JOHANNESBURG

GLM Study Trip 2017

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EDITORIAL NOTE

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It is the tale not of two cities, but one, with fragmented realities under the bright sun. City of Gold, City of Apartheid or City of Africa, Johannesburg has many names. The city's constant evolution renewed by time and struggle has opened our eyes to the weight of imagining and crafting the city.

Imagine. The top floor of the tallest building in Africa. A view that reveals the tentacular expansion of the city in its surroundings, simultaneously reminding us of previous temporalities, almost as a visualisation of history. To the South-West, we could see remnants of the gold mines, the economy on which the city was built in the 19th century. To the North, we could admire the perspective of the Gauteng's expansion, as it moved closer towards Pretoria. And in-between, the sprawl. But not any sprawl. An eclectic juxtaposition of layers of urbanisation that are striking to the eye. New high-rises towered next to small, run-down buildings tinted with a thin layer of dust and a feeling of abandon. However, from the top the 223 meters high Tower of Africa, many facets of the city remain hidden. One could not see the social divides that run deep in the fabric of the city, as Soweto, Diepsloot, and other townships cannot be seen from so far away.

Entrenched in colonial and industrial foundations, developed and divided by racial laws, Johannesburg adorns many scars of its past. At the metropolitan scale, the city of Johannesburg wants to overcome its racial urban history and mend the spatial divides.Yet, inequalities at the micro scale remain strong. These inequalities sometimes cohabit within one space, manifesting themselves between two streets, in one building, or at different hours of the day. These are amongst Johannesburg's scars. The city of the past still haunts the city of present days and makes the city of the future eminently political, conflictual. All these historical waves are interwoven in the urban fabric of the metropolis and remain at the core of current preoccupations and projects.

During our week-long trip in February 2017, our group of students met a number of people, with different backgrounds, and different points of view on what the future of Johannesburg entails. The present report is a collective work and analysis that resulted from our study trip, designed and written by the students. It is a collection of images and reflexions based on the visits we made to government officials, associations, companies and academic. Our vision of the city is deeply shaped by our encounters and observations, which remain brief and limited. These articles are only a glimpse into the contrasted and intricate realities that constitute Johannesburg. But let this report also be a tribute. To Johannesburg, to its complexity, and inspiring experience we had together.

A view from Central Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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Brice Jacquemin

Cosima Malandrino

Located in what is known today as the Gauteng province, Johannesburg rises on the remnants of a colonial past. Its skyscrapers adorned with shiny led billboards look out on a eclectic urban landscape where dusty areas, highways, and abandoned open mines exist side-by-side with industrial warehouses, apartment complexes and low-rise informal settlements.
Johannesburg and the Gauteng region are a result since their very foundation of diverse global forces that have continuously shaped the path of such a metropolitan area. Central to this space is a "fundamental connection to an elsewhere" in the words of Mbembe. This global interconnectedness constitutes a constant narrative in the history of the region, which explains its transformation from an industrial center to a globalized economic node for finance, technology and labor networks.

We intend to avoid the mistake of characterizing the Gauteng Region and its powerful center uniquely in terms of its post-coloniality and the urban divisions that stem from it. Indeed, Johannesburg should be apprehended as a post-apartheid city, an emerging economy, and a "city in a world of cities" that cuts across the North-South divides (Peyroux, 2012; Robinson, 2006).
A necessary analysis of the issues of Johannesburg and its regions' urban structure should not preclude us from recognizing the positive contributions that such a context provides to the study of urban life. If on the one side we set to find solutions and reflect on the contemporary urban challenges represented by the Gauteng Region's context, our aim in this report is also to highlight the many lessons that are to be learned from it. Indeed, we are 60 Master students from the Urban School of Sciences Po Paris who want to share through this report the analysis developed from a week of meetings, debates, conferences, walking and bus tours, nights out and ordinary encounters in Johannesburg. However, we do recognize that our perspectives and experiences are very limited. A week is not enough to claim thorough knowledge of the dynamics at play in a large metropolis. Thus, the reflections that result from this exceptional visit should be taken as a humble contribution from some foreign eyes, to the study of urban development in large metropolises.

If Johannesburg can be said to be a relatively young city as it turned into an industrial pole towards the end of the 19th century, its transition to democracy is even more recent, dating back to 23 years ago. The city and country still grapples to this day with the remnants of its deep structural inequalities.

Indeed, the fortune and condemnation of Johannesburg hides underground, in the gold rich soil that attracted Dutch and British colonisers, starting from the end of the 19th century. The region developed out of the profits derived from the extraction of gold, which turned it into an industrial power creating great amounts of capital for European mining companies and banking institutions. The surplus accumulated hinged on the exploitation of a black, indian and european working class that itself was

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constituted by transnational labor mobility.

The first part of the 20th century famously witnessed the rise of white colonial rule that, starting from the victory of the National Party of DF Malan (Mabin, 2015) in 1948, progressively proceeded to institutionalize racial segregation establishing the Apartheid regime.
Race constitutes a determining factor in the history of the South African planning practices. The National Party indeed undertook a reorganisation of space that deepened racial segregation and made of the Gauteng Region (previously known as the Southern Transvaal) one of the main targets of its planning policy (Mabin, 2015). As Alan Mabin extensively explains, the widely popularized notion of a "Gauteng City Region" defined by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) as "an integrated cluster of cities, towns and urban nodes that together make up the economic heartland of South Africa" («GCRO»), in fact only resurfaced in a new form in the 2000s. "Gauteng", identified as a regional object draws back to the hundred years old conception of Southern Transvaal, targeted by the comprehensive segregation policies like the Groups Area Act of 1950. The guide plan known as the "Red Report" of 1957 is another emblematic example of the will to set up such a regional framework around planning of space based on race (Mabin, 2015).

Such a regional understanding becomes essential in grasping the urban transformations and the political dynamics that unfolded as the Apartheid regime started to face contestation in the 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, while the inner city of Johannesburg had historically been restricted to white inhabitants and the political and financial institutions supporting and profiting from the colonial rule, the 1980s marks the beginning of a 'white flight' to highly securitized and gated suburbs at the outskirts of the city (Peyroux, 2012). This progressive reconfiguration of urban space between the center and the periphery brought about a new order that has consolidated itself after the fall of the regime in 1994 until today.

The African National Congress (ANC), the party born out of the struggle with apartheid authorities, came to power with a manifesto of hope and change. Under this guise, it promised to remedy the hurts of the past hundreds of years of colonial and National Party rule. On the urban landscape, the ANC has enjoyed large amounts of popularity, especially in its historic bastion of Johannesburg. It was through urban tools that the ANC sought to dissolve the structural divides created in urban division. One such example is the Johannesburg Development Agency which was created in the Mayor's office. At a later date, this entity was corporatized, in order to manage public budgets more "efficiently". At the turn of the 21st century, the city corporatized its municipal functions with the aim to reduce its financial burdens. This is the context the newly elected Democratic Alliance (DA) city administration has had to work in. The historic bastion of the ANC has now become a DA city. Today, the Democratic Alliance, a party widely considered to the right of the ANC, has taken the JDA back under municipal control in order to allow for more direct control of its development agency.

What then is Johannesburg? When entering the offices of the Johannesburg Development Agency, there is the constant reminder of Johannesburg's aspirations, to become a world class African city. The ANC took on this project as a tool to promise development and change. The focus on cityness and urban policies was one of the main hopes in which the ANC would undo deep structural divides created under the rule of the National Party. This demonstrates Johannesburg's will to follow in the footsteps of a global city model and become a serious contender in the attraction of global capital and recognition. Nonetheless, this move was not simply motivated by economic ambitions, but is also inextricably linked to a way of imagining the post-apartheid city, as a home to a cosmopolitan population and potentially a model for the rest of the African continent.

Integral to this approach, is the development of private enclaves, known as City Improvement Districts (CIDs), with about 20 of them in Johannesburg (Didier et al, 2016). CIDs are areas of the city developed by private actors, ensuing the privatization of different types of services, from street cleaning to security, along with the exclusion of certain groups from these spaces, such

as street vendors, beggars and other marginalized groups. Behind all this is the hope that these enclaves will bring investments and start a trickle-down flow, empowering the poorest members of Johannesburg (Didier et al., 2016). A notable example of this is the provision of expensive, large infrastructure services, such as the Gautrain project. As any world class city, it needs an efficient transport system to link the airport to the central business district center. The city administration knows fully well that this caters to a tiny fraction of Joozians. Yet it is policies such as these that are amongst a host of tools employed to create jobs, alleviate poverty and lead to an overall sense of change.

Our initial guiding question throughout the trip and this report was turned towards understanding whether Johannesburg's urban policies adopted a "pro-growth" perspective geared towards modernising the city and attracting economic investment, or rather "pro-poor" point of view, which prioritized helping the poor and marginalized sectors of the city. However, this question leads us to simplify the complexity of these issues and policies as "pro-growth" insinuates that they benefit a largely white upper class, and "pro-poor" serves a majority black and poor population. Furthermore, this perspective would lead to us to dichotomise two aspects of urban planning that are not always contradictory: one does not necessarily preclude the other. Behind this dichotomy lies a far more intricate reality, which we will emphasize throughout this report.

The following chapters will further explore other ways through which we can understand the city of Johannesburg's current urban policies beyond the "pro-poor" and "pro-growth" dichotomy. Each section delves into themes that constitute the city and its complex reality namely its post-apartheid identity, its institutional framework and governing actors, the utility networks and form of mobility, the creation of informal networks and the role of urban planning in reshaping the city. Our chapters are a succession of different outlooks, the aggregation of many ways of seeing the city, which was presented to us by the people and places we have encountered.

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Local sellor in Soweto
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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01

OLD AND NEW IDENTITIES IN A POST-APARTHEID CONTEXT

How has the discourse of exceptionalism shaped South African politics and identity?

> The city [...] does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the Bags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.
> (Italo Calvino, 1972, p.11)

As we walked through the streets of Johannesburg, we encountered an amalgamation of memories of the past and projects for the future. Statues, street signs, historical plaques: the legacy of an oppressive system and the struggle against are experienced in the urban landscape. The constant dialogue between past and future has made Johannesburg at once a harmonious and conflictual space, producing contested identities in the process.

Most recently, the mainstream narrative about the city centers around "exceptionalism": Johannesburg is a success story emerging out of South Africa's conflicted past. Johannesburg's "exceptional" development has been adopted as a way

The Orlando Towers in Soweto
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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OLD AND NEW IDENTITIES IN A POST-APARTHEID CONTEXT

to reinvent the city's image, almost in opposition to the rest of the African continent. Indeed, the discourse of exceptionalism is produced through a process of inclusion of a desired identity and simultaneous exclusion, separating South African history from the rest of the continent in terms of economic, political and social development. In this perspective, the narrative of exceptionalism can be seen as a mediator principle straddling the past and present, inclusion and exclusion, and to a further extent, cosmopolitanism and xenophobia.

Was the political will of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to build a post-apartheid South African nation enough to unify all the colors of "the Rainbow Nation"? Who is included within this Rainbow Nation? The project of nation building is tied to the construction of a dominant narrative which choses certain elements of the past as constitutive of present identities.

If the "city contains its past like the lines of a hand", than it is the eyes of the readers who decide how to interpret those lines and materialise it fortune. We, readers, must attempt to move beyond the dichotomy between pre and post apartheid, and find other angles through which to see and begin to understand Johannesburg.

Throughout this chapter, we will first talk about the place of gold in the history of Johannesburg and the production of an exceptionalist discourse. We will then touch upon how this discourse spills into the present and leads to xenophobic responses towards migrants from the African continent. Finally, the last article interprets the question of identity through the lense of Johannesburg's music scene.

Remixing identities

Driving through Johannesburg's soundracks (Gabriella & Marina)

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HISTORY IN THE MAKING

Living on the edge of past and future

Benedetta Cosco

Liana Rakotondramboa

Lucien Zerbib

The contemporary spatial configuration of Johannesburg represents the outcome of a complex and dynamic interplay of historical layers, multiple actors and different cultures. As urban planner Tanya Zack explains, Joburg is an "unfinished city", namely a metropolis of repression and marginalization, but also opportunities and possibilities. This interaction between inclusion and exclusion can be better understood following the "exceptional" historical background of Johannesburg and the changes that they have produced in the urban environment. Indeed, the Johannesburg of today has several attributes, but its main character can be resumed in the idea of a "cosmopolitan city." According to Achille Mbembe, it is the destination and home of diverse populations at the regional (Gauteng), national (South African) and international level (Afropolitan and influence of Europe).

The entire history of Johannesburg and its specificities are closely related to gold: in the late XIX century, gold was discovered in Witwatersrand, an area that at the time belonged to Boers' Republic of Transvaal. Gold mining immediately proved an immense source of wealth for the Republic, which started to develop and invest on the most advanced technologies for the extraction. Since mining also required a great amount of workforce, it is not difficult to imagine that the region began to attract workers from the rest of the country, but also from the whole African continent and other parts of the world (Gevisser & Nuttall, 2004). In a few years, then, this massive wave of migrants and the rapid industrialization generated by gold industry gave rise to a brand new city, which was Johannesburg. In other words, the birth of the city itself is connected to an exceptional cosmopolitanism due to the close contact of Europeans, African, Asian and other migrants arrived in the the area to take advantage of the economic prosperity. However, this diversity was not completely welcomed: the Afrikaans living in the city called the immigrants "uitlanders", i.e. "foreigners" and immediately began to develop forms of exclusion towards these populations (Dominique Lapierre, 2008). Such discriminations translated into terrible work conditions in the mines, especially towards the Black workers. Paradoxically, then, the wealth of natural resources and the multicultural character, which potentially represented the strength and the main sources of opportunities of the city, became de facto the first instrument of exclusion. This marginalization assumed different forms across time, but has represented a sort of constant element of Johannesburg history from the XVI century until the end of the Apartheid, as Professor Edward Webster explained to us at the University of Witwatersrand.

An example of the mixture of ethnicities and cultures that has always marked the city is the history of the fa-

mous 14th street, in the suburb of Fietas: this zone was born and developed as a mixed neighborhood where "coloured," white, Malay and Indian workers used to live together. The 14th street, in particular, was known as a vibrant commercial street of the area, emblem of the exceptional diversity of the city. Between the 1960s and the 1970s, however, the apartheid policies forced the inhabitants of Fietas to relocate in different zones of the city. Despite the resistance of the local community and the attempt to upgrade the area, the historical 14th street's life is still far to be recovered. As we walked down the street, the scars of the Apartheid are still visible in the urban landscape, the space is fragmented and the neighborhood is disconnected from the rest of the city.

The discourse of exceptionalism has been brought into the main narrative of the spatial composition of Johannesburg, often covering up its intrinsically exclusive side. However, some authors such as Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall (2004) in their article "Writing the world from an African metropolis," have reshaped and combined those controversial aspects of the city: indeed, the authors pointed out that the exceptionalist narrative of the city actually obscures other important factors. For them, the city should be approached studying the process through which the city deal with with its "fuites". In other words, Joburg is a continuous interaction between the places that have historically been exclusionary and the most inclusive ones. For example, even during the Apartheid, the city cannot be studied as divided from the township because the two zones are connected and imbricated through circulation of goods, services and people: these different circulations and urban dynamics represent the most essential aspects of "cityness". This idea is still visible in the spatial organization of the city. As we drove around the city, moving from Soweto to the suburbs, it is difficult to assess the limits of the city. Hence, it is not relevant to exclude the old township from what makes Johannesburg a vibrant metropolis Johannesburg, in fact is a melting-pot of various influences: European architecture, American culture of consumption and African way of living. Mbembe's point of view is interesting because it goes beyond the South African myth that prevents the country to embrace a more pan-africanist identity and, at the same time, it acknowledges the complex dynamics between history and spaces that makes the city unique. However, looking at Johannesburg's spatial structure cannot be separated from the legacy of apartheid because it is necessary to tackle today's issues of housing, mobility or urban facilities.

14th Street
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

THE PAST IS PRESENT

Cementing and commemorating memory in Johannesburg

Klara Fritz

Simona Logreco

Every city has the facts, the triumphs and tribulations of its history, embodied somehow in its streets, museums and monuments. With collective memory etched into urban space, the city becomes a palimpsest- a manuscript which is constantly corrected, overwritten, and partially effaced (Huyssen, 2008). In Johannesburg, it is clear that the past is present. The state of South Africa has recently gone through the processes of reconciliation and nation building, but the legacy of apartheid is still present in the inequalities and prejudices faced by certain people. The Apartheid period still casts a long shadow over the urban form Johannesburg takes today. The urban planning of this period was characterized by rigid separations of urban space according to the economic, functional and racial dimensions. The pattern of racial segregation generally took the form of the central white area and black peripheries, and this urban form is still present to this day, but the legacy of Apartheid is also present in public space, in the willed remembering of people, in the form of street art and of monuments. The recent history of apartheid has left physical traces on its urban form, but its omnipresence in the lived experience of its inhabitants also raises the question of how these events should be commemorated.

Formal and informal embodiments of some form of collective memory are not hard to find in Johannesburg. The immortal figure of Nelson Mandela greeted us smilingly on a building in trendy Braamfontein, on a wall in the outskirts of Maboneng, and as a sculpture, with his arms up and head down, wearing boxing gloves and ready to fight, in front of the Magistrate's court in central Johannesburg. Johannesburg embodies collective memory in different ways. The Johannesburg Development Agency, for example, spends 1% of its yearly budget on the provision of public art, some of which invariably takes the form of monuments. The omnipresence of Nelson Mandela in commissioned public art and street art, a figure of both resistance and reconciliation, showed us visitors to the city the importance of this man as a symbol for a collective memory, an icon unifying South African citizens.
When a memory is recalled, it is mediated by the events which have taken place since then, by the expectations of the future, and by changing perceptions of the past. Therefore, it always involves a negotiation between the past and the present. In contrast to individual memory however, when an experience is embodied in the form of a museum or monument, it is frozen in time. With the official end of Apartheid in 1994, the challenge of commemorating this period would fall to museums, the very institutions which were themselves guilty of the "monolithic representation of the white population's hegemony

over the native and indigenous populations" (Nieves and Hlongwane, 2007). Museums give material form to certain versions of the past, and so the creation of museums and memorials also includes the creation of a collective national past. The "truth" in "Truth and Reconciliation" is thus crafted by the conscious act of selective remembrance (The Truth and Reconciliation Committee" was a justice body established after the end of Apartheid, in which perpetrators and victims of violence and human-right violations would give their testimony).

The sites of remembrance which we encountered in Johannesburg ranged from a plaque on 14th street, where Black inhabitants were once forced out, to the Hector Pieterson Memorial Museum, in honor of one of the first victims in the 1976 Soweto uprisings. The Apartheid Museum is a colossal effort to provide an historical insight --thus, to recognize-- the events, the stories, the voices, the contradictions of the lengthy Apartheid regime. Beyond it's informative scope (extremely important for South African citizens), the museum is also the emblem of the national identity wanted by the democratic government. Moreover, it seems the museum has a message for its South Africans visitors: anyone should be able to identify with one of the voices and memories raised by the exhibition, but everyone should feel he belongs today to the same nation as the others.

These spaces, marked as sites of significance, can be seen to become "sites of conscience" (Nieves and Hlongwane, 2007) allowing visitors to critically engage in history. Not only do these spaces give memory a sort of materiality, but they can also become spaces akin to those of of pilgrimage, rites of passage one goes through in order to perform one's civic duty of remembrance (Marschall, 2010). The different ways of remembering the past and cementing it in public space we observed in Johannesburg are diverse and fascinating- we cannot forget that they are political in nature, constructing identity and nation at once.

The efforts of the government to construct a unified history through collective landmarks resulted in a strong national identity, as described by the "Nation in the Making" governmental document of 2006. However, the country remains fractured and stratified. Once analysed through race and class differentiations, the shift in studies to analyse the South African context move towards identity issues since the end of the Apartheid regime (Bekker, 2006). The complexity of these identities is linked to racial, linguistic, territorial issues- far more than resulting from a simple class distinction. Today, the ANC contestations and the massive protests reveal the fragility and the precarity of the new, and constructed, national identity. Simon Bekker's allegation seem to be as important today as ten years ago: "The journey from an apartheid past 'towards non-racialism, equity and unity in diversity' (...) is not linear and appears to be pioneering various pathways that lead to various destinations." (Bekker, 2006, p.14)

Nelson Mandela Grafiti in Braamfontein
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

“SOUTH AFRICANS FIRST” AND THE RISE OF XENOPHOBIA IN JOHANNESBURG

A State policy for national preference in the job market: Between passive acceptance and active recognition of xenophobia by the State

Rym Hanna Khedjari

Kévin Sundareswaran

Liubing Xie

From what was observed in Johannesburg, strong inequalities remain based on a form of spatial segregation of Black and White populations. However, there is a also a distribution of the local population not based on this racial heritage of apartheid but rather linked to a very economic logic. The aim of the article is to see how xenophobia is tied to a legacy of the making of identities since the end of apartheid and to go beyond considering this issue of ethnicity.

