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The University of the Witwatersrand

The School of Architecture and Planning

An Exploration of the Social Production of Vilakazi Street as a Social Space

Tjaka Segooa

2014

Research Report submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning. This research report was supervised by Professor Mfaniseni Sihlongonyane.

DECLARATION

I Tjaka Segooa, declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning, Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Science in Urban and Regional Planning (Honours) degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree in any other university.

……

Tjaka Segooa

26 November 2014

DEDICATION

- It is with my deepest gratitude and heartfelt affection I dedicate this thesis to my family.
- To my beloved mother Olivia, the strong and gentle soul who taught me to trust in God, believe in hard work, and kept reminding me that so much could be done with little. To whom I owe everything. I hope that this accomplishment will complete the dream that you had for me all those years ago and when you chose to give me the best you could.
- To my aunt Sarah, the precious jewel of my life. You illuminate every breath I take through your presence. I will always remember the message from the newspaper piece you cut for me on the first day of varsity, that read "Nothing comes easy in life; you have to work hard to get where you want to be." *Ke a leboga Matumela.*
- To all the talented, innovative and warm-hearted residents of Orlando West particularly Vilakazi Street, Soweto. May you continue to endure and be representatives of change in pursuit of a better townships' cultural, economic, political and educational development.
- To all young and ambitious individuals at St Christopher's Children Home. Anything is possible when you believe.

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- To my grand-mother, for her inspirational teachings which I walk in the shadow of their greatness. "*Ke a leboga Mahlako"*
- For being generous, sharing your wisdom, love and divinity. I pay respect to the featured: Matshidiso, Elisha, Gerson and Ephraim Segooa. Thank you for your encouragements.
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- To all influential people in my life, for believing in me and always encouraging me to do best.
- To Keabetswe Shabi (Vilakazi Street trader), for making me feel at home and taking time to respond to my questions.
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- To all the mediators along Vilakazi Street, for their willingness to share with me their thoughts and experiences. *"Ke a leboga"*.

CULTURE IS MY FILAMENT I SOW BETWEEN MANY NATIONS

The sounds of Vilakazi Street echoes, when I finally discover the sublime art,

When the nations bow, and collectives travel to witness,

Culture is my filament I sow between many nations and my roots will never perish.

Culture is my escapism

Escapism is not defined by the conduct itself but the impulse behind it

Conservation of my culture does not necessitate disrespect for other cultures,

Culture remains my filament I sow between many nations and my origin will never cede

Tjaka Segooa [19.02.14]

ABSTRACT

Uncertainties of globalisation and gentrification remain a persistent in former black townships. The assimilation of these ideologies has led to several unintentional consequences in spaces such as Vilakazi Street, Orlando West. Vilakazi Street has been identified by the City of Johannesburg through its implementing agent, Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) as a potentially significant heritage, cultural and economic node. But the cultural implications are unknown. This study looks at the social production of Vilakazi Street within the context of Soweto in three criteria: the conceived, perceived and lived spaces since 1994. It critically explores how creativity and innovation within the social space of the street has contributed to the needs of existing local communities.

Thirty five respondents were randomly selected and interviewed. These included government officials, local residents, business representatives, and tourists. In this quest, the conceived space focuses on how various interventions on the street were imagined by government officials and designers, the perceived space looks at how ordinary people have assigned meaning to the street, and the lived space focuses on the actual experience and purposeful use of the Street.

The study has discovered that the use of a variety of spatial symbols allow experiments that may return spaces to the control of humanised and anti-capitalism everyday spatial practices. Thus, a consideration of cultural planning can offer better perceptions into the values and aspirations of existing local communities and enclose the gap between the past, present and future in such contexts.

Keywords: Space, Social Production of Space, Conceived Space, Perceived Space, Lived Space, Culture, Branding, Cultural Planning

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ACRONYMS

African National Congress	ANC
Bus Rapid Transit	BRT
Central Business District	CBD
City of Johannesburg	CoJ
Gauteng Province	GP
Gauteng Provincial Government	GPG
Johannesburg Development Agency	JDA
Johannesburg Road Agency	JRA
Local Economic Development	LED
South Africa	SA
South Western Townships	SOWETO
Soweto Economic Development Plan	SEDP
Soweto Empowerment Zone	SEZ
Small Medium and Micro Enterprise	SMME
World Cities Culture Forum	WCCF
World Class African City	WCAC

CHAPTER ONE

UNCERTAINTIES OF GLOBALISATION AND GENTRIFICATION IN FORMER BLACK TOWNSHIPS

"Space is a social morphology: it is to lived experience what form itself is to the living organism, and just as intimately bound up with function and structure" (Lefebvre, 1991: 94).

1.1. Background: Introduction to the Uncertainties of Globalisation and Gentrification in Former Black Townships

The end of apartheid government planning has marked a rise in numerous urban regeneration developments in South African townships. These townships include: Soweto, Orange Farm, Alexandra and Kliptown to name a few. As stated by Todes (1998), innovative infrastructures and other developments that better reflect the country struggles against the apartheid government and of its people have been documented. These developments which are known for preserving historical struggles are characterised as heritage or cultural sites, often located in former marginalised areas. Gauteng Province is presently home to several other heritage sites. These sites as presented by the World Cities Culture Forum (2014) include: Freedom Park in Tshwane; the Constitutional Court; Hector Pieterson Monument and museums which honours the history of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, the Apartheid Museum; Walter Sisulu Square in Kliptown, Soweto; Human Rights precinct in Sedibeng and the Cradle of Humankind world heritage site to name a few.

One of the most notable developments is the Vilakazi Street Precinct in Orlando West, Soweto. The Johannesburg Development Agency (2011/2012) proudly presents the street as the only street that locates the homes of two Nobel laureates namely, Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The City of Johannesburg (CoJ, 2012) website also noted that it is the location where Morris Isaacson High School, Hector Pieterson museum and the Sisulu house are situated (JDA, 2011/12). As such, the Street is approved as a prime cultural, educational and economic node, rich in historical roots within the township of Soweto (JDA, 2011/12). As the JDA Business Plan (2012/13:4) presents, it is important to construct new activity nodes in marginalised areas in order to attract investments, services and employment opportunities to these underdeveloped parts of the city. Evidently, when focusing on

growth the creation of nodes is important within the planning strategies of developments (JDA Business Plan, 2012/13:4).

Vilakazi Street is regarded as the centre of attraction compared to other streets in Soweto. An estimated 1.1 million tourists visit Soweto's famous sites yearly (Census South Africa, 2011). According to the 2011 Census South Africa, the number has doubled since 2005. The Street is littered with landmarks such as Nelson Mandela's former house, restaurants, and other businesses cashing-in on the area's fame (Mail and Guardian, 2013). The Street forms parts of the new concealed narrative about Soweto. It is one that speaks of a growing edge city characterised by a rising middle class who drive flashy cars and spend their surplus cash at Soweto's flourishing Malls (Mdyogolo, 2013). In this sense, Vilakazi Street is seen as a space that has claimed its place as a tourist attraction site.

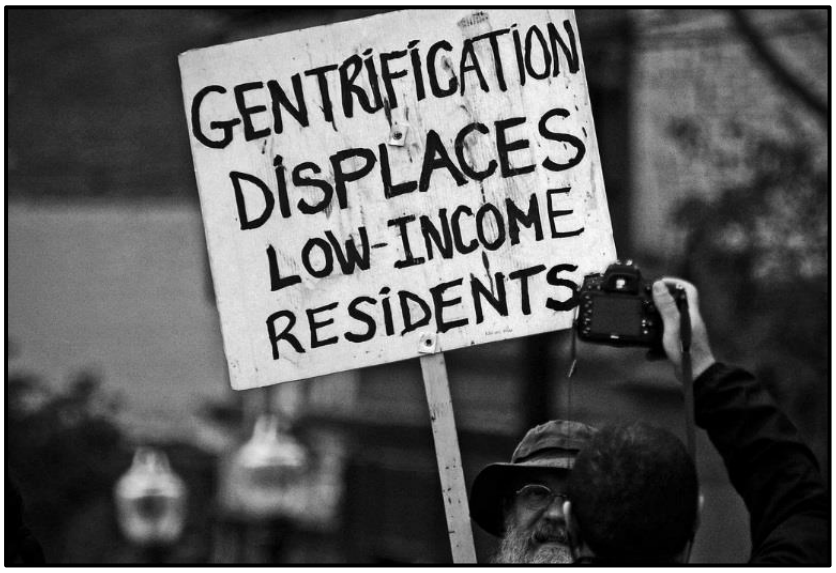


Image 1: Effects of Gentrification
http://mrswestaphg.weebly.com/uploads/2/6/7/7/26779919/3368418_orig.jpg. Accessed 10.11.14

However, there are critiques of this development. According to Planact (2007) report, the success of areas like Vilakazi Street as a product of urban regeneration often leads to unevenness of developments within neighbourhoods. As such, the majority of low-income groups fear that investors will compel them out of their communities. This anxiety can be traced back to the link between globalisation and urban regeneration. Urban regeneration as an expression of global practices has contributed to a dramatic increase in social exclusion that fosters hierarchy in developments (as evident in Orlando West) within and between nation-states (Munck, 2002). It is known for promoting the enlarging and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time such that, on the one hand, day to

day activities are increasingly influenced by events happening on the other side of the globe and, on the other hand, the practices and decisions of local groups can have major global drive. In the process, this creates a divided society that comprise of winners (those who can cope) and losers (those who cannot).

Globalisation as an ideology is viewed as a process which represents a change in spatial organisation of traders and social relations, interaction, creating network flows of activity and power (Held, 1995). The assimilation of this ideology has led to several uncertainties (De Frantz, 2005) in spaces such as Vilakazi Street. It has resulted in the loss of historical continuity, traditional values in local societies, cultural identities and urban form depriving human habitats and place identity (Yeung, 1998). Consequently, these spaces often reflect cultures which encompass societies as mentioned by Yeung (1998) in relation to the existing built form.

This particular impact of globalisation raises the question: To what extent has globalisation affected Vilakazi Street? As far as the research is concerned, it is known that the government (both local and provincial) has gained criticism for its extensive investment in Soweto with a limited development attention given to other townships within the Johannesburg Metropolitan region, such as Alexandra, Diepsloot, Orange Farm etc. This question becomes crucial because, Soweto is currently the site of concentrated government interventions. Developments keep increasing at an alarming rate and the cultural implication continue to remain unknown (CoJ, 2012).

A variety of analysts highlight contradictory outcomes of globalisation. It has been observed that developments such as the Maboneng District (City of Johannesburg, 2012), Newtown Precinct (Johannesburg Business Plan 2012/13) and Melrose arch (www.joburg.org.za) for example, are competing to construct the most attractive spaces or places for people (especially tourists), investors and the elite, instead of improving the standards of living in the existing local communities through the gentrification process. In the decree of the above mentioned successful developments, Vilakazi Street is heading in the same direction which leads to market forces as an outcome of globalisation.

In addition, several scholars such as Robertson (1995) have argued that market forces result in fragmentation as reflected through grids of private property, markets, and labour. Through this process, places are ranked according to their global significance forming complex spatial hierarchies of developments (Yeung, 1998). As far as Vilakazi Street is concerned, it has not been determined if it falls within a particular hierarchy in a township context. Vilakazi Street is a social product and there are many

dynamics and parameters waiting to use in that space and create that space. These dynamics can be analysed from district scale to street/building scale. To further explain this, one has developed a list of questions.

1.2. Research Questions and Sub-Questions

1.2.1. Research Question

This research explores issues of the dynamics of social production of spaces in Johannesburg. The specific question is: What are the dynamics of social production in Vilakazi Street? The aim of the study is to explore different aspects of the social production of Vilakazi Street. It explores how the street was conceived, perceived and lived since 1994. It takes into consideration the contribution of urban design as a cultural expression to the economic and social development of the street. It looks at how people perceive the area and how they actually use the space. In essence the goal is to critically explore how creativity and innovation within the social space of the street has contributed to the needs of contemporary local communities.

As a point of departure, one seeks to understand how this influence has shaped and continue to shape and improve living conditions in the township of Soweto, especially its local residents. The sub-questions raised in the study are as follows:

a) What is the social production of Vilakazi Street as a social space?
b) What elements constitute to the social production of space in Vilakazi Street?
c) How has Vilakazi Street been conceived, perceived and lived over time?
d) To what extent are these elements adopted, beneficial to the local community?
e) How can planning interventions assist in dealing with the outlined challenges in Vilakazi Street?

1.3. Significance of the Study

How society produces and delivers urban places on the basis of representation is to a large extent a cultural issue not a technical one as Chun Liang-YEH (undated) denotes. The significance of the study is to provide an understanding of the spatial formations of cultural, economic and social relations in spaces. Vilakazi Street is a popular space, but the meaning of its development seems not to be

understood in the township context (Mdyogolo, 2013). “Despite improvements in the infrastructure and the gloss of middle-class living suggested by the increasing spread of retail businesses, Soweto’s economic stratification remains unchanged” (Mdyogolo argues in the Cityscapes newsletter article, 2013).

Premier David Makhura mentioned that, most of Gauteng’s population live in townships where Apartheid purposefully stifled economic development. He argued that it is time the government altered the system and unleashed the entrepreneurial potential (Daily Maverick Newsletter, 2014). This approach is seen as a way that the government is strategically positioning to develop Gauteng as a sustainable and globally Competitive Region.

At the same time, one wonders what these approaches by the government impose for the development and preservation of local cultures. Will these new perspective bring up any change or otherwise? This is so interesting to monitor because Soweto for good or bad is located in South Africa’s economic heartland and will throughout its evolution always be subjected to both internal and external economic forces. Thus exploring such dynamics of social production (perceived, conceived and the lived) and increasing the knowledge base in terms of how local communities understand the importance of culture and how it has assimilated or rejected the people.

This is vital as many local residents in townships and informal settlements around the country are becoming spaces of interests for poverty struggle tensions. Therefore, an understanding of the challenges and various strategies to break the cycle of deprivation is a contribution to the socio-economic, environmental and political sphere of knowledge on former black townships. Moreover, the study is rooted in the Gauteng Provincial Government’s new focus on ‘township economies’ and provides a better understanding in terms of the economic dynamics within such a historically rich township.

1.4. Research Approach and Design to the Study

The research design applied in this study is developed within a qualitative approach. It is basically an empirical inquiry based on a case study of Vilakazi Street in Soweto. The qualitative research method was applied in order to systematically unpack the research problem. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) argue for qualitative research as typically more flexible. It allows greater spontaneity and adaptation of the interaction between the participants and the researcher. Furthermore, the approach appreciates that

there are many different ways of understanding and of making sense of the world without attempting to predict what may happen in the future (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992).

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) define qualitative research as a research approach that fuses on interpretation of phenomena in their natural settings. This was valuable in making sense of meanings assimilated by people to the setting of Vilakazi Street. This approach was used to collect information about personal experiences through introspection, interviews, observations, interactions, reading historical books, news-letters, library books, mapping, photography and visual text which are crucial moments and meaningful in peoples' lives (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

The study used an explorative but more descriptive research methodology. The exploration was particularly more useful because not enough was known about a phenomenon in Vilakazi Street. As Saunders et al (2007) suggest exploratory studies can be conducted by literature search, conducting interviews with focus groups and talking to experts in the field. Additionally, the researcher chose a descriptive methodology and designed a questionnaire survey instrument to assess the perceptions of the selected participants from various departments.

This study was conducted at various department offices (The Johannesburg Development Agency and the Johannesburg Road Agency) and along Vilakazi Street Precinct. One key respondent from each department was approached (The assistant development manager, Mr Ntoyi from Johannesburg Development Agency and the Engineering and Development Officer Mrs Pule from the Johannesburg Road Agency). The importance of a qualitative method in this exploratory research is the fact that it uses open-ended questions and probing (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). This gave the selected respondents the opportunity to respond (being the government officials) in their own words rather than giving fixed responses to choose from. The above mentioned was beneficial to the research because it evoked responses that were unexpected by the researcher on how Vilakazi Street was conceived from the officials eye. These appeared to be meaningful and culturally salient to the respondents, rich and explanatory in nature.

1.4.1. Data Collection and Procedure

The information used in this study falls into two categories; the primary and secondary data. Firstly, this section deals with the secondary data and is followed by the primary data.

Secondary data was collected through qualitative literature review, design or policy documents. Also web-based search to access more information from archival data, newspaper articles, magazines and other project files were obtained. Library and Web-based search was pursued for collecting data, analysing historical records and various documents, as well as recording of notes from interviews.

The process included a breakdown of relevant policy documents such as the National Development Plan, Johannesburg Development Agency Business Plan (JDA) 2012-2013, the Spatial Development Frameworks, business plans and the Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013). This gave insights to the understanding of different approaches, goals and objectives anticipated to be achieved on the site (conceived space). It also enabled the researcher to compare and contrast the successes and failures. The analysis provided variety of responses, manipulations, reference and abstract guides from key participants. The policy documents were downloaded from respective department website, which is always accessible. This ensured that findings were drawn from valid data basis, from the conceivers of the street space and Johannesburg plans in general.

In addition, media perceptions as an alternative were explored. These included listening to tapes on YouTube website, reading newspapers and newsletters relevant to the study. These sources provided a significant impact on public opinions at large. And for the benefit of the research, this became a valuable source of perceptions relating to the subject matter at hand. Furthermore, visual presentations were required to capture evidence of cultural expressions embedded in the architecture of buildings, street designs, typology and the overall design of Vilakazi Street. This approach made use of photographic images to graphically communicate the argument made.

1.4.2. Primary Information: Interviews

Interviews were conducted as part of primary information. Interviewing as a method for gathering information (from different stakeholders by asking questions and allowing them to react orally) was used. The types of interviews conducted were semi-structured. The interviewer made use of a detailed schedule with open and closed questions. This allowed respondents to express how the space is socially produced and reproduced. For this section, the use of a case study was suitable for such an exploratory purpose, as suggested by Yin (1994).

A total of thirty five respondents were randomly selected and interviewed. These include: two government officials; fourteen local residents; thirteen business representatives (and street vendors)

and six tourists along Vilakazi Street, Soweto. The information obtained from the respondents was useful in understanding the everyday experiences of how Vilakazi Street was conceived, perceived and lived. This enabled the research to benefit from different perspectives.

Most of the questions were based on the information obtained during the literature review to ensure that they were representative of what the public should understand about the social production of Vilakazi Street. This also contributes to and challenges discourses on the social production of space in a township context. Interviews were personally conducted by the researcher to key respondents. The questionnaires were formulated in a common language (English) for clarity and ease of understanding. And in case of clarification, questions were rephrased to provide meaningful data analysis.

Analysis of results and observations were based on whether the perceived, conceived and lived spaces adopted by the local community in Vilakazi Street does help identify, exploit and increase local capital. It offered a more multivariable analysis of what was found in documents and represented on the ground. Information responding to this question was obtained through recordings and evaluating the performance and types of people using the space on daily basis. It takes into considerations other elements of Urban Design such as, buildings typologies, urban furniture and other elements discovered to make the site more vibrant. Moreover, the main research questions were answered through making inferences from the four sub-questions outlined. Thus, the responses were linked to provide an in-depth understanding to the study. Urban design has drawn its aspects from different cultural expressions which also shaped it and the community as well. Thus such expressions should further be researched.

1.5. Case Study of Vilakazi Street

As reflected from the beginning, a case study of Vilakazi Street was used in this research. Figure 1 as indicated in 1.5.1 is a map of Soweto showing, the suburbs and noticeable landmarks in the township. This includes the location of Chris Hani Baragwanath, Regina Mundi Church and Vilakazi Street; as indicated in the detailed street map. The township is located in Gauteng Province, 15 kilometres south west of Johannesburg Central Business District (Turok, 2001).

According to Yin (1994), a case study is an intensive investigation of a single unit or component which can differ from social groups, organisations, events, counties and institutions. The case study of Vilakazi Street was chosen on the basis of trying to get a comprehensive understanding of production on space

at a local scale. The researcher chose to use a case study for the purpose of this study because it allows for an investigation of the phenomenon within a real-life context and its potential to explain in detail the spatial formations of cultural, economic and social relations. Furthemore, it gives clear boundaries to investigate and focus more in depth on the subject matter. Thus the findings cannot be generalised for all townships in South Africa. However, conceptual lessons can be drawn that strike some parallel experiences in similar townships in the Gauteng Province where the same political and economic forces are at play.

In addition, a street is defined as a public thoroughfare in a built environment. It is a public parcel of land typically with houses and building on one or both sides in an urban context. People may freely assemble, interact and move about. Therefore, a Street such as Vilakazi Street is based on certain key design principles which include safety for all street users and the acknowledgement that all great street designs beginning with the pedestrians ensure universal access. It is unfortunate the use of private vehicles has over taken the street and pedestrian walkways.

Despite the challenges, like no other Street; Vilakazi Street is a public easement, one of the few shared between all sorts of people from all over the world. It remains a catalyst for the neighbourhood's prosperity, culture and solidarity. Vilakazi Street is a representation of a 'street culture' supported by variety of activities happening around. The design pays particular attention to streetscapes and gives designers the tools to ensure that all of the elements that make up the area between the curb and building fronts are in the right place and are the right size for the context. Unobstructed pedestrian walkways are in place and the proper placement of light standards, traffic sign poles, utility boxes, benches and plantings are now mandatory for designers of new or redesigned streets as compared to the past decades.

1.5.1. Location of the Study area

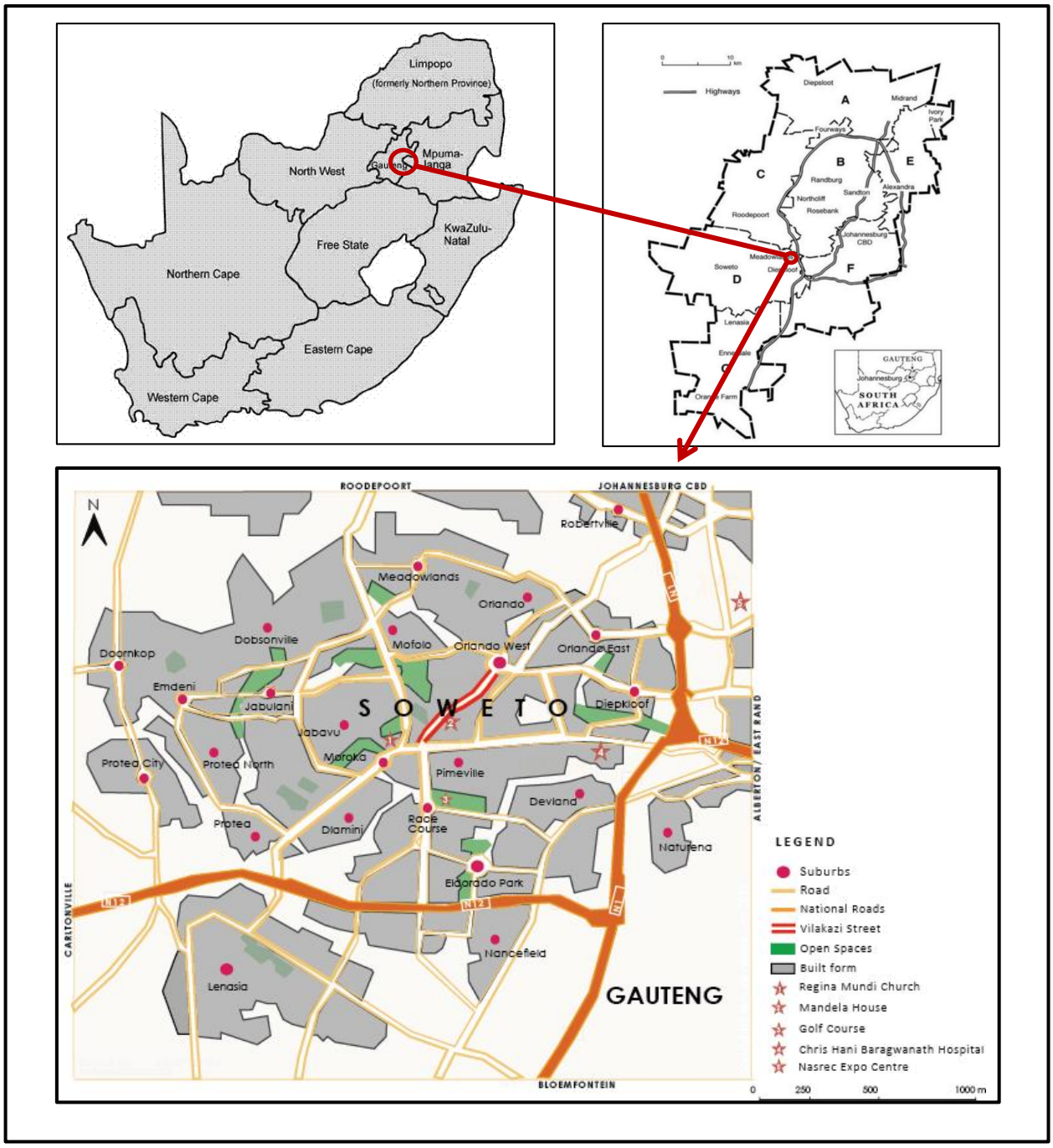


Figure 1: Contextualising Soweto (adapted from http:www.sowetotour.co.za/accessed: 14 April 2014).

The use of the case study approach helped the researcher to translate what is envisioned for the site by planners and how it is represented on space. Observations vary from individual to individual and this offered the researcher an opportunity to draw on people's experience and what they think about the site. Furthermore, the use of a case study explored the cross-sectional collection of data for intensive

analysis. This involves data collected from a group of respondents at a specific point in time. The cross-sectional study was descriptive (neither longitudinal nor experimental).

1.6. Limitations of the Study

This research has only used a case study in a local township of Soweto; therefore the results of this research cannot be used to reach a generalised conclusion for the country. The case study unpacked and explored was conducted in Vilakazi Street, Soweto. Thus, the presentation of outcomes may not necessarily be appropriate to all public spaces in cultural precincts and developments in other townships or elsewhere in the country. While the findings provide a reflection on what is happening in other programmes of urban regenerations in Gauteng, the inferences to be drawn from this case need to be cautiously applied. Thus, the economic and spatial transformation must be pinned down to raise living standards and quality of life of all the people of Gauteng.

In addition, as derived from the critiques of Soweto getting all the development attention, the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) is prepared to revitalise and mainstream the township economy by supporting the development of township enterprises, co-operatives and SMMEs that will produce goods and services that meet the needs of township residents (Daily Maverick Newsletter, 2014). This will mean that certain key sectors such as finance, tourism, creative industries and manufacturing including others, will have to be identified as potential elements to address the imperatives of creating greater cultural, economic inclusion and employment in former marginalised townships. Therefore, the spatial formations of cultural, economic and social relations commonly interweave the social production of spaces.

1.7. Ethical Issues

For the research process to be conducted in a professional manner, ethical issues were to be considered. The research is dependent on interviews, thus permission from the relevant institutions was granted. Permission from the Johannesburg Development Agency and the Johannesburg Road Agency to interview officials concerned was granted. As soon as permission was granted, most interviewees gave consent to be interviewed and quoted throughout the study. The respondents referenced in Chapter Five, gave consent to be quoted as way of substantiating the argument made.

For other respondents' whom did not give consent to use their names in the study, confidentiality was respected and maintained by anonymising their responses (for example; anonymous one and two).

Additionally participants were interactive and gave insightful responses. In such a manner, quality and validity of the research was achieved. Hence, the process became a learning experience as ideas and information was acquired from the primary sources. In case the selected interviewee was unable to take the interview due to changed schedule, internal or external forces of influence, an alternative form of the interview were considered. These included telephone and e-mail interviews with key the respondent.

1.8. Chapter Outline

This study composes of five chapters. These chapters are outlined below.

a) Chapter One: Uncertainties of Globalisation and Gentrification in Former Black Townships

This chapter introduces the background to the study. It unpacks the uncertainties of globalisation and gentrification in black townships which has operated through fragments. In this sense, the 'local' is seen as some dependable site threatened by global rootlessness. Therefore, this chapter presents the over lasting uncertainties and agitation of globalisation and gentrification in former black townships, with emphasis to Vilakazi Street in Orlando West to frame the problem statement. This chapter also entails the research questions, methodology and significance of the exploration.

b) Chapter Two: Different Theoretical Views on Understanding the Social production of Space

This chapter explores two main theoretical perspectives central to the understanding of the social production of space. These include the modernist and post-modernist perspectives. The modernist perspective draws from the work of Robert Moses, Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier. These theorists of focus have highly influenced planning thoughts. One could call them 'the founding fathers of the modernist planning.' This is why this chapter explores their legacy which continues to reflect into the post-modern era. The post-modernist perspective focuses on neo-Marxists such as Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey and Manuel Castells, and the constructivists such as Homi Bhabha and Edward Soja, as

well as the impacts on social production of Vilakazi Street, Soweto. These chosen theorists offer a better understanding as well as, provide rich links between critical social theory and planning in the era of curiosity, the post-modern era.

c) Chapter Three: The Founding and Growth of Soweto in the Last Century

This chapter unpacks the founding and growth of Soweto from 1904 to date in six phases- adapted from the Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013). This chapter pays attention to the manner in which the changes have affected Vilakazi Street and its production as a social space.

d) Chapter Four: Vilakazi Street as a Social Product

This chapter focuses on Vilakazi Street as a prime location of Soweto. The chapter contextualises the location of the street in its physical, economic and political dimensions reflecting on different elements of social production applied to the broader development to open window for a better understanding of the street. This draws from various respondents' perspectives on the conceived, perceived and lived practices in Vilakazi Street.

e) Chapter Five: Planning as a Mode of Expression

This chapter interweaves the various parts of the report together. The chapter outlines the main findings of the research and answers the crucial question: To what extent has globalisation affected Vilakazi Street, especially the local society. The chapter provides a way forward for the future with emphasis on the need for Cultural Planning. The arguments presented here are not exhaustive but point to various possibilities of enhancing places like Vilakazi Street in South African townships.

CHAPTER TWO

DIFFERENT THEORETICAL VIEWS ON UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE

2.1. Introduction to Different Theoretical Views on Understanding the Social Production of Space

Recently, sociologists, humanistic researchers, planners and geographers have turned their attention to develop studies on social production of space and power relations around it. They have looked at space from different but overlapping perspectives. These perspectives include the Modernist and Postmodernist perspectives. In this study, the writings of Robert Moses (1952;1981), Edward Soja (1995; 1996; 1989), David Harvey (1969; 1973; 1981; 1989; 1993), Henri Lefebvre (1974; 1979; 1991; 1995; 2003), Manuel Castells (1977; 1984; 1996) and Homi Bhabha (1994) are used to elaborate this argument and to portray the links between critical social theory and planning. While their theoretical arguments differ in ideology and area of focus, they cover common issues such as the impact of capitalism, power and the state to the transformation of space.

This chapter seeks to explore the different theoretical views to the understanding of the social production of space. The first section will revisit the Modernist planning thought, outlining the intention and failure of the paradigm. This will be followed by the transition into the Post-modern movement and its impacts on planning. Notably, it is against the modernist approach that post-modernist planning will be contrasted. Therefore, the two main schools of thought which shape and change our cities will be contextualised to the understanding of the production of Vilakazi Street as a social space. From this, insights into the study of social production of space can be gained.

Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) describes space as a relational and abstract field. He argues that the movements in space are governed by physical, social and theoretical laws. Thus space is defined by Low (1989) as a social construct. This refers to the space that is not only created by its physical dimensions, but through a complex web of social, economic, political and symbolic dimensions. Lefebvre (1991:26) contends that space is socially produced. As a social space, it consists of social actions; the actions of subjects

both collective and individual. Social space entails: the social relations of production (relationships in space) and the relations of production which is the separation of labour and its organisation in the form of categorised social functions. Thus the research interprets social production of space as all aspects of everyday life (all elements that support and produce space), including social relations that makes up the space or place inhibited by those who live in it or visit it. These aspects include: technology, economy, transportation, and environment, infrastructure (both soft and hard) etc. The cultural, economic and social relations have interwoven Vilakazi Street as a social product.

Below in figure 2 is a diagrammatic representation of a conceptual framework for the study. A number of concepts relevant to the study encapsulate the formation of social production in Vilakazi Street, Soweto. It is also a representation of the content, context and process involved in the study.

2.1.1. Conceptual Diagram Encapsulating the Study

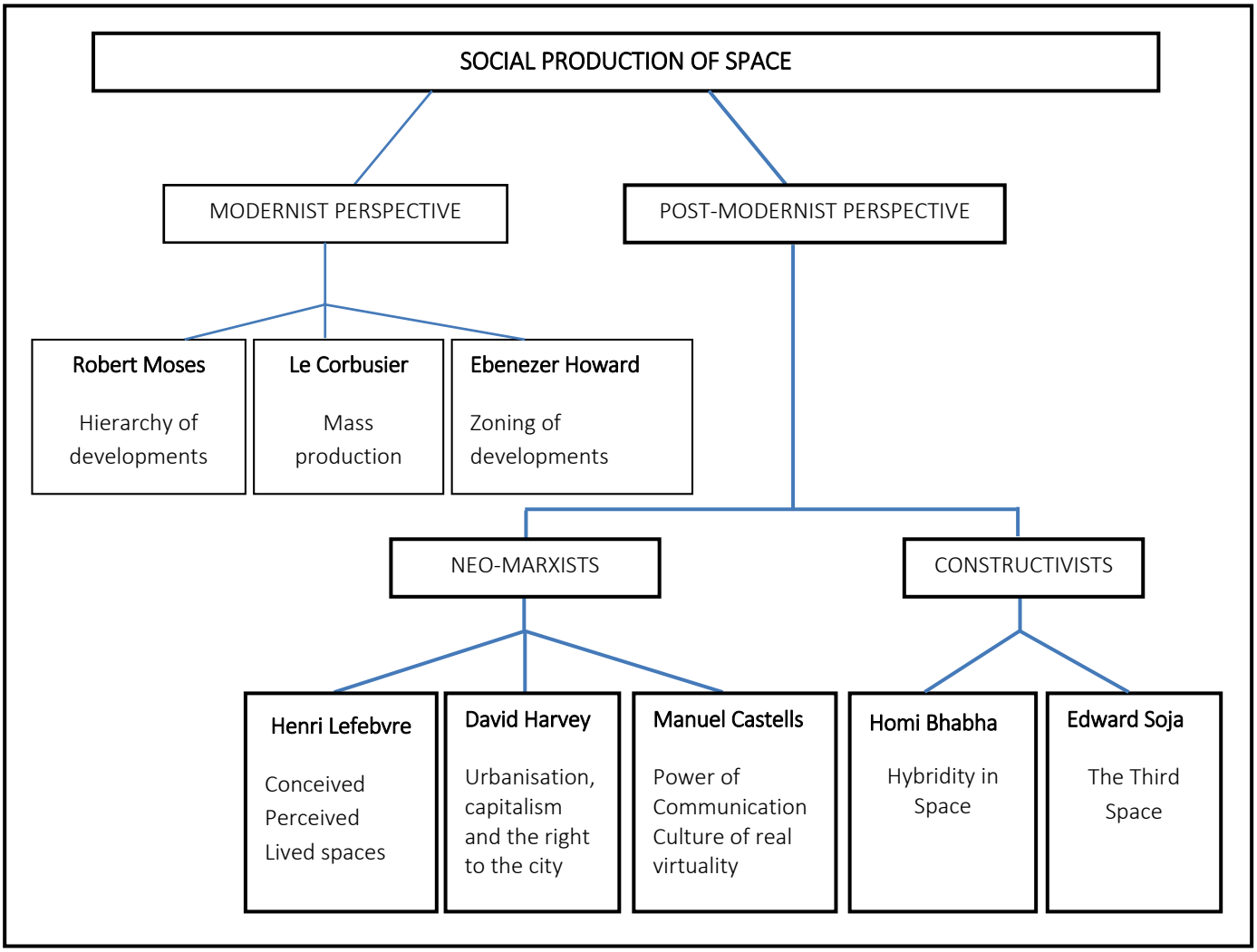


Figure 2: Conceptual diagram encapsulation the study

2.2. Modernist Planning Thought and its Impact on Soweto

In order to understand the context of Soweto and more especially Vilakazi Street under this planning perspective, one must first unpack modernist planning and its associated challenges. Planning and architecture (including other disciplines) were used as development tools in the modernist movement. This planning school of thought was a reform movement created in reaction to the industrial cities of the nineteenth century. Modernism is then considered by Beauregard (1989: 384) as a cultural response to the process of modernisation associated with a rise of capitalism. Considerably, the planning practice became what Newman and Kenworthy (1999:287) describe as a science of symbols, plot ratios, housing setbacks, proportions of open space, and standardised road patterns. In this sense early modernist planners held utopian attitudes and the production of space was conceived as a way of control and power disparities.

Modernist scholars such as Robert Moses (1952), Le Corbusier (1971) and Ebenezer Howard (1902) believed that social problems can only be solved through the application of rational thoughts and scientific methods. They believed that social problems could not be solved by none other, but by the physical (spatial) approaches to developments. Modern architects such as Le Corbusier (1971) designed cities which would foster industrial efficiency, and standardised typologies of dwelling units capable of mass production in the situations of massive housing shortages. This means that capital was only secured in areas where resources were available and not circulated around to benefit areas of need, as well as solve social problems. It came to Harvey's (1993) realisation that the modernist planning and development at the time emphasised on bigger scales and were technologically rational and rigid, which undermines the social aspects of life. Although for Moses (1952), bigger was always better.

Furthermore, the ideas of Moses (1981) were centralised around making the city more liveable for the middle-class. His strategy aimed to improve urban infrastructure and expand the public realm with extensive recreational amenities and construction of massive roads encouraging mobility for those who have the means. In context, access into Soweto was limited to few roads for connectivity. These road structure controlled accessibility to and from city centre, for defence purposes during war times, and locations to work as well as to activity (economic) zones. Evidently the notion behind this structure was to control movement in and out of the area mostly in times of civil riots. At this stage the idea of urban planning as personified by Robert Moses in Sandercock (1998: 27) became 'planning in the service of

modernisation'. It is evident modernist planners had complete power over professional knowledge and objectivity in decision making processes.

Modern Planning was associated with crisis and greed, rather than solutions that will help the people. It was also influenced by abstraction, universalising forces and functionalism (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre (1991) expatiated that, the abstraction of space has resulted in a lost sense of place identity, public space and of urban community. Clearly with the modernist approaches to spatial development, majority of the people were denied the freedom of space or spatial use. There was always a gap between what is conceived and what is perceived. Howard (1902) introduced new ideas of creating a hierarchy of services within a city. This garden city idea became an essential component of a community planned with clear zoning principles and was adopted in many cities across the globe. At this stage zoning became accepted as the main planning tool (Hall, 1989). The outcome was to maintain a division between social life, work, home and market places.

Moreover, the spatial order of Soweto in the modernist context appears as an object, littered with mass housing. A string of monotonous 51/6 so called four or three bedroom houses were massively built in Fordism style within the township of decades. Lower densities, clear separation of uses (functional zoning), single sex flats, and hostels for community labourers were produced in the modernist tradition of the past system. Within this scope of procedural planning (seeking to maintain order), the location of slums, controlled expansion of suburbs around the area and the existence of mining greenbelts to separate the area from the rest of the city was enforced. It is a true reflection of the comprehensive, blue print and unitary policy formulation process. Facilitating movements between isolated uses, streets became specialised in their functions. They were multifunctional (used for vehicles, pedestrians, community socialisation, riots and places of children to play). Certainly, according to Shield (1999) the crises in urban modernisation existed at two different scales: the scale of physical and social problems in modern cities. These are associated with inequality, separation, polarisation and alienation embedded in the physical and social landscape of modernist cities as indicated above.

The concept of alienation plays a crucial role in Marxist's thoughts. According to Shield (1999), Lefebvre (1991) has attempted to explain how the social institutions and practices such as religion formed a blurred social realm of fetishism (the relative quality of desire and fascination for an object that is not intrinsic but is nonetheless part of it) and alienation. Marx claimed that his use of alienation in society is not meant to destroy society, but to make it structure the whole of Marx's critique of capitalist relations. The notion became a tool defining element of the human conditions in Soweto (Shield, 1999:

42). Existing social structures and neighbourhoods units were not respected when the residents of informal settlements were forcefully relocated in the township. This was deliberately split-up as an act of inflexible radicalism aimed at breaking the spirit of communities.

In this case, the notion of alienation extends beyond strictly economic relationships involved in labour. It is further described by Shield (1999) as the separation of subjects from the world, from themselves, from others or anything around them. Clearly, the black majority in Soweto was secluded from their own human and social needs. This was achieved by separateness of activities, location away from services and other ethnic or racial groups. Low-income housing was deliberately kept small and even in size to restrict any differences arising between skilled, entrepreneurial and unskilled working class tenants. Thus, the concentration of black people enforced during the apartheid governments 'iron fist' rule fostered traditional modernist city life and culture.

In addition, Gordon (1978) contended from a Marxist perspective that labour and capital conflicts resulted in historically distinct levels of spatial formation in cities. He asserts that, similarly to the capitalist strategies which were developed to control workers at the site of production, the capitalist spatial forms were also established to maintain control over both production and reproduction processes (Gordon, 1978). Indeed, core to Gordon's argument is his exploration of how these processes such as suburbanisation not only revolved around the control of workers and isolation but also weakened the inner-city residents' power to hold capital accountable (Gordon, 1978). This responsibility was for the deterioration and harmful working conditions for which it was accountable for. As in the apartheid city, there were no objectives of allowing Soweto to form its own economy internally. And at the same time, the relationship with the inner City was regulated (South African History Online (SAHO), 2000). This shows how the modernist developments were also about this factor on how space can be arranged with the available capital resources.

Evidently, Soweto has inherited outcomes of modernist planning. By the rigid land use pattern with strict separation and monotonous landscape, inhumanity and uniformity are evident. As far as this research is concerned, this occurrence is indicative of the amplitude and abstraction in modernist planning. Furthermore, Phillip Cooke in Shield (1999:306) laments that the local dimension in cities has been for long neglected by and over-centralised, dominating and excluding modernist culture which seek attention. As a response, Harvey (1993) suggested an immediate need for a logic alternative for dealing with such cities. He pointed out with discomfort that overall logic of modernism emphasised on functionalism, impersonality and efficiency, as it distributed the connection between identity and peace in local communities.

In addition, the image of Soweto was reduced. It was represented as a dangerous no- go area, rather a battleground for liberation struggles. There was no doubt that its planners were influenced by the 'garden city' ideas to foster developments. The layout with a distinct pattern designed to foster a hierarchy of traffic routes and unattractive architectural designs. At the centre of Marx or radical geography critique of this movement, is the role of space in the political economy of urban setting. Marx emphasised the way in which capital shapes the built environment (Dear, 2000). But for Soweto, there was no reason for investors to invest in Soweto due to its inadequate resources.

From the inequalities that resulted on space and the distribution of labour, capital and resources, it is clear that central business districts with their distinct landmarks embody the centralisation of economic power in spatial form (Gordon, 1978). This shows that priority was given to improving the image of the city (Johannesburg) than in townships. Among other theorists Harvey (1981), Castells (1977), Smith (1984); Jackson (1985) and Zukin, (1991) have focused on the political economy of space expanding on the uneven developments and took a more of capitalist accumulation strategic perspective outlining its critiques.

In 'Social Justice and the city', Harvey (1973) indicates the acknowledgements of the positivist and qualitative methods in spatial analysis (Harvey, 1969). He argues that only the materialism of historical methodology can offer a better understanding of structural interactions at the centre of urbanised or settlements spaces (Harvey, 1969:18). He emphasises on the thought that urbanisation is part of the space-economy connected to patterns of land-use and growth poles of capital accumulation for investments purposes. In the latter, Harvey (1989) presents processes of city developments as a spatial expression representing the process of extra capital accumulation. For this reason, Harvey (1981:96), defines the city as an intersection point of space-economy and built environment production which depends of capital flows through real estates of capital accumulation attracting investments in priority areas. This contributed to the rise in new post-modern sensibility.

2.3. Post-modernism Theoretical Viewpoints

Two strands of the post-modernist perspectives are explored in this section. These are the neo-Marxist and constructionist schools of thought. The neo-Marxist viewpoint draws from David Harvey (1989), Manuel Castells (1996) and Lefebvre (1991), whilst the constructionist viewpoint draws from Homi Bhabha (1994) and Edward Soja (1989).

The post-modern movement described as post-Fordism came about as a response to the short-comings of the modernist paradigm, and alterations in the economic activities and social organisations. It is characterised by the rise of new information and scepticism towards the modernist approach to planning. As opposed to the modernist planning, post-modernism is thought to re-establish broken historical ties and re-claim the city through re-enchantment (Harvey, 2008; Shields, 1999). In other words, it deviates from the norm whilst embracing multiplicity and encouraging an openness to a wide range of views in social equity. Harvey (2000) argues that spaces as we know them are a product of capitalist forces. Thus Harvey (1989) and Lefebvre (1991) make a significant contribution to Marxian theory by arguing that capitalism destroys space to ensure its own reproduction. Hence arguing that post-modernist provide a caricature of modern cultural and theoretical practice.

Additionally, post-modern development stresses more on the spatial turn in the social sciences. Thus Frederic Jameson (1984) argues that it should be understood in terms of a more widespread cultural shift that has accompanied the rise of postmodernism as a social form. As indicated by the diagram below (Figure 3), the turn embraces contradictions and complexity. Jameson (1984:64) further stated that "Our daily lives, our psychic experience, our cultural languages, are totally dominated by categories of space rather than by categories of time as in the preceding period of high modernism proper." For Jameson in Peet (1998:217), history has taken transformation into a vast collection of commodified contemporaneous images. The modern cultural and artistic work, social theory has adopted spatial themes to signify this complication and fragmentation. This simply means that symbols were used to construct certain images suggested by our use of language. Such representations often created the context within which speech gain power and meaning for control, which easily influenced the receiver (societies).

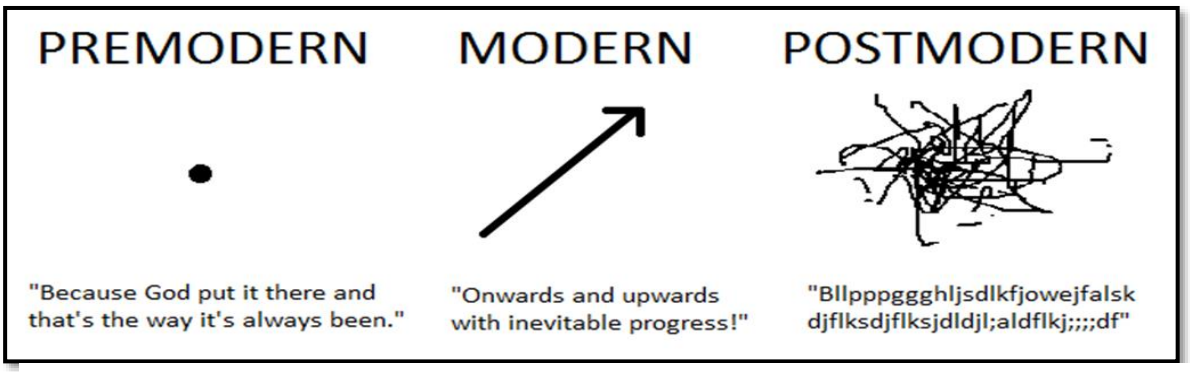


Figure 3: Illustration of the postmodern era. http://blog.melchua./wpcontent/uploads/2013/05/postmodernism.png. Accessed 11. 04. 2014.

According to Pacione (2001:672) postmodern city in urban geography shares many other characteristics of the post-industrial city. It emphasises on the importance of the new economic structures, social differentiation and different lifestyles (Harvey, 2008). It provides an influential critique of the modernist paradigm. Modernist planning was unable to accommodate local people into decision-making processes. The top-down planning approach failed to supply meaningful improvements at local level, and did not recognize and integrate the range of needs in multicultural cities and regions. This led to the scattered, narrowly focused social production of space.

Space is both a medium of social relations and a material sphere that can disrupt social relations Harvey (1990). As far as post-modernism is concerned from Lefebvre's (1991) perspective, it claims to find its way back to the human scale, to seal in place the fabric of the city and rejuvenate new uses while restoring the old urban state, irrespective of the gaps. This new found approach actually reflects the expression of the traditional visions with modern technologies, materials and aesthetics of diversity and change (Harvey, 1993:68). The case of Soweto, with its distinguished physical outline and typology as a result of the apartheid regime was driven by universalising forces whereas, it is now unfolding into a transformed 'return to differences' particularity through renewal and regeneration programs. In this regard, Soweto demonstrates both modernist and post-modernist planning approaches and organisation of space. As the town planning and architecture there shows you how detailed the plan to exclude blacks from economic activity was.

Three aspects of Lefebvre's (1991) theory on the social production of space are discussed below. These include; the conceived, perceived and lived spaces. All this factors interact in social spatialisation which is always in progress but with structuring effects and also multi-scaled (landscape, nature formation and built environment). Moreover, it appears as physical but also conceptual and imagined.

2.3.1. Representations of space (Conceived Space)

The relations of production and the order they enforce consequently to knowledge, signs, codes and symbols ties the roots of the representation of space. This signifies the idea that space is first planned then produced by some specialists who are competent. Likewise, these specialists can built this space in two dimensions; the first dimension is ideologies while the second one is potentials for repression or control. Hence, Lefebvre (1991:38) mentions that what represents space is also referred to as the 'conceptualised space'. The space of planners, scientists, technocrats, urbanists, geographers, sub-

dividers and the social engineers, as of a certain type of 'artist with scientific bent'. The space is conceived and is defined as ways in which space is planned; normative representations of space by all of whom identify what is the lived, perceived and conceived space. Thus, these results in the formation of an abstract knowledge linked to the formal institutional apparatuses of power involved in the organisation of space (Santos, 1992). The idea is also connected to the technocratic rationality of positivist science and contains in it the tendencies towards; abstraction, mathematical modelling, and quantification of social phenomena that it implies. So, anything that dwells in such representations to the elimination of other social space concepts is categorised under structuralism or other forms of reductionism (Lefebvre, 1991). This will take the attention of the research to the plans that were implemented in the street in the form of renovated buildings/roads, landscaping, designs, as conceived by planners, architects and designers. These are inclusive to:

a) New processes of mapping,
b) Visual representations and ways of communications etc.
c) New artistic and architectural discourse, and
d) Semiotics (symbols and signs).

2.3.2. Spatial Practices (Perceived Space)

Spatial practice is defined by Lefebvre (1991:33) as the construction and replica of spatial relations among objects and products. The practice involves the physical practices, everyday movements, linkage paths and networks through which social life is reproduced. The notion is thought to certify a degree of interconnection and continuity (Lefebvre, 1991) and foster communications and social exchange. The idea is relatively undermined by scientific understanding and relates to the observed territory. This shows that they emerge from experiences than just assumptions (Lefebvre, 1991:369). Hence, in a social space like Vilakazi Street, each member or user's relationship to that space entails a level of proficiency and a specific level of presentation. It is more of the perceived space viewed as the material space as it exists. These include:

a) The production of the physical infrastructures (transport, communications, built environment, land clearance) etc.
b) Territorial organisation of social infrastructure (both formal and informal).

2.3.3. Representational Space or Spaces of Representation (Lived Space)

Representational space is known as the "lived space" (Lefebvre, 1991:39). The lived space defined as the emotional attachment that develops through the imaginary and lived experiences. Memories in these spaces are often conjured by symbols, meaning and the use of public art. There is a relationship between the physical space and the experienced space. This relationship is dialectical in sense. It often symbolises outcomes within the everyday activities. However, the physical space often influences the experience by either limiting the user or over-supplying the user with unlimited activities as expanded by Santos (1992). Examples would be the popular restructuring of space by excluded urban communities in Soweto. Shanty towns (favelas, slums and barrios) have also developed forms of social restructuring, architecture, and planning which shows the possibility of re-appropriating space and undermining other forms of spatial planning. The sites according to Santos (1977) remain locations of resistance and counter-arguments which have either escaped the oppressive power or marked a refusal to acknowledge its power. In this research, the 'lived space' focuses on:

a) Utopian plans, imaginary spaces, landscapes
b) Artists sketches, traditions of space and place (everyday experience)
c) Poetics of space, and
d) Spaces of aspiration

Lefebvre (1991:77) sets out the above spatial triad (conceived, perceived and lived) in analysing the history of spaces and emphasising their unity in any explanation of spatial use. He avers that the space is produced and reproduced in connection with the forces of production. The forces are not over-taking a pre-existing, vacant, or neutral space or space that is solely determined by geography, anthropology or climate. Clearly for Lefebvre (1991) and Harvey (1990) there is a parallel development between the power of capitalism in the modern era and the production of nonrepresentational space. Likewise, the abstract space created by capitalism has resulted in homogenisation, hierarchy, and social fragmentation. For example, the global distributions of capitalisation have engendered resemblance than differentiation. This led to variations of local culture, natural landscapes and history suppressed; modern spaces are divided into grids of private property, labour and market which are spatially evident (Brenner, 1997). However, having noted the above, Lefebvre sees not the modernist spaces as an end of history.

Recently, the post-modernist era shines brightly in the scenery of Soweto, Vilakazi Street particularly. The area is no more seen as an object for development but, as a landscape for development, an expression of social diversity. It has found means of achieving a global reach while, maintaining a local

touch emphasising on the local context accompanied by mixed land uses. This is in place due to the new thinking of containment. Even the decision making process appears to be coping well with conditions, giving voice to the voiceless. The Gauteng Provincial Government has adopted 10 pillars of the National Development Plan to show it is committed to investing in township infrastructure and to demonstrate it is serious about the radical transformation of the economy, which will manifest in the development of the small entrepreneurs. This is supported by the three pillars of the provincial government's plan of action for the new administration were radical economic transformation, the transformation of the spatial landscape of the province and the modernisation of the economy (Business Times, 19.11.14).

In addition, the African National Congress' provincial and municipal representatives have often hinted at taking steps to change the spatial design of the province, which keeps poor, remote communities isolated from centres of economic opportunity. Notably, the proposed solution includes boosting economic activity in township areas and developing housing projects closer to areas where beneficiaries work. Thus, Soweto remains the model of 'township economy revitalisation' to other townships.

Despite the change brought about by the post-modernist era, its impact is still open for discussion. A confused era many would define it. With regard to Edward Soja's (1989) revolutionary work on Postmodern Geographies, he explores the reassertion of space in critical geography where he highly developed an obligated argument stressing the importance of spatial analysis in social theory. As Robert (2003) contends, the ferment of Soja's (1989) contributions to the critical discourse has brought to many, spatial emphases on descriptions and concepts. These include terms such as, domain, simultaneity, place, and horizontality in space. These concepts were introduced as an attempt to correct the former dominance of temporal ideas such as history, utopia, linearity and sequentiality to name a few.

Furthermore, it is clear the spatial dimensions of social life have become access points to the understanding of social theories. These social theories acknowledge that the subject is now so unequal and decentred in a way that struggles to order time and history through the consciousness of the individual (Foucault, 1986). Literature has proven that the increase in spatial knowledge is also linked to the material shift in cultural and economic relations. Consequently, the 'spatial turn' is not simply understood through the eye of a horizontal depthless study, presented as the unsystematic variety of the postmodern (Jameson, 1984). Without the shadow of doubt, Dear (1997) stipulated that Jameson's distress with elaborating the postmodernism paradigm as "logic of culture" shows an aspiration to make sense of a deeper meaning from the absolute heterogeneity within the capitalist space.

Thus the idea of collective community is vital within the post-modern paradigm (Castells, 1996). Although is comes with responsibilities. The traditional community is now being replaced by a certain lifestyle or way of living only available to those who have the means to manage it. This is a clear phenomenon in the production of Vilakazi Street which is not necessarily an ideal place with its peculiar lifestyle and contrasting poverty and richness.

2.4. Implications of Post-Modernism for Planning

This section discusses the implications of post-modernism for planning. Although it was seen as a success, it also gave rise to other challenges in planning and for the planning discipline at large. Lefebvre (1991) argues that the post-modern spatial formation often suffer from the challenges of perceived typological generalisations. In particular, the process of its transformation is reductionist, in a sense that it reduces the whole historical epochs to a single strand and foster Eurocentric cultural imperialism that dominated much in the Marxist school of thought. Brenner (1997) stipulates that the distinction is guided towards a reduction of the idea of production to a moment in the industrial process of labour. This led to the exclusion of innovative thinking of works into the analysis. However, Lefebvre (1991) is alert to countenance against versions of the ultra-leftism presenting themselves in social theories which reduced production to a multiplicity of mental constructions of the social world such as, the production of knowledge or ideologies.

These characteristics continue to manifest themselves under the social conditions of contemporary capitalism. Evidently, the planning of Soweto, Vilakazi Street, under the modernist approach used master-plans or giant step approach to development. Planning in this sense caters for the capitalist and developer, than it should to the less empowered because of few number of participants in the processes. The accommodation of small-scale approach of post-modern is sensitive to local interests, and human scale context demands that are inclusive to otherness. Thus known as the bottom-up approach, although, seems as if it is not derived locally but imposed from above.

Furthermore, Lefebvre (1979:287) identifies the major role of space as part of the means of production; as a network of exchanges and as flow of raw materials. Nevertheless, he contends it is necessary to understand space as one of the forces of production together with technology and labour. Additionally, in critical realist terms, Gottdiener (1994) believes the idea forms space as causal power that generates social contradictions, spatial in nature through its interaction with the forces of labour, knowledge and

technology. Hence Lefebvre (1991:59) began to shift perspective from his analysis on products in space, to more of the production of the production of space itself.

Moreover, Low (1996) argues that when creating the material setting of space, social production of space should contain all factors which include the economic, social, ideological, and technological factors. For many years, the physical setting had limited activities and firm use of power. The materialist emphasis of the term social production becomes vital when defining the historical emergence, political and economic formation of urban space in places. Based on the above mentioned, Certeau (1984) sets out a theory of the lived space in which spatial practices avoid the discipline of urban planning. Which is what is currently happening in Vilakazi Street due to lack of spatial management which distort the overall meaning of the street.

In addition, Miles (2007) laments that, urban design and planning should take into consideration cultural identity and people's relationship with their environment (spatial practices). This was ignored by the modernist planners. Culture is seen as a more multifaceted entity. But, the research takes a stand of defining culture as the production of meaning or identity. It is defined by Montgomery (1990) as a process, a product, and a way of life, a mode of production as well as, a mode of consumption. It is actually the production and circulation of meaning as Roy (2001) expatiate it. Therefore, the research argues for cultural concerns to be given a privilege position in this venture because they seem to play an essential role in structuring the way people think, feel and act in societies.

It is evident as Roy (2001) denotes that cultural identity considers peoples' relationships to their environments as much as urban design/ planning does. The identity is therefore, seen as a force for change in everything (Roy, 2001). It offers a deeper knowledge of different urban culture as everyday happenings, including people and other materials, as well as potential changes and creativity that this permeates. To achieve this, more insights into collaborative consumption and social innovations in particular theoretical and research perspectives are needed. As noted by premier Makhura, township economies cannot be revitalised if the economy and social infrastructure is decaying and the look and feel of these working class residential areas is neglected. Therefore, according to Gillberg et al (2012) urban cultures are central requirements for fostering a sustainable city as an infrastructure for positive urban change.

2.5. Culture Embedded in the Social Production of Space and Place

Cultural identities play a fundamental role in guiding the production and identity in spaces and places. Urban design and Regional Planning are known as cultural expressions. This section unpacks the rooted notion of culture and branding in the social production of space and discusses its intention, role and challenges.

Space is a medium of social relations. According to Lefebvre (1974), the representation of space is formed and structures the social relations, production and reproduction of social relations. This theory is applicable to the case of Soweto, because it helps us understand that every society or mode of production within and around Vilakazi Street produces its own space. The idea acknowledges that social change cannot occur in a 'planned way without the production of a changed space' (Lefebvre, 1991:133).

The network society (Castells, 1996) and introduction to urbanism (Urry, 2000) is subjective to the generous contributions on the organisation of urban spaces. This approach emphasise on the individual mobility and communication which has a vital impact within power to formulate new visions and ideas within society. Indeed, this is relevant in today's globalised world where identities, relationships and networks are socially constructed by the user. In this this regard, David Harvey (1993) examined the social process by which place is constructed through activities of representation or narrative on its identity and particularities. However, there are critiques to this form of approach. He established an antagonism between spaces and places. Generally, these "oppositional movements are useful when organising a place than it is at commanding space" (Harvey 1993; 24). This means that flexible means of development introduced in the post-modern schools of thoughts are better that having a fixed or rigid plan that guides developments represented by the modernist schools of thought in cities. Despite, many regeneration projects are established in the name of culture but, do not represent anything related to the local culture rather international replica. This shows the misunderstanding of the notion of cultural representation through urban design tools. Urban design should not be seen as the art of creating cities, but the art of creating cities that work.

To begin with, Hartley (1993) discussed that the notion of culture is multi-discursive in its sense. Culture can be structured in a number of different discourses. What this means is that, one cannot introduce a fixed explanation into any context and expect it to make sense. Hartley (2002) suggests that it is better to start by identifying the discursive context which may be; feminism, nationalism, fashion, Marxism, literally criticism, to name a few and common sense. Notably, in each case the definition will be

explored rationally, negatively by its distinction from others in that sphere. This argues, the definition of culture is known to those who participate in it.

Two or more cultures are seen to have a dialectical relationship and the discourses and images produced in a cultural sphere often influence and are influenced by those in other spheres. Thus, it is clear that not one culture is expressed in the vicinity of Vilakazi Street and the existing expressions are revived over time to adapt to the changes in spaces. The setting embraces diversity and tries to represent the quest spatially which often takes a Eurocentric form, undermining other local cultures. The question is: what kind of culture is been introduced in the design of Vilakazi Street? The production of culture as expressed through urban place making has conferring to Pratt, (2007) changed, and so have the nature of culture and the role of the state. Pratt (2007) additionally avers that, new ways of managing culture in cities are required. Moreover, this is a shift from the incremental or business way of thinking to a more radical process of development. Thus, a better understanding of the cultural economy and its operations is vital to enable effective governance. Policies formulated must aim beyond instrumentalism which requires a more flexible, integrated policy approach.

This research is against the cut and paste approach; and there is a need for cultural planning which will better manage those developments in a diverse country like South Africa. Cities seem to battle with finding the appropriate balance between the past, present and future establishments such as in Vilakazi Street. The developments seem confused, without a clear direction of what the space is communicating. This says a lot about the new Soweto. This is what most historic urban areas, besides the ordinary challenges of cities are challenged with. It is clear from the interview responses, there is a lack of cultural or heritage management as witnessed and representation of our history, as part of our identity and the everyday needs of a future-oriented developments. The unbalanced management in such spaces can lead to a loss of local cultural representation, identity or economic stagnancy and non-comparative historic areas with low amenity values.

It is discovered that dealing with historic tourist areas involves problems of:

a) Over-crowding of tourists due to a mono- structured area
b) Congestion and lack of parking spaces for public transportation that delivers visitors
c) Booming developments which do not respect the cultural heritage landscape (in other words developments not managed) as evident in the typology and lifestyle of Vilakazi Street
d) Poor rehabilitation of cultural heritage (because property owners are not aware of the heritage value, they lack of knowledge about proper rehabilitation processes and of local funding);

Noteworthy, the conservation of culture and heritage is not the only challenge to deal with. It is also an asset which can support a sustainable development, foster investments into the area and local growth. Thus, this demands an integrated cultural planning approach and management system. Such an approach will develop safe, vibrant, attractive and competitive economic, social and cultural centres which meet the needs of the people. In addition, cross-board culture and urban regeneration is needed to build a solid base stone that solid infill power to local communities and encourage creativity in cities/townships. This new way of planning portrays a new mode of governance giving an efficient response for new global competitions. It will be a disaster to copy Western urban actions into African Cities.

Assumingly Mercer (2006) opined that culture (the production of meaning) can be seen as a catalyst for employment growth, government investment towards new cultural industries and districts. These include public spaces whose cultural amenities are intended to complement and support diverse social interests as well, as improve the quality of urban life (Mercer, 2006). Therefore, cultural turn for urban planning is a necessary strategy to face the new challenge.

The increasing phenomenon of regenerating and re-branding areas as cultural havens is a creative attempt used by many local governments to uplift economies in need of renewal mechanisms as lamented by Mercer (2006). The cultural turn is therefore applicable when positioning and marketing of cities. It responds to the reflective implications for how cities/ places work; survive in the shadow of globalization and the 'rising new economy', in which technology, creativity, human capital, and innovation capacity are the catchphrases. In this sense, such creativity remains interesting to researchers, planners and policy-makers specifically because it implies the departure from norms, being genuinely (even radically) new; a remedy to limitations and regulations. It is more of a 'do-as-you-please' approach. Thus as the cultural turn emphasizes on Cultural Planning it is considered a place-based approach to planning and development. It is a process for identifying and balancing community's cultural resources, strengthening the management of those resources, and integrating those resources across all facets of local planning and decision making.

However, branding is not an 'entirely' new phenomenon in the city of Johannesburg, as the city has adopted a wide variety of slogans since its inception/establishment in the late 1800s. The use of slogans/catchphrases does not equate to urban branding, because slogan formation is part of the whole urban branding process (Kavaratzis, 2005). The city of Johannesburg has been using

slogans/catchphrases to "confirm (the) city's existing image, strengthening the positive points and distracting from any negative points" (Eurocities, 2010: 4).

In the post-apartheid era the slogans and brand names such as 'city of gold' and 'Sub-Saharan Africa shopping centre became irrelevant due to the decline in the mining sector and the migration of businesses from the city's CBD to the northern suburbs of Sandton (Bremner, 2000). Branding was to be used to "establish a new image for the city by highlighting the city's vision for the future" (Eurocities, 2010: 4). The city of Johannesburg started to "incorporate market principles with a conscious effort to shake-off the 'apartheid city' image it inherited during the reign of the apartheid government" (Mlangeni, 2008: 32). The focus was now to shift form tangible factors to intangible factors such as heritage, diversity and multiculturalism. The branding of Johannesburg as a "World-Class African City" incorporated the above mentioned factors in a number of ways such as the branding of public spaces, and also the use of the word 'African' in new slogan for the city and also in the incorporation of multiple identities. The main objective for creating a new image for the city was largely to enhance the competitive advantage of the city in terms of attracting tourists and new residents not just locally but globally too. The 'World-Class African City' brand was spread across the city through the rolling out of new city spaces that incorporated the 'African identity'. This positioning of areas has led to a rise of new culture, identity and forms of social and spatial relation. Theses consisted of a mixture of more than one culture, economy etc. known as hybridization.

2.6. Hybridity in Spaces

The idea of hybridity was pinned down by Bhabha (1994) and expanded by Soja (1989) as the third space. This section expounds the understanding of hybridity and the third space to the production of space. This also explains the widening gap that exist between the conceived, perceived and lived spaces as it somehow implied the departure from norms, being genuinely (even radically) new – an antidote to discipline and restriction guided by creativity and innovative approaches.

The term hybridity is defined by Bhabha (1994), as a combination of two or more different things. Hybridity is understood as more than a consolidation of incompatible elements but rather the introduction of the 'third space' also known as a new possibility for connecting different terms and conflicting realities (Alsayyad, 2001:3). This is often understood by the producer or creator of such. This 'third space' has been recognised as a site that goes beyond or surpasses traditional modernist binaries,

opening up the potential for empowerment, but also disempowerment in case particular values or ideas are appropriated.

Soweto, particularly Vilakazi Street appears as a hybrid space. It consists of a mixture of various local and international cultural representations; a mixture of vernaculars (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and others); fused architectural designs that present both the modernist (apartheid) and post- modern designs. There is no clear map as to whose culture is being represented. This may be a result of the overlapping or colliding spaces (conceived, perceived and lived) as they try to describe a relationship between people and space which are both complex and dynamic individual entities. The moment one tries to unfold the relationship, something else is discovered and the gap keep widening as more questions arise. This phenomenon mirrors the introduction of the third space.

The philosophy behind hybrid urbanism strongly argues that there is no such thing as the traditional or modern city (Alsayyad, 2001). It assumes dualities and introduces the logic of Hybridity known as what Soja (1989) calls the third space. This is understood as the in-between spaces where the 'cutting edge of translation and negotiations' occur. Furthermore, 'culture' believes that the new identity or hybrid defies the norm and challenges the hegemony of a dominant majority trying to find the balance between the colonised and the coloniser (Alsayyad, 2001) resulting in the third space.

Moreover, the third space is a method of delivery, a way of explaining a productive and not merely reflective space that engenders new possibilities as it exists to the individual. It is an 'interruptive, interrogative, and enunciative space as describes Bhabha (1994). Such spaces results in new forms of cultural meaning and production blurring the limitations of existing boundaries and calling into question established categorisations of culture and identity. According to Bhabha, this hybrid third space is an ambivalent site where cultural meaning and representation have no 'primordial unity or fixity'. The notion of Hybridity is also used to refer to fragmented, nomadic, multicultural, and mobile identities. Mobile identities are understood as staple features in a globalised world, while ethnic conflicts, inequalities are neutralised by discourse that honours difference, mobility and fragmentation (Derrida, 1998).

2.7. Conclusion

Modernist ideas of planning and development tend to lean towards a bigger scale of development, such as the metropolitan scale, technologically rationalised and efficient rigid urban plans. It is clear that

modernist planning desire utopians and post–modernism dwell more on the 'real' implementation processes. The post modernism evidently roots in it the urban fabric as being fragmented, confused from the past forms. Whereas modernism makes use of abstraction and functionalism, post-modernist planning aims to revitalise the sense of place and community, identity to local culture. Basically, all vital elements ignored by the modernist planning though. Thus, to facilitate such, there is a need in effective cultural planning approaches.

Arguably, space is not only produced by social relations, but also reproduced by the economic, social, cultural aspects in society too. In this sense, society can be the initial point of inquiry when social space is dealt with. With regard to Vilakazi Street, the three bases have a positive contribution to the production of the social space. One can argue that the production of society is combined with spatial production. The society in Vilakazi Street can be specified in three basic materials (Marx, 1973) which are:

a) Economic basis: Producing material objects, labour and the organisation of labour.
b) Social Structure: Social relations are determined by the basis and determining relations of ownership. They are often structured and structural.
c) Superstructure: This includes the laws and principles, institutions and different ideologies.

This chapter demonstrated the fertility of social theorists work for exploring the relationship between urban studies and the understanding of space. Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space has drawn attention to a number of important aspects of his thought. Initially, space is defined as both an outcome and a determinant of the production process. Secondly, it depicts the spatial dimensions of the contemporary capitalism in terms of a model of abstract space; simultaneously fragmented, homogenised and hierarchical. Thirdly, social relations emphasise the production of space as a deeply political and conflict-driven process, in which the state plays a crucial role. Through articulating the political dimensions of space, Lefebvre's social theory and particularly his contributions to the production of space offer a vocabulary for the critique of everyday existing institutional form. In the everyday life critique, these elements are combined and offer original methodological approach for the interdisciplinary study. Thus this is beneficial to the study towards the exploration of what the dynamics of social production of Vilakazi Street are?

CHAPTER THREE

THE FOUNDING AND GROWTH OF SOWETO IN THE LAST CENTURY

"Soweto is a representation of the new South Africa caught between old squatter misery and new prosperity, filth and an upbeat lifestyle, it's a vibrant city which still openly bears the scars of the Apartheid past and yet shows the possibilities of a new South Africa."

Remaking of Soweto End of Term Report 2006/2011

3.1. Introduction to the Founding and Growth of Soweto in the Last Century

This chapter will look at the evolution of Soweto from the early days of Johannesburg (1904s) to the present day (2000s). Whereas the periods are not detailed, they give a snapshot of what has shaped the history of Soweto. The Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013) has presented the historical emergence of Soweto in Six phases. Because of the clarity of the source, the research will present the progression in a similar but different way while seeing into the manner in which the changes affected Vilakazi Street.

According to the Five Year Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013), the development Profile was essentially prepared as a "*State of the Soweto Economy Document*." Much emphasis was on the spatial economy of the region (region D), the economic production structure, and employment structure as well as, the preservation of historical events that took place. The Economic Development Plan delivers a guideline of common priorities around which the private, public and community sector in Soweto can set forth their effort and investment towards assembling a vibrant and productive region.

Therefore, the main objective of the regional economic development plan is to gain recognition as the present Soweto Strategic understanding of the forces required to speed up the economic growth (Five Year Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013). This enhances development in such a way that is both valuable to all the people and contributes towards the revolution of the regional economy. Moreover, the plan is in line with the long-term vision of the City of Johannesburg, which is realising a

shared and accelerated growth. It addresses main challenges within the area. These challenges include; unemployment, skills shortage, distribution of productive assets and institutional development, to name a few. Responding to these challenges would overcome the underdevelopment and attempt to close the gap between the marginalised communities that keeps the people of Soweto out of the mainstream of economic opportunity and development (Five Year Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013). As noted by Lefebvre (1991:46), "We are dealing with history, if space is produced and if there is a productive process." Therefore, the six phases are presented below.

3.2. Phase One (1904-1930s): The Dawn of Soweto and its High Housing Demands

The first phase focuses on the early days of Soweto and its high housing demands due to an increased population and rate of eviction from the city. This phase as presented in Figure 4 discusses how development and organisation of space during the First World War towards the domination of the apartheid government system deprived lived experiences, service delivery, and infrastructure as well as land rights to its inhabitants. The founding of Soweto played a fundamental but inhumane role because Soweto as a space was conceived as an object of control over the Black majority who were forcefully removed from other areas around.

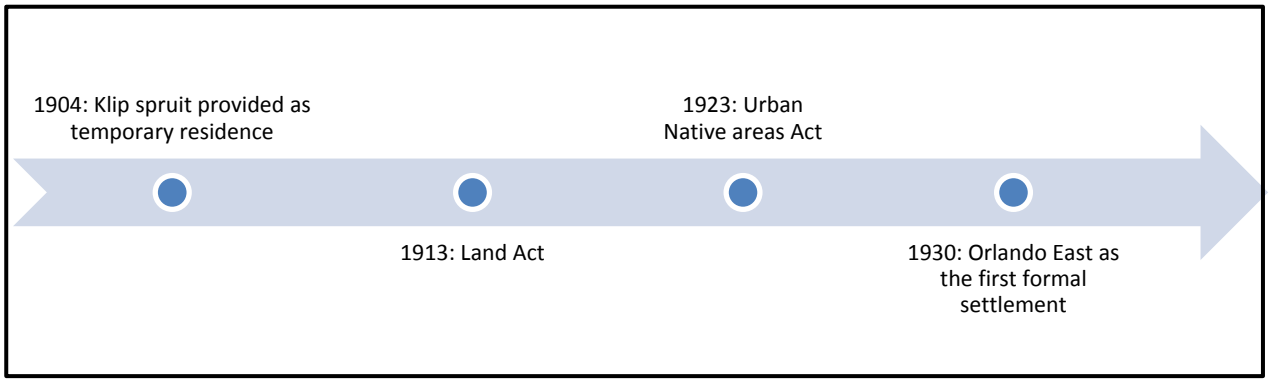


Figure 4: Historical timeline of Soweto (1904 to 1930s)

One of the calamities of apartheid government was the fragmentation and marginalization of the history of black people of this country (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012). As the title suggests, these were the early days of Soweto. It was the era where the evicted people were forcefully placed in the dusty areas of the township away from the city to avoid over-crowding. Most Black South Africans were drawn to work in gold mines that were established after 1886. According to Beavon (2004), 1904 was a period were the City Council provided Klipspruit (now Pimville renamed after pioneer of African

Welfare, Howard Pim) which is located 20 kilometers from the city center (Johannesburg) as a temporary home for the people with color (Mohlamme, 1990). For a period of 30 years, the location intended as a temporary measure was littered with underdeveloped shelters with lack of services and proper economic facilities to support life. Imagine the suffering that was infested in the area, those were the early days.

Klipspruit area was actually developed to accommodate a density of 80 000 people and more than 5 700 houses were built taking up nearer places such as Kliptown (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012). Due to this, the city council introduced the sub-tenancy system. This means that living in a house came with charges (a certain amount of money was deposited to the landlord for dwelling rights). However, as the pressures of housing kept increasing, informal settlements also developed at an alarming rate meeting the growing lack of housing (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012).

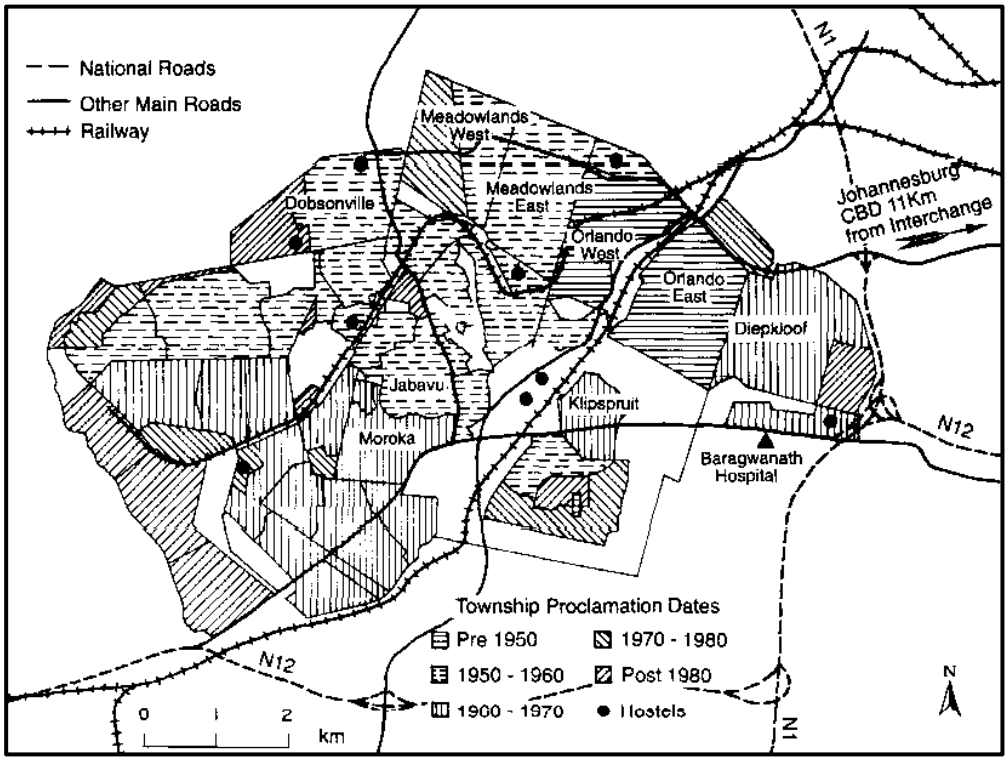
As days passed, there was a need for change. A calling to emancipate all individuals from oppression was an option, resulting in boycotts against the system. In 1944, the Sofasonke squatter's movement was organized. It managed to lay its foundation in an area known as Masakeng (now Orlando West) which was not occupied at the time. However, the pressures of housing demands kept increasing. It is true; many voices are better than one. In this regard, the dissatisfaction expressed by the movement, propelled the city council to set up emergency camps in Moroka and Orlando and later in the central western Jabavu area (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012). This shows how powerful collective communities and movements are and were useful in helping the voiceless be heard. The establishment of Orlando then set the stage, the context in which Vilakazi Street would later emerge as the carrier of the struggle memory. At this point the street was probably a non-entity instead.

The Imperial Military Hospital Baragwanath which was named after John Albert Baragwanