and discuss. They

said to us – well they were not willing to discuss, that’s the bottom line; they were not willing to discuss. So that is some of the things that we don’t like about Trafalgar. They are not very much accommodating when it comes to negotiating the rent. We know that there is inflation, we know that them as business people, they have to counter that inflation but we feel that as tenants the rental increase is way too much” (ibid).

His statements make it clear that the tactics adopted by housing companies are diffusing potential points of conflict and protecting their investments and businesses. One private developer explains that tenant committees are welcome, as long as they confine themselves to day-to-day maintenance issues and do not challenge economic arrangements:

“when we’ve had tenant committees in the past we’ve dealt with them. There are some areas that they’re not allowed to go into as a committee, like issues around rentals etc., that’s a one-on-one basis, but if there’s issues around the state of the building, the caretaker’s not doing his job properly, security, access control, we’ve dealt with them in the past and they’re welcome to be there” (RP 08/02/2013).

This stipulation has had the desired effect and has produced buildings as spaces where tenants, because they are generally satisfied with the security and living conditions, are largely passive. The bulk of tenants who were interviewed pointed out that, although there are some instances of improved sociability, generally there is little community feeling or cohesion in the buildings in which they live or within the inner-city as a whole. This is partly a result of housing companies shutting down any spaces for politicised tenants to act. In this case their abilities to collectively shape the spaces they inhabit are limited and the hierarchies of property ownership and demands of the market reduce them to positions of passivity.

Security and the right to the city: “I love the security and the area”

The ways in which security and management strategies force tenants into the roles of customers and limit their abilities to participate in running the buildings means that they reduce their rights to the city. Since Lefebvre coined the term ‘the right to the city’, there have been several attempts to articulate what the term means in practice, although it still remains largely vague and ill-defined (Attoh 2011). Some scholars take the term to mean participation in urban life. This has multiple iterations and can be exercised in a variety of ways. Harvey (2003; 2012), for

instance, argues that the right to the city implies that all citizens or urban residents (for not all who reside in cities are formally recognised citizens) are entitled to participate in shaping the city and its reality. His version of the right to the city is something akin to collective ownership of or communal input into production processes and their outputs and, ultimately, urban social life and governance. This leads some commentators to regard social protest movements, particularly those focussed against financial capitalism, as new articulations of rights to the city (Merrifield 2013). Furthermore Brown (2013) argues that the right to the city only makes sense and matters as a political rallying point when it is used to articulate an anti-capitalist agenda.

In his own explorations of the right to the city Lefebvre (2003) emphasises that cities have the potential to be 'oeuvres', sites which enable the creative expression of human capacities, aspirations and forms of sociality. This perspective focuses on their use values and the possibilities they provide, rather than exchange values and the profits that can be derived and expanded through them. In Lefebvre's description, the right to the city entails being a part of the city and shaping it through communal and personal practices, forms of expression, cultural politics, appropriations and re-imaginings (Purcell 2002). Lefebvre's conception therefore emphasises how the right to the city is exercised through everyday activities which challenge dominant representations and prescriptions for urban spaces (Lefebvre 1991). It celebrates the diversity of human life and gives particular import to creative practices which subvert dominant forms of commodification, profit extraction and exploitation. Drawing on experiences from Hamburg and Berlin, Novy and Colomb (2013) provide good examples of these sorts of actions and highlight how creative classes and artistic practices can successfully be mobilised in urban protests and efforts to resist or alter regeneration/gentrification strategies. In the inner-city, however, the ways residential buildings are managed preclude creative and collective activities and enhance companies' abilities to extract rents and profits instead. Thus they can be considered to be limiting tenants' rights to the city, when the concept is viewed from the optimistic, radical and creative perspectives articulated by critics such as Lefebvre, Harvey, Merrifield and others.

However, whilst these conceptions and examples offer much potential to think with, they provide little practical input into what the right to the city means for people facing conditions of extreme poverty, deprivation and inequality, as prevail in (but are not exclusively confined to) the

post-colonial world (Attoh 2011). In more developmentally-focused perspectives, the right to the city can be seen to entail expanding people's access to the amenities, infrastructure and socio-economic opportunities provided by urban areas. Simone (2008b) articulates the right to the city as an ideological standpoint and, more importantly, a practice which defends the abilities of the poor to be incorporated into the central urban fabric and to have their lifestyles, livelihoods and survival strategies recognised as legitimate within cities. In this understanding the right to the city is not about creative, artistic appropriations or reimaginings of the city, nor is it about radically reshaping the economic foundation of society. Rather, it is about ensuring equal access to the benefits of urban life for all citizens and using the city as the staging ground which makes it possible to reduce precariousness and extend basic rights and political and economic participation to all (Parnell & Pieterse 2010).

In her study of the tenement housing market in Nairobi, Huchzermeyer (2011) gives practical examples of this and shows how tenements, whilst far from perfect and often ill-constructed, hazardous and increasingly expensive, are playing essential roles in providing their residents with access to the city. They help overcome the exclusion and fragmentation which the modernist colonial town planning system inscribed into the city's structure and allow residents to find affordable, centrally located housing (*ibid*). They therefore provide opportunities for residents to enjoy 'renewed centrality' and participation in urban life, both of which are key elements of Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city (Huchzermeyer 2011, p.12). She argues that in the long term tenement housing has the potential to contribute to shaping 'a more dense and sustainable urban future' (Huchzermeyer 2011, p. 3). In the immediate context, it is providing urbanising households seeking entry points into the economy with vital alternatives to overcrowded and precarious slums and enhancing their abilities to enjoy mobility and convenience. The right to the city, in this case, is less about insurgent (Hotslon 2008) or creative practices and more about overcoming some of the historical and persistent inequalities and barriers which prevent communities from being included in and benefiting from urban citizenship; it is about responding to historical and contemporary contingencies, alleviating the everyday deprivations which mark cities throughout the world and making them more inclusive, beneficial and accessible to poor communities.

Renovated buildings, securitisation and the broader urban regeneration project in the inner-city, whilst entailing disciplinary features and further embedding people in the logics of the market, can simultaneously be regarded as making similar developmental contributions to people's rights to the city. Through the process tenants have been provided with senses of stability, security and predictability, elements which are often missing from and add to the hardships of poor people's lives in urban areas (Pieterse 2010; Lemanski 2012). Simone (2008b, p.145) describes how the urban poor live with uncertainty, without any sense that one step will lead to another or of what life will be like and how they will get by from one day to the next. He also describes how '[m]uch of the work of the contemporary African city revolves around the leftovers' (Simone 2010, p.134). The regeneration process in Johannesburg's inner-city can be also seen as an exercise in 'working with leftovers', as people attempt to remake the area out of the vestiges and remnants of the past. Buildings themselves are artefacts of a bygone era, but are now being reconfigured to accommodate a different population, inhabiting a different reality from their original residents and uses. The fact that they are providing security and allowing residents to feel senses of stability and normality in otherwise precarious and unpredictable circumstances is a clear indication that they are key components of the realisation of the right to the city and helping foster urban citizenship for low-income communities.

This point is illustrated clearly and powerfully by the experiences of a tenant who is refugee from Zimbabwe. He speaks favourably about the stability he and his family have found living in a social housing development in Hillbrow. He describes how when he first came to South Africa "For the first four years we were staying in single rooms as a family" (Tenant Eighteen, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013). In comparison, he and his family now feel secure and enjoy privacy. He explains that as migrants they were particularly vulnerable to police, who frequently conduct raids in inner-city buildings, looking for illegal immigrants and harass and deport people, regardless of their immigration status; now that he is in formal accommodation there is access control which prevents criminal elements as well as law enforcement officers, whose actions are often hard to distinguish from criminals' and are just as predatory, from troubling them. Movingly, he explains that his current living situation is "less stressful. Staying in my own place where we lock our doors, we've got some normality in terms of we're not exploited the way you'd be when you're living in the sublet" (ibid). He demonstrates the importance of accessible and affordable social housing and the role it plays in improving the lives of vulnerable people when he enthuses "we were just lodging in a room, that was how we were living and then we

found JHC [the social housing company in whose building they reside]; it was affordable and it has been affordable. It's been a God-send. We're not complaining!" (ibid).

For many other tenants improved living conditions and enhanced security throughout the area represent freedom and grant them enhanced abilities to engage with and make use of the spaces in which they live. For example, a building manager who has lived in the area for a considerable period of time recalls how the dangers people faced in the area restricted their movements and abilities to lead comfortable lives. She recounts,

“You know when I came here I was even failing to go home on the weekend ‘cause there was no something like Bad Boyz, when we go to the streets we can see that we are not safe, I can't even walk from here to town to get the taxi” (G 23/05/2013).

Other tenants also point out how persistent fears of crime continue to restrict their experiences and prevent them from doing certain things. A tenant living in Berea makes it clear how experiences of crime make people fearful and retreat into their houses, but also how they adapt to them and come to accept these experiences as part of life in the inner-city. She relates:

“two weeks back people were shot this side; another day I was going to fetch water, I saw a person being shot back there at Tudhope Street...It's difficult but you have to learn to deal with it and take care of yourself, you need to put yourself in order; certain time such things they make you stay in the house” (Tenant Three, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013).

Another tenant who lives in Hillbrow complains that he feels stifled and disconnected from his social relationships. He complains that he is “scared to move around at night” and that his friends will not visit him because they are too afraid to venture into Hillbrow (Tenant Sixteen, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013). Thus insecurity curtails people's abilities to engage with the urban spaces and people around them. However, as the area has undergone improvements and become safer, residents' opportunities to make use of amenities and to even enjoy the inner-city have improved. One tenant living in Hillbrow describes the changes that she has witnessed in the suburb and how these have improved her feelings about living there as follows:

“previously we were not feeling safe ‘cause anytime someone can snatch your phone but now there's, like, cameras by the streets, cleaning staff, and there are security

guards around the streets. I'm feeling nicer. Most of them they are Bad Boyz. They are doing a good job (Tenant One, Constantine, 29/05/2013).

The building manager quoted previously also points out that at present she is happy living in the inner-city; this happiness is due in large part to the security she and others are now provided with and how this enables them to lead ordinary urban lives:

“Yes [she likes living in the inner-city]. You know because at least the buildings now are improved. You know the buildings were very terrible, at least now they are improved because the owners are maintaining the buildings, the buildings, they look nice and the streets are clean and you can buy whatever you want 24/7. 24 hours, the shops are opening, the clinics are opening, it's no longer like before when I came here, the shops were closing, everybody was afraid of everybody but now when you go to Spar, you can walk there and you cannot even be afraid because you know that from here to Spar security for Bad Boyz, they are patrolling” (G 23/05/2013).

Significantly, other tenants invoke freedom when describing changes in the area and the enhanced sense of safety they experience. One tenant living in social housing in Hillbrow, who actually moved to the area after falling victim to crime numerous times in the suburbs, describes how vulnerable she felt when first moving to the area but how she adapted and now feels safe:

“I was shocked and scared. No one could visit me, everyone was so scared something would happen. People always react negatively when you say you're from Hillbrow, but you can walk freely here...I walk freely. When I first came I used to hold my bag tight, but now it's fine” (Tenant Six, Lake Success, 01/03/2013).

Other tenants also repeat experiencing freedom: “Now you can walk freely and it's nice” (Tenant Nine, Rochester, Jeppestown, 26/06/2013); “Here you can walk freely” (Tenant Five, Cavendish Court, CBD, 09/05/2013). These responses show that rights to the city cannot be exercised or enjoyed under conditions of vulnerability and feelings of insecurity. In the South African case, the right to the city and to an urban life relies on security and the feeling of comfort, predictability and stability. In Western cities urban scholars take security measures to be infringements on people's rights to the city and abilities to use and shape public spaces (for example see Woolley & Johns 2001; Németh 2006; Chiu 2009; Iveson 2013). In the post-colonial context, however, security is something which is sought after and is a barrier against

violence, vulnerability and even death. Rights to the city in any form cannot be enjoyed in conditions of precariousness and fears about personal safety are barriers which prevent people from exercising urban citizenship. Thus the security features in inner-city buildings and around the area have multiple meanings. They enhance the value of these spaces, make them more conducive to commercial endeavours and remove problematic categories of people or forms of behaviour; simultaneously, however, they make tenants feel safe and enhance their abilities to make use of the urban environment. They thus serve both restrictive and developmental purposes.

The multiplicity of meanings which security features possess is also apparent in the different responses the gates across building entrances elicit. Even JHC's Operation Manager admits that they are "draconian", intimidating and can offend people's aesthetic sensibilities (CdW 06/02/2013). However, tenants actually appreciate them. When asked what they consider to be the positive aspects of the buildings they live in tenants overwhelmingly pointed to the security arrangements. For example, two tenants who live in the same social housing building in Hillbrow sum up their feelings of the area and building they live in as follows: "I love it. I love the security and the area" (Tenant Five, Lake Success, 05/03/2013) and "It's very safe; the security access system, the lifts work, it's all fine. It's very clean. Where I was living before was not good, people got killed, mugged" (Tenant Seven, Lake Success, 05/03/2013). Tenants thus enjoy and thrive on living in controlled environments and gain assurance from the security guards stationed in their buildings. As one tenant in a for-profit building in the CBD points out, "I feel safe, nothing can happen. The security guards are nice people, they don't allow anyone in" (Tenant Two, Cavendish Court, 09/05/2013).

Another tenant living in social housing illustrates the peace of mind tenants gain from security guards being present: "The security is downstairs, we can sleep with the door open" (Tenant Fourteen, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013). Thus, even though they are disciplinary figures who control the buildings and determine who is permitted entry, security guards are welcomed and appreciated. The services they provide help tenants feel secure and at home. A Nigerian tenant in a for-profit building in Berea enthuses about the predictability which security creates: "they are taking the security aspect first and the security aspect of this building is very wonderful, you understand? You know you don't just see unexpected visitors" (Tenant Five, Ridge Plaza,

30/05/2013). Another tenant who is employed as a domestic worker emphasises the feeling of vulnerability she constantly lived with when she resided in a run-down building in the inner-city which lacked access control, and contrasts this with her current experience. When asked if there were ever any problems or crimes in her previous building she admits that there were not, but also demonstrates that she constantly felt ill-at-ease and worried about her flat and possessions:

“It wasn’t much trouble [in the previous building], but it wasn’t safe. And here you not afraid when you come home. Because I’m not belong to here, I’m belongs to Ladysmith [a small town in kwa-Zulu Natal] so if you’re going home you’re not afraid ‘I wonder what I’m going to find in my room’” (Tenant Six, Rochester, 26/06/2013).

In contrast, in the current building she lives in “you feel free. I know [when] I’m out, yes it’s fine, everything I’ll find it as it is, so I enjoy it [living here]” (ibid). In this case she demonstrates how security features respond to people’s perceptions about safety and how the regeneration process is creating securitised spaces which both reflect people’s habitus by pandering to their dispositions and feelings, but also reproduce this habitus, as these types of heavily securitised spaces become established as normal and desirable, and it becomes difficult to feel secure without such measures being in place. As one tenant explains, “Only when there is someone that is protecting the building downstairs, I’m very safe”. (Tenant One, Rochester, 26/06/2013). A tenant echoes this desire for security when she declares, “what I like about the place where I’m staying, I need to be safe, I need to be secured. That’s the most I like about this place” (Tenant One, Rochester, 26/06/2013). Thus it becomes clear that securitisation, as much as it imposes orders and discourses on spaces, also reflects the prevailing forms of habitus and local contexts in which it occurs. It thus has multiple meanings and needs to be seen and analysed in its local context.

‘It’s not a place I like, but I can live with it’: getting by in the inner-city

However, whilst security is a fundamental human right and component of the right to the city which is being protected and realised through the regeneration process, it also remains important to consider people’s abilities to have more productive and creative engagements with their living environments. The right to the city does not exist as a latent possibility which simply needs to be asserted in order to exist; it needs to be proactively fought for, protected and progressively realised by communities, individuals and governments (Parnell and Pieterse 2010; Brown 2013). Fears about personal safety and regulatory disciplinary systems are not the only elements which

can curtail people's abilities to realise their rights to the city. The geographies and socio-economic circumstances under which people live and the types of citizenship, collective capacities and aspirations which these inculcate also need to be taken into account. In inner-city Johannesburg, interviews with tenants in renovated buildings suggest that they possess a form of habitus which is firmly utilitarian and driven by economic necessity. This leads them to feel detached from the urban areas and have minimal engagement with them. Thus their opportunities to exercise their urban citizenship and express their creative capacities are limited or constricted.

Apartheid produced urban forms in which black people were 'temporary sojourners' in the cities and were forced to live either on the outskirts in planned townships or in the rural homelands, which were considered their natural place (Bonner 1995; Mamdani 1996; Beavon 2004). Despite these visions and the brutal forms of coercion used to enforce them, black people did develop strong urban communities and forms of sociality, as discussed in Chapter Two. However, these examples were exceptions, rather than the rule. Even in the contemporary period, apartheid geographies and the place-based identities these gave rise to continue to shape many people's settlement patterns and preferences. For the Black African community urban areas largely continue to be regarded as temporary destinations which people flock to to secure employment and livelihoods, which they then use to sustain families and lifestyles in rural areas (Posel 2004; Posel et al. 2006). Racial integration in urban areas is also low, although it is increasing, and this means that when black communities do settle permanently in cities they continue to cluster predominantly in the former townships. For these reasons, urban centres such as inner-city Johannesburg are not considered long-term residential options for the majority of people, but are rather stop-off points in their efforts to secure footholds in the urban economy.

Out of the interviews which yielded information about tenants' long-term plans, 15 interviewees (26%) expressed a desire or planned to stay in the inner-city for the long-term, whilst 28 (49%) did not regard it as a permanent residential option⁴³. Many tenants continue to think of other areas as 'home' and continue to orientate their social and cultural lives towards them. For instance, a young couple living in a for-profit building in the CBD continue to think of Soweto and the outer suburbs of Pretoria, where they are originally from respectively, as the places

⁴³ Data relating to this question was not obtained from 14 interviews (25%)

where they feel at home and spend most of their weekends outside of the inner-city (Tenant One and Two, Greetermans, 24/05/2013). Another resident in a for-profit building in Berea still treats Kimberley, in the Northern Cape, where she was raised and where the bulk of her family still live, as home (Tenant Four, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013). A tenant in the same building states that “Home is Limpopo” (Tenant Three, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013). Another tenant aspires to return to Ladysmith when it is her time to retire and longingly states “the only thing I think about is going home” (Tenant Six, Rochester, 26/06/2013). This position is summed up by a building manager in one of the for-profit developments. Although she has lived in the inner-city for a long time and is even considering buying an apartment in the area, she still does not regard it as home and the place where she wants to spend the rest of her life. When asked to reflect on the future of Hillbrow she responds, “From what I can say, the way Hillbrow is progressing, our children are the ones who are going to like Hillbrow; we can’t like Hillbrow, you can’t stay here like when you’re over 80 so when you are 60 or 65, you can go home” (G 23/05/2013). This lack of rootedness in the area is an enduring consequence of the homeland and township systems, which tenants still replicate in their social and cultural lives as they continue to treat the inner-city as a temporary place. An effect of this is that residents are less concerned with and engaged in the affairs and daily running of the area.

This distance is also exacerbated by the economic necessity which dominates their lives and the unpleasant conditions which endure in the inner-city. A local ward councillor reflects on how the economic pressures which people in the inner-city face restrict opportunities for forming strong community ties and political mobilisation. He explains:

“Here in inner-city it’s not easy of that [sic] [to form community and become politically involved] because most of the people that are staying in the inner-city are from different provinces, they only influx here for a better living, that’s the only thing they are here for. They are not interested in anything so if they can get a job and work, after that, by the end of the month they just go home” (CJ 03/07/2013).

This point is also emphasised by a housing supervisor, who, when asked if he thinks that there is a communal atmosphere in Hillbrow responds,

“I wouldn’t say that much, because everybody here is in Joburg looking for a job. It’s not like when you are coming from in the township or in the rural areas where it’s in a community and we grew up together because everybody here comes from a different

place, so everybody is looking for a job, looking for their own living to survive” (P 22/02/2013).

A tenant living in social housing affirms this. He points out that “People do not toyi-toyi and take to the streets because there is no community to protect them”. He also notes that the pressures of working life and flexible shifts mean people cannot engage politically: “people in Hillbrow are working, going to church, doing night shifts – they do not have the time to protest” (Tenant Nine, Lake Success, 05/03/2013).

Other tenants affirm these statements and point out that their primary motivations for living in the inner-city are access to jobs and the affordability of accommodation which, even though it is expensive, is cheaper than any other that can be found in the central city. This is illustrated by a Hillbrow resident living in a for-profit development. She emphasises that people come to live in the neighbourhood because of the need to find decent accommodation and be close to amenities and transportation links. She asserts that aside from these features, there are no positive attractions or reasons for living in the area:

“In this building there’s no benefits at all, it’s only that you want to be closer to the shops, you are close to town, you are closer to everything than at the location⁴⁴. I was once living in a location – you’ll find that in Soweto the rent, you’ll pay R500 but everything is *far* so everything you have to use a transport but when you are here everything’s closer and it’s expensive; you benefit nothing. Just to have a space that you call a home, that’s the important thing” (Tenant Two, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013, emphasis in the original).

Another tenant in social housing explains that financial constraints and the lack of alternative accommodation in the central city means that he and his family have to overlook and tolerate the crime and violence of Hillbrow. Resignedly he points out, “It [Hillbrow] had a bad reputation; it still has a bad reputation. But it’s affordable, it’s where we can live, it’s a central place in Johannesburg, you can get to any place you need to go to” (Tenant Eighteen, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013). Putting it more starkly, another tenant living in a different social housing building

⁴⁴ The term ‘location’ was introduced during the period of British colonial rule in South Africa. It refers to the areas which black people were forced to relocate to and reside in. Its usage was retained during apartheid and continues to be used today to refer to the former black townships.

states bluntly, “I’m not staying in Hillbrow because I like drugs and crime – it’s affordability” (Tenant Nine, Lake Success, 01/03/2013).

The financial constraints and lack of better options mean that tenants have to resign themselves to living in conditions which may not be ideal or of their choosing. Life in the inner-city is firmly utilitarian and far from being lived as an ‘oeuvre’ and expression of people’s creative capacities. One tenant living in for-profit accommodation demonstrates how financial concerns dominate tenants’ consciousness and limit their abilities to enjoy life: “it’s like you are working only for paying the rent. What next about life? Nothing you can do” (Tenant Three, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013). A young woman living with her sister and her boyfriend in a for-profit building in the CBD also demonstrates this; she complains that the accommodation she lives in is firmly utilitarian and that this limits her opportunities to enjoy herself: “there’s no space here, there’s nothing, Just for your own living, just to come sleep, eat and go to school, that’s the space that we have here” (Tenant One, Cavendish Court, 09/05/2013). This produces a sense of resignation in tenants’ engagements with their environment and living conditions, which becomes a predominant feature in their habitus.

One tenant who works as a pest exterminator and lives in a social housing building in Hillbrow illustrates how tenants come to adjust to their dispositions and, whilst they may not necessarily enjoy the environment in which they are living, are also able to accommodate themselves to it. He explains that he would like to purchase his own house outside of the inner-city, but cannot afford to. Reflecting on and coming to accept the disjuncture between his ambitions and current situation he concludes, “For now I’m stuck here, but I don’t have a problem” (Tenant Seven, Lake Success, 01/03/2013). Another tenant, when asked if she thinks the inner-city is a good place to raise children responds, “No, absolutely no. Not even in Berea. Town and Hillbrow, up to town, they’re no sort of place to raise children. You raise them because there’s nothing you can do but it’s not a good place to raise children” (Tenant Two, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013). Another tenant living in the CBD again shows how tenants are prepared to tolerate precarious situations in order to access amenities and services, and how the convenience of the area makes up for the dangers they face: “you know, it’s not safe here, people get killed every day. But it’s nice, you can get everything for cheap, it’s near everywhere, schools and taxi ranks” (Tenant Five, Cavendish Court, 09/05/2013).

In his study of the tastes, consumption habits, self-stylisations and lifeworlds of the different classes in France, Bourdieu (1984) concludes that the working class habitus is defined and driven by necessity. Whilst the upper classes cultivate habitus which values sophistication, style and aesthetics, the working class place much more value on social practices which help them get by from day to day and reflect the more immediate concerns which dominate their lives (ibid). He concludes that this focus on necessity, which is a result of their position within the economic hierarchy and relations of production, comes to reflect and reproduce itself in their consumption practices, social lives and worldviews, and ultimately comes to impose limits on their conceptions of themselves and their agency.

Similarly, acceptance of their marginal position in the socio-political hierarchy is a predominant feature of inner-city tenants' habitus. They demonstrate how they are able to adapt themselves to their living and socio-economic circumstances and increasingly are able to feel at home in the inner-city. In doing so, they reveal how resignation and necessity are ingrained in their habitus and draw attention to the ways in which abilities to exercise rights to the city are shaped and limited by socio-spatial forces (Mouffe 2005). As a tenant living in social housing in Hillbrow notes, 'I feel it [Hillbrow] is my home because I've got nowhere to go. I don't have a choice' (Tenant Two, Lake Success, 01/03/2013). If one of the components of the right to the city is taken to include the ability to shape urban spaces in accordance with people's needs and desires and to act as engaged and creative urban citizens (Amin and Thrift 2002; Harvey 2008; 2012), then it can be concluded that this element is notable for its absence in many tenants' experiences and that their urban citizenship is indeed circumscribed. One tenant living in a for-profit building demonstrates this clearly. When asked if there is anything that she does not like about living in Berea she explains that "it's just that you have to accept the condition, the way of living where you are. You have to accept" and therefore does not feel she is in a position expect anything more from the building or broader inner-city (Tenant Two, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013).

Thus for many tenants daily life in the inner-city is a process of enduring tough conditions and navigating them. They do not make claims on the managers of the buildings they live in or the wider political establishment as they have accepted their place and adapted their dispositions to it. Their sense of agency or 'capacity to aspire', which is socially and culturally learnt and

produced by broader socio-economic structures (Appadurai 2004), is limited and revolves around getting by or making do. Similarly their abilities to exercise and articulate their rights to the city are circumscribed by the spatial order in which they live. Whilst developers and those employed in the service of the regeneration project see themselves as contributing to South Africa and playing active roles in making the inner-city a better place, most tenants live in anticipation of opportunities to move elsewhere. A housing manager speaks with passion about his aspirations for the area and connection to it, and takes pride in the role he is playing in improving it. He declares:

“I want to make a difference in Hillbrow, of making Hillbrow a better place where people can stay. And I’m making my little, my very little contribution, as far as that is concerned and I feel like if I were to leave Hillbrow I would have abandoned it, especially the cause that now we want to make Hillbrow a safer and cleaner and a better living environment than it was before” (P 19/02/2013).

In contrast, a woman living in Hillbrow emphasises the transience of tenants’ time in and relationship with the area. She, like many others, expresses no affinity for the area or desire to stay. She has applied for an RDP house and is currently on the waiting list. Thus she states “if I can get my RDP house I’m going anytime” (Tenant Two, Lake Success, 01/03/2013).

Residents in renovated buildings therefore illustrate the ways in which experiences of space inculcate habitus in people and help them learn and adjust to their positions in the social order. Whilst aspiring to leave, tenants who are living on low-incomes also come to recognise that the wealthy suburbs are beyond their reach and accept that they should be content with decent accommodation which is basic, functional, safe and little else. For instance, when asked how his social housing apartment compares to other places in Johannesburg in which he has lived a tenant responds, “Much better. Now we have two rooms, [my son] stays here [in the living room] and then, you know...we have enough space. We’d like a garden but beggars can’t be choosers [laughs]” (Tenant Eighteen, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013). This acceptance is also demonstrated by another tenant who lives in a social housing development in Hillbrow and works as a security supervisor. He lives with his wife and two daughters and when asked if Hillbrow is a good place in which to raise children he laughs and says simply “I don’t have a choice” (Tenant Five, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013); he also says he would like to move to Sandton, but then laughs at the impossibility of the idea. Expressing the same idea but putting it

more bluntly and without the humour, a tenant also living in social housing in Hillbrow explains simply that he came to live in Hillbrow because “It was the cheapest place I could find, I can’t go to Sandton or Morningside (Tenant Seven, Lake Success, 01/03/2013). Tenants are therefore content simply to have somewhere decent to live, and accept the inequalities of the spatial landscape as given.

This is exacerbated by the fact that a large number of tenants interviewed (26 i.e. 46%) considered the flats and buildings they were living in to be better than the places they lived in previously, particularly those who had lived elsewhere in the inner-city. Previous experiences of poor housing help tenants to be content with the situations they are in and signify the paucity of decent accommodation available and the importance of regeneration which aims to provide good quality low-income housing. A statement from a woman living in communal housing in Jeppestown captures the resignation, acceptance and endurance which characterise many tenants’ lives in the inner-city; she describes living in the inner-city as follows, “It’s not a place I like, but I can live with [it]” (Tenant Six, Rochester, 26/06/2013). Thus it becomes clear that the scarcity of decent housing available gives people little to aspire to and means that they are able to survive on whatever foothold they can gain in the urban areas. This is a product of the enduring inequalities and patterns of marginalisation inherited from apartheid, which the regeneration project on its own is not able to address. Again the importance of a broader approach to spatial integration and increasing the supply of well-located, affordable housing is demonstrated, as are the limitations of the regeneration process as a solution to Johannesburg’s housing shortage.

However, because the regeneration process has dualistic outcomes, the way in which accessing centrally-located housing is improving tenants’ lives also needs to be acknowledged. Whilst tenants see the inner-city as a temporary destination, access to the central city remains a critically important element in their economic survival. Numerous tenants described the financial and personal benefits they derive from living in the inner-city and also drew sharp comparisons between it and the townships/locations. For instance, a woman working as a nurse in a retirement home in the north-eastern suburbs explains that she chose to move to the CBD because of the ease and comfort it gives her:

“It’s easy for me to get taxis and the shops are around me. If I knock off late at work I just take one taxi, instead of two or three to get to the lokshin...In the case of

transport, all the taxis end here. It's very easy here in Jozi [the colloquial nickname given to the city]. I don't have stress" (Tenant Four, Cavendish Court, 09/05/2013).

A young woman living in a for-profit development in the CBD sums up the differences between the inner-city and the townships and gives a strong indication of the enjoyment tenants derive from the improved standards and accessibility of the inner-city: "Like at home, when you want to buy groceries you have to catch two taxis, and it's dusty. Here you can walk freely and the shops are near, the schools are near; everything is number one here!" (Tenant Five, Cavendish Court, 09/05/2013). Another, when asked if living in the inner-city provides her with opportunities and experiences which she did not have when she was living elsewhere exclaims,

"A lot, a lot, a lot! When I need something right now I can just go for it. When I'm at the location I have to think about it, I have to go with the transport so that's a very bad time than when I'm here" (Tenant One, Rochester, 21/06/2013).

These narratives are repeated by several other residents. Many younger interviewees moved to the inner-city to study and 19 (33%) other tenants explicitly stated they chose to reside in it because of the employment opportunities it gives them access to. Others tenants are also able to save money as they no longer have to spend large amounts on transport when commuting to work and even to do grocery shopping: "In Thembisa [a township situated in Johannesburg's East Rand] we spend too much on transport but now we can save, expenses are gone. We are saving a lot" (Tenant Two, Cavendish Court, 09/05/2013). Thus the opportunities to live in the inner-city which the regeneration project is providing are highly significant steps towards low-income households' upward mobility and integration into the urban economy. The process can thus be seen as making a positive contribution to the spatial transformation of the city. It is enhancing their rights to the city, when this notion is viewed from a developmental perspective.

Inhabiting and appropriating space, transforming the inner-city

The regeneration process is also a significant component of racial transition in South Africa. Those who can afford to now have the option to move away from the townships and settle in a more central part of the city, and do not have to endure dangerous, ghetto-like conditions to do

so. One tenant speaks to the magnitude of the transformation of the inner-city and how it signifies the freedom brought by the end of apartheid. He speaks emotionally and recalls

“when there was this new political dispensation in 1994 the people – I’m talking about black people – started moving from the townships. Those who were wealthy from township standards started moving into places like Berea; Berea, Hillbrow is first place where black people came when they were coming from townships. So it was like a *wow* thing, now suddenly we had this freedom, now we could live in these buildings which previously black people were denied! So it was unbelievable!” (Tenant One, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013, emphasis in the original).

Johannesburg is also an aspirational place for migrants from across the continent. One building manager, originally from Zimbabwe, explains how Johannesburg draws in people from around the African continent and captures their imaginations. He speaks with a sense of awe when he relates,

“Most of the people, even if they’re foreigners, they think that Joburg is the most entertaining than any other place in South Africa [sic]. If you have gone to Joburg, you think it’s better than any other place. Or even if you have never been, if you just know [about] Joburg, anyone that is coming, they say they are coming to *Joburg*” (Pr 26/06/2013, emphasis in the original).

Another Zimbabwean tenant living in for-profit accommodation speaks with great excitement about Johannesburg’s aura and how it represents a place of possibilities and hope for people who are struggling to endure hard economic conditions:

“The whole of Africa when you talk about Johannesburg – not South Africa, *Johannesburg* – it’s like you are talking about *the mecca* because this is where everything is happening, this is where they think there are opportunities, here in Johannesburg. So you’ll hear them talking about Cape Town or Durban but everyone is talking about Johannesburg the most! They believe that in Johannesburg, this is where there are opportunities. I’m originally from Zimbabwe but I’m a naturalised South African now so I go to Zimbabwe quite often so when I’m there I hear people talking about Johannesburg, I hear people talking about London and stuff like that. It’s a global village now” (Tenant One, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013, emphasis in the original).

Here he captures the worldliness of the city and how it has become a global city in its own fashion. It is emerging as a centre of African urban life and aspirations and is laying the foundations for the beginnings of a new and dynamic form of ‘Afropolitanism’ (Nuttall 2004 p.744). Regeneration and housing provision are vital to this process as they are creating new spaces of comfort, optimism and interaction.

Whilst South Africa remains a hostile place for African migrants, particularly in the townships and informal settlements, residents in renovated buildings are co-habiting with people from diverse places and beginning to build relationships and solidarities with them. Living in close quarters in high-density apartment blocks and sub-letting flats together forces people from different backgrounds to cohabit and form social bonds. As one tenant living in communal housing points out, “we also live with them [people from other African countries] here; also in this building we have them. It’s not a problem, even though some people have a problem with other people, it’s normal [to live with different types of people]” (Tenant Nine, Rochester, 26/06/2013). The Zimbabwean tenant quoted above also recounts that, whilst people may still tend to stick to familiar social groups in public spaces, when sharing flats people are forced to interact and reach common understandings:

“you see the area that we live in, most of the immigrants are Zimbabwean immigrants so people tend to socialise in those circles. Like Zimbabweans will socialise with fellow Zimbabweans, Nigerians with fellow Nigerians, but of course we do mingle, we do mingle, like in this house, this flat, for example, I was staying with some guys, Nigerian – great guys!” (Tenant One, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013).

A South African tenant also relates that

“It’s [sub-letting and sharing a flat] not easy, like, starting to be with someone that you don’t know. But you start to get along, as people you get along until you understand each other. Because you come from different backgrounds so we have to accommodate each other and get to know each other, then we start to take each other as a family. Because we live together we’re a family together. We cooperate as a family” (Tenant Two, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013).

Thus whilst Murray (2011) laments that Johannesburg's overly-securitised and still-segregated landscape prevents chance encounters from taking place and shields people from mixing with others who are different from themselves, the above experiences directly contradict this, and show that renewal, securitisation and private investment are not necessarily anathema to diversity and cultural exchanges; rather, they show how the regeneration process in the inner-city is actually promoting cross-cultural exchanges and fostering a more expansive and accepting worldview in tenants. The tight regulation in buildings and the streets alleviates tensions and potentially violent interactions, and creates an atmosphere which is conducive to socialising. For instance, one Zimbabwean tenant describes the community living in the inner-city as follows:

“It's multicultural, it's multicultural. The balance is even, you get all cultures here, you get all races here so even if you walk around the street you will hear almost all official languages being spoken here. So it shows how much diversity we have, which I appreciate and that [xenophobia] has never been a problem here” (Tenant Five, Ridge Plaza, 30/05/2013)

A South African tenant too highlights the diversity of the area when explaining the difference between Hillbrow and other parts of the country in which he has lived: “Of course yes [Hillbrow is different]. I can say in Hillbrow there's lots of people, like foreigners, different kind of people from the other countries so we experience how they live, different cultures when we meet in Hillbrow” (Tenant Eight, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013). An employee of Bad Boyz Security, who both lives and works in Hillbrow shares this view and is very positive about life in the area. When asked what he enjoys about it he states

“The community is friendly; it's good to work with different people here, [from] different countries. I think everybody knows in South Africa that Hillbrow is a place where there is all kind of people from all over, you get white people, you get Chinese, you get Japanese, you get Africans, you get Indians, you meet and mix with a lot of different races of people, you learn different things about people. That's what makes me happy to be around here” (BB 08/05/2013).

The efforts put into building community relationships in the area and domesticating it are therefore starting to bear fruit and are helping people establish homes in what was previously a racially exclusive area and then a den of precariousness and violence. Perhaps the most notable change has been the return of families to the inner-city. Family life for Black African

communities in South Africa was severely damaged by the apartheid system. Migrant labour systems and influx control laws saw men leave the rural areas and settle in townships or mining compounds as temporary labourers, leaving their families behind. Black people were prevented from settling permanently as families in cities and this significantly disrupted household life across the country (Bonner 1995; Posel et al. 2006). Whilst there is no formal exclusion today, migrant labour practices persist in industries, particularly mining (Alexander et al. 2013; Chinguno 2013), and many domestic workers continue to live on their employers' properties, leaving their families behind in rural areas or townships (Ally 2009). But as regeneration has stabilised the area and made it safer and more community-friendly, the inner-city has become a place which is now hospitable to and affordable for families.

Out of the 57 tenants who were interviewed, 42 (74%) were living with their families, whilst only 10 (18%) were living alone or with people they were not related to⁴⁵. Similarly, JHC has tracked a change in the makeup of their residents' households. In 2006 46% of their tenants were single people, either living alone or sharing units (JHC n.d.). In 2012, in contrast, 34% of tenants' households consisted of nuclear families. A further 33% of households were made up of couples who did not have or live with children, whilst only 21% were occupied by single adults sharing units (ibid). These changes indicate how the area has stabilised and become more attractive for people with families.

The coordinator of the eKhaya RID sums up this positive development and declares the regeneration project to be a success because of the contribution it has made to people's family lives. She explains

“eKhaya has been successful because it has now become the home of where people live. The working people live here – schoolchildren with their families, actually. Families can now live in the eKhaya buildings, not like before; before you'd never live with your family in Hillbrow. It was a place of someone who's working and [families] are at home. It was never stable but now eKhaya has made Hillbrow to be the stable home for people who live in it” (BM 27/03/2013).

⁴⁵ Five interviewees did not provide data on this.

If the right to the city is understood as allowing people in precarious circumstances or who have been marginalised and discriminated against new opportunities to live stable lives and enjoy the lifestyles which matter to them (Sen 2001), then urban regeneration and the provision of low-income housing is assisting in realising this right and overcoming some of the iniquities and deprivations which continue to structure life for too many people in post-apartheid South Africa. These changes are taking place inside buildings once reserved for white residents and whose names echo the European aspirations of the city's architects. Today, buildings with names such as Gaelic Mansions, Rochester House and Cavendish Court are fulcrums of black family and communal life and are thus highly significant symbols of and mediums through which the racial and social transformation of Johannesburg is proceeding.

It therefore becomes clear that everyday life and forms of habitation are powerful political actions in and of themselves. The ways in which people inhabit spaces imbue them with meaning. Because the ways people live are always diverse, creative and capable of resisting or eluding domination, there are always a variety of meanings, experiences and forms of sociality co-present in urban settings. Whilst spaces for political activities are reduced and tenants are largely disengaged with their wider environment, instances of friendship, mutual concern and support for one another are also becoming commonplace and are shaping people's experiences of the place.

Some tenants spoke enthusiastically about the friendships they have made in the buildings they live in. As one tenant states, "You have close friends; easy access to speak to people, you can just go there to talk any time" (tenant Five, Rochester, 26/06/2013). In addition, housing supervisors reflect fondly on moments when tenants socialised together. One recounts a time when he was approached by tenants who wanted to organise a braai [barbecue] to celebrate the end-of-year festive period. He recounts how tenants combined resources to buy supplies and gifts for children in the building. This event was a departure from the usual strict atmosphere in the building, and again shows that management has to be adaptable and respond to the ways in which people make homes for themselves. As the supervisor recalls, "we don't allow such things in awkward times but there's sometimes when you must leave tenants to enjoy themselves" (PM 19/02/2013). Another supervisor remembers a time when a couple living together in his building were taken ill and their neighbours took it upon themselves to look after them and their

children. They cooked and cleaned for them and even raised money to pay for the couple to travel to their home in the Northern Cape. He reflects on how this both surprised and gladdened him:

“I got that sense that there is a community here, because I had only been here for eight months or something, but that sense of community, that sense of wanting to help each other, I saw it that time and I said ‘People, they are living in a community here’” (P 22/02/2013).

These moments reflect the ways in which everyday life and forms of habitation re-invent spaces (Lefebvre 1991; Stanek 2011) and ordinary actions are assertions of citizenship, rights to the city and claims of belonging (Staeheli et al. 2012). Whilst tenants can be regarded as having a circumscribed and dominated habitus, these activities and the bonds which are emerging are allowing them to make homes for themselves in the area and are recreating it as a sociable, friendly environment. They are able to do so because of the improvements which have been made to the built environment and the ways the area has been domesticated, but are also able to do so because of their agency and creative capacities to inhabit and appropriate spaces. Due to these, the inner-city is taking on new meanings. It is, as discussed above, becoming a site of African modernity. This does not mean that it is unruly, informal, chaotic and vibrant (although in many ways it still is) but that it is a place in which people who were previously excluded can now make homes for themselves and forge attachments and senses of belonging. The regeneration process and forms of inhabitation people are engaging in are allowing them to assume new identities and embrace novel forms of urbanism which directly refute the exclusionary foundations which the city is built on. Thus, although it remains a temporary place for many, people are simultaneously forging new attachments to it and finding alternative ways to live urban lives.

Out of the 57 tenants interviewed, 31 (54%) mentioned that they felt at home in the inner-city, whilst 18 (32%) did not agree with this sentiment⁴⁶. This shows that whilst many tenants remain detached from the area and it still remains a temporary destination for most, there are also increasing numbers of black people who are able to regard it as a place in which they can and should live and in which they feel comfortable. This is a strong refutation of the social

⁴⁶ Eight interviews did not provide information relating to this point.

geographies and forms of urbanity created by apartheid and is a result of both the democratisation of South Africa and the regeneration process. One tenant, when asked if she feels at home in the building in which she is living replies, “I’m at home. I don’t want to lie, yes I’m at home” (Tenant One, Rochester, 26/06/2013). Another who has lived in Hillbrow since 2007 responds “Of course yes, I’ve been staying here for a long time” (Tenant Eight, Gaelic Mansions, 25/04/2013). Another tenant illustrates that people are able to forge new personal relationships in the spaces in which they are living, and these assist them in feeling at home: “Ja it does [feel like home], even though my family is not here but with the people that we live with, I have friends around, I think it feels like home. Because if it wasn’t I wouldn’t like staying this long” (Tenant Nine, Rochester, 26/06/2013).

Another tenant gives a strong indication of how people’s subjectivities and preferences are changing. He directly inverts the apartheid spatial ordering when he declares, “Ja, for now I’m attached because I’ve been here for too long. I’ve tried going and living in Soweto and came back. I only feel comfortable here in this area” (Tenant Two, Greatermans, 24/05/2013). Others have adopted dual identities and, in so doing, show that there are a variety of ways to be urban and that they have acquired habitus and spatial capital which allow them to inhabit multiple places successfully. Whilst the apartheid narrative constructed black people as naturally belonging to rural areas, at present inner-city residents see themselves as equally at home and entitled to belong in both cities and rural areas. As one tenant explains, “I spend almost the whole year here [in the CBD]; I go home when I close at work so this is my second home. First home is where I come from, Venda [in rural Limpopo]” (Tenant Four, Greatermans, 24/05/2013). Another tenant also displays a dual habitus when she narrates that she too is equally comfortable in either the inner-city or Limpopo. She declares, “I don’t have a problem telling people I’m residing in Hillbrow. It’s my temporary home. Limpopo is still my real home – my mom and sisters are there so I’m still attached to Limpopo. I’ve got two homes.” (Tenant Five, Lake Success, 05/03/2013). These statements indicate that urbanity is defined and lived in multiple ways. Whilst cities may be produced by powerful discourses, representations of space and spatial practices, people’s everyday practices and ways of making homes for themselves simultaneously produce and give meaning to urban life.

Conclusion: regeneration has multiple effects, meanings and outcomes

The lived reality of regeneration therefore proves to be multi-faceted. As has been shown, life in renovated buildings comprises regulation and discipline, estrangement and steps to erode communal life, the entrenchment of marketised approaches to housing and the burdens of a harsh economic climate. At the same time, it also fosters low-income households' integration into the urban fabric, new opportunities to live centrally, economic benefits, transformative changes and new forms of post-apartheid sociality and urbanity. It is thus a process marked by simultaneous outcomes and experiences and is not easily confined to a single narrative. Instead, it needs to be understood as a product of and a process which is reproducing both a market-based, neoliberal social order as well as a democratising, post-apartheid order.

Tenants' experiences also demonstrate the variety of elements which the right to the city comprises. They show that experiences of urbanity cannot be creative and transformative when basic rights and comforts such as personal safety, peace of mind, access to amenities and employment and opportunities to live with the people close to you are absent. These basic rights are being realised through the regeneration process and it is thus clearly coming to fulfil some of the developmental goals which underpin it. At the same time, abilities to exercise creative capacities and collective rights to the city are determined by structural forces. In this case historical geographic divisions, financial burdens and housing companies' management strategies – which arise out of the market-based approach to providing housing – are limiting tenants' abilities to engage in creative and assertive practices within the inner-city. Considerations of rights to the city therefore need to highlight, and ultimately find ways to overcome, structural limitations, particularly the negative effects the neoliberal social order is having on people's urban citizenship.

Yet, despite the barriers presented by powerful disciplinary and economic forces, everyday urban life continues to be infused with transformative potential and possibilities. Regeneration is shown to be presenting tenants with opportunities to establish new social relations, friendships, relations to the city and ways of being urban. Through these, the inner-city itself is being transformed and coming to be a space of hope, sociability, cohesion and Afropolitanism. The examples taken and lessons learnt from tenants' experiences show the variety, creativity and

dynamism of urban life and bring attention to the ways in which processes of urban change are characterised by multiple effects and give rise to diverse experiences.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion: towards a vernacular theorisation of urban change

This thesis set out to assess the effects increased capital investment and the spread of privatised security are having on the ways spaces are produced and forms of belonging and urban citizenship are experienced in contemporary inner-city Johannesburg. It also sought ways to conceptualise moments of urban change and to evaluate the relevance terms currently circulating in the urban studies literature have for dynamic post-colonial societies. Specifically, it explored the utility of the terms gentrification, revanchist renewal and neoliberal urbanism. It has consistently been shown that the process which is unfolding in the inner-city is multi-faceted and represents a distinctive hybridisation of commercial imperatives and developmental goals. In light of this, it can be concluded that these terms, whilst containing important insights and capturing particular features of the ways in which regeneration is being undertaken, are inadequate for encapsulating and making sense of the diversity of goals and agendas which define the process and the outcomes it is engendering.

Winkler's (2009) and Murray's (2008; 2011) accounts of Johannesburg demonstrate this. Both fail to provide any sense of the debates, disputes and agency which are defining the ways in which urban regeneration is unfolding. In the former we are presented with just one more example of the global spread of gentrification, led by a local state fixated on World City status and attracting increased investment; in the latter we see a state driven by financial capital and beholden to self-serving private business, and thus a society and set of actors lacking agency, creativity or any ability to experiment or challenge the prevailing status quo. Both are very neat, simplistic and pessimistic accounts, and, whilst they do highlight important features which require critical redress and resistance, they also oversimplify an experimental, dynamic process. Certainly, as this study has shown, neoliberal influences, revanchist security strategies and potential pathways to gentrification are present, but so too are a variety of alternatives, including active efforts to create inclusive forms of housing, improved social cohesion, safer communities and a post-apartheid, African urban space. All of these are constitutive parts of the process, which make it a hybrid, vernacular and experimental approach to a complex set of spatial and socio-political imperatives and conditions. These take their own particular form in South Africa, but also exist in other societies. Thus whilst the Johannesburg case is a specific one, it contains examples and lessons for all other cities too. It is in this spirit that a vernacular approach is adopted and advocated.

A building in the heart of Hillbrow exemplifies the vernacular, localised form regeneration has taken and the main conclusions of the thesis. The Old Synagogue is located on Wolmarans Street. Built in 1914, it was the third synagogue constructed in Johannesburg and was the centre-piece of the city's Jewish life⁴⁷. However, as the inner-city was abandoned by its white occupants, the synagogue fell into disuse. It was closed in 1994 and a replica was built in Melrose, an upmarket suburb, soon after⁴⁸. The original structure endures, however, and has come to capture many elements which make up the new social order of the inner-city. Nuttall (2004, p.744) illustrates how, for the novelist Pashwane Mpe, Hillbrow is 'figured as the partial and now patchy inventory of the old apartheid city and as the revised inventory of a largely black, highly tensile, intra-African multicultural'. The Old Synagogue shows this clearly. The original facade of the synagogue has been preserved, but altered. The iconic dome and Star of David still stand out clearly, but the outer walls of the building have been renovated and now accommodate various shops, which cater to the needs of the inner-city's new population. Shops selling cheap groceries, cell phones and related equipment, a tavern and even a (non-kosher!) chicken restaurant now thrive in the shadow of this once-sacred space. These changes show how inhabitants of the inner-city refashion the infrastructure they have inherited from the old dispensation, and adapt it to suit their needs. For Holston insurgent citizenship is exercised through practices which 'introduce into the city new identities and practices that disturb established histories' (Holston 1998, p.48). The users of the synagogue too can be seen as engaged in practices which are both asserting their citizenship and re-making the social order of the city in which they live.

⁴⁷ <http://www.greatpark.co.za/pages/Great%20Park%20Synagogue%20History>

⁴⁸ *ibid*

Image 9: The Old Synagogue, Hillbrow (photograph by the author)



Whilst the outer facade of the building serves material needs, the inside continues to nourish inner-city residents' spiritual lives. Twice a week, on Tuesdays and Sundays, huge crowds gather inside the building and eventually spill over into the streets surrounding it, as rows upon rows of faithful worshippers gather for a charismatic church service. The original structure of the synagogue has been kept intact and inside plaques still honour members who made contributions to its construction and maintenance over the years. However, as the old users have moved on and established new communities elsewhere in the city, new users have taken their place and adapted the remnants they left behind to suit their own needs and circumstances. Worshipers sing lively gospel songs that rock their bodies as well as the old but still solid structure and those in need come forward to be healed by the congregation's leader. Whilst this is taking place, Bad Boyz security guards – whose head office is located on the ground floor of the high-rise apartment building opposite the synagogue/church (seen in the background of the photo above) – stand by, making sure the crowd is kept in control and no untoward incidents take place. In this space, then, the different worlds and social orders which constitute the inner-city come together. Privatised, securitised urbanism mixes with syncretic, Pentecostal Christianity, in the shadow of building built by a white, European immigrant population in the centre of an African country, in the heart of what was once, and for many still is, the most notorious and dangerous part of a dangerous city. It is a visible and palpable 'piecing together of aspects of city life –

people, things, spaces – that are not conventionally thought to be associable’ (Simone 2010, p.151) but which is usurping the dominant representations, experiences and meanings which Hillbrow has been burdened with. It demonstrates the different dynamics which characterise the regeneration process coming together simultaneously, and the novel, surprising vernacular experiences they give rise to.

Implications of the research part one: the need to develop a more interventionist and coherent approach to inner-city regeneration

Whilst the symbolic meanings of the regeneration inhere in newly-adapted buildings and the everyday life taking place in and around them, the process also needs to be evaluated in relation to a number of other scales and issues. The vernacular nature of the process is not only creating transformative experiences, but is also felt in its constraints, shortcomings and limitations, and the way developmental possibilities sit alongside and sometimes are overshadowed by market-based practices and concerns. On an economic level the process certainly is having the effects which local government and investors desire. There has been a consistent rise in the value of inner-city properties and the area’s property market has become increasingly competitive. Where once there were only two major investors in the housing market, there are now several and they compete “tooth and nail” for properties and deals (NB 24/04/2013). This has been welcomed by the City Council who now have a much bigger, wealthier and more reliable rates base to draw on. Considering the limited tax base, constraints on government resources and arrears other areas of the city have accumulated, the inner-city is a substantial source of revenue for local government and is playing a significant role in keeping the city functioning. It also frees government to spend resources in areas which have not attracted investment and arguably are in more need of assistance. In a country with severe forms of poverty and deprivation and a desperately over-burdened and economically constrained state this logic certainly has its sound points.

However, on a localised scale the rise in property prices and increased demand for buildings has led to displacement, immediate and violent but also incremental, as steady increases in rental prices push people out of the area. As more buildings undergo renovation the precarious and sometimes predatory, but still desperately needed, informal housing market has been significantly reduced. The displacement of people from the area is an issue which cannot be glossed over or

overlooked and needs to be highlighted as an outcome of the overburdened nature of the regeneration process and urgent area of concern. The displacement experienced and elitist forms of regeneration seen in other South African cities, particularly Cape Town, should stand as warnings.

Whilst Johannesburg's inner-city is far from becoming an exclusive, elite space, there is a growing sense that the opportunity presented by a large supply of cheap properties is increasingly receding as market logics take hold (MM 08/04/2013). The inner-city, because of the densities of people it can accommodate, its proximity to social amenities and economic opportunities and the relatively low value of land/property in the area, offers a significant possibility for centrally located affordable housing to be provided on a large scale. This thesis has shown that this is already taking place and is having positive effects on people residing in the area. At the same time, however, it has also sought to draw attention to the ways in which regeneration retains a market-based approach and the limitations which this has for providing inclusive forms of housing. The role being played by agencies such as the NHFC, TUHF and GPF in financing housing and maintaining rentals at affordable levels should be commended but also needs to be protected and extended.

Left to the vicissitudes of the market the area may in the future attract a higher-earning population and become an upper-class destination. Developers who are forced to go where the demand and money leads them will have little choice and in all likelihood jump at the opportunity to cater to a more affluent resident population. For the time being the stigma of the area and its poor infrastructure, beyond the conditions imposed by financing agencies, are keeping this in check. However, it is not sufficient to rely on the people's prejudices to maintain it as a space of accessible, affordable housing, and more strategic and concerted efforts should be put in place to capitalise on the positive effects regeneration is engendering, whilst limiting those that are more harmful.

A possible strategy for achieving this would entail earmarking properties in the area and, rather than selling them on the open market, designating them as social housing and basing neighbourhood or precinct development around these buildings (MM 08/04/2013). It has been

demonstrated that housing companies are effective at taking regeneration beyond individual buildings and extending the benefits to the surrounding area. This is possible because of the shared interests property owners, housing providers and residents have in seeing area stabilise. It also becomes possible through active efforts at community engagement and building social cohesion. This thesis has shown that commercial and social concerns are not necessarily inimical and there is sufficient symbiosis between the needs and actions of social and commercial housing for them to work together. However, social housing should be prioritised and a substantial portion of the remaining building stock in the inner-city should be earmarked for these purposes. The experience thus far has shown that it is possible to intervene in the market in ways which help realise socially beneficial goals, whilst still creating a viable commercial sector. This is an important lesson and one which can help temper the harsher side of neoliberal forms of governance. There certainly is still room for interventionist state actions which can protect the more vulnerable members of society from the vagaries and ruthlessness of the market, as the regeneration process has shown. The development of more cohesive and decisive planning procedures and policies to direct inner-city regeneration could further expand on these and protect the developmental possibilities the inner-city presents.

In addition to formulating a more focussed and overtly developmental regeneration strategy, the transformative possibilities of regeneration can be protected by engaging with and learning from the experiences of housing providers and urban management personnel. This thesis has shown that they have a wealth of knowledge and spatial capital which allow them to be successful in making lasting interventions in the inner-city. They are also shown to have strong developmental ambitions, but that these compete with and are sometimes overshadowed by their commercial concerns. Strategies need to be found to capitalise on and encourage the developmental ambitions and aspects of their practices, whilst placing less emphasis on the market. This again points to the importance of easily accessible, flexible and developmentally focussed finance and a more cohesive and deliberate approach to using the supply of buildings in the inner-city. In outlining how their habitus is produced by a dualistic social order which inculcates competing approaches, it is hoped that thesis can draw attention to the need for steps to be taken to move approaches to regeneration further away from the neoliberal social order and harness the enthusiasm and potential of the post-apartheid moment.

Implications of the research part two: inclusion versus fragmentation

Enthusiasm, however, is not enough. The dualistic effects regeneration is having when the process is viewed from a city-wide level demonstrate that the city needs to be thought of as a whole and development strategies need to plan for the wider metropolitan region. This is hard to achieve when processes of urban upgrading rely on the private sector, and again concerted efforts need to be made to move away from a neoliberal approach to urban development and to foster integrated development strategies. Upgrading and expanding the supply of affordable housing in the inner-city is a rare success in improving spatial integration and promoting low-income households' rights to the city. Many interviewees showed clearly how living in the inner-city is a material and economic improvement in their lives and allows them levels of comfort, access to amenities, employment opportunities and living standards which they are unable to enjoy in the townships, which still remain largely under-developed and poor. The significance of their new-found opportunities to live in centrally located, affordable and secure housing cannot be underestimated, particularly in light of the failings of the RDP programme, which, despite its successes in delivering housing units, continues to situate poor communities on the outskirts of urban areas, far from amenities and resources. From this perspective the regeneration process certainly is helping to realise the benefits of post-apartheid citizenship and rights to the city.

However, whilst regeneration is enhancing integration on an individual, localised level, when it is viewed from a city-wide perspective it becomes clear that inequalities and urban fragmentation remain in place, and in some ways are being exacerbated. The distinctions tenants draw between the inner-city and the townships clearly illustrate how apartheid-era divisions and forms of inequality remain intact. Furthermore, the reliance on private investment to drive development is entrenching these inequalities. The inner-city can be seen to be flourishing (in relative terms) because it is an attractive destination for the private sector. As this thesis has shown, areas which have attracted private investment enjoy enhanced service delivery, maintenance and security. They produce better standards of living, but this is contingent on them attracting investment and developers making concerted efforts to improve and maintain standards, including in service delivery and security provision. Differences are not only felt between different areas of the city, but have emerged between areas within the inner-city as well. Whilst precincts and RIDs have made noticeable improvements in the areas they have been established, these improvements do not extend further and these areas are actually inscribing new forms of differentiation, exclusion and inequality into the city's geographies. Again it becomes apparent that in relying on the

private sector to drive urban regeneration, city-wide planning, investment and upgrading is being neglected. The current approach encourages localised, private solutions to shared social problems, and is thus exacerbating divisions and inequalities in an already divided and fragmented society.

The case of privatised security illustrates this point clearly. Whilst the security which has been introduced into the inner-city is generally much appreciated and, contrary to exclusively revanchist readings of private security, has contributed to the sociability of the area and made it more accessible for low-income households, it has also been implemented in a patchwork fashion, following the lines of investment. Whilst the security companies work to police wider areas and serve the interests of a broadly defined community, they are deployed where private interests prevail and thus access to and the benefits of securitisation in the inner-city are uneven. There are discrepancies between the levels of safety enjoyed in different parts of the inner-city and the effectiveness of companies like Bad Boyz has actually been detrimental to areas where they are not active, which have absorbed the crime which has been displaced. Thus, private security and urban management are shown to be effective and contributing to improving tenants' quality of life, but also to constitute privatised solutions to a wider social problem, which is not being solved but merely displaced. Thus again the effects of regeneration are proving to be dualistic and it becomes clear that the approach adopted, whilst vernacular and creative, does not represent a sustainable and equitable solution to Johannesburg's spatial and social divisions.

Vernacular definitions of regeneration

At the same time, whilst the research conducted brings the contradictory effects and limitations of the process to the fore, it also brings more varied and nuanced understandings and definitions of the process to light. These different meanings demonstrate how the process is shaped by the particularities of Johannesburg and how these, rather than diminishing or excluding international trends and currents, are blended with wider societal and political forces and structures. They therefore show how the process is a vernacular, creative response to the challenges and dynamics which different actors are faced with, and that it is a real and admirable attempt to overcome some of these.

To understand or view regeneration as a vernacular experience means regarding and analysing it in terms of the specificities, dynamics, logics and multiplicities which constitute it. The thesis has sought to do this and has provided ample evidence to support the contention that it is a dualistic process which is giving rise to diverse, contradictory effects. It has demonstrated that research is able to build different, more appropriate conceptualisations of urban change when it starts from the recognition that these processes are shaped by a variety of causes and imperatives and do not produce singular, pre-determined outcomes. All moments of change are vernacular and the challenge is for research to unpack and come to terms with the particular dynamics of each case, and in so doing weave them into a broader analysis and critical perspective. This thesis has sought to demonstrate the ways in which regeneration in inner-city Johannesburg is vernacular, and what this means for the process and its outcomes. Comaroff and Comaroff (2012, p.9) suggest that ‘African modernity is a *vernacular*...wrought in an ongoing geopolitically situated engagement with the unfolding history of the present [italics in the original]’. Given that the inner-city is one of the key spaces through which this modernity is unfolding (Mbembe & Nuttall 2008), it follows that the inner-city is itself a vernacular space, constituted by local practices and forms of habitus, which themselves are situated in and emerge out of wider geopolitical contexts. Thus competing ways of being, thinking and acting coalesce within the inner-city and shape the social orders it is home to. This is apparent in the variety of causes and agendas framing the process, as well as the diverse effects it is having.

It also becomes clear in the different meanings actors ascribe to it. For example, in explaining what regeneration means and how it should be done, the CEO of JHC references the current South African and international policy vogue for mixed-income communities. However, as she explains, it takes on very different forms in the South African context. Thus she states

“if you do urban regeneration you must be very careful that you don’t push poor people out, because if you gentrify a city too much and push out poor people, that’s not urban regeneration, in my view. So it doesn’t help for us to strive towards bringing in high-end people in the inner-city and Manhattan-type developments and they don’t want to live alongside poor people. So if you do urban regeneration within a precinct there needs to be a bit of everything, and that’s what we try and do in our buildings so that there’s not poor people living in one block and high-end people in another block (ES 06/02/2013)”.

In this case it is shown mixed-income is not, as academics have found in other contexts, simply a term used to sugar-coat the harmful effects of gentrification and displacement of the poor from social housing estates (Smith 2002; Butler & Lees 2006; Colomb 2007; Watt 2009). In the context of inner-city Johannesburg it is a process which actively tries to include lower-income households and ensure that people gain access to housing in a centrally-located area. Thus she goes on to explain what 'mixed-income' means in terms of South Africa's current socio-economic context: "it's not high-end mixed income, so it would be low-income, social, affordable and maybe just a little bit above [i.e.] normal market rental. We don't have high-end rental in the inner-city of Joburg yet" (ibid). This point again illustrates the vernacularised form which regeneration is taking and how it has emerged in the context of Johannesburg's inner-city, which has its own specific challenges, attractions and tensions. It shows how processes of urban change do indeed follow global trends, but that these are inflected with localised concerns and attempts to avoid recreating failed or segregated forms of urbanism seen elsewhere. It demonstrates that Johannesburg's post-colonial urbanism is not only mimicry (Mbembe 2008) but actively learns from and improves on experiences from elsewhere in light of the conditions which prevail in local settings.

The ability to formulate contingent and localised responses is also illustrated by a for-profit developer, who, when articulating his ambition or vision for the inner-city, draws firmly on a neoliberal habitus and shapes his response through his position as an entrepreneur. At the same time, however, he hybridises this habitus with a social commitment born out of and in response to the socio-spatial conditions which prevail in the inner-city. Hence he declares

"We want to be if not *the*, certainly perceived as one of the premier rental housing businesses who are offering good, solid accommodation, who look after their tenants properly and we're doing a fair deal and we're running a fair business. That's what I want to achieve, and it's very unsexy and very boring but you get it right and the blooms will come" (NB 24/04/2013).

Again this illustrates the ways regeneration is focussed on achieving incremental changes and making the area liveable, rather than pursuing grand visions of urban upgrading. However, grander visions are not absent, but again they are formed in response to the realities of the area and the needs of the people inhabiting it. Thus he elaborates on his long-term visions by stating:

“We get that right [the provision of basic accommodation and the stabilisation of the area] and in 2 years time we’ve got a 2000m² retail outlet, high-end, proper, not a spaza shop [a trading kiosk], a proper outlet ...You have that, you have some other line stores, maybe take these offices and convert them, do something like put an AIDS clinic in here, a business incubation centre. I’ll provide the space, I want Liberty Life and TUHF to sponsor the computers...let’s get some community stuff going, let me take a place over there and take hawkers and say ‘Right, here you go, I’m giving you two years rent-free. In April of 2015 you’re going to have to move into a shop or make space for the next guy.’ So I’m again trying to create mixed use, hopefully this is a piazza now suddenly we can get some traction” (ibid).

Here he shows that international visions of public space are adapted to local needs and conditions, and are hence vernacularised. Whilst the neoliberal habitus comes to the fore, as business and entrepreneurialism are heralded as the solutions to poverty, he also shows social awareness and cognisance of the potential for regeneration to respond to the prevailing social problems. Commercial needs thus sit alongside developmental needs in his and other developers’ visions, demonstrating the ways in which the process is not another iteration of a global trend or phenomenon, such as gentrification or neoliberal urbanism, but is a real attempt to create a city which responds to the new needs of its inhabitants.

In some cases these needs are dire and immediate, and regeneration cannot afford to have grand ambitions as it must tackle critical and systemic neglect and physical destruction. A housing supervisor draws on the prevailing physical conditions in the inner-city and explains regeneration as an effort to improve the area. In his view urban regeneration means

“maintaining the infrastructure here in the city, taking care of those abandoned buildings, renovating them and making them habitable – a place that humans can go and habitate [sic] them, that’s what urban regeneration means to me. Making the whole city habitable” (P 22/02/2013).

It has been shown that regeneration has been conceived and pursued in ways which respond to these immediate physical needs and thus strive to make meaningful improvements to the prevailing socio-spatial landscape. The particular spatiality of the inner-city has shaped the ways in which actors respond and is thus embedded in their habitus. At the same time, this thesis has shown how confronting these harsh conditions entails more than physical upgrading and has

results beyond the built environment. Just as the spatial landscape inculcates ways of thinking, seeing and acting, improvements made to it also extend further and take on broader socio-political and symbolic significance. Thus another housing supervisor demonstrates the social commitment which is at the heart of the regeneration process and how this tempers commercial concerns. Significantly, he points out how social commitments include helping people establish senses of belonging and community:

“By regenerating [the inner-city], we are making it better and taking on new buildings that are old, making them new and trying to make people being comfortable and welcoming them into buildings. Then you will make them feel better. And your rental settings, also it counts a lot...when you do your rental settings, they must be affordable. You don't just become a skyrocket [sic], then your buildings will stay empty because people can't afford that” (PM 19/02/2013).

The ways in which people are establishing community and finding belonging in the area are varied. In some cases they have failed to do so and remain detached and have resigned themselves to living in the area as it is the only available, but far from ideal, option. The thesis has shown how, for some people, settlement patterns inherited from the apartheid era endure and the inner-city is only regarded as a temporary residential location. In other cases, however, new identities are emerging, which see people inhabit multiple spatialities, being equally attached to and at home in rural areas, townships, suburbs and the inner-city. The post-apartheid era is thus seeing new, polyvalent ways of being urban emerge and the regeneration project is fostering this as it is enabling people to live in the city in safety and comfort. Improving the inner-city is also allowing people to experience urbanity in ways they could not before. At present black people are able to reject the townships in favour of the inner-city (as several participants in this project did), options which were not legally available to them previously and then, in the early stages of democracy, did not represent a safe alternative.

Evidence has also been presented of new forms of solidarity and social cohesion emerging, including through policing practices, volunteering, participating in organised events and everyday social life in residential buildings. All of these activities are creating new forms of associational life in an area that had previously been segregated and inhospitable. Through the collective efforts of a variety of actors it is now an increasingly welcoming environment and one which

symbolises significant transformation and potentiality in the post-apartheid social landscape. The same housing supervisor quoted above captures the energy, dynamism and transformation which regeneration promises. He declares

“Urban regeneration means to me bringing new life in this city, that’s my understanding. Because when you regenerate a thing you are making it new and bringing new ideas, new types of buildings and new environment. But all in all it’s bringing new life into town” (PM 19/02/2013).

The new life which is springing up in the inner-city is testament to this and demonstrates the changes underway in the post-apartheid period. Whilst there are several shortcomings and areas of concern, the regeneration project has been central to the emergence of new forms of urban life. It thus straddles and signifies multiple forms of social order, including the embedding of neoliberal practices and forms of governance as well as the fostering of a developmental, transformative order. It is thus a process which needs to be understood as a vernacular response to both localised, specific conditions and broader global trends and currents.

Towards a vernacular theorisation of urban change

It has been asserted that theorising urban change from a vernacular perspective means employing a variety of vocabularies and conceptual registers and allowing for varied, unexpected findings and outcomes to emerge. It also means being attuned to the uncertainties, multiplicities and constant forms of becoming which define urban spaces. Post-colonial societies are good, but certainly not the only, settings in which this mode of thought can be experimented with because by nature they are contested, fragmented, polyvalent and dynamic (Robinson 2003b, Roy 2009, Comaroff & Comaroff 2012, Watson 2013; van Holt 2013a). This is not to dismiss the multiplicity of Western/Northern societies, which certainly are dynamic and home to varied experiences and ways of being urban (Hall 2013; 2015; Peck 2015), but to recognise that forces and practices of experimentation, innovation, uncertainty and resistance are frequently closer to the surface in those societies emerging from under the yoke of, and in many ways still subject to, oppressive regimes and externally-imposed forms of governance and domination.

It is also important to bear in mind that distinctions between Developed and Developing societies are false binaries and overlook the ways in which, rather than being separate worlds,

these societies are products of a shared, mutually-constitutive history and remain joined together in the present (Robinson 2006). The post-colonial world has long served as a site of experimentation for various policies and styles of governance emanating from and now being adopted in the West (Comaroff & Comaroff 2012). For instance the rounds of austerity being forced on some EU states and voluntarily adopted in the United Kingdom in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis bear strong resemblances to the Structural Adjustment Programmes which were imposed on many countries in Africa in the 1970s (ibid). Pinochet's Chile was also one of the first countries to adopt or be subjected to neoliberal shock therapy (Peck 2015), illustrating that the South, rather than being backwards and always in a state of playing catch-up, is actually at the forefront of economic, political and social change. Some scholars and commentators also draw lines of continuity between the public demonstrations and occupations which came to be known as the 'Arab Spring', the running battles fought over public space in Istanbul and the Occupy movements which arose in London and New York (Halvorsen 2012; Harvey 2012; Merrifield 2013). Whilst the similarities between the different movements are debatable, the Occupy Movements certainly drew inspiration and lessons from the uprisings in other parts of the world, showing that the South can be a site of learning for the West and provides glimpses into emerging forms of social relations and political organisation across the world. Southern or post-colonial societies thus need to be read not as Western societies' 'Other' or poor relative, but as offering insights into processes of change and social upheaval which are being experienced on a global scale.

Thus a theoretical lens developed in and from the perspective of these societies does not only respond to local particularities or imperatives, but potentially speaks to a globalised world where western and post-colonial societies are mutually intertwined in (although still unevenly developed and differentially able to influence) circuits of capital and crisis, policy formulation and transmission, environmental stress, processes of urban change/gentrification and flows and experiences of migration. The particularism of post-colonial societies stands for the particularism of all societies and contexts, and the insights, theorisations and epistemological perspectives gleaned from these settings are potentially applicable everywhere. In her 'ordinary cities' approach Robinson (2006; 2011) does not strive to reassert post-colonial particularity, but aims to develop a theoretical lens and register which can speak to and about intertwined and shared urban experiences. Her starting points may be Brazil and South Africa, but her objective is global – the world of cities everywhere. Theories of neoliberalism, gentrification, revanchist renewal, Global

and World Cities and planetary urbanisation all have pretensions to global status – why should theory developed in post-colonial contexts be different?

On the one hand it should not be – post-colonial perspectives and scholars are not only able to articulate and appreciate the conditions prevailing in their contexts but are also able to speak to the conditions which are rapidly becoming global and points of crisis everywhere. On the other hand, post-colonial theory should be different as it is born out of experiences of domination and totalising narratives which it should be loath to replicate. Thus whilst post-colonial theories may speak to global experiences, or experiences which are becoming global, they should do so by highlighting the inescapable messiness and volatility of social and urban life everywhere. Starting from this basis, it thus becomes vitally important to be attuned to diversity, emergence and the constant states of becoming which define urban societies, as this thesis has attempted to do. African modernity and urbanity is experimental, dynamic and defined by specific conditions emanating from colonial histories, but it is also worldly and has always been formed by and contributed to the formation of Western capitalism, imperialism, modernity and urbanity (Mbembe & Nuttall 2004; Myers 2011; Pieterse 2011). One cannot think African urbanity without the West and the colonial experience, but the West's modernity too relied heavily on and was shaped by its relation to the colonial world (Robinson 2006). This remains true for the current juncture we are in. Can London's present forms of urbanism be grasped accurately without factoring in the influence migrants from across the post-colonial and post-socialist worlds are playing, not only in its social formations and relations, but also in its employment and property markets (see Hall 2015)? Thus, polyvalence is not only experienced in the South, but being orientated towards it and to thinking with complexity and difference, and thus against monolithic or too-easily travelling concepts, can be learnt from the experiences and epistemic viewpoints emerging out of post-colonial contexts.

Within the vernacular framework adopted and argued for in this thesis the salience of terms such as neoliberalism, gentrification and revanchist renewal are not dismissed. These are real driving forces shaping the changes rolling out across many urban settings. They are constitutive elements of the messy reality of inner-city Johannesburg too. However, these terms do not capture all, or even most, of the forces, points of conflict, experiments and imperatives which are driving moments of urban change. A vernacular approach to understanding these moments thus views

these critical concepts and the issues they highlight as important elements and outcomes, but also sees them as subject to being influenced by and changing in the face of local conditions and agency. They exist alongside other important political and social dynamics and attention to the combination of these and the novel insights which arise drives a vernacular approach.

Potential future research

It is my hope that this thesis has developed concepts which can be used to make sense of a variety of settings and reveal the multiple and contested dynamics which drive moments of urban change. Vernacular regeneration is a ‘middle-level’ theory (Kantor & Savitch 2005) which does not seek to explain all instances of urban renewal, but proposes a framework for studying these processes. It is out of particular localised experiences that wider theorisations can be built and better understandings of the forces driving processes of urban change – be they the outlooks and practices of individual actors, the socio-political and policy contexts they are shaped by, localised spatial and contextual dynamics, the influence of consultants and travelling policies or the global financial system – can be arrived at. Using the hypothesis that all processes are vernacular invites research to engage with each setting on its own terms and to steer away from totalising narratives. It can reveal what is common to different settings as well as what factors make them unique; it can also shed light on how shared experiences, such as the predominance of neoliberalism, are always encountered and engaged with in localised, unanticipated ways.

Therefore it is hoped that this approach can inform research in a variety of other contexts. In South Africa it would be helpful to investigate processes of urban change taking place in other central cities, particularly the major cities Durban, Cape Town and Pretoria. There is not a great deal of research into urban change in Durban and Pretoria, and the research in Cape Town frequently lacks localised perspectives and attention to the variety of dynamics driving the process (Miraftab 2007). Thus putting the vernacular approach to comparative use in these cities will be helpful in establishing if the Johannesburg case is exceptional within the South African context and is shaped by features which are unique to the setting⁴⁹, or if there are common experiences across South African cities. This would allow for a greater sense of the dynamics which are shaping processes of urban change in the country, and reveal the extent and influence

⁴⁹ For example building hijacking is a phenomenon which is particularly acute in Johannesburg. Process of decay and racial transition also differ across the different cities, due to demographic and economic reasons, as discussed in Chapter Five.

of the neoliberal framework as well as the developmental post-apartheid drive which this thesis has revealed.

Such an approach would also thus put the other theoretical concept developed in this thesis – spatial habitus – to work. This concept is useful in studying processes of urban change and interrogating their particular dynamics because it draws attention, firstly, to actors’ or practitioners’ shared motivations and milieus. Investigating the forces shaping people’s habitus is helpful for revealing broader social influences and the nature of the social order which is shaping and being reproduced through regeneration. In South Africa it would be of value to determine the extent to which the developmental habitus is shared by actors beyond those who participated in this research project. Secondly, the spatial aspect of the concept is important for bringing to light the particular, localised dynamics which are shaping the ways people act, as well as the effects which their actions have. It is a concept which can be used in comparative studies across various settings so that the habituses of different actors, located in different spatial contexts can be compared. This could be used to reveal place-specific features and the effects they have on how people approach urban regeneration and management, but can also reveal experiences of space and geographic issues which are shared between different contexts. A vernacularised approach to research is helpful in revealing this as it does not assume of prejudice commonalities or differences, but allows them to emerge inductively through research findings.

Spatial habitus is also a concept which has use beyond practitioners and the South African context. It draws attention to the creative relationship between people and spaces and how being in and exerting influence over space requires processes of adaptation and adjustment. Potential studies could therefore explore how people acquire spatial capital and come to be at home in various places, and what the consequences for failing to do so are. It can be used to understand the aspirations behind regeneration projects and possibly account for some of the reasons why some projects succeed and others fail. It can also be used to explore people’s experiences of urban change. For instance in contested neighbourhoods the ways in which different groups compete for and claim spaces can be analysed through the concepts spatial capital and spatial habitus, and these can potentially shed light on the reasons why some groups’ attain positions of dominance over space whilst others do not. It can also be used to highlight the effects of change and displacement, such as the potentially harmful effects neighbourhood change can have on

people's spatial habitus and abilities to be comfortable in places. But it could also help reveal how people adjust to changing spatial contexts, for instance how working class people live with and adapt to gentrification and find ways to resist being displaced. In these ways, it is hoped that this thesis has made a contribution beyond its immediate case-study and contributed to the formation of concepts which can be taken further and used to inform new studies too.

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Appendix One

Interview questions for investors and developers

1. What is the idea and goal behind your company?
2. What is the difference between social and affordable housing?
3. Why focus investments in the inner-city?
4. And on providing rental accommodation?
5. Who do you cater for?
6. You require payslips, bank statements etc. from prospective tenants; what can be done to accommodate people with less formal livelihoods and sources of income?
7. What funding sources do you draw on?
8. Are these sufficient?
9. What challenges do you face in terms of funding?
10. How do you balance business/market demands with social concerns?
11. How are rentals maintained at affordable rates?
12. What additional options are available to expand social housing and keep it affordable?
13. Is government doing enough to support the sector?
14. What about financial institutions?
15. How has the prevalence of other companies operating in the affordable housing market in the inner-city affected you?
16. What sort of impact are companies like AFHCO etc. having on the inner-city?
17. What do you think attracted private investment to the inner-city?
18. What does urban regeneration mean to you?
19. Is it happening in Johannesburg?
20. What obstacles are there which are preventing it from taking place?
21. What about the danger of poorer people being crowded out as the inner-city improves?
22. Where do you think the inner-city is headed?

Appendix Two

Interview questions for housing supervisors/building managers

1. When did you start working here?
2. What did you do before?
3. When did you come to Joburg?
4. How did it feel when you first arrived?
5. Have you seen changes in the area since you came?
6. What problems are still in the area?
7. What does your job involve?
8. What skills does a building supervisor need?
9. How do you establish authority?
10. Does being in the inner-city come with any particular challenges or issues?
11. Why do tenants come to your building?
12. What do you provide for them?
13. What occupations would you say your tenants are involved in?
14. What issues do tenants come to you with?
15. What sort of challenges or difficulties do your tenants face?
16. What rules are in place for tenants?
17. Do they listen to these? How do you ensure that they cooperate?
18. Are there any rules that they break regularly or complain about?
19. Do tenants have any say in the running of the building and the rules in place?
20. Are their conflicts in the building?
21. How are these dealt with?
22. How do you make sure people cooperate in the building?
23. Is there a sense of community in the building?
24. And the surrounding area?
25. Do people feel safe in the building?
26. And the surrounding area?
27. What security measures are in place?
28. Do tenants cooperate with these?
29. Is there crime in the area?
30. If crime occurs is it handled by the police or private security?
31. What is your relationship like with the private security?

32. Do you think security makes it harder to have a sense of community?
33. What does urban regeneration mean to you?
34. What would make the inner-city/Hillbrow better?

Appendix Three

Interview questions for security personnel

1. When did you join Bad Boyz?
2. Why did you join?
3. What does your job involve?
4. What sorts of issues do you deal with in Hillbrow?
5. What crimes do you see here?
6. How do you deal with criminals?
7. What are the other threats to community safety?
8. How do you deal with these?
9. How do you spot/identify potential criminals?
10. Is your job dangerous?
11. Why did you take this job? Do you like it?
12. What training did you need to work with Bad Boyz?
13. What is the difference between Bad Boyz and other security companies?
14. And Bad Boyz and the police?
15. What is your relationship with community members like?
16. Do people support you?
17. Are there people who do not like Bad Boyz?
18. What are the bad things about Hillbrow?
19. And the good things?
20. Do you live here yourself?
21. How do you feel about living here?
22. And the job you are doing?
23. What would make Hillbrow a better place to live?
24. Do you think Hillbrow has improved?
25. Has Bad Boyz contributed to that improvement?

Appendix Four

Interview questions for tenants

1. What is your occupation?
2. How long have you lived in this building?
3. Who do you stay with?
4. Where were you living before you moved here?
5. Is this building different from where you were living before?
6. What are the benefits of living in this building?
7. What are the benefits of living in this area?
8. What the things you don't like about the building?
9. What are the things you don't like/negative aspects about living in this area?
10. Why did you move to this area?
11. Have you seen changes in this area in the time that you have lived here?
12. Is living in this area different from other places you have lived?
13. How would you describe life in this area?
14. Does living here allow you to do things that you would not be able to if you were living somewhere else?
15. Are there things that you would like to be able to do that you can't here?
16. Do you feel safe?
17. Where do you children play? (if relevant)
18. Are there enough facilities for children?
19. What do you do for recreation/entertainment?
20. Do you belong to any community organisations or groups in the area?
21. Is there a sense of community in the area?
22. What would make the building a better place to live?
23. What would make the area a better place to live?
24. Does this place feel like home to you?
25. Do you plan to stay in here for the long-term?
26. Has your life changed since moving to this building?