During the study trip in Johannesburg, xenophobia was not one of the first striking observations made. The post-apartheid context and the high socio-spatial segregation of the urban space did not bring this issue to the table at first. The racial lines were taken as the main explainers of the socio-economic faith of the individuals in Johannesburg. During apartheid, the public space was separated between White, Black and Coloured, and they were living in strictly segregated neighbourhoods.

The issue of xenophobia was not obvious at first and only became apparent when various lecturers brought up the issue. The first time the issue was raised is when Frédéric de Marcellus, the director of Alstom a company in charge of the project of modernizing Gautrain’s infrastructure, mentioned that the project was going to employ around 99% of South Africans. The rest of the jobs, he said, were left for foreigners. He explained that this policy of quotas, was inscribed in the South African laws and that Alstom had to abide by these laws or it would be sanctioned.

A visit of the township of Diepsloot gave us a better sense of this issue of xenophobia, even though it was, again, not a striking observation or mentioned as one of the main issues that the city-region of Gauteng faces. Although the township appears to be overwhelmingly Black, it is in fact composed of people coming from various countries surrounding South Africa (Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique) that South Africans have tried to separate

from them. Migrants come to South Africa in search for better living conditions and a better economic situation but face discrimination and xenophobia from their Black South Africans counterparts.

As is directly related to the quota laws, only a few formal economic opportunities are left for the hundreds of thousands of migrants from the neighbouring countries. As Edward Webster, a Professor of the University of Witwatersrand emphasised clearly, the informal economy makes a large part of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product and the undocumented immigrants make up for most of the informal economy: a lot of immigrants work as waste pickers, miners, hair-dressers, fruit-sellers, shebeen cooks, etc.

Xenophobia and violence against immigrants: the recent eruption of violent attacks in the city of Johannesburg

Attacks on foreigners and foreign-owned businesses are once again increasing in South Africa, especially in Johannesburg, where there are so many refugees and immigrants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and some other African countries. Dozens were killed in similar waves of xenophobia attacks in 2008 and 2015.

During our stay in Johannesburg, the headlines of the newspapers recorded that vigilante violence happened in the city, where local residents assaulted Nigerians and burned their houses, accusing the Nigerians

Anti-apartheid posters in the Apartheid Museum
Photo credit: Eleonore Pistoiesi

of drug trafficking and prostitution. Soon after, in Pretoria, dozens of homes and business were looted, damaged and set on fire. The crime did not end there, three Somalis were killed in one day in Cape Town.

Houses and businesses have been looted and set on fire in the name of stopping crime committed by foreigners. The actions have been fuelled by both the sentiment that foreigners are committing crime in South Africa and that they have been able to gain economic prosperity while the natives have not.

Soon after the attacks, an anti-immigrant protest was organized in Pretoria. Organisers claimed that the protest was for peace, but their demands fit in with the series of past xenophobic attacks that had happened in Pretoria and Johannesburg.

However, the government tolerated anti-immigrant protests in Pretoria, which indicates that the country and the government is less welcoming towards immigrants from neighborhood African countries than it has been in the past. The discourse of the government is not so encouraging for immigrants as well, as the president Jacob Zuma said, "most of the asylum-seekers are actually economic migrants. When they get asylum permits, they use these to work, study and operate business." The government denied the necessity of providing asylum to people from neighbouring countries and implied that they steal social, educational and employment opportunities from South African citizens. Moreover, Johannesburg Mayor, Herman Mashaba, told South Africa's public broadcaster that law enforcement has been undermined by the government's failure to secure the border. This speech is widely accused as having fueled the xenophobic violence against foreign born people.

The organisation of the diaspora at the local scale : the African Diaspora Forum, pan african mobilization against xenophobia ?

The African Diaspora Forum is an organization that was created in 2008 in response to xenophobic attacks that took place in the country that same year over a period of two weeks (63 migrants were killed, some burnt alive.) Their main aim is thus to promote diversity and oneness by engaging in a continuous dialogue with the government and uniting different African communities under the same platform. The creation of the association was fostered by various community leaders that used their different networks to create a platform through which they could talk to the government. Indeed, according the ADF, the South African government was avoiding its responsibility towards xenophobia by saying that it couldn't address xenophobic issues because of the lack of organizations present to tackle these issues.

The organization moved to Yeoville to be closer to the largest migrant community in South Africa. 60% of Yeoville inhabitants are migrants, mostly from West Africa. There are two types of migrants: the "historic" migrants who came to work in the mines or in sugarcane fields (Mozambicans, Zimbabweans) and the new migrants who came after 1994: Somalis, Congolese and Nigerians among others. The democratization process in February 1990 triggered a different kind of immigration where the number of undocumented and naturalized immigrants from neighbouring states has increased substantially, in particular with the Refugee Act in 1998. However, this policy failed to be implemented at the national level.

Apartheid museum
Photo credit: Nina Llado

REMIXING IDENTITIES

Driving through Johannesburg's soundtracks

Marina Najjar

Gabriella Tanvé

> "Yeah we know all the American rappers and even...Maitre Gims in France, we know him too. You underestimate how much we know about you. We've also been doing music, but nobody knows us."
> WeFirstClass, musicians.

Nightime in Braamfontein.

It's a moment of spontaneous encounter between people from all over South Africa. The neighbourhood is bustling with energy, situated between Hillbrow and the Witwatersrand University. The two clubs Kitchener's and the Great Dane are an establishment for the youth in search of good time, whether on a Tuesday or a Saturday Night. Bouncing and twisting their bodies to the frequences of South African house music. Between cigarette breaks and breaths of fresh air, life stories are shared. Some grew up in Johannesburg, but many came from all over South Africa : Durban, Cape Town, Pretoria and smaller towns around. Some are even foreigners. It seems a pull towards the city brought them here, in the search for economic opportunities and social ascension. "Johannesburg is the New York of Africa," they repeated. What distinguishes Johannesburg from the rest of South Africa and even the African continent? Other claimed that "Cape Town is a permanent holiday, Johannesburg is harsher, but it lives". True, Johannesburg is wounded by its past and scarred by violence and inequalities. But we cannot ignore the people that constitute the place and shape its present. New opportunities in fashion, music, design and film are created in Johannesburg, which gives a platform of visibility for the aspiring youth. It is a way to reclaim a form of presence and recognition, where people seek to reinvent themselves. The city is a terrain through which creativity is conceived and energy is released. Johannesburg is perceived as a window into African continent where the desire to become visible animates newcomers

What do we see through this window?

Many want to believe in a post-apartheid system but see segregated areas. Pockets of segmented identities fragment the space and brings about unsettling contradictions. The city appears as unfathomable and elusive. But to whom? To get a sense of the city's identity, the ex-

ternal eye needs to disrupt binary narratives and preconceived ideas of a fracture between old and new identity, and pre and post-Apartheid. Identity is not only composed of historical facts or economic situations, but also cultural creations, such as music, which emanate from these conditions. Instead of focusing of the urban fractures and temporal fragmentation, we must identify the continuities of urban life across time and the ways in which they evolve. As Henri Lefebvre (1992) writes : "Everywhere where there is interaction of time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm" (p.15). Rhythms, beats, drums and songs born out of the city accompany the everyday urban experiences. They give a key of analysis into the city's identity.

Today, South Africa is a powerhouse of house music production. According to Soweto born music producer and rapper Spoek Mathambo, electronic music trends enable us to encounter the country "not as a place of nostalgia but as a vibrant contemporary scene characterized by 'dread' and 'elation'". Music reflects a deeper sense of identity then that written in the national discourse/museums. In the bars of Braamfontein, music creates a sense of common : a shared reality bound by the beats and drums of the sound. The visitor is invited into the scene, feeling the unique vibrancy of Johannesburg's soundscape. At the same time, music also carries history into the present, linking time periods. For instance, music played an essential role in the anti-apartheid movement, a "Revolution in Four Part Harmony", a tool for emancipation and expression of oppression. Today, it still offers a window of understanding on the city's eclectic and multifaceted identity.

The postcolonial philosopher Achille Mbembe defines Johannesburg as a cosmopolitan city from the national to the international level. South African house music reflects this cosmopolitan reality of Johannesburg. It combines, filters, mixes and transforms these influences to appropriate them. They are not only consuming music but producing it through remixes. The city fosters artistic creation in its own space.

Kitchener's and Great Dane bars in Braamfontein
Drawing by Marina Najjar

Night-time wait in front of Kitchener's
Drawing by Marina Najjar

This creation is not only limited to the bars of Braamfontein, but also circulates throughout the city, from the townships to the privately owned neighborhoods of Maboneng and the Mall of Rosebank zone. Different modes of circulation co-exist in the city, but cars and taxis are the most prominent ones. Minibuses and cars have enabled urban dwellers to move across spatial barriers and racial divides created during apartheid. However, mobility is still restrained to this day. Most people do not walk from one neighbourhood to the other because the streets are too dangerous. The city is hence mostly experienced through glass windows. Cars fragment our spatial experience, they complicate our capacity to understand the neighbourhoods and the ways in which they communicate with each other. While walking through the city is a means of understanding it. In a walk, we directly confront the streets, we smell it, encounter their occupants and overhear conversations. The French philosopher Michel de Certeau (1984) consequently sees the act of walking "as a process of appropriation of the topographical system.". As we travelled by bus during the day, and uber by night, we could not help but feel a certain distance from it. We felt sheltered in our comfortable seats but isolated from the streets outside. Brick buildings seemed intimidating and lights traveled fast past our eyes. The night experience of the uber nonetheless introduces us to another facet of Johannesburg, one that might seem more genuine than the day experience in the bus. The difference is not only due to the excitement of the nightlife or the proximity in the car, but also the music. Most drivers that we met shared their music with us or allowed us to navigate through the city's different radio waves as we were cruising through the streets. We dove into their soundscape, ever so fleetingly, as passengers of their world. Given the position of taxi drivers as constantly traveling through space, their music not only becomes a bridge between people and artists but also between locals and visitors.

Taxi views and feels
Drawing by Marina Najjar

Multiple layers of music produced formally or recorded informally in South Africa reflect the cosmopolitan identity of the country. There are, on the one hand, big names, such as Spoek Mathambo, Black Coffee, Aero Manyelo, whose music can be found on our usual international platforms namely Youtube, Spotify or Soundcloud. They often collaborate with European and American DJs and in so doing produce the city's cosmopolitan identity. On the other hand, there is also another scene of music creation grounded on the local scale. Many South African music makers do not appear on global music platforms, but rather produce music and share it between themselves and create their own networks from homes to bars. This network is facilitated by taxi and uber driver networks. They are important because they contribute to the circulation of soundtracks as they share cassettes and mixtapes with each other. They share limited versions of music and contribute to the rise to fame of certain South African artists. In the car, our tools to identify music such as Shazam were of no help to us, as we desperately attempted to find the names of the songs playing. This music and its network is another facet of Johannesburg which cannot be grasped from the outside. One must embark on the ride to see it.

While we only stayed in Johannesburg for a short week, the music that we encountered has stayed with us. Understanding and feeling the influence of music on Johannesburg is a way to interpret the city, from within, through the eyes of its new generations. This new generation defines itself through this space that is still racially segregated, but it also craves to mark its own track inside the city's texture. The aspirations of Johannesburg's youth lives at the intersection of past and present, mixing influences and producing futures.

Braamfontein streetlooks, mixing fabrics and codes
Andile, fashion desiner, based in Joburg, met at Kitchener's 13/02/17
Drawing by Gabriella Tanvé»

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02

LAYERS OF GOVERNANCE IN A HETEROGENEOUS CITY

Does a heterogeneous city need to be governed by heterogeneous means?

> *"The truth about Johannesburg disappeared."*
> (Tomlinson, Richard et al, 2003, page ix)

After decades of struggle and repression, on April 27, 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) took power in South Africa. At once haunted and galvanized by the legacy of apartheid, the party sought to create a state structure that could heal the wounds of institutionalized, violent racial segregation and empower the disenfranchised black communities to stabilize and affirm their new political power at the head of the country. Defeated in its historical cradle in the 2016 municipal elections, the ANC has been nowadays replaced in Johannesburg by the DA (Democratic Alliance), a historical defeat that points at the huge political pressures generated by the issue of development in the metropolis.

In this process of establishing a new law and justice system in Johannesburg, nation building and city building come together. As explained by R. Tomlinson and al. in Emerging Johannesburg (2003), there was no longer a single, white, official truth about Johannesburg, no longer one single political discourse about the metropolis that considered black, indian, asian or metis as eternally transient inhabitants, never as citizens. With the end of the apartheid, "a multiplicity of Johannesburg came into being, each with a different imaginative moment" (Tomlinson, Richard et al. Emerging Johannesburg, 2003, page ix), creating a complex mul-

Man standing at the Owl Street Intersection - Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet


I KEEP THIS
INTERSECTION
SPOTLESS & CRIME
FREE SPOT.
GOD BLESS U

02

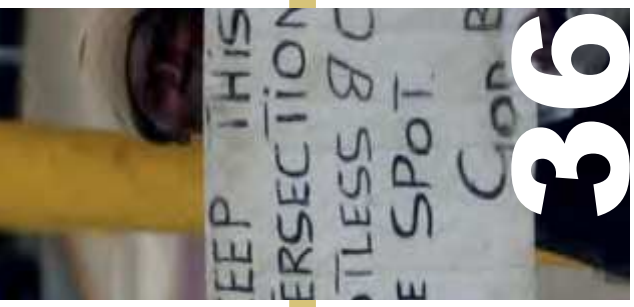
LAYERS OF GOVERNANCE IN A HETEROGENEOUS CITY

tiplicity of layers of governance in today's Johannesburg, between the municipal, regional, national spheres of government, and civil society. This article is an attempt at better understanding these layers, and the great political debates fostered surrounding the city and country's future in the post-apartheid context. Besides the world of politics, new scales and layers of power emerged, not ordered in a mere institutional juxtaposition, but interacting with one another in a polycentric manner. These layers correspond to the different coordinations of actors outside of the pre-established spheres of government, that constitute what we define as urban governance (Legalès, 2010). As the concept is often used in urban studies to analyze the current recomposition of nation states: in Johannesburg the concept of governance enables us to better understand the local post-apartheid regime in all its complexity, as in the past 23 years the city has had to face the dual-challenge of developing its economy and unifying its profoundly divided society in hopes of reconciling the segregated spaces of the metropolis. In 1994, a lot had to be done; today, a lot remains to be done.

Yet major changes were undertaken in Johannesburg that must not be underestimated. Johannesburg has been the theatre of many political choices, heated debates and confrontations between diverging interests, arguing about private interests and the common good, between pro-poor and pro-growth policies. It is this heterogeneity of visions regarding Johannesburg's future and present coalitions that we wanted to focus on in this chapter. We chose to dive into the heterogeneity of governance layers, from a more general description to more precise reflections on the impact and specificities of Johannesburg's political system. Firstly, in "Governing the Gauteng", you will find an overview of governance scales in Johannesburg, to then more appropriately weigh the challenges of implementing a pro-poor agenda at the metropolitan level in "The State is not the Enemy", and to, finally, gain an overview of the contrasted impacts of one of the most progressive constitutions existing on urban governance in "Mobilizing Policy Toward Accountability".

Mobilizing Policy Toward Accountability

Navigating the limits and opportunities of the world's most progressive constitution among NGOs in Johannesburg - Lessons from SERI and PlanAct (Elena)



The State is Not the Enemy

Implementing a pro-poor agenda at the municipal level: attempts and challenges (Maya)

Governing the Gauteng

The challenges of implementing common policies at the metropolitan level (Coline & Johanne)

GOVERNING THE GAUTENG

The challenges of implementing common policies at the metropolitan level

Johanne Collet

Coline Ulusakarya

The Gauteng province (GP) is the tiniest region of South Africa: its borders include an area of less than 20,000 km^2. However, it is the main economic engine of the country and a center of attraction for its population. The region represents 45% of the country's total economic output and 33.8% of the national GDP. It was home to 12,272,263 people in 2011 and is the densest region of the country today (The Gauteng City-Region Observatory). This is not only due to high birth rates, but also due to massive immigration: two out of three residents were not born there. The economic dynamism of the GP attracts many people from South Africa and from other African countries seeking job opportunities.

It is worth studying the administrative organization of this region that capitalizes so many assets in order to understand how any policy is being implemented in the area and consequently in Johannesburg. The Constitution of South Africa identifies three spheres of government: the national government, the provincial government and the local government. They all have legislative and executive authority and are defined as "distinctive, interdependent and interrelated" by the Constitution (South African Government). Within the Gauteng region, the GP is one of these three levels of government. On many topics that

Map of the Gauteng region
Source: GCRO

are deeply related to the general question that interests us here, the province shares its competences with the national government : health, public housing, agriculture, education are some of the main topics falling under this category. The other level of government consists in the ten municipalities of Gauteng: City of Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, City of Tshwane, Lesedi, Midvaal, Emfuleni, Merafong City, Westonaria, Randfontein, Mogale City.

The early 2000s saw the emergence of the Gauteng City Region concept (GCR). It originates in the acknowledg-

ment that people and goods circulate across the administrative boundaries of the GP. The GCR thus includes towns and cities that fall outside of those borders but are tied to the GP through infrastructure, movement and economic networks. The GCR is a different way of thinking about this area based on the existing socio-economic reality. In his report on the history of the concept, the researcher Alan Mabin, describes how the idea of a city-region has featured in different planning discussions and documents over the last century. The conceptions of the GCR have always been contested "because of social, economic and spatial change in the region; because of contest over ways of thinking about the region for various purposes; and due to fashion in discourses of geographical space and planning." (Mabin, 2013, page 4) The concept is still disputed today.

The Gauteng City Region Observatory (GCRO) is a research institute founded in 2008 as a partnership between the Gauteng Provincial Government, Wits University and the University of Johannesburg. At that time, it appeared that the GCR was a relevant scale to tackle important inequalities in the region in a post-Apartheid context. The GCRO is "charged of helping to build the knowledge base that helps government, business, labour, civil society making the GCR more competitive, spatially integrated, environmentally sustainable and socially inclusive." (Gauteng City-Region Observatory) It provides data, benchmark, policy analysis on the region, and aims at building bridges between researchers, policy-makers, universities and the provincial government.

The GCRO is thus a political project as it tries to encourage a governance at the city-region level based on cooperation between the different territorial entities. The institute promotes a combination of pro-growth and pro-poor approaches in order to enhance development of the region. Having a unified agenda can permit to improve the delivery of services for all inhabitants as well as building an attractive city-region. For instance, the Provincial Government chose to opt for a transit-oriented development. On the one hand, it is seen as allowing improved access to transportation for the poor, while it also stimulates economic growth through the concentration of businesses and agglomeration effects. Today, the GCRO has increasing requests to partner with local governments on different projects. For instance, Quality of Life surveys permit municipalities to reflect on the possible ways to change inhabitants' perceptions of local government.

However, the cooperation between municipalities of Gauteng faces many challenges today. Legal barriers are the first obstacles as the South African Constitution does not allow municipalities to spend money on other municipalities' policies. As a result, when a project is to be launched, there needs to be a budget defined for each municipality involved in the project. Officials thus see it as very difficult to include other municipalities in their projects. There are also some political obstacles as the GP is extremely fragmented : the administrative entities are ruled by different parties. For instance, Herman Mashaba was elected as the first Democratic Alliance mayor of Johannesburg in 2016. Since the first election after Apartheid in 1994, the African National Congress had always been in power. Consequently, this election led to important changes in municipal policies. On the contrary, the Provincial Government is still run by the African National Congress. Consequently, some rivalries persist regarding where the real power lays. A last challenge is the economic competition among municipalities themselves, particularly Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, and Tshwane. Although Johannesburg is not the political capital of the country, it is its economic center. In return, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane try to establish themselves as its main competitors. On the other hand, the region portrays important inequalities between those urban centers and more rural municipalities: they attract less investments, have poorer and more marginalized populations.

Despite these challenges, the GCRO attempts to boost coordination between the different municipalities. The Green Infrastructure (GI) project is an example of such an accomplishment. This approach aims at integrating ecological systems into planning. It permits to meet the growing demand of infrastructure in the Gauteng in a sustainable way : for instance, the use of natural features for flood management can replace traditional grey solutions such as pipelines. To implement this project, the GCRO identified the need for "a common GI project goal and devising a clear vision for a GI plan", "involving a variety of stakeholders in the conception, development and implementation of the GI plan." (Bobbins, Culwick, 2016, page 14). Launched in 2014, the City Lab gathered provincial, municipal officials as well as some academics for seven sessions. It managed to create a neutral space that stimulated the exchange of ideas. While the key issues discussed in the group were used to direct GCRO's research, it also permitted officials to apply those findings to their daily jobs.

THE STATE IS NOT THE ENEMY

Implementing a pro-poor agenda at the municipal level: attempts and challenges

Maya Masterson

One phrase was repeated in several meetings throughout the trip, whether it was Stephen Faulkner from the Trade Union Federation, or researchers from the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI), that is: "South Africa has the best constitution in the world". This statement can come as a surprise after days of witnessing and hearing about the poverty, segregation, and inequality present throughout the city. The South African constitution poses national legal obligations to uphold the rights of all citizens. The South African constitution also gives significant autonomy to local governments while still imposing its vision through the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) which reinforces the commitment to poverty reduction (Parnell, 2004). However, the inequalities present throughout the whole city show that neither the legal doctrine nor the political commitment is enough to guarantee justice for all. The question that arises then is how can a pro-poor agenda be implemented at the metropolitan level?

Johannesburg is not only dealing with the complexities of a post-apartheid context but also an increasing urban growth as a result of migration from the rest of the country as well as the rest of the continent. The result is housing shortages, service delivery issues and unemployment. Thus, poverty reduction is clearly an imperative and a priority of the city of Johannesburg and of the South African government since 1994. Aware that 'the best constitution in the world' and political commitment is not enough, Johannesburg has been reforming and restructuring its local government to better deliver on its promises. Johannesburg led an institutional restructuring of its municipal functions to create financial stability and overcome administrative weaknesses. The most significant restructuring was to separate the Council, Mayor and core administration from the service providers making them semi-autonomous agencies (Parnell, 2004). One example of this restructuring is the Johannesburg Development Agency. They explained to us that the intention of the restructuring was to turn a "bureaucracy" into a more "competent administration". The aim of the JDA is to build a more welcoming, competitive and resilient city, 'a better city to work and play in'. The JDA's focus on inner city economic development and mobility, through transit-oriented development projects, can be seen as fitting under the political commitment to poverty reduction and equity. As per the IDP's legal obligation of public participation, the JDA has included this process in pro-

jects. Although they formally meet the requirement, often by obtaining a few signatures in communities, as members of PLANACT called 'fake participation, as Stephen Faulkner from the Trade Union Federation called 'token participation exercises" and as the JDA itself admitted, true public participation is very limited and often superficial. The restructuring of the municipal functions has given the JDA more agency and ability to lead the local development in Johannesburg, they regenerated a large part of Newton and other neighborhoods throughout the inner city (PLANACT, 2017). However, the agency is still highly standardized and politicized - for example during the World Cup they had to dedicate most of their resources to building stadiums and buses for these stadiums - and despite its increased power it has difficulty imposing a public benefice on private investments. Moreover, the revitalization of certain neighborhoods has led to gentrification and displacement. This begs the question, have the institutional reforms and the restructuring of the municipal functions bridged the gap between the constitution's poverty reduction imperatives and the ensuing political commitment and actual poverty reduction in the city of Johannesburg?

Stephen Faulkner from the Trade Union Federation noted that in the past three years there have been an increasing number of service delivery strikes in Johannesburg (Grant, 2016). Throughout the trip, many statements likes this recounting the current conditions of housing, employment, health in the city serve as a testament that the pro-poor objective of the world's 'most brilliant legislation' is not being implemented at the municipal level despite efforts to restructure and reform (Makwela, 2017). The founding members of PLANACT noted that the 'legislation is pro-poor but implementation is not working'. Similarly, members of the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI) noted that 'the state is not the enemy, we just want it to deliver'. What is missing between pro-poor legislation, institutional reform of municipal agencies and actual implementation of pro-poor legislation? According to Professor Mbembe, the issue is how to govern such a heterogeneous space in a way that takes care of life and does not dispense of it . Pro-poor legislation needs to take into account people, infrastructure should have a human aspect.

NYDA building
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

MOBILIZING POLICY TOWARD ACCOUNTABILITY

Navigating the limits and opportunities of the world's most progressive constitution among NGOs in Johannesburg -- Lessons from SERI and PlanAct

Elena Vann

On December 4th, 1996, after decades of a vicious apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela signed South Africa's new constitution into being, a document which continues to receive recognition worldwide as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world. How then, can we understand the continued struggle to defend human rights breached by state and local governments in Johannesburg against the poor and marginalized? Discussions with advocate groups, the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) and PlanAct, in Johannesburg demonstrate the strategies employed by such groups that mobilize existing legal doctrine as tools to hold government agencies accountable in the defense of human rights.

The "Aspirational" Constitution

Deemed one of the most liberal constitutions in the world, the South African constitution proscribes racial discrimination, guarantees full rights for the LGBT community, provides for abortion, and has special provisions for children and prisoners (Sauter, 2015). Johannesburg, however—in the inner city as well as its surrounding, disjointed townships—still struggles to provide for its poor residents, as many find themselves stuck in the margins, facing extreme difficulties in securing safe, stable living conditions and making ends meet. These deeply engrained structural barriers and disparities between racial and socio-economic groups was the source of inspiration for the new constitution's construction. In terms of societal impact, the document sought to shape the South African identity into one worth defending, that in turn defended the rights of its people toward self-actualization. In practice, the guarantees of the constitution serve as inspiration and legal recourse for those willing to pursue it, marking a transition from a "culture of authority" to a "culture of justification" (Woolman, 2016, 295) No matter how valiant the goals of a constitution, however, a weak rule of law culture and limited government experience will continue to reinforce ingrained injustices. In response

to such limits to capacity, NGOs like SERI and PlanAct use constitutional guarantees as self-realizing tools to defend those the state is charged with protecting.

Reconciling Promises with Actions: Building the Commons

Founded in 1985 and 2010, respectively, PlanAct and SERI work to defend the rights of those who have been institutionally sidelined in their quest for work, housing, and political access. As a research institute, SERI mobilizes applied research and strategic litigation, whereas PlanAct focuses on sustained and participative community engagement. Through diverse methods, both organizations mobilize existing legal structures to empower communities and influence policy. In a meeting with students from the 'Governing the Large Metropolis' Master, Tiffany Ebrahim and Edward Molopi of SERI expressed the need, through increased access and permissiveness, for the law to "come down to people's experience," while Mike Makwela of PlanAct described the organization as a "shock absorber between communities and the government," helping the marginalized "knock on doors closed to them." Through the engagement of the city and its bureaucracy, SERI and PlanAct mobilize not just the constitution, but local legal documents such as the Integrated Development Plans (IDP) to address socio-spatial issues in Johannesburg and demand government action. "The policies are there," noted Tiffany, "but there is either a lack of willingness to implement them, or illegality on the government's part."

Their role as advocates, however, has limits. Relying on client-led instruction from below, organizations like PlanAct and SERI must wait for their clients to come to them. When they do, the advocates must prioritize certain cases over others in order to determine what is capable of accomplishing "the most good" for "the most people." Once clients and cases are selected, Tiffany Ebrahim of SERI noted the frustration of determining who to litigate against, asking aloud, "Who are we fighting?" In the quest to demand justice and secure rights, advocates must exercise extreme political deftness, targeting the specific agency or individual most responsible, that can actually be held to account and lead to meaningful change, either through abiding by and reinforcing existing laws, or enacting policy changes.

Stu Woolman's understanding of the South African constitution as "scaffolding" supports the idea that such a structure enables the citizenry and other branches of government to "go about creating what they deem to be a just and fair social order." (Woolman, 2016, 294) It is absolutely necessary, however, to recognize a weak rule of law culture and ineffective bureaucratic structures as part and parcel with a lack in political accountability. The work being done by advocacy groups such as SERI and PlanAct must continue as a means of expanding the political space for the marginalized in a way that demonstrates deep respect for government institutions through its use of existing state channels. Such work is "indispensable to democratic accountability" (Rupcic, 2013, 466), but deep work must continue to be carried out toward the strengthening of good governance and rule of law at both metropolitan and national levels if such advocacy work is to have meaningful and lasting impact.

Frederick Kusambiza, Executive Director at Planact
Photo credit: Romane Cadars

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Advertising Poster
Photo credit: Romane Cadars

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03

ENSURING SERVICE DELIVERY IN A FRAGMENTED CITY

What alternatives are there to counter the weak service provision of the State in the Gauteng region ?

> «The ideals of local level redistribution in a city exhibiting poverty and social exclusion alongside extreme inequality have to be reconciled with investment in economic growth, resource constraints and the political clout of powerful vested interests at local, national and international levels.»
>
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Local level redistribution in a city such as Johannesburg, that faces the looming legacy of apartheid in its fragmented distribution of wealth, has to pass through the provision of basic services such as water, energy, security etc. While basic services are vital; in the contemporary democratic world, services such as transportation, cultural amenities or quality of the environment are increasingly taken into account when assessing a city. Indeed, the service provision of different sorts is part of social welfare. That said, there are a multitude of actors, interests and needs that often lack coordination and lead to a more fragmented spatial development.

In this section, we intend to touch upon the different types of actors, such as the government in its different scales, as well as the private sector and informal actors, accounting for their role at the provision of services. We hope to better understand difficulties faced by those actors, what is at stake when providing a service,

Waste sorting in Diepsloot
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet


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ENSURING SERVICE DELIVERY IN A FRAGMENTED CITY

which types of partnerships are created, etc. Therefore, we start with the role of the government, building on problems such as lack of financial resource, amount of corruption and mismatch between levels of government, to understand the dysfunctional supply of services. Following this, we grasp the role of the private sector, through projects such as Black Economic Empowerment or the Business Improvement District, to understand the strength of such sectors, as well as the weak regulatory framework in which they are embedded. Afterwards, we try to comprehend how informal actors position themselves in such a fragmented city, building on the example of the township Diepsloot and the provision of services such as waste management or water management. Moreover, the example of cultural service provision in the city is introduced where separate actors supply unique services with their own intentions, facing competition or unruly support from one another. Another featured example is that of transportation, which focuses mainly on the struggle between the government and informal actors towards a comprehensive transportation system that meets the demands of the whole city.

Cultural Projects in Johannesburg

The Competing State, Private, and Informal/Community-Wide Approaches to Providing Cultural Programs and Projects in the City (Luciana & Amanda)

Informal Response to Service Provision: Water, Waste, Sanitation

Providing services informally through residents' resilience strategies (Alix & Isabelle)

Movement of Decentralization and Privatization of Urban Services

The pro-growth side of service delivery fails to address the needs of the most deprived (Denzel & Corentin)

Weak Service Provision by the State

Recovering from the internal crisis of 1997 through privatization ? (Roxane & Lucie)

WEAK SERVICE PROVISION BY THE STATE

Recovering from the internal crisis of 1997 through privatization ?

Lucie Bergouhnioux

Roxane Lavollé

It is essential to stress that progress has been made in the provision of services by the state during the last decade, despite the situation still not being perfect. Indeed, in 2012, 85% of households had access to electricity compared to only 50% in 1994, and the rate of residents having access to drinkable water jumped from 62% in 1994 to 91% in 2011 (Census 2011).
However, in Johannesburg the provision of services is difficult to grasp, even more so when it comes to services provided by the state or the municipality. Indeed, since the 1997 fiscal crisis that the Greater Johannesburg Municipal Council faced; it has been difficult for the municipality to regain its ability and financial power to deliver infrastructural services for its population. This ability was undermined by the crisis, which itself ensued from a narrow tax base, problems within the internal system of municipal government and overall management problems, leading to a fiscal crisis which has hindered the banks' willingness to supply investments for infrastructure (Bacon, Widner, Woldemarian, 2012).

This was particularly visible in the popular township parts of the town, along with the other popular areas, where the need for a clean water supply and sanitation are dire basic human needs. Even if many programs have been put in place in the city to provide for these services since the early 2000s; the need for basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity etc., are seemingly solely provided by private companies owned by the state, or at least the bulk are - when the services are present, which is often not the case. The programs implemented, for instance, the Strategic Framework for Water Services that was put in place by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, suggests that the programs implemented are those with impending deadlines, with clear numbers in mind and choices for the places that can benefit from these programs. Thus, priority is given to the slums with no water or sanitation at all (Netswera, 2005).
Moreover, with the example of Diepsloot that we saw firsthand: the sanitation system was entirely financed by a philanthropic Australian who decided to handle the situation in Diepsloot. Along the same lines, we can attest that in the schools, as was the case for the Mvelaphanda Primary School in Tembisa, decent sanitation systems were often handled by private companies, as a philanthropic gesture. Philanthropy's role is quite large in the provision

of services, since there is an increasing need and the end-result is, in some ways, cheaper to attain.
However, this intervention of private persons and companies puts forward the obstacles faced by the state to provide for such services. This seems to have been inherited from a combination of problems embedded in the history of local governments in South Africa combined with a lack of funding. Further, particularly in the Gauteng region, there is a lack of consultation, followed by a lack of service identification and, therefore provision, along with a problem of non-payment and corruption when it comes to these services. Non-payment refers to the legacy of apartheid when it was a way to struggle for political rights. It is still used to express the defiance towards the government and its policies. The second, corruption, is linked to the current political situation. Indeed, according to the non-profit organization Corruption Watch: among the 62 corruption reports the organization has received between 2012 and 2013, 43% of them originated from the Gauteng Province at the municipal level. These issues are mainly linked to mismanagement or to the political economy of the country today. Indeed, corruption is a way of "redistributing" money to certain political allies. Therefore inadequacy in the provision of these services, particularly in water and sanitation for which South African municipalities are responsible. That said, the public sector providing administrative or planning services has started to transform the public organizations formerly handling these issues into private entities, owned partly by the municipality but working as private organizations. However, two questions are at stake here: first, the quality of water is quite poor, and datas related to these issues pose real problems in that municipalities are not involved and very rarely answer the questionnaires used to create these data. The positive evolution of service provision can therefore be nuanced by this poor quality and poor data that we are relying on, and most importantly on the disparities in terms of access to these services - indeed, rural areas are not well served compared to urban areas, and this leads to socio-spatial injustice crystallized in the service provision sector.

Since the municipal entities are facing difficulties in ensuring clean water supply or sanitation in the whole city, public transportation as a priority for the municipalities is also tangible. Indeed, the city has grown north and the bus network concentrates on the south. However, this transport system is deeply degraded and in need of an upgrade. To address the lack of public transportation, private minibuses run entirely by the informal sector, have been put in place by the communities. As they are informal, the minibuses are not regulated and their itinerary, fees, and schedules are somewhat random. Even if slums were provided public transportation; the fees are determined according to a zonal system, that means that the bigger the distance traveled, the higher the price of the ticket. Consequently, people living in deprived areas would have to pay increasing amounts as their workplaces are generally great distances away from their places of residence. Despite the city of Johannesburg having deeply invested its budget to address these transport issues, many efforts are still required to mind the gap.

Lastly, corruption is another obstacle for the provision of services by the state. Even if the state sets everything in place to provide good services to its population, very often corruption poisons the system to the detriment of the poor. Finding the right system to provide crucial services appeared to be a real challenge. Indeed, public management is not a reliable option as it is often hindered by corruption. As explained previously, there are no complete private entities operating by themselves but delegations of public services to private companies. However, the poor are not served by those delegations due to the lack of public money. Thus, the main issue to tackle here seems to be the lack of investment from public entities.

Waste truck
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

A MOVEMENT OF DECENTRALIZATION AND PRIVATIZATION OF URBAN SERVICES

Denzel Benac

Corentin Ortais

The pro-growth side of service delivery fails to address the needs of the most deprived

Privatization is a recurring urban phenomenon in Johannesburg, and many sectors are concerned. It raises several questions and issues about the role of the state in the country. Public parks such as Gandhi square, have been turned into private parks. Gandhi square was leased to the private sector in order to control the park area for 45 years. Apart from infrastructure, services are also subject to privatization with, for instance: the water, transportation, security and energy sectors.

Steps Towards Decentralization and Privatization

After the end of apartheid, the state faced two key imperatives: to de-racialize the state but also to rescale it, in a neoliberal and global context. The transformations of local government have been in line with this restructuring of the South-African state. The transformation was initiated in 1993 with the Local Government Transition Act, and reinforced with the 1996 constitution, that created three tiers of government (Samson, 2008). The constitutional functions of local government include water provision, sanitation, electricity distribution, solid waste disposal and municipal health services (Cameron, 2014). The responsibilities of local government continue to increase with White Paper on Local Government (1998) and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000. Since the adoption of the neo-liberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic strategy in 1996, the state functioning is based on the market and partnerships with private actors (Samson, 2008).
The privatization wave also follows the logic of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), because it offers opportunities to bolster black ownership. The expansion of the private sector into areas such as service delivery and security, has been heavily encouraged by the state. Public-private partnerships between municipal authorities and the

private sector to provide urban services have emerged as "comprehensive and transformative models of restructuring that employ the language of neoliberalism" (Pitcher, 2012).
The control over urban management is thus shared between private actors and city authorities. With the goal to build a "world-class city", the tools often lay with the private sector, and draw often upon the model of Business Improvement District (BID), when the private actors do not directly build their own "cities", such as Waterfall city, North of Johannesburg (Pitcher, 2012).

A State-Led Privatization

The tendency towards privatization stems from several reasons, and is mostly a consequence of the public authorities' actions themselves. The lack of public management and of political will to invest in basic service delivery and infrastructure, as well as the problems of public action, such as corruption, latent at every level, and slow and divided bureaucracy, are the main factors. In the absence of adequate public funding, financing through the private sector allows access to at least some level of service delivery in many parts of the city. Here we can draw a comparison with informal service delivery: in both cases, non-private and non-state actors take the responsibility to make up for the absence of the state.
The public authorities thus delegate their power to private agencies in Johannesburg. In the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, the State owned all different kinds of agencies but decided to corporatize some of its functions into "companies" in which the state held the highest share and remained the main shareholder. Further, these companies have to remain accountable and report back to the municipality, in an effort to transform the bureaucracy into a more competent and organized entity. For basic urban services like water and electricity, such individual agencies (state-held companies) were created. That said, the recently elected mayor has decided to return all agencies to the main administration as the municipality was starting to seem somewhat superfluous, or like just one other shareholder among many, in that that it had almost entirely lost control of decision-making.

Privatization of Security

Moreover, privatized security services are provided by

High security neighbourhood
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

unofficial individuals or groups, in order to replace the national government police services responsible for maintaining internal order. The South African state ensures a relatively weak security and the country is considered as one of the most insecure in the world. (Bénit Gbaffou, Fabiyi, Peyroux, 2009) That said, the governmental police has the drawback of a low wage, large corruption, restricted police powers, conflicts between veterans of the old apartheid police and new recruits from the African National Congress' old guerrilla army.

Privatization of security
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

The state is unable for many reasons to provide security as a public goal shared by its citizens. During the years, insecurity was (and still is) an impediment on economic growth. Economic objectives conducted certain districts to opt for a security ensured by private companies like in Rosebank. Private companies and shopping malls used private security guards for the case of robberies or assaults. But private security guards are omnipresent, they watch cars for shoppers, patrolling malls, keeping banks and mining houses safe, and guarding houses and neighborhoods (South Africa has a rough equivalent of gated communities with guarded streets and apartment blocks). It raises questions of public law, because it opens a gap between the state's formal law preserving violence and the law making violence exercised in the name of a private entity/community. It also raises questions about the fundamental rights such as freedom of movement. Private security in Rosebank is not an isolated case in Johannesburg. The main job of the private guards is to provide protection at night, to be visible during the day in order to dissuade robbers. Several districts rely on private companies to ensure security. Particularly because if private security plays its role within certain public (henceforth private) spaces, security in Johannesburg is concentrated in districts that are not representative of the whole population. It shows the limited scope created by the privatization of security.

'Social Role' of Private Actors: Is a private developer able to play a social role in Johannesburg ?

Johannesburg development can be perceived as having grown based on a "pro-growth" perspective. A neoliberal agenda is established by the municipality and the weaknesses of the state transform concepts of public utility into private services as is the case with art and transport. Propertuity, for instance, is the largest private developer in Johannesburg and is responsible for the urban renewal of Maboneng. This private developer defines its mission as responding to the needs of the community by creating unique concepts and mixed-use spaces that meaningfully engage people with their urban environment. Their objectives are to make the city safe and clean. They participated in the making of the first affordable private school in the city, they built an outside public gym, community art center, donated a land to develop a skateistan facility which is a skatepark. Skateistan is an award-winning international non-profit organization. It provides programs that combine skateboarding and education to children and youth aged 5-17. They also built some affordable housing. According to Nossal, engaging the private sector to provide public security efficiently, effectively, and relatively cheaply is the logical outgrowth of a neoconservative theology that preaches that the private sector will do a more competent job, building, owning, and profiting from what used to be the public works in many countries. One could thus conclude that the mission of Propertuity generates social benefits.

High security neighbourhood
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

INFORMAL RESPONSE TO SERVICE PROVISION: WATER, WASTE, SANITATION

Providing services informally through residents' resilience strategies

Alix De Parades

Isabelle Poulet

In response to the challenges of the State to provide efficient services for all its citizens, especially in low-income neighborhoods of the city, and the high cost of services provided by the private sectors, city dwellers produce their own ways to access services informally. In very precarious areas, like the township of Diepsloot, the population is denied almost all basic services: from waste management to sanitation, or even a clean environment.

As Graham and Marvin explain in their work, neoliberalism leads to segmentation, to a Splintering urbanism because of the creation of premium networked spaces. However, in the South African context, it is more interesting to complement it by the notion of "urban fragmentation" as experienced in everyday life in Johannesburg. In a context of extreme segmentation, because of the Apartheid legacy and the inheritance of social and spatial inequalities, we cannot only speak about Splintering urbanism. As Jaglin and Dubresson argued, the case of South Africa is particular, creating local government the central state tried to conciliate a more equal service repartition and a regional competitiveness based on neo-liberalism.

We will not argue that informality in terms of urban services access is a way to compensate for the state's weak presence, but that informality is a way to compensate a difficult balance between state presence and an increase of service access and delivery inequalities because of their privatization.

The DWBC - Diepsloot Waste Buyback Center

Johannesburg displays at the same time a state interventionism and neo-liberal practices. In the inner city, waste collection is provided by the official integrated waste management service provider to the City of Joburg, Piki Tup. However, this service provider does not operate in

the least accessible areas and low-income neighborhoods such as Diepsloot township, a dense township situated at Johannesburg's north. In the township, the population compensate this lack of service delivery by working with informal actors. To get their waste collected, the community launched a collaboration between an NGO and informal workers: the Diepsloot Waste Buyback Center.

The recycling center started in 2007, and obtained a fixed space from the City in 2011. Since 2012, the center is fully operational. Its functioning is simple: the center buys back the waste from the residents who operate as informal street pickers. The Center sorts and compresses the waste before sending it to the waste management private or public companies, like Piki Tup. The Center buys different kinds of materials: three different kinds of plastic, glass and paper or cardboard. Each material has a price per kilogram. The center specifies that it does not buy from children and minors, in order to avoid child exploitation. It is partly financed by the government, but also and mainly by private companies like Nampak (packaging company) to whom it sells back bottles to be washed and refilled for example. The Buyback Center aims at eventually succeeding in recycling its own waste into objects and selling these back to the residents of the township, hence creating a healthy cycle.

This center is largely based on the informal economy: from the hundreds of street pickers who work to collect waste in the whole township and bring them to the center, to the very ambition of creating and selling back fully recycled objects to the community, this center uses the interstitial spaces where the government does not want to go to provide a service based on the informal work of the residents. The street pickers are paid only according to the quantity and kind of waste they bring to the center, so there are some pickers coming more regularly than others. The only direct employees of the center are the people who manage and sort the waste once it arrives to the center. It receives almost no framing or help from the government, and is overall the product of an informal initiative by a few "waste entrepreneurs" of the township. On a whole, this informal way of managing to access a service that is not provided by the State also creates jobs for the community, added value and eventually contributes to development in the margins (Cf. Chapter 5).

The WASSUP association - Water, Amenities, Sanitation Services Upgrade Programme

When we visited Diepsloot, we also realized the service access challenges. In terms of water and sanitation, the township was under-equipped: 20 families sharing a toilet. Some of them were unusable, broken and not repaired. Water flow out from pipes and toilets and wet the un-tarred roads. The road clay was mixed with waste and water. "After numerous calls to the government, the toilets were still not working. They never came," explained a community member. Some community members decided to register in 2010 with an NGO called WASSUP (Water, Amenities, Sanitation Services, Upgrading Program) with the goal to bring decent water and sanitation in the neighborhood. Their

Waste collection
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

slogan is: "When you go into the toilet, you go in with dignity; When you come out of the toilet, you come out with dignity." They fixed about 120 toilets since their creation, repairing and maintaining one toilet at a time. The NGO composed of 10 people is supported by the WorldSkills Foundation, the Development Bank of Southern Africa and the Johannesburg development agency (JDA). In Diepsloot, we noticed that the city of Johannesburg equipped the neighborhood with municipal toilets, pipes, and tap. Water, taps, pipes, toilets are provided by the state for free. However, the problem is the infrastructure quality, which is cheap and not resistant, breaking easily since it is used frequently by numerous inhabitants. The NGO embodies innovation that we can define as frugal. They recycle the used water from the tap to use it as flush. Moreover, they register data that they send to the city demonstrating that they save up to 4500 liters of water per day because of their maintenance and repairs.

Following this visit, we understood the non-governmental organizations' or community-based organizations' impacts and importance, answering to the community needs and playing a role of advocacy coalition in order to influence public policies. As Schubert mentioned, the partnership between the government and NGOs is essential because "urban poor communities are no longer seen as simply welfare beneficiaries, but partners in a process to improve their communities and as contributors to the overall well-being of the city". However their solutions are urgent ones and the municipality of Johannesburg should replace the toilets, taps and pipes with equipment of a better quality. We do not know the real impacts in terms of advocacy, or creating a coalition with real impacts.

In these two examples, Diepsloot residents used their informal economy to provide a service that was not (sufficiently) provided by the government. Thanks to the informal participation, the two organizations succeeded in their initial objectives, that are, on the one hand to reduce the amount of waste in the streets of Diepsloot and to make money out of this endeavor, and on the other hand, to provide access to sanitation for residents. However, this community-based system of service provision is flawed. It can, for instance, endanger the residents who participate in the informal activities, since they do not have adapted equipment to collect waste (glass for instance) or to treat sanita-

Wassup sanitation facility in Diepsloot
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

tion issues. The service provision can also be biased: for instance, the street pickers focus on a certain type of plastic because it has a higher value, and neglect other types of waste that should be collected instead. The lack of adequate framing by the government is hence still a major issue, even if thanks to the residents' resilience, Diepsloot manages to gain access to the services that the city government denies them.

Diepsloot poem
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

A view from the streets in Diepsloot
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

CULTURAL PROJECTS IN JOHANNESBURG

The Competing State, Private, and Informal/Community-Wide Approaches to Providing Cultural Programs and Projects in the City

Luciana Cardoso

Amanda M. Garcia

In a historically rich and culturally diverse city as Johannesburg, the role of culture and its everyday role in people's lives is stark. Heavily resistant largely due to its history; the culture of the city has changed significantly over the years. The types of people living in the CBD have varied throughout the years (with the white flight at the end of Apartheid, etc.) and present distinct features to the city culture, as well as differing uses for it. There are certain jobs fulfilled by migrants from certain countries, fabrics and prints brought mostly from Lesotho, and designed locally to create local fashions, sold at the many locally-centered markets springing up around the city, and a myriad of ethnic food options further highlighting the role of differing cultural groups present in the city. That said, the promotion of certain aspects of culture, such as the promotion of street art, commissioned or otherwise, and the available platforms for these to enter the scene, are as varied as the sectors providing the spaces (city-sponsored, private, and community-wide). Most significant, however, is the role of culture in creating and preserving the identity of Joburg residents today, and this is evidenced through the many current projects aimed at boasting and promoting exactly this culture-driven identity.

Culture as Sponsored by the Municipal Government

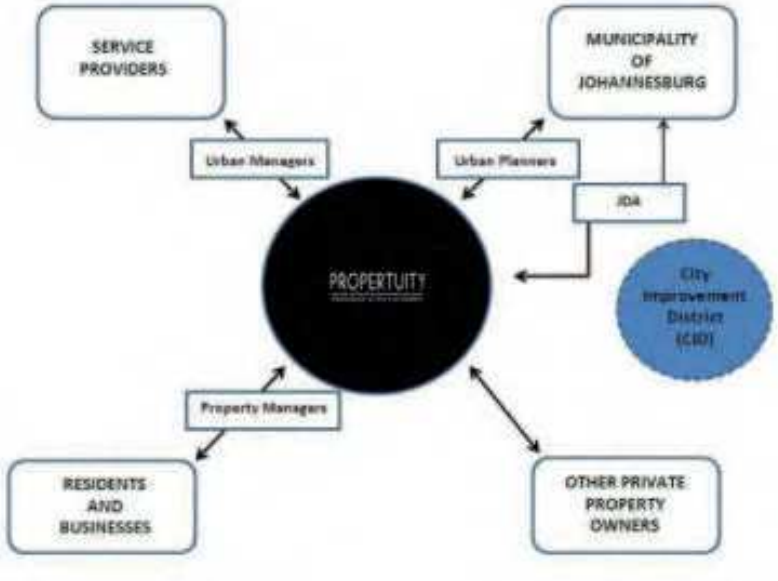
The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) places 1% of its budget into art, like the mural of Mandela called "Shadow Boxing", in downtown. They promoted a contest to hire a local artist to complete this symbolic sculpture of Mandela boxing, between the Magistrate Court and the lawyer's office of Mandela, representing human rights. The agency cares for public art, investing in fashion shows, types of art in the streets, the renewal of the inner city, upgrading parks and other forms of supporting cultural services. In a way, this somehow creates forms of identification for the society and promotes some kind of "national" interest or city "pride". For instance, the statue of Mandela, has become a national symbol that continually reinforces the importance and effervescence of this period in the country's history.

However, it seems that modernization of key parts of the city is what is sought after, focusing on external patterns of modernization and re-enforcing spatial segregation. Most of their projects focused on central parts of the city like Hillbrow or Newtown for example, ignoring or leaving behind cultural activities and efforts made in the townships. Moreover, events like the Fashion Week or the World Cup are part of the cultural agenda of support, whereas local artists are not so well valued. Those mega-projects often undermine the authority of local governments, turning a public-private partnership into a private driven approach. It is not to say that they do not promote local culture, quite the opposite: they hired Kobus Hattingh and Jacob Maponyane (Gerber 2015) to complete a symbolic sculpture of a local leader in the city. However, it is somehow mainstream art in terms of where it is placed in the city, and the population it affects, while seemingly simultaneously underestimating the everyday life of slum cultural innovations, or different rituals and forms of art or expression. Indeed, the type of art that embodies the ideology of the government is that which is put forward and provided by these such state-initiatives.

There is a wide range of cultural goods: from cultural heritage, passing through performing arts to environment and nature. An example of how the JDA deals with the sponsorship of public art is seen with the park, Bialia Park. The agency supports the renewal of the park, focusing on its upkeep and providing infrastructure for the activities that take place there. They defend that the infrastructure should reflect activities that are already taking place there and should not be charged to the public, however those two promises are really hard to maintain. Firstly, because it is a multi-use space in which many different types of activities take place and, therefore, certain groups would inevitably be excluded. Secondly, the improvement would drive housing prices to increase in the area and would potentially lead to eventually privatizing the park, where fees to visitors would begin nevertheless being charged. In this way, the JDA focuses on regulating a central public park that is already often frequented by the community, but only where this venue suits and complies with their expectations of how the public space should be used.

Culture as Provided by the Private Sector

As the figure above illustrates, perhaps the clearest avenue for Johannesburg's cultural provision, like most of its other service delivery, is through the private sector, or some quasi-joint venture with the municipality and private actors together. Some efforts made in Johannesburg to accommodate the growing thirst for cultural activities and events, include the organizing of extended openings of private galleries around the city (mostly in the Braamfontein, Maboneng, and Rosebank neighborhoods). The galleries feature a late-night opening on the first Thursdays of the month, in an effort to provide a monthly cultural event for residents from all over the city can frequent as a "typical" social activity (FirstThursdaysSouthAfrica). Other events hosted by private art galleries and art concept stores, include the annual City of Gold Festival, where a week-long festival is organized to provide public film screenings, live-mural painting, and more to the community (usually of Maboneng) (IARTJoburg). The "I Art Jo'burg" program that took place in 2012, left eight murals installed all throughout Maboneng and was funded largely by Adidas, after the 2011 "I ART WOODSTOCK" and "I ART SOWETO" project successes (IARTJoburg). This culminated in Adidas building a permanent creative space called AREA3 (IARTJoburg). In this way, we can see how the Johannesburg private art scene works to enhance the availability of similar events and platforms for the communities. However, this highlights the availability



Maboneng's Investment Structure (InSitu 2013)
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

of such programs in only one part of the city, where art investment is unequivocally high, while other communities are not promised the same-scale, lavish festivals featuring international artists or the like, by this same private sector.

The neighborhood of Maboneng must be addressed in more detail, as the renovation of the first building by Jonathan Liebmann, or the Arts on Main building, sparked the private art-centered renewal of the entire neighborhood, with art and the sponsorship of community art-projects as the main underlying message behind Maboneng's branding. Propertuity is the private developer behind most of the neighborhood's transformation, focusing often on new ideas, opportunities, and actors suggested for the community to appropriately develop projects that are representative of Maboneng's community identity (InSitu 2013). That said, the Arts in Main building grants housing and workshop space to artists, as well as a space to exhibit and sell their pieces, providing a platform for artists and their work to be showcased by and for the community. What's more: the neighborhood's brand also implies a highlighting of all local forms of art and culture, where franchises are even prohibited from expanding there.
In this way, the neighborhood preserves its unique image and purpose, proposing cultural entertainment in the form of permanent installations, as well locally designed and painted guard posts (embodying the neighborhood's image), to public weekly guitar lessons featured on the street, musical performances, etc. The available street furniture is a principle factor allowing these activities to take place, as the clean and safe streets allow people to travel by foot and enjoy what the neighborhood has to offer, a particular Maboneng feature.

Maboneng Precint
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Culture as provided by Community Actors

Community-based actors that produce culture in Johannesburg can be related to community based actors, like those we encountered at Diepsloot, or to autonomous actors like the ones related to graffiti-work in the city. Of course they are private actors in the sense that they are not in the sphere of the government, however, they claim a certain historically segregated part of the society and are not regulated like previous private actors' cultural services. Also, community actors do not represent the whole community, they are just one of the actors who work in the area. This is well represented by the example of Soweto, which has become a place for tourists searching for "the real experience" of the township's lifestyle. There are museums, for example, in Soweto and they are important for the historical background of the place, but we were not able to encounter those or cultural actors in Soweto.
The example of Diepsloot is useful to see how community-based actors attend to the their community, but aim for a society in general. The cultural NGO of Diepsloot counted on the support of the community to maintain the public art installations they created, for example: the sculpture that they created out of metal. They needed the community to feel that it had some semblance of ownership over it, thus calling on them for help in building it. In this way, the community felt that the public art belonged to them, and ensured that it was not stolen or degraded. The NGO wanted to fulfill the needs of the community (for instance, with the use of recycled goods to complete artworks) simultaneously providing a space in which people could discover a new activity, like rapping. They also played around the city, even in the "inner-city", granting them a voice and power to include Diepsloot in the map of Johannesburg. Moreover, most of their songs were about the community, crafting an identity between them. This shows how three different actors provide the same type of service in very different ways, supporting and promoting contrasting types of identity or community.

Street Art in Maboneng
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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Photo credit: Romane Cadars

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04

ACCESS TO MOBILITY AS A MEANS TO UNITY

What does it mean looking for unity in such a diversified context?

. In Johannesburg there is a great variety of actors involved in the mobility sector, each of them proposing different approaches and carrying diverse needs. Public planners and institutions, highly influenced by international companies and organization; a private sector composed of huge companies, as well as small local businesses; and an intricate and complex informal system working side by side with the legal structure. During our trip we had the opportunity to meet with many different actors, that provided us with a quite comprehensive overview of the mobility sector in Johannesburg,

Users are strongly diverse, and access to mobility carries the same classic cleavages that are to be found in the divided South African social context. Not only is there a substantial gap between rich and poor, emphasized by the racial distinction still present nowadays; but also a spatial division caused by the widely spread urbanization process that marked Joburg's history, and produced distant and segregated urban dimensions, with little or no connection between them.

Bus taxi traffic in Central Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet


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04

ACCESS TO MOBILITY AS A MEANS TO UNITY

Efforts in coordinating the mobility sector, and making transportation accessible to a largest portion of the population, can be guided by the desire to create a more compact city, that would merge together the contrasting realities of which it is composed. Also, access to mobility is often considered a key factor for economic growth, through the empowerment of the poorest portion of the population.
Therefore, we questioned the concept of the right to mobility, so to say the fundamental right for everyone to be free to move, at an affordable cost, and with no limitation based on race, gender or class.

All this is part of the mobility issue in Johannesburg, and every initiative, being it a privately driven gigantic project, a declared pro-poor public policy or a bottom-up initiative to build a smarter city, is confronted with the necessity of building up a more unified urban space.

This chapter tries to explore the question of what is mobility in a complex context such as Johannesburg, and, drawing from the different meetings we attended during our stay in the city, tries to outline different understandings of the issue that characterise diverse actors, as well as divergent conceptions embodied in various transportation means, in order to assess the idea of mobility as a means to unity for Johannesburg.

Who walks in the city?

Shaping a «Walkable Joburg beyond ` social divisions of mobility? (Léonie & Mélanie)

GoMetro

Is smart transportation part of smart city revolution of Johannesburg? (Rachida & Akhil)

Taxi vs Public Bus

Competition between State and informal actors (Maxime)

The Bus Rapid Transit System

Bringing people closer to jobs and jobs closer to people (Jeremy & Alexander)

Gautrain

Success or failure - where's the difference? (Mohammed)

Alstom, the 9 principles of economic development and governance issues

What are the challenges faced by an international company in South Africa?(Lyna)

ALSTOM, THE 9 PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE GOVERNANCE ISSUES

What are the challenges faced by an international company in South Africa?

Lyna Faïd

Acknowledgement: thank you to Frédéric de Marcellus from Alstom for the time he gave us and his welcome.

In 2013, Alstom signed a 5 billion dollar contract with PRASA (Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa) to refurbish the actual transit lines of Johannesburg and to build 600 trains. The company won the contract against major international companies such as Bombardier, Siemens, and China Railway Engineering Corporation and has committed itself to South Africa for 20 years (end of the contract in 2035). Gibela, the Joint Venture created for the contract, is divided in 61% for Alstom, 9% for the State of South Africa and 30% for Ubumbano, a South African company. However, the constraints posed by the South African law with the BBBEE (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment) and the governance issues make it difficult for Alstom to assure the good proceeding of the contract.

The project is built in two parts with a separate contract for each part. Due to the need to produce locally and to have a locally manufactured content, the whole activity has to be in South Africa and a factory is set to be built in the municipality of Joha, near Johannesburg. This industrial site will employ 1,500 people, including 60% of blue collar workers and 40% of white collar workers. The number of employments created is estimated at 8,000. Moreover, Alstom plans to train 20,000 people on all industrial activities. The factory has not been constructed yet but the first 20 trains have already been delivered. The equipment came from Europe and was assembled in Brazil. This was accepted because the client had to accept the trains so that the company could start being paid.

An analysis of the details of the contract is necessary in order to better understand the constraints faced by an international company that wishes to invest in South Africa. First of all, the government has a huge investment capa-

city which attracts multinationals. Indeed, the state has raised more than 80 billion dollars to develop various sectors. The contract with Alstom was signed in 2013 by two representatives from the national treasury and the Presidents of France and South Africa. The nine principles of economic development were included in the contract including two imposed by PRASA and 8 by the law (two are common). The first principle is the need to encourage the use of local companies and suppliers. Then, skills development, job creation, ownership, management control, employment equity and preferential procurement principles have to be respected. The enterprise development and the socio-economic principles include respectively 700 million dollars to develop rail sectors enterprises and 300 million dollars for community development which imply training South African engineers as opposed to migrants. The need to involve local companies and people and especially women can be difficult as it is not always easy to find skilled local people for specific positions.

In addition to the constraints of the contract, the company has to face governance issues. Indeed, the CEO of PRASA has been fired because of mismanagement and a lack of governance. This has led to loss of money to the company and the project is stopped because there is no one left to make decisions. In addition, because the money used by PRASA is given by the government, the state is deeply involved in the project. Alstom has a schedule to abide by and has penalties if there are delays. Thus, because some decisions can be blocked due to governance problems, the company may face difficulties. However, the state also faces difficulties because of the devaluation of the Rand. Indeed, the contract was signed in euros and dollars and between 2013 and 2016, the devaluation of the money created a loss of 15% of the contract for the client leading to a re-evaluation of the contract.

To conclude, this major contract will replace 600 trains and will include WIFI and extra security in the trains. The major condition is to include local companies, suppliers and people and to produce locally. The nine principles of economic development can be perceived as a constraint but are not as penalizing as the governance issues. Moreover, some critics are raised regarding the relevance of the project. Indeed, old lines are replaced by better and more efficient ones but there are no new lines created. In the meantime, Johannesburg, having more than 10 million inhabitants and a continuous growth of the population, is under-equipped with, for example, only one line in Soweto serving more than 3 million people.

Meeting with Frédéric de Marcellus from Alstom
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

GAUTRAIN

Success or Failure - Where's the difference?

Mohammed Hegazy

The Gautrain: A green-field train development

Is developing an expensive new high-speed rail service in a province where 60% of transportation is managed by informally organized shared taxis responsible policy-making? Public transportation service provision in Gauteng is a contested issue; but perhaps no project is more contested and less agreed on upon then the Gautrain, a provincially-implemented modern, rail connection linking Johannesburg, Tshwane and OR Tambo International Airport (ORTIA).

By many measures, the Gautrain is a successfully implemented project. It provides consistently high availability and punctuality. Ridership is high, and rising. Operationally, the project breaks even financially and is self-sustaining. Devised as part of the preparation for the South African World Cup in 2010, its first phase connecting wealthy Sandton with the Airport was operationalized just in time for the mega event. The remainder of the 80km network was completed by June 2012. It was planned and implemented as a Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) Concession between the Gauteng Province and the Bombela Concession Company, Bombela was awarded a 20-year turn-key contract to design, build, part-finance and operate the system. The contract in turn is based on the Integrated Transport Plan (ITP) of the Gauteng region, which involves multiple modes of transportation to achieve a number of policy objectives.

The Gauteng ITP is meant to use transport infrastructure investments to stimulate economic growth, attract further investments to the region and spur new transit-oriented developments around new transit nodes, such as the Gautrain stations. Investing in an expensive, upmarket rail solution was meant to move already mobile car-users away from their vehicles to using mass-transit, and alleviate increased congestion particularly leading to the emerging central-business-district of Sandton. For those reasons, the Gautrain leveraged 44% of its ~$3.5 billion budget from Central Government through the Division of revenue Act, and another 26% through the Gauteng Provincial Government Medium Term Expenditure Framework: Almost 2/3rd of funding is public, and a subsidy that is likely not to be recouped through operations.
This agglomeration approach to investment was heavily criticized for ear-marking investments to such wealthy areas such as the Airport and Sandton at the expense of former townships and popular areas such as Soweto. This criticism is not without ground: while user surveys reveal

high levels of satisfaction (between 9.1 and 9.5 out of 10 in March 2013), they also reveal the particular beneficiary of the Gautrain to be predominantly well-educated and high-income people with the measure of lifestyle LSM-7 or higher. This dynamic is in turn reinforced by relatively high fares: while Bombela correctly maintains that they remain competitive and superior to private car usage they exceed private shared-taxi fares on a cost/km basis.

Conclusion

Moving car-owners away from their cars and expanding access to formal modes of public transportation is an economically, environmentally and socially worthy objective that is part of the ITP. The plan calls for multiple instruments to achieve this objective, such as the implementation of an expensive urban toll road systems in the Gauteng province. However, such 'stick' approaches of demand management can only succeed if commuters are given a choice of different modes of transport. The Gautrain is such an additional choice that is successfully implemented, albeit one that does not consider the entire social spectrum as its beneficiary. That leaves two open questions:

1) Is it failure or success of policy-making in the first place to earmark so many funds to this particular group of beneficiaries?
2) Who are the beneficiaries of the transit-oriented development aspect of the Gautrain?

While the first question is ultimately a political one whose answer the will invariably depend on one's political leaning, the second question is a measure of the impact of the policy. The outcome of the Gautrain project is a successful new high-speed rail link. The Gautrain Management Agency maintains that the Gautrain impacted an increase GDP by 3% within the province, spurred an increase of 4% of employment in the retail industry surrounding its stations and increased office space and related employment.

While these numbers are impressive, they are not the result of a third-party independent study. To reach an objective assessment of the Gautrain as a project, a cost-benefit analysis of potential alternative uses of the earmarked investments would be required. Both these methods of impact remain open questions that can only be answered through further research.

Rail infrastructure in Central Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

THE BUS RAPID TRANSIT SYSTEM

Bringing people closer to jobs and jobs closer to people

Jeremy Cornu

Alexander Deubner

Acknowledgements: Thank you to the Rea Vaya for the conference on the BRT

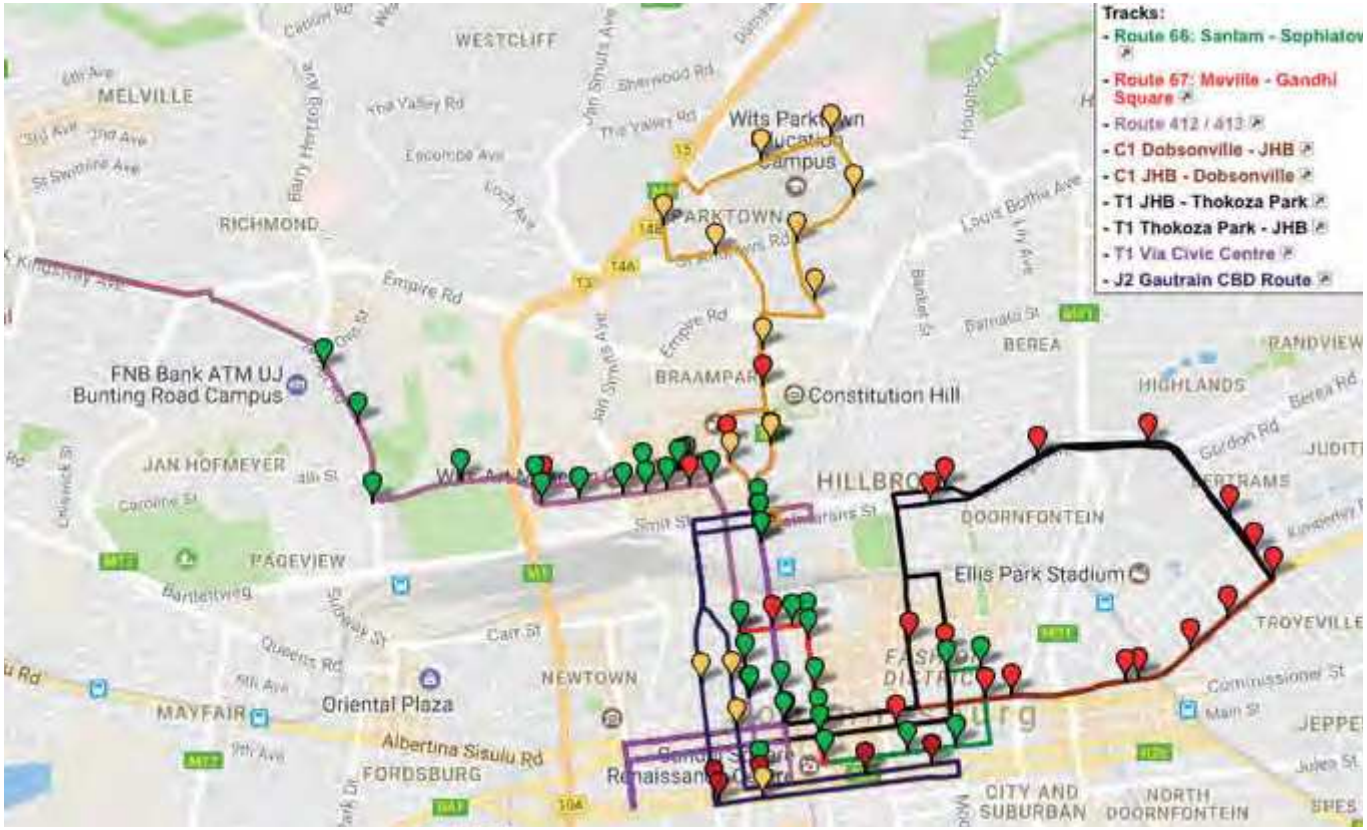
The Rea Vaya bus system, which is Africa's first full Rapid Bus System, BRT (Allen 2013), is "a high-quality bus based public transport system that delivers fast, comfortable, and cost-effective urban mobility" (Wright and Hook, 2007). The BRT system was initially conceived in 2006, just after municipal elections and the effective construction begun in 2007 for being able to deliver first operations (phase 1A with 25 kilometers of trunk route and 143 buses) in 2009 and second operations (Phase 1B in 2013 with 16 kilometers of bus route and 134 buses).Today approximately 50 000 passengers are using the buses daily.

One of the principal aims of the Rea Vaya's project is to "create a compact city and move away from a car oriented model" (Municipality of Johannesburg, Department of Transportation conference, 17/02/2017) and its main objectives are to foster economic growth, poverty alleviation, to restructure the apartheid city as well as enhance sustainable development and good governance (Allen, 2013). Indeed, by investing in an Intelligent Transport System (ITS) with dynamic passenger information and by opening the first line linking the township of Soweto to the CBD, the BRT has succeeded in the objectives mentioned above, notably by enabling the use of the BRT for all and especially the more marginalized, that can now access the center of the city (where the majority of jobs are) with more efficiency. Furthermore, thanks to its good governance policy, the policy makers of this bus system have been able to implement negotiations with the taxi unions, many of whom were afraid that the Rea Vaya would make the taxi and mini bus industries obsolete. Indeed, the municipality, in a four year process, signed agreements with the mini bus operators and taxi unions and trained previous taxi drivers to become bus drivers; 60% of the employees working for the bus system have to be former taxi employees (thanks to the Employment Framework Agreement (EFA)). Two different bus companies (Piotrans and Ditsasmaiso) are now owned by former taxi drivers.

Today, the municipality of Johannesburg is developing and implementing a third phase (1C) that will create at

least 1000 jobs and be more sustainable, as it will integrate walking and cycling along with other transport modes to increase modal share and green transportation.

Although the planning for the BRT started in 2006, the effort can also be understood in the context of the preparation of the FIFA Football World Cup of 2010. The first phases were indeed focused on the city centre although there is a connection with Soweto. It is the 1c phase that will be connecting more townships to the city centre. This also means that the negotiations with taxi drivers will become more important since it is in the poorer areas that the need for taxis is the most important. This also brings upon the governance of the different bus companies. There are several companies owned by different people: this raises the same question than with taxi owners - the governance of a multiplicity of actors. This is a typical issue of metropolitan governance: there is a need for the creation of metropolitan bodies that can handle regional issues. In addition, the annexation of different territories to form one city of Johannesburg should prevent some of the usual conflicts that can be observed in metropolitan areas in the United States between the inner city and the suburbian authorities.



Map showing the BRT lines
Source: http://www.reavaya.org.za/rea-vaya-integrated-map

The idea of a metropolitan transport authority under public authority should be applied to all the other transport modes. The BRT plans to focus on a more intermodal approach by connecting its routes with cycling but it will be truly intermodal once it is integrated with the Gautrain, the NRC trains and the informal taxis - everything else would be a waste of resources.

The central question around the BRT is an integral part of the choice of employment policy: is the aim to bring jobs closer to the people (compact city) or bring people closer to the jobs? The BRT strategy can be understood as the later since it is clearly designed to bring people closer to jobs and thus stands somewhat in opposition to the 2040 vision since it is a service that connects long distances and thus goes well with the urban sprawl.

TAXI V.S. PUBLIC BUS

Competition between State and informal actors

Maxime Vincent

Transport service delivery was and still is a major issue for the city of Johannesburg. With an original transport mechanism relying on rail with the Metrorail and the freshly new Gautrain, the Gauteng City Region has managed to connect dense, rich urban centres with a fast and sometimes luxurious mean of transportation, the train. The issue with this reliance on trains is that it is very expensive and not flexible. Creating new routes to address the rapidly changing urban landscape of Johannesburg is so costly that the new plan for transportation signed in 2013 by the government only renovates and improves the old routes and old trains of the Gauteng Region and does not spend a single rand in the construction of a new station or connexion.

This tradition of relying on a limited public transport network is to be related to the apartheid past of South Africa, when those train routes were built to join white urban centres and did not need to address the Black periphery. The absence of a consistent network in those area has nurtured a dependency on mini-taxis that are able to connect the train stations to the remote areas. Nowadays, the Transport Department estimates the number of mini-taxis to be between 100,000 and 130,000 units, representing 60% of the whole transport business. For decades, the government was content with this informal way of delivering transport services to the poor communities but in 2004-2005, a "taxi war" burst in the metropolis. (Roland, 2006) Mini-taxis gangs started to confront each other to gain territory for their business. The absence of regulation by the government had created a saturated market where fierce competition between mini-taxis still living in the aftermath of the post-apartheid civil-war had finally led to a series of assassination with old weapon from those times.

Despite the 350 people that died in this war, the government did not intervene. (Roland, 2006) Taxi wars were not unusual in Johannesburg and many had already happened in the past with police forces usually not responding and even sometimes participating in the conflict. but this time, the city decided to tackle the problem by creating the BRT (Bus Rapid Transit). The idea is to progressively replace the informal taxis with public buses to regulate the market, to create or replace roads with trunk routes and to offer them new jobs in the bus industry. The BRT was launched in 2009 with 143 buses over 25 kms of trunk routes and extended in 2013 with 134 new buses and 16 km of new trunk routes. Nowadays, they carry 50,000

passengers a weekday. To offer opportunity for taxi drivers, two bus companies have been created and given to previously disadvantaged mini-taxi operators/ Over 400 ex-taxi drivers now work as bus drivers of those companies and 600 taxis have been removed from operations.
The authorities are proud to announce that "there has been no job loss whatsoever". However taxi drivers are not always cooperating with the authorities. There is of course the initial reticence of dealing with an administration that in the past let happen and sometimes encouraged the taxi wars but more practical matters are also at stakes. For instance, they fear that the development of buses and bus stops will congest the roads and limit their activity. Moreover, public buses carry more people than taxis hence all taxi drivers might not get a job in the BRT.

As a result of these worries, the taxi have refused to cooperate in sharing transport information with the authorities - such as their daily routes - and have not participated in the mobility census. The organisation of mini-taxis into informal groups makes mobilizing and contesting the BRT system easier. In the beginning of the implementation, there were even instances of them chasing and bullying the bus drivers. (Venter, 2013) Some bus drivers were escorted home by the police. They also show a resistance with another program of GoMetro : the smart card system that replace the cash system and collect datas to see usual routes. The data-collecting system is not supported by the taxi who are very reluctant to install the system in their car for they expect that the data will be used to replace their routes with bus lanes and increase the efficiency of taxi routes, meaning that useless taxi will be left aside.

Many attempts have been made to try to convince the taxis with preferential rate, a discourse on client and driver safety and the expected increase of customers but the suspicion inherited from the apartheid history and the fear to lose their job in a market that has always been prone to fierce competition does not call for a quick conclusion of the BRT plan.

Taxi Cleaning Business
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

GOMETRO

Is smart transportation part of a smart city revolution in Johannesburg?

Rachida Boulbaz

Akhil Namburi Rajesh

Our meeting with Mr Justin Coetzee, founder and CEO of Go Metro, took place on the 15th February morning at their booth in the "I-Transport and UATP conference and exhibition: Future of Public Transport: Go Green and Go Smart", a conference for smart transportation, held from the 13th to 16th of February 2017, at the Sandton Convention Center.

Mr Coetzee explained that his idea for founding the company began from a place of frustration, a very common, daily frustration for all South African citizens who use public transport to commute from one place to another, mostly to work. This frustration was provoked by delayed trains, lack of information, and endless waiting. That is how the adventure of this startup called Go Metro, and its founder, started five years ago in a train station. Today, the startup is very active in the transportation sector of South Africa, mostly in the Western part of Cape Town, but is also present in other places around the world. The year 2011 represented the real starting point for the company, providing real-time information on the phone to 200.000 people in their first month. Now their reach has increased to two million people per month, which makes them Africa's most famous transportation app.

The company's concept is unique in Africa. It refers to itself as the "Best transportation app available on the market", providing people with "a whole new way to commute daily and stay informed". The app provides live information on transportation traffic. These updates are provided for all the important public transports available in South Africa, including Metrorail (trains), MyCiTi (a bus rapid transit system), Golden Arrow (major bus company), Gautrain Rapid Rail (rapid rail system and network of buses) and Rea Vaya (a bus rapid transit system), and more importantly these updates are provided by users themselves who are already on their route. Besides this, passengers can also ask questions about the traffic through the app, and find the latest news from other passengers already travelling, helping them optimise their travel time. Thanks to the mapping of the transport network, which is achieved using GIS technology, now the users have access to a map that helps them better foresee the situation, and find out the easiest way to go from one place to another. One of the latest development of the Go Metro app, is the launch of the "Email your boss" option, a service that makes it possible for commuters on their way to work, to send an email to their employers from a delayed train, as a way to avoid or at least to reduce the disputes they might face

with their boss. This function doesn't require the use of a smartphone: a simple phone is more than enough, making it accessible to a larger population.

With all these options, the app responds to a very important issue in South African cities nowadays which is a lack of information. However, accessibility to public transportation for all classes remains a real challenge in South Africa, especially facing a sharp growth of population. We can clearly identify a failure of the government in the mismanagement and lack of governance of this sector, which is now largely regulated by informal activities even though the 1996 South African constitution clearly identifies the legislative responsibilities of the government regarding public transportation and traffic management.
Moreover, the train stock is more than 15 years old, there are numerous breakdowns, errors and delays, that mostly affect the poor. Go Metro not only tackles the lack of information, and delays, but also increases safety for users, who do not need to walk around with cash, as they can pay for commuting cost using a prepaid card accepted on an increasing number of taxis that have signed a business agreement with Go Metro.

Smart Transportation is one of the most important features for smart cities and it is a very popular concept among all the countries of the world. It has many advantages such as decreasing pollution, efficient management of data and information, etc. A city like Johannesburg, which aspires to become a smart city, should use more smart solutions to tackle its problems and encourage more startups like GoMetro which can do wonders if given support.

People near a bus stop, a woman and a man waiting for the bus, while two others are sticking a paper on the wall
Photo credit: Romane Cadars

WHO WALKS IN THE CITY ?

Shaping a "Walkable Joburg" beyond social divisions of mobility

Léonie Chatain

Mélanie Eck

What is walkability?

In the current trends of literature, walkability is often apprehended as a very scientific marker and an indicator for studies both on health and on the built environment. The latter studies, mainly North American, emphasize the benefits of walking when possible, in neighbourhoods that allow a certain pedestrian mobility. But who can walk around, where can one walk around? How does walkability affect the trajectories of the inhabitants of Johannesburg? What are the factors that entail their pedestrian mobility?

Throughout our trip, perceptions were the first range of tools for us to apprehend the environment we were evolving in, shaping our understanding of space and of the metropolis in general. Perception of walkability, whether we or an inhabitant could walk in the city, was always linked to a certain idea of safety and security. Studies all across the world have shown the different interactions between a neighbourhood (its social foundation, its building chore), its inhabitants, and the perceived safety (whether the neighbourhood in question was safe, very vibrant, closed, etc.), as well as social characteristics of

Women in Braamfontein
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Women in Diepsloot
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Snapchots of a man walking in the city of Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

inhabitants (walkability of a neighbourhood therefore being in a way closely related to a measure of social capital).

But with the vast dimension of Joburg, with its disjointed construction through time and space, the city itself is not walkable, from South to North or East to West. And walkability is not a given everywhere, but highly spatially and socially structured around vestiges of the period of segregation.

What is walkability dependent upon in Joburg?

According to our observations, walkability in Johannesburg depends on three main characteristics. First, it changes according to the neighbourhood you are in. While the rich areas of the suburbs are not walkable because of the low density and the single residential use, some parts of the city, such as the centre or the Business Improvement Districts (BID), are more adapted to walking. Second, in those different neighbourhoods, walkability depends on the pedestrian's personal characteristics. Most of those who walk daily around the city are the poor or middle class black men. As the city has been planned in a car centric way, walking is not a choice but a necessity. Most walkers are doing so because they cannot afford to buy a car. They are obliged to use public transportation and walk to access the transport system or their destination. On the contrary, the ones who can afford a car only experienced the city's streets through their car's windows. Nonetheless, we observed that those aspects are inverted in Joburg's BIDs. There, most of pedestrians are from upper or middle classes and white people are more represented. Expensive shops and private security explain the absence of dwellers from poor social classes. More than economic and social characteristic, walkers are also differentiated by gender. Indeed, due to street's insecurity, the walkers are mostly men because men are less likely to be victim of harassment and robbery than women. Therefore, walkability in Johannesburg is strongly segregated according to social class, ethnicity and gender. Lastly, for security reasons, the city becomes unwalkable at night regardless of the social characteristics of the inhabitants. The lack of public lighting and the absence of any human being in the streets at night is striking and creates, or/and respond to, an insecure environment.

Case Study : The Corridors of freedom, a step toward a more walkable Johannesburg ?

The Corridors of Freedom plan consists in promoting "mixed-use development nodes with high density accommodation". It aims at improving public transportation system while reducing cars' circulation. All those objectives fit with the conditions to create a more walkable as city defined by Cervero and Kockelman (1997). The major challenge to this plan is to succeed in creating a socially mixed walkable city where rich and poor share the same sidewalk. This will depend on the social distribution of housing around the Corridor of Freedom and the mixed targeted of the commercial activities created.

To put it in a nutshell, making the city of Johannesburg more walkable across the divergence of its territories and for anyone (no matter their age, gender, or ethnicity) is a strategic entry point for the authorities to aim for more spatial and social unification and inclusion.

Men walking through traffic in central Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Women in Braamfontein
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Women walking close to a High Road
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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People waiting at a bus stop in central Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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05

DEVELOPMENT FROM THE MARGINS

How is informality a driving force of development in Johannesburg ?

Several scholars have discussed the economic and social scopes conveyed by the informal sector. For Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall, informality brings economic and social potential enhancing social networks. The formal and informal should not be opposed; rather, they should be engaged in an anthropology of things and forms in order to account for the cities in Africa. Mbembe and Nuttall put forth that one should focus on how the formal and informal interact, and how this interaction results in the creation of city forms and urban economies.

As a result of socio-economic inequalities, some areas of the metropolitan region saw the development of a multitude of informal activities catering to the needs and resources of all, in the sectors of housing, transport, as well as the provision of goods and services. In that way, the formal and informal form a continuum within the metropolitan economic system as they both complement and depend on each other. Lately, some of these activities have been threatened by different economic and social growth strategies, such as the Joburg 2040: Growth and Development Strategy or the Gauteng 2055 development strategy. Embedded in a "global city discourse," those strategies are building on the economic potential of the region, but their position on informality often balances between repression and regulation. Thus, to maintain and

View from Diepsloot
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet


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regulate informal activities—from street vending to transportation—several stakeholders have been involved, including NGOs, trade unions, and local communities. To preserve informal actors' rights to conduct activities in the margin of the formal economy, some trade unions, for example, are involved in the protection of workers, thus giving them legitimate visibility.

The formal sector includes the official activities recognized by the State and "organized" by laws and legislations. Therefore, a simplistic definition would reduce informality to the activities operating outside of that framework. However, it is more accurate to see informality as a process through which individuals identify activities and make up strategies in order to make a living or reclaim ownership over the physical and political space they have been excluded from and therefore pushed to the margins. Hence, informality is both a survival strategy as well as mode of production, and exists within the economic and political sectors.

However, one has to be careful of the romanticization of informality regarding its definition. For the aim of this chapter, the main purpose is to define informality under the spectrum of the various visits and stakeholders met during the study trip and to seek whether informality can be a driving force of development. Articles have therefore been set up regarding the approach adopted and the several actors involved in the different aspects of informality.

In this perspective, we will start emphasizing the role and function of informality within the lives of the urban poor, putting into perspective the crucial interactions between the formal and informal, especially regarding the housing sector. This first article will be followed by the case of street trading, providing an example of bottom-up economic development whilst acting as a friction regarding regeneration policies in Johannesburg. The following article will depict the example of informal recycling used as a leverage in the economy in the township of Diepsloot, where workers find themselves in a paradoxical position. On one hand, these individuals are officially unemployed, yet continue to be active in informal jobs and entrepreneurship. The chapter closes with an article focused on trade unions protecting informality workers' interests as the embodiment of a driver of economic growth through the example of the taxi industry.

Trade Unions in the informal economy

The specific case of taxi industry (Alice)

Marginalized recycling

Informal recycling in Diepsloot: Between discrimination and recognition (Romane & Violante)

Informal Housing

Finding order in disorder, formality within informality (Mathilde, Ashli & Fanny R.)

INFORMAL HOUSING

Finding order in disorder, formality within informality

Mathilde Lenart

Ashli Molina

Fanny Ragot

During our visit, we learned of the concept of a 'township', one created by South Africa. Before moving forward, it is crucial to understand the term. A township refers to the "underdeveloped, usually (but not only) urban, residential areas that during Apartheid were reserved for non-whites (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) who lived near or worked in areas that were designated 'white only' (Training for Township Renewal Initiative, 2007). The concept is one of a "dormitory town built at a distance from economic activity as well as from white residential areas; with rows of uniform houses; and historically lacking services and infrastructure such as tarred roads, sanitation, water, or electricity" (Mahajan, 2014), although some scholars argue that the Apartheid government did provide services, as a way to smooth discontents.

While there are 'formally' laid out houses in townships as well as State-subsidized social housing, there are also informal settlements. Townships and the informal settlements resemble slums around the world. In Johannesburg, townships are particular because while they are formally considered to be within the metropolitan area, they are quite far removed from the economic center of the city yet are not necessarily rural.

What constitutes informal housing?

When studying South African townships like that of Diepsloot, we are confronted with a specific form of organisation, and maybe of formalisation of informality through government and community interventions. Hence, we ask what exactly constitutes informal housing and if it should solely be restricted to the legal definition of informal housing as illegality. Huchzermeyer (2004) argues that South African informal housing has largely been treated from a technocratic perspective in line with 1980s 'orderly urbanism'. The government approach has been to eradicate informal settlements, sometimes failing to recognize the value of location and community building as resilience. By treating informal settlements as legacies of the past, technocrats have worked to eradicate them by imposing relocations, for example. Nonetheless, "in practice, selected informal settlements were afforded transit camp status, until such time as sites, and a services project was elaborated, and the households could be relocated" (Huchzermeyer, 2004, p. 336). Through this formal exercise of state power, is the problem not created by informality being simply displaced rather than remedied to?

On the other hand, the eradication of informal settlements is often enforced through the argument of protecting both public and private property from 'land invasion'. As such, informality in the legal sense can be understood as an infringement of rights whereby informal dwellers have no protection against mundane accidents; these can include electrocution or fire. The illegality is set in the process of settling and using unregulated land, and "if illegal settlements are merely seen as a violation of private or public property rights, then the forceful and if necessary violent restoration of these rights is the obvious solution" (ibid).

Nonetheless, settling in informality is rarely the result of choice, but instead arises as a vital option for the urban poor in many countries of the Global South (Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). And, whereas policies often maintain the narrative of home ownership as a strategy for addressing poverty, we ought to understand informal housing as something radically different on the ground and in policy papers; informality undeniably fulfills a function of the lives of the urban poor. In the end, formality and informality do not exist in isolation but often interact, particularly in the housing sector. Although official land tenure is often more valued and politically promoted than rental, an example of the interaction between formal and informal is reflected in the backyard dwellings economy as a "flexible and regenerative housing asset" both for the landlord which benefit from an extra income, and for the tenant who could not otherwise afford housing (Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013, p. 2).

A focus on Diepsloot

The township of Diepsloot, where we visited and spent a day, is a post-Apartheid development established in 1994. It can be described as a heavily dense and large area lined by shacks, people occupying the streets, and economic activity occurring all around. It is divided into 12-13 extensions. In its beginnings, Diepsloot was entirely made up of informal housing, but has since then developed into a mixture of formal and informal housing. During our visit, we were welcomed by Jennifer Van der Busche, founder of the Sticky Situations organization. Having worked in Diepsloot for years, she goes against existing literature in terms of the typology of housing that exists in the township. In most literature related to Diepsloot, one will find the following typology: informal dwellings or shacks, government-subsidized housing, self-built houses on serviced stands, or a typology resembling this. Van der Busche argues to go beyond that usage of 'informal' because the term suggests there is a lack of structure and function, and the word is essentially reduced to its semantic use. She provides another typology instead: government-subsidized housing, a formally laid out settlement, and squatter camps. We will discuss what each type of housing situation encompasses in a few paragraphs.

Two locals strolling through the streets of Diepsloot
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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In discussing the housing typology, we will not focus on social housing as other articles in this report delve into it more deeply. The State's free public housing program, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), provides formal brick housing in Diepsloot. During our visit, we saw few brick structures but it is said that brick homes account for about 30 percent of housing units in Diepsloot (Mahajan, 2014). The next type is the formally laid out settlements, which consists of what others might call informal housing. It is made up of shack houses with iron sheet roofs, dirt streets labeled with street signs, communal toilets, and self-built houses in shack backyards. There are 13-43 houses per toilet in extension 1, one of the more disadvantaged areas. However, while others perceive extension 1 and other areas to be informal, there exists a logic and function that governs how the community works. For instance, residents are able to navigate around because of the labeled street signs. For communal toilet use, each family/shack has a key to their respective toilet, and each family knows which toilet to use. The third housing typology consists of squatter camps with only formal water stand pipes. In the three types of housing discussed, there is a mixture of paying residents and non-paying residents. In most parts, tenants did not pay to obtain the land or their shack. However, in formal housing areas, tenants have legal land titles. There they may rent out space for shacks. In the other areas, tenants can rent out space although it is not allowed and the tenant does not have a formal land title. What all three have in common is a level of organization. Although residents lack formal building material and formal rights to the land, there exists organization and hierarchy. To continue, we will discuss the development of Diepsloot, where formal actors are involved in the progress of formal and informal areas.

There are several layers of government involved in Diepsloot's development. The State is particularly involved in the provision of housing for the urban poor with the RDPs. This program was developed at the end of the Apartheid regime, and provides free housing and property titles at the fringe of the city. At a slightly smaller scale, the Gauteng Province has developed an agenda reinforcing its commitment to ensure the fulfilment of basic needs in informal settlements. The City of Johannesburg is also involved in Diepsloot's development in different ways. The Department of Planning and Urban management has developed several plans during the last decades. One of them is a number of recommendations for Diepsloot development set in the frame of the Upgrading of Marginalised Areas Programme (UMAP). The City is also under a constitutional obligation to provide essential services, such as water, sewerage collection, gas and electricity supply, roads and water drainage, and street lighting.

As for the community's role, Diepsloot residents help alleviate the conditions of informal housing. The Water, Amenities, Sanitation Services, Upgrading Program (WASSUP) lobbies for the practical maintenance of necessary infrastructure since the City does not allocate time or money for this. Local residents repair and maintain communal toilets and water pipes. To highlight the interaction between the formal and informal, take the example of WASSUP, whose members were formally appointed by the City to complete a repair program in extension 1. During our visit, we also saw the outcome of a toilet building challenge launched by the community, with the help of local organizations.

All around Johannesburg, other community-based organizations provide legal and political support to slum dwellers, and more generally to people in precarious situations. The Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) is particularly active in advocacy around three main themes, one of them being securing a home. They have made a name for themselves in the defense of punctually providing housing and basic services, and regularly litigate against different public stakeholders involved in informal housing. As part of their actions, they also initiate multi-stakeholder task teams in order to benefit from the collaboration with other organizations. They maintain strong relations with the media both by being active on social media, such as Twitter and Facebook, and by contacting journalists who treat litigation as an event and provide more exposure to the case. Among the large variety of community-based organizations working in townships, Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) serves as a great example of an NGO that has become a fundamental link between the communities—especially women—and the government. SDI provides technical and social assistance to women gathering in order to save money together, and the federation aids them in the demand of government housing subsidies. The NGO wants to collaborate with the government and not have the government build for them; they rather stand in favor of community participation in construction, fostering skills for women and allowing them to build 50-to-60 sqm houses instead of the government-provided 40 sqm.

A landscape of shacks lays behind the first layer of houses
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

MARGINALIZED RECYCLING

Informal recycling in Diepsloot: Between discrimination and recognition

Romane Cadars

Violante Torre

In Johannesburg, one-third of the economically active population sustains a double status of officially unemployed in the formal economy but parallelly active in informal jobs, often in self-entrepreneurial activities (Webster, conference held at Wits university, 14.02.2017). This is the case for the waste management sector, split between the formal system of Pickitup, an official municipal company, and the informal waste collection system. As waste management is a low-cost labor sector, it tends to heavily rely on immigrants and low-income workers.

The coexistence of the formal and informal counterparts of the waste management sector opens up the question whether it is possible to dignify the work of the informal waste collectors, as well as the possibility to incorporate this informality in the formal market without depriving workers from the control over their activities. This becomes more relevant if we go beyond the idea of informal workers as "helpless victims," but perceive them as productive and organized individual through a specific governance mechanism, as suggested by Wits University Professor Edward Webster (ibid.).

Waste buy-back center visit
Photo credits: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center sorted bottles
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center price list
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

In the township of Diepsloot there are approximately 400,000 inhabitants. As a livelihood strategy (Dlamini and Simatele, 2016), the Bontle Ke Tlago cooperative decided to support the community by proposing an initiative to cope with both environmental and social challenges. Under the cooperative's initiative, the Diepsloot waste buy-back center opened in 2012. It was funded by Pretoria Portland Cement (PPC) and inaugurated by Susan Shabangu, the Minister of Mineral Resources, who acknowledged solid waste management is of great concern for the city (3SMedia, 2012).

The waste buy-back center relies on 15 direct employees to collect and sort through plastic, paper, and glass material brought to the center by more than 100 informal collectors. Once dropped at the center, the products are sorted by type. For each product brought to the center, informal collectors get a unitary price according to market fluctuation. Moreover, the majority of the collected products are sold to local and international companies such as Nampak, the main company managing packaging manufacture in South Africa (for more information on the management of the center, see Chapter 3).

The sale of recycled products from the waste buy-back center to recycling companies illustrates the presence of a recycling chain shaped and sustained by both the formal and the informal sectors. This structure suggests that informality should be analyzed as a continuum where the divisive line with the formal sector is not always clear. However, the acknowledgment of such an interdependence should not undermine power relations shaping the relationship between these sectors. As E. Webster underlines, "Although the chains are closely connected, they express very unequal power relations. Put differently, the 'two economies' are asymmetrically interdependent" (Webster et al., 2008).

As Webster suggests, lack of protection and discrimination represents the main issue affecting informal waste collectors. So far, the municipality has not provided an explicit form of protection to these workers, despite the evident collaboration with the informal waste-collectors, and despite the municipality's strong support of the initiative. The only improvement in workers' protection has being made by the center itself, who has introduced payments to workers via a money transfer when the payment is above R300 to avoid harassment to workers, as well as to discourage criminality in the area.

The informal solid waste management offers economic and environmental benefits contributing to employment creation and sustainability in the area (Dlamini and Simatele, 2016). However, despite the role played by informal pickers, they have not been recognized and integrated in the policy framework by urban development and planning policies in South Africa. Some consider a lack of funds as what prevents the imple-

Waste buy-back center hall
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center visit
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center sorted bottles
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center visit
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

mentation of policies formalizing these structures, while others underline how the major problem is the lack of a regulatory framework that would integrate the informal waste recycling in order to tackle the problem of increasing waste generation in Johannesburg. According to Simatele and Etambakonga, the lack of cooperation between informal collectors and the municipality is mainly due to the lack of information on the part of urban managers on the contribution of informal waste management to the entire system (ibid.)
The waste buy-back centers could ease governance in the South African waste management scheme by fostering stronger cooperation among administrative formal and practical informal actors. This becomes more urgent if we consider that many informal waste collectors hail from neighboring countries, and thus experience even less protection than South African workers. To solve this problem, a database could be initiated by buy-back centers in the region through registration procedures of informal pickers (Dlamini and Simatele, 2016). Furthermore, the center could push for an increase in awareness in recycling at the individual level by training sessions, for example, which would then give meaning to the pickers' role in the recycling chain. Those campaigns could help in sharing responsibility among the community and improve the sort of solid waste. Additionally, the Decent Work Index, as promoted by Webster et al, could also serve as a useful tool to raise job security awareness, employment and skill reproduction security, to further elucidate on the condition of informal workers (Webster et al., 2008).

However, a potential incorporation of the informal economy in the formal system needs to take into account several challenges, such as police corruption and blurred boundaries between informality and crime, that constantly limit the implementation of similar projects. As mentioned by Webster in a conference held at Wits University, in order to open the possibility for a successful implementation of such initiatives, wider changes in the South African power relations need to be taken into account.

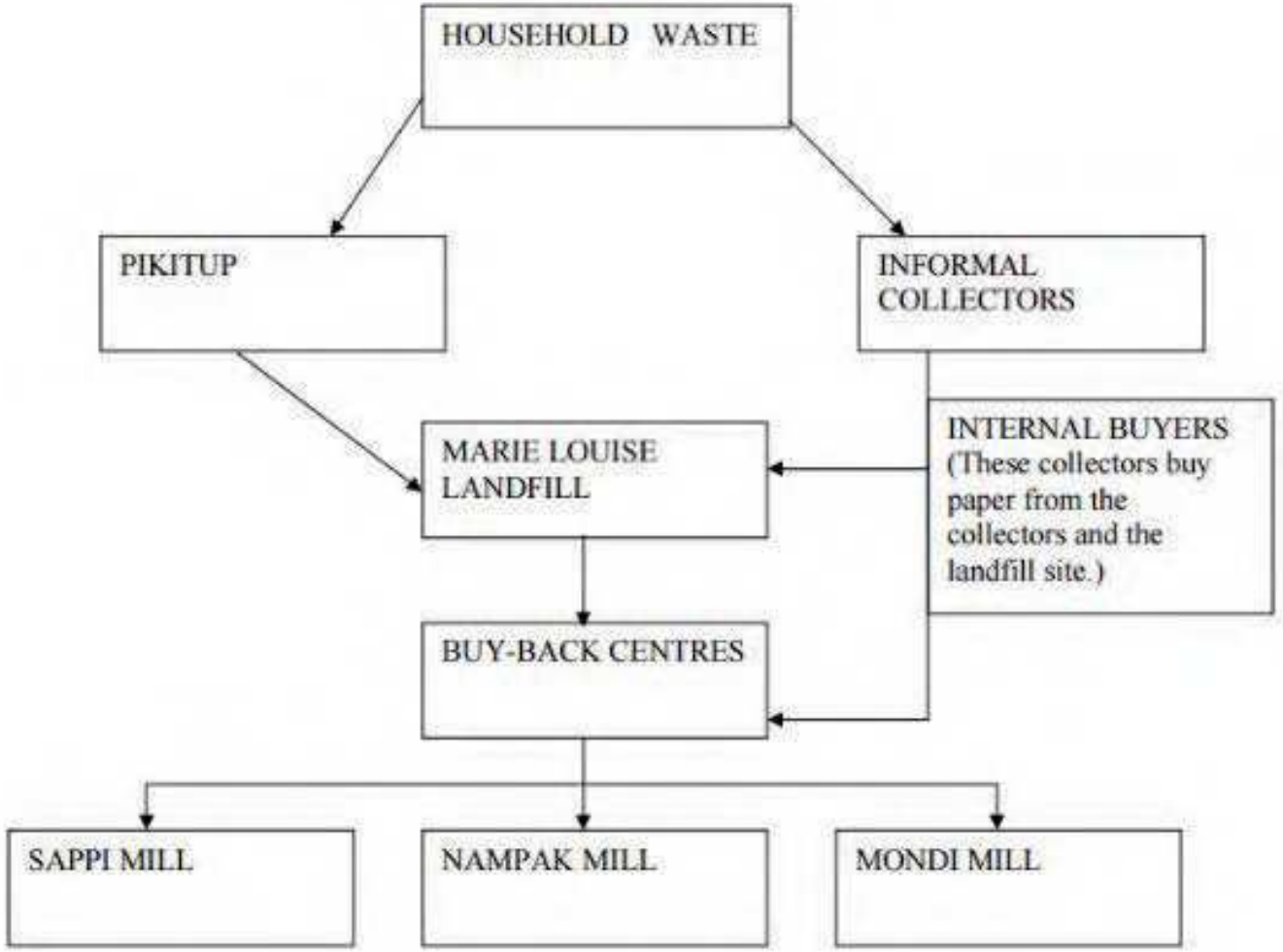
Waste buy-back center sorted bottles
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center truck
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center sorted products
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

Waste buy-back center visit
Photo credit: Violante Torre

Waste buy-back center
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet



Waste Paper Value Chain
Source: Webster, Benya, Dilata, Joynt, Ngoepe & Tsoeu, (2008; 45)

TRADE UNIONS IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY

The specific case of taxi industry

Alice Dalaut

It is often believed that the informal sector develops when the formal labour market cannot absorb all active population. It is therefore seen as a precarious option for "those surviving in the margin." Workers cannot benefit from a certain number of social protections and remain dependent of life uncertainties. However, despite an undeniable weakness, informal workers have gathered to self-empower.

Trade unions are multifunctional organizations with the goal to fight and advocate for workers' rights. In a country where a huge share of the population relies on informality to earn a living, it indeed represents a huge share of the labour market; its contribution to the daily life of Johannesburg inhabitants cannot be underestimated. In a democratic State, trade unions are a necessary tool for the representation in the political, social spheres of a large share of the vulnerable working population. Beyond the fight for rights, they also work towards the recognition of the informal taxi sector and its contribution to the daily economic life of the city. Taxi drivers have shifted from a marginalized township activity to major actors of the Gauteng region, giving them more leverage in the political scene.

The existence and formation of trade unions in the informal economy raises the question of how to incorporate informality into the formal world and how to empower a sector that at first appears weak and undesirable. All informal activities are not represented on the same scale: trade unions do not embody the whole spectrum of the informal economy and do not form one single force.
One major informal activity is the taxi industry of Johannesburg. Unlike in Europe, taxis in Joburg are minibuses that operate on routes without official stops. Passengers hop on and off the road. Together, the taxis form a dense, informal public transport network system that, unlike the official transport system in the city, serves low-income areas as well as wealthy neighbourhoods where commuters work. The industry contributes to the daily functioning of the Gauteng region by enabling low-income workers, mostly Black residents, to commute through the metropolitan region. This represents 70% of daily public commuting (Dolan, 2014). Given the incomplete official public transport system, the taxi industry is a necessary economic and service actor.

Trade unions are an intermediate force and institution. However, despite their active role in the struggle against Apartheid during that time, traditional trade unions are provoking a rising distrust from workers. They are being increasingly rejected because of business-unionism functioning (high hierarchy, top-down advocacy, increasing wage gap between union leaders and members), as well as political affiliation. Indeed, the range of trade unions offers little diversity in political orientation and none gather despite divergent opinions. Given the failure of traditional trade unions, notably COSACU (Congress of South African Trade Unions), in promoting workers' rights, new formations have emerged bringing workers together to advocate their interests. (Webster, 2017).

All these are structured organizations, which fight for a legitimation of informal activities and better recognition from public authorities. The question of a legal framework is essential: working permits ensure security in regards to justice. But safety and security also are a stake in a country with a high crime rate. Finally, they do not have any social benefits, like unemployment insurance or training, for instance. The unions play a major role in negotiating with the State in the process of formalizing the minibus taxi sector. They contributed in the advocacy of taxi drivers and owners for the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme (TRP), which aims to generate taxi permits, renew taxi fleets, set rules, and tax taxi revenues (Fobosi, 2013).

The taxi trade unions have a very poor reputation as they are known for being quite villainous. The unions use mafia-style violence to affirm domination over the taxi market and defend their territory. Although there was reluctance at first, the Gautrain decided to develop a system implying a collaboration of the taxi drivers' trade union. This consists of setting up a regulated network of minibus taxis with a fixed schedule and set safety rules to link Gautrain stations with other designated areas, improving Gauteng's intermodality. This partnership opened up a new perspective in a market where minibus taxis were absent and remain marginal: middle-class commuting (Gautrain Management Agency conference, 15.02.2017). In other words, the taxi industry's trade unions enable coordination between actors of the same commercial activity and representation before formal institutions.

To conclude, the formation of trade unions allows the informal activity to self-empower and find inclusion within the formal and recognized society. They offer balance in favor of the "poor" against what is perceived as being a pro-growth political direction by permitting informal workers to voice their claims. They also provide an opening of the informal sector to markets that the formal sector has difficulties conquering, therefore enabling better coverage of the metropolitan territory. A formal organization representing an informal activity gives more weight in negotiations to individuals and vulnerable workers. A partnership between the informal and the formal sectors, under the supervision of trade unions, permits a certain formalization of taxi industry that will lead to a safer and regulated employment situation. In other words, despite all endemic failures, trade unions are a tool for self-empowerment.

Women on their way to work
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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06

URBAN PLANNING AS A MEANS FOR DEVELOPMENT

Can urban planning be used as a leverage to achieve both economic and inclusive social development ?

The city of Johannesburg illustrates the controversial aspect of "urban development." This concept lies at the crossroad between, on the one hand, a concern for inclusivity and, on the other hand, the injunction for economic growth. Some African thinkers, such as Senegalese scholar Felwine Sarr in his essay Afrotopia, are raising questions about the pertinence of using the term 'development' to describe African realities. Indeed, saying that African countries are underdeveloped implies that there exists a linear progress of development and a state of development that all countries could reach. This concept is based on European criterias and ignores African ways of creating economic well-being, such as the forms of relational economies that are cited in this chapter. During our study trip in Johannesburg, we observed a dual reality, and in this chapter one will raise the question of how urban planning can be used as a leverage to achieve both economic and inclusive social development.

In this last part, the goal is to highlight some of the urban planning tools used by stakeholders that we met

Construction site on the Corridor of Freedom
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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URBAN PLANNING AS A MEANS FOR DEVELOPMENT

during our stay in Johannesburg and to underline how they embodied the ambivalence of the concept of development in South Africa. Thus, some projects developed since the end of Apartheid were more pro-growth oriented, leading to processes such as gentrification or financiarisation of the city, whereas some others were aiming to bridge inequalities focused on the poor and their empowerment.

For the purpose of this chapter, articles have been organised depending on the approach adopted and used by the various actors involved in the different aspects of the city's development. As one will see, there is no common vision on what development should aim for and this has created a division between the pro-growth and pro-poor supporters. In this last part, the goal is to highlight some of the urban planning tools used by stakeholders that we met during our stay in Johannesburg and to underline how they embodied the ambivalence of the concept of development in South Africa. Putting this into perspective, one will start with a text about the empowerment of women presenting the pro-poor approach and will finish with the Sandton case, which represents the best example of the pro-growth approach. Between these two extreme cases, we will go through texts portraying the variance in the urban planning approach to development by talking about the affordable housing strategies of the city, the gentrification process taking place in the Maboneng Precinct and the Transit Oriented Development approach, and the case of the Louis Botha's Corridor of Freedom. These projects and tools show the ambivalence of aims at the moment of implementing an economic development policy.

Sandton, the richest square mile of Africa

The making of a new global financial center
(Barbara, Nina & Margaux)

Transit Oriented Development:

the case of the Louis Botha Corridor of Freedom
(Auriane & Fanny N.)

Urban revitalization, for whom?

The case of the Maboneng Precinct (Alonso)

Affordable housing strategies in Johannesburg

the struggle towards inclusivity
(Diane & Miranda)

“Change your Situation, don’t sit!”

Housing as a Means of Empowerment for Women
(Felicitas & Lisa)

"CHANGE YOUR SITUATION, DON'T SIT!"

Housing as a Means of Empowerment for Women

Felicitas Freiin Von Campenhausen

Lisa Theveniau

As is the case in many countries worldwide, women in South Africa are in a position of vulnerability, with limited access to education and staying at home to care for the children and the household. This example provides information about a new approach to develop the capacities of the poor: empowerment. How can the empowerment of vulnerable actors, such as poor women, help them become key actors in determining the developmental priorities and policies of cities?

FEDUP, Organization for Women – "Change your Situation, don´t sit"!

The Federation of the Urban and Rural Poor (FEDUP) tries to balance the inferior position of women by building communities that build houses and acquire land to build on. The project has a social and technical component whereby the social component is essential for the success. The aim of FEDUP is to train the urban poor—particularly women—to raise financial means and develop the skills necessary to build and maintain houses and maintain. FEDUP, partnering with Slum Dwellers International, views monetary saving as a key component of the empowerment of women in communities. The staff of the organization visits the respective areas up to 20 times to present the program and convince women to participate. Maureen Sikepu, the project manager of Orange Farm and a General Council Member of uTshani (a partner of FEDUP as well) uses the slogan "Change your situation, don´t sit!" to motivate women to get engaged.

Process of Construction – Advantages for Community Members

Once the settlements or communities the organization wants to focus on are identified, members of FEDUP set up a meeting to explain the system of saving schemes and to form groups that will provide each other with mutual support. FEDUP also detects informal settlements, where they start with collecting data on size, age, activities, etc., before they start mobilizing the inhabitants. The collected data is also put at the community's disposal.

Before the construction process starts, women acquire the necessary skills and educate themselves to conduct and supervise construction. The main focus of their training is based on quality, feasibility, and long-lasting durability of the houses built. Soil testing, to determine the kind of foundation needed, and the need of weatherproof

materials are two factors taken into consideration. Professional architects and engineers advise and consult throughout the process, but the decision is ultimately left at the hands of the women.
The special training required for participation in the construction process provides these women skills, that are otherwise uneducated, and beyond that, participation allows to build bigger houses. Even though the construction work has to follow established norms and standards, the quality and size of the housing positively deviates from the homes provided by the government. Government subsidies for housing currently are 110.000 Rands, and with monetary savings and the accumulated material, community members receive 50 to 60 sqm homes rather than the allotted 40 sqm given by the government, and also benefit from upgrading schemes. The contribution of the house owners – be it in labour, in material or monetary – helps to sustain the efforts.

Enumeration as a tool for legalizing informal settlements
Enumeration in slums or informal settlements is often done poorly, or not at all carried out, and thus FEDUP steps in to fill the gap. Enumerations take the form of community-initiated and run censuses whereby a socio-economic and demographic profile is generated, and the tenure status, level of services, and development aspirations are ascertained. Proper data collection enables the identification of the needs and size of settlements, and provides sufficient information to reach out to the government to apply for social development and upgrading funds. Access to basic needs, such as water and sanitation, can also be addressed. The data collection is regularly updated every six months to take natural changes, such as births and deaths, into account. Unused land is detected with the GIS-software, which allows the federation to negotiate on land for people that do not possess a property to build on. Once the data has been collected and approved by the municipality, the settlement is legalized, giving them access to all kinds of social entitlements.

Role of the Government – challenges to tackle
FEDUP operates independently from the government, but relies on public subsidies to finance the construction of homes. The organization initially aimed to partner with the government to conjointly improve the conditions of the poor, but the government built up barriers instead of supporting the projects. The antagony went so far that the municipality visited the project area and discouraged the participants from collaborating with FEDUP, encouraging residents to rely on RDP housing instead. The government indeed undermines the organization's effort to change mindsets and thus prevents the poor from becoming self-reliant.
Further, all communication and administrative procedures that need approval or financial means from the government are too time consuming; the organization therefore often carries out upgrading illegally without permission. Further, parts of the money that is to be used for housing construction, gets lost in corruption.

Need for more action and collaboration
The initiatives and projects by FEDUP and Slum Dwellers International are a major step in the right direction to fill the gap between people´s needs and formal sector provision, but it is has a relatively small impact. The work and engagement of the organization has helped an incredible number of individuals and families to overcome their precarious situation and to improve their living conditions. According to their website, "the Federation was able to deliver 12,000 housing units (average size being 56sqm), incremental loans for a further 2,000 houses, infrastructure for 2,500 families, land tenure for 12,000 families, hundreds of small business loans, three parcels of commercial land, eleven community centres, and several crèches." However, the road ahead is long and calls for governmental support and cooperation. The city of Cape Town can be seen as a model, demonstrating politically-driven development with progressive upgrading and enumeration.

Illustration of women enumerating their needs
Source: FEDUP website

AFFORDABLE HOUSING STRATEGIES IN JOHANNESBURG

A comparison of public housing in the periphery and private development in the inner city: the struggle towards inclusivity

Diane Pialucha

Miranda Raschid

As discussed, during Apartheid, segregation laws led to highly fragmented cities. The black community has been relegated to townships at the fringe of the city that were developed formally but are now largely informally run. In 1994, the end of the Apartheid regime foreshadowed an intense period of institutional restructuring. During that period, policy-makers made a direct connection between housing and the integration of the black community. In 1996, the "Right to Housing" was enshrined in the Constitution in Article 26 of the Bill of Rights, which states: "Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. The state must take reasonable legislative measures [...] to achieve the progressive realisation of this right." Twenty years later, we aim to analyse how the right to housing has been implemented and the impacts of affordable housing strategies in Johannesburg. To do so, we will compare two strategies, the provision of public subsidized housing by the government and the implementation of policy regarding affordable rental housing units.

The development of affordable housing in Johannesburg dates back to the National Housing Forum 1992, which framed the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). During the time of a basic services crisis, the eradication of slums and the provision of shelter was seen as a way to integrate the black community and dissolve visible inequalities within the urban structure. In the implementation of the RDP, the government held the role of delivering mass housing. This program required an upfront investment from the public sector and relied heavily on private sector developers. The central government pursued three primary objectives: 1) the delivery of 1 million units within five years, 2) the restructuring and integration of the city, and 3) the alleviation of poverty by giving the poor access to jobs. South African citizens earning less than R3500 per month (~250€) and never having owned a home became eligible. Each household was provided a standard, minimally-sized housing unit on 250 m2 plots. However, the government's mass housing program required cheap land, pushing the development of these units to the periphery of the city, far away from the central business district and job opportunities.

More recently, in response to the government's RDP, there has been a shift towards inclusionary housing policy in order to encourage social integration and provide well-located affordable housing. This type of policy began when a national policy was drafted in 2007 and has led to the development of affordable housing units in the inner city areas by private developers, although the success of this type of policy is still unclear. One such development program is the Brickfields program, launched in 2005 by the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC). The JHC "brought together a consortium of government, financial institutions, and corporate businesses to invest in social housing development," (Johannesburg Housing Company) and what resulted was the establishment of the Brickfields Housing Company (Pty) Ltd within the JHC Group. The goals of the development project were the creation of a new, affordable residential community and the regeneration of the inner city neighborhood. Brickfields is located in Newtown close to the Metro Mall Bus and Taxi Rank, Nelson Mandela Bridge, Market Theatre, Newtown Cultural Project, and the Central Business District of Johannesburg. It provides 345 units in 4-story walk-ups and 9-story tower blocks— 243 2-bedrooms, 6 3-bedrooms, 5 live and work units— and amenities such as a crèche, homework centre, and playground. According to the South African Government News Agency, as of 2014 "an estimated 30 000 new housing opportunities for many low and moderate income households" have been created during Thabo Mbeki's administration as a result of RDP and social housing programs.

Informal Development of Diepsloot
What began as planned development has been overtaken by informal additions such as sheds behind houses to maximize the amount of housing on a single plot of land.
Source: GCRO (2017)

Economic opportunities provided by both affordable housing strategies

Concerning the RDP policy, the provision of a shelter to the most needy households presented few advantages. Firstly, it has been a rapid response to a critical housing backlog. Eligible households were provided a property title for free. They had the possibility of selling back this asset within eight years. The City of Johannesburg strongly advocated for this option, which it thought to be a means for disadvantaged groups to move up the property ladder. Additionally, communities were provided a stable environment and improved quality of life through the upgrading of informal settlements. This aspect aimed to have a positive impact on health and provide economic opportunities such as the possibility to open small shops or grow vegetables. We also observed that residents optimized their revenues renting a room or a backyard shack, a profitable, albeit informal, strategy.

Regarding the inner city rental solution, the key advantage of such inclusionary housing policy is that it helps to inhibit urban sprawl by providing lower income families with affordable housing within the existing boundaries of the city rather than on the periphery. By being located closer to the central business district, members of these families are closer to job opportunities and do not have to pay high transport costs like they would if they lived further away. Affordable housing developments like Brickfields provide a number of families with homes and amenities that make their life

more convenient without pushing them to the edges of the city.

Difficulty to overcome the segregated pattern of the city

Although Brickfields provides 345 individuals and/or families with housing, it is still surrounded by many challenges. For instance, in order to apply for and have housing there, inhabitants must have a steady income to pay rent and need to provide documentation of their wages. This can be difficult if they have jobs in the informal sector. Regarding larger issues, a lack of institutional support for inclusionary housing policy makes it difficult for affordable housing developments like Brickfields to be widespread throughout the city. Uneven implementation means that not everyone who needs affordable housing has a chance to benefit from it. Furthermore, there is still doubt as to whether inclusionary housing policy is actually reducing income and ethnic segregation. The selection of inhabitants can be somewhat arbitrary despite the application process, meaning that sometimes, it is difficult to ensure that units are not going to higher income families. Additionally, many believe inclusionary housing policy to be "ineffective in weak market conditions" (Klug 668).

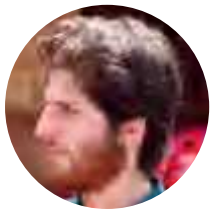
Even though the RDP policy and, more specifically, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) project do target the poorer of the poor, they also faces some setbacks. The first of which is their dependency on public investment, as private banks did not extend their loans down-market. Second, the bracket of eligible household is very restricted and does not include the most fragile populations, such as foreign immigrants. Although certain quantitative objectives have been met, the RDP policy has only been effective in a limited way, as it cannot contain the development of slums. Indeed, we observed that beneficiaries tended to return to squatting to take advantage of their rent. The fallouts of the policy also appear in the poor quality of the delivery and the existence of service maintenance. The BNG policy failed to initiate a shift from shelter to assets, quantity to quality, structure to service, formal to informal, and neighbours to communities. The most critical issue, however, is the struggle for well-located land. Peripheral housing programs are cut from every economic opportunity. The phenomenon is worsened by transportation costs that tend to create urban enclaves and reproduce the segregation pattern of spatial exclusion built under apartheid.

Throughout this section, we showed that affordable housing strategies in Johannesburg face notable difficulties in undertaking the spatial and economic transformation of the urban fabric. Affordable housing rental in the inner city fails to address the the lowest income bracket, and the provision of governmental housing on the periphery has perpetuated segregation. In both cases, the striving of the policies to be inclusive seems to have been lost between the framing and implementation stages. Fortunately, these issues can be overcome through the development of on-site economic activities that would reduce the commute and, thus, travel costs of inhabitants. Although possibly an isolated occurrence, we observed this process in Diepsloot and Soweto where recycling firm and a museum, respectively, gave rise to job opportunities close to inhabitants' homes. Another potential solution would be to strengthen an affordable transport system linking the peripheries to the city center.

Field visit with NASHO (National Association of Social Housing Oganisations)
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

URBAN REVITALIZATION, FOR WHOM?

The case of the Maboneng Precinct



Alonso Davila Graf

With the end of the apartheid, Johannesburg saw his inner-city being abandoned by businesses and the white residents because of the uncertainty brought by the new democratic era. At the same time that the affluent resident fled away to suburbs such as Sandton, the city center welcomed a wave of poor black population coming from the townships, as well as some large migrants' communities coming from all around Africa. This social change left the inner-city with many vacant buildings transformed in squats and an environment propitious for violence, drugs and general insecurity. The city center was, therefore, widely considered as a no-go zone (Jason Burke, 2016).

With the prospect of changing the image of Johannesburg's city center, the municipality launched an urban revitalization plan in 2005 to attract private developers and become a "global African city" (Skyler Reid, 2014). Through the models of City Improvement Districts and Public Private Partnerships, regenerated areas like the Maboneng Precinct started to emerge and to attract people back to the city, but for whose benefit?

Maboneng is being renovated by Propertuity, a private development firm that envisioned to create a place where artists, architects and creative people in general would come live, work and spend their time, in a previous light industrial area abandoned during the economic crisis. Now, Maboneng has become a creative hub full of street art, cafés, galleries, restaurants, shops and Propertuity has passed from owning in 2010 20 buildings in the area to 100 buildings in 2017. This revived zone has, as expected, attracted a mixed young hipster population to fill the fully renovated apartment buildings and to enjoy one of the few places in the city where you can actually feel that there is a street and city life.

In economic terms, the area has experienced an economic boom caused by the many businesses' opened during the revitalization process and by the arrival of an upper-middle class that pushes the local economy up. At the same time, because this developments are privately funded, there can be some doubts about the scale of the economic impact. The fact that the poor are being left out and that there is a growing middle class arriving to the area raises the question of who are really profiting from this growth. The point is that this neighborhood expe-

rienced an economic growth, but it is not easy to say if that growth has been translated to all classes and neighboring poor areas or if it has stayed as an isolated middle class place-based growth surrounded by poverty (Paul Burkhardt, 2015).

Further, the social impacts have been more controversial. By reorganizing the area and by providing street private security, Propertuity has successfully generated a more secure and non-violent environment for their residents, as well as an image of a well governed space. But the fact that this private company has been taking over part of the duties of the city gives the impression that it is slowly becoming a privatized enclave where only some can afford to live, becoming a symbol of disparities (Shannon Walsh, 2013). With the gentrification process taking place in Maboneng, many long term residents of the area, including squatters, poor families and students, have been evicted from the hijacked buildings that are due to be rehabilitated or have been displaced by the rising rent prices. Even if you can find affordable places in the Propertuity units, it is still too much for a big part of the original residents. Therefore, the gentrification taking place in Maboneng is leaving the poor out of the picture and could result in spatial segregation between the development and the poorer surrounding localities, like Jeppestown, creating invisible borders based on a socioeconomic criteria (Shannon Walsh, 2013).

Thus, the Maboneng development project succeeded on creating a safer and violence free environment in the inner-city and, as a result, has attracted a part of the middle class back to the city, transforming it from a no-go zone to a lively and attractive zone. But, gentrification has simultaneously caused the rise of prices resulting in evictions and displacements. Hence, to avoid gentrification resulting in a new version of the spatial segregation lived during the apartheid, the private developers and the public authorities should collaborate to integrate affordable housing in the urban development plans to include the poorer population in the city's revitalization.

Gardens in Maboneng
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

TRANSIT ORIENTED DEVELOPMENT : THE CASE OF THE LOUIS BOTHA CORRIDOR OF FREEDOM

Visit to the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)

Fanny Nesen

Auriane Simonian

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), created in 2010, aims to manage and facilitate urban and economic development for a more equitable, sustainable and resilient city. It is an agency of the City of Johannesburg established to stimulate area-based development in support of Joburg 2030's economic development strategy. The JDA is a development manager, meaning that the agency coordinates and manages capital investment from both public and private stakeholders. During our visit to the Johannesburg Development Agency, we had the opportunity to discover one of their in situ project : the Louis Botha, one of Johannesburg's Corridors of Freedom.

This visit allowed us to familiarize ourselves with the planning tool of Transit Oriented Development (TOD), often used to achieve socially inclusive development. Thus, in the context of the new spatial plans for Joburg 2040, the City of Johannesburg decided to implement a Growth Development Strategy based on this TOD. This programme encourages an optimal development of transit hubs and corridors across Johannesburg, in order to provide a better access to affordable accommodations and transportation services. More precisely, it aims to address the Apartheid-legacy spatial exclusion problems of Johannesburg, through integrated land use and transport improvements. Indeed, the National Household Travel Survey (2003) pointed out that the average commuting travel time in public transport was 59 minutes and more than 1.3 million South Africans spend more than two hours a day traveling between home and work. For people living in Soweto, it means waking up very early to access a public transport taking them to their workplace in the city.

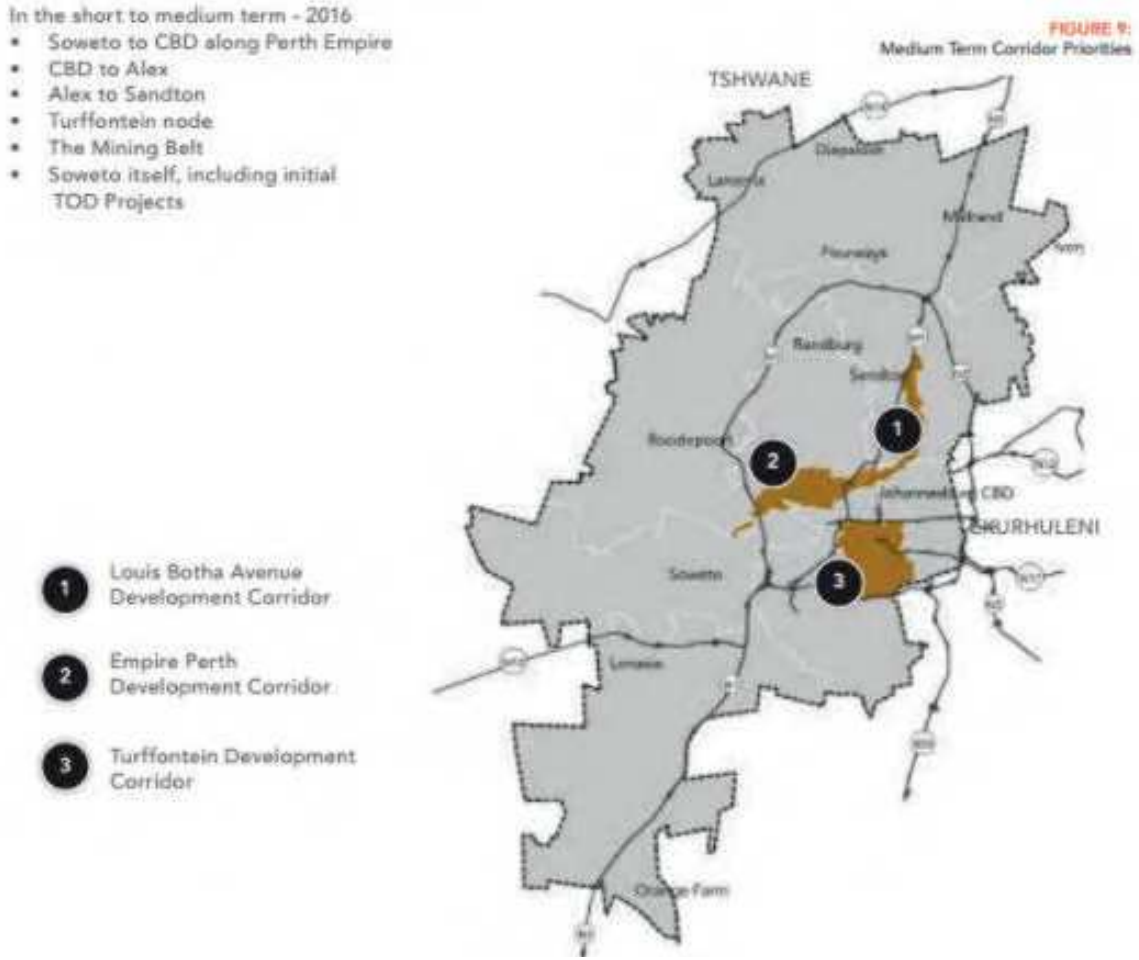
"Corridors of Freedom" are designed to reverse this trend by shortening commutes and thus lowering transport

costs, in line with the Joburg Growth and Development 2040 Strategy. Thus, the TOD, is a development approach aiming for an high intensity mixed land uses within walking distance of a transit station or within the transit corridor. Then, the corridor-based strategy is based on a selection of corridors in order to link various economic nodes with higher density residential developments and for a potential urban regeneration and densification along the corridor. In Johannesburg, the Bus Rapid Transit has been chosen as the preferred mode of public transport and has been implemented by the City since 2009 connecting Soweto to the CBD. The intention is to optimize development in and around high density movement corridors to create inclusive opportunities for the joburgers and to create economies of scale.

Louis Botha Avenue is a Johannesburg corridor located in the north-east of the inner city, between the CBD and northern parts of the city around the township of Alexandra. It is one a the three strategic frameworks which were meant to be achieved on the medium term, is that to say by 2016.

Southern parts of the corridor are made of old residential suburbs while northern parts are more commercial and industrial areas. The corridor leads to important employment areas such as Sandton and Midrand in the North and ModderFontein/Greenstone, a future growth opportunity area, in the East of the city. Indeed, the corridor makes the connection between two very different areas : the inner city which is a poor and more declining neighbourhood and the northern parts made of employment areas and upper class gated communities.

The Corridor of Freedom policy aims at strengthening the function of connector by planning intermodal facilities. Louis Botha corridor could play a key role of transport hub in the future, especially thanks to the Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system interchange at Watt Street which will connect the inner city to the township of Alexandra, east of Sandton. Moreover, the



Medium Team Corridor Priorities, Louis Botha Avenue
Source : City of Joburg

Corridors of Freedom through a density goal, aims to create on one area a place where residents will work, stay and play, without the inconvenience of high cost and long distance time of commuting. With the TOD and the Bus Rapid Transit system, mobility will be quicker and safer and will increase freedom of movement through planned transport arteries. Thus through the high-rise of residential developments around the transit nodes but decreasing in height as one move further away from the core, social infrastructure (schools, clinics etc.) and state institutions (police stations and government offices) will be more present and strategically located to support the population. Finally, a major goal is to provide opportunities for economic activities and employment, especially in relation with the industrial lands in the northern part. The corridor is likely to become a destination of choice for both residents and business actors.

Regional Contexte, Development Corridor.
Source : City of Joburg

Nevertheless, some obstacles have been faced in the development process of the Corridors of Freedom, especially in the case of Louis Botha corridor. In this way, the JDA highlighted while visiting the project the fact that time and cost implications in dealing with issues such as building invasions or illegal conversions were really time consuming. From then on, every obstacles could be overcome according to our guest, with a certain amount of time spent before starting the project in a nearly urban sociological approach, on meeting every stakeholders of the project and to defuse any possible conflicts. And this, raises the question of a strategy to involve community in this project, since the JDA explained to us that it was really difficult to set up public participation within implementation of the project. As the Corridors of Freedom crosses many different territories and populations, the democratic aspects of the project still remained particularly important and enhanced in the objectives as well as within the production process.

Moreover, the Corridors of Freedom strategy can create or reinforce gentrification processes in some regenerating areas. This may lead to population displacement and can question the ability of the JDA to enhance the living conditions of the poorest dwellers. If one of the main goals of the Transit Oriented Development strategy is to connect people with employment areas, this social improvements based on a better urban mobility can be undermined by this removal of workforce. Affordable housing seems to be a key strategy to alleviate the gentrification issue.

Furthermore, existing minibus operators are not allowed to compete with BRT on the same roads; instead, owners and drivers are co-opted into becoming stakeholders in the operating company providing BRT service. It aims to reduce the oversupply of minibus service and to professionalise current operators. But, realistically many people from Soweto could not afford the BRT even if the price is slightly more expensive than informal taxis. More, the area was served by many taxi routes and so existing taxis would have to change as soon as the trunk route of Louis Botha avenue will be part of the BRT.

What's more, the project aims to develop high density building but do not create a real "urbanity", meaning that the project is closed with walls and guards security and it seemed hard to feel the relationship from gated communities and the street for probably question of insecurity. Regarding this "urbanity" and the street social life, it is important to keep in mind that the infrastructure should provide space for pedestrians and so maintain a walkable threshold from the stations (400m).

To conclude, the Louis Botha project was associated with a really complex administrative system that makes the urban use of the designed corridor shift from a one family stand land to a multiple families stand land. In fact, this project could be seen both as pro-poor and pro-growth strategies, in the sense that it aims to be a mobility spine at the Gauteng City Region level and private investments will be made in and around the corridor, in favour of private investors. But, these finally generate other investments toward mix-used new residential opportunities such as affordable housing, and also enhances poor workers' mobility in order to reach social and pro-poor objectives.

Visit of the Louis Botha Corridor with with Matt Jackson
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

SANDTON, THE RICHEST SQUARE MILE OF AFRICA

The making of a new global financial center

Barbara Fuseau

Nina Llado

Margaux Morenas

The construction of the city of Sandton and its progressive gain of importance can be read as a spatial materialization of human and financial flows at the regional, country, continental, and global scales. After briefly accounting for the history of the CBD displacement from Johannesburg to Sandton, we will analyse the simultaneous dynamics of its inscription into a network of global cities and of its territorial exclusionary consequences. The planning strategies sustaining this double-faced development result in what we could call a neo-apartheid (Beavon, 1998) aftermath.

Shifting the center of gravity, a threefold decentralization process.

The current metropolitan townscape arose from a synchronization in the decline of Johannesburg original CBD and the expansion of peripheral urbanization. This process took place between the 1970's and the end of apartheid and was the result of 3 successive moves: residential, commercial and business-led.

The municipality of Sandton was created in 1969 by the Johannesburg Town Council because of the congestion of the Johannesburg CBD. It was the merger of the neighborhoods of Sandown and Bryanston, which were mostly rural areas, although the rise of private car ownership in the 1950's and 1960's had started to enable a massive (white) residential move towards the northern suburbs (Beavon, 1998). The 1970's witnessed the blossoming of giant suburban shopping malls: Sandton was developed around a huge project, a 20-floors-mall called "Sandton city". The place, owned by a real estate investment trust, is today the second largest mall of Africa.

During the 70's, Sandton and Johannesburg competed for investments. Sandton municipality's political decision, dominated by business interests, offered low tax rates and eased zoning regulations. This particularly stimulated the commercial and economic development (Murray, 2011). In addition to this, multiple push and pull factors including energetics, economical, geographical and racial aspects came into consideration. Firstly, following the 1973

energy crisis, a need for more cost-efficient buildings materialized into an architecture of lower buildings. The suburbs, with more (available) space at a lower costs, appeared as the optimal location (Beavon, 1998). Sandton in particular was seen as easily accessible in terms of transportation services and ideally situated. The city is indeed equidistant from the Johannesburg central area as well as other dynamic suburbs such as Midrand and Pretoria (Murray, 2011). Reciprocally, the offices take-off also made the city more attractive for dwellers, and this agglomeration effect resulted in a denser pattern of urban development. In the 1990's, Sandton really took off, with a massive offices and residential delocalization. But, the real turnout operated in 2001: the JSE Stock Exchange move to Sandton acted as a catalyst, encouraging other investors to join and thus establishing the "urban dominance" of Sandton (Murray, 2011). Finally, the Gautrain built at the occasion of the FIFA World Cup 2010 placed Sandton at the center of the rail network, confirming the place's importance in the wider Gauteng region.
Although, the municipality lost its independence after local government reorganisation (after Apartheid, part of the interim Eastern Metropolitan Substructure and then integrated in 1996 within the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality) Sandton became a city in its "own right" (Murray, 2011). Sandton is no longer peripheral but represent a new phase of metropolitan development in a context of globalization. The growth machine was activated through profit-oriented political and economic decisions.

The Exclusive/Neo-apartheid city

Far for being inclusive, the planning approach of Sandton gave birth to a myriad of island-like entities that produce a still ongoing form of segregation. The influx of white collars have been encouraged by the development of services and amenities. For instance, the Deputy Director of AFD conceded that the location of their offices in Bryanston also respond to convenience criteria such as the closeness of the French School. As a result, the property values have skyrocketed in Sandton upper-income districts, so much that members of the south african middle class chose to leave to neighboring areas such as Randburg. The planning of Sandton seems to exemplify the argument of Baeten (2012) who argued that planners trying to improve cities while serving private profit risk to become "mere facilitators of 'market forces' in the city".

Yet, the market forces are also led by discriminatory logics, which contribute to what Beavon calls a "neo-apartheid" city development (Beavon, 1998). In this sense, the massive relocation of numerous firms in the urban fringe described above can also be understood as a drive to escape the urban decay of Johannesburg and develop "beyond the geographical and financial reach of the urban poor and marginalized underclasses" (Murray, 2011). Beavon observed that the fall of apartheid regime, did not abolish the spatial segregation and emphasize the importance of the price barrier. A part of "The Black Diamonds", the black upper class which emerged as the results of specific post-apartheid policies, has settled in the place. The 5 million «Back Diamonds» in fact amount to the white people currently living in South-Africa. However, the majority of the Sandton population is white, reflecting the long lasting inequalities in purchasing power and job opportunities.

During our visits we witnessed and experienced the exclusive urban development framework of Sandton. Indeed, a quick look on Google Maps of the neighborhoods where AFD and Alstom have their offices, that we visited, gives a view of the density of companies and potential decision makers concentrated there. Office parks, built on a clustered model follow the model of residential development. They are laid out like russian dolls: small enclaves (clusters) within a larger residential enclave (gated communities).

The visit to Rosebank Mall, provided us a glimpse of the exclusiveness at stake. The area shows itself like a free-circulating space: an open-sky avenue bordered with tiny picturesque shops. The orchestrated ensemble, recalls a stage play of the public space. The Rosebank Mall corresponds in fact to a private initiative of urban development in which each components is carefully controlled and monitored: A security guard, so far invisible from our gaze appeared when students were willing to take a picture of the place, informing us that it was strictly forbidden as the place was private and users were required to follow its specific code of conduct.

A global symbolic city

A car ride in the avenues of Sandton City offer a glimpse on the amount of capital invested in the "richest square mile of Africa". The expression is used on Legacy Lifestyle group's advertisements and it reveals how much living and working in Sandton City is of symbolic importance. The entrepreneurial capitalism that has moved towards Sandton is embodied by "visible expression of power", such as impressive towers, brand new headquarters of large corporations and 5-stars hotel. The most impressive representations of this prestige are situated in Sandton City Mall where luxury boutiques, international brands and hotels showcase the power of the area. The mall also advertises its famous Nelson Mandela Square with a vocabulary emphasizing the place of Sandton (and by extension Johannesburg) in the global cities network :

> "New York has the Statue of Liberty, Egypt the Great Sphinx and Brazil the Christ the Redeemer statue. And Sandton, South Africa? We have a world-famous statue of the man who led our country to an equal rainbow nation, Nelson Mandela."
> Source: Sandton City Website

The choice of the comparison with Cairo and Rio is interesting as it discursively places Johannesburg in the network of the developing countries integrating the global capitalist system, while praising the now "equal rainbow nation". This kind of discourse seems at odds with the conference Achille Mbembe gave us, in which the scholar emphasized the need for the city to see itself as a model, instead of comparing to other global cities. The same global logic shows in the standardized names, which might sound better to foreign ears than "Knoppieslaagte City Shopping Centre" (one of the planned names) would have. Another example is the street names, with the fancy neighborhoods bearing english names such as "Hyde Park" or "Bryanston".

The expression "Richest square mile of Africa" is also telling of the international anchorage of Sandton and of the global competition taking place between city to attract international funds. The grandiose aspect of the headquarters and shopping malls is only the immersed part of a continental and global power of action. The territory thus inscribes itself in a network of financial and dematerialised flows. Most foreign company investing in South Africa chose to settle in Sandton. The biggest share of the seventy-five foreign banks that settled in the country located their headquarters or main offices there (Murray, 2011). Although Pretoria is the diplomatic capital, foreign public investment agencies are located in Sandton, close to the nerve center of African operations. From the new financial center of South Africa, "corporate giants" (Murray, 2011) send money and orders to the rest of the continent. Those companies are either having a headquarter close to Sandton City or in the surrounding neighborhoods' office parks described above. This clustering of companies can be understood as the physical translation of the gathering of transnational upper-middle classes.
Although Sandton almost appear as an island of its own, regulations (such as the BBB-EE, a set of regulations that firms have to comply with and that were adopted in order to empower economic minorities in South Africa) and the pervasive presence of private security companies act as a reminder of troubles and challenges faced by the country. Sandton is indeed embedded in a larger region and a wide country. How much do this areas benefit from the growth of the Richest square mile of Africa"?

The Zone-mall, an integrated mixed-use development in Rosebank
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

A view from a lane in Rosebank
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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Traffic jam in Central Joburg
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

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In front of the Hector Pieterson Museum in Soweto
Photo credit: Isabelle Poulet

CREDITS

Visit with A. Mabin
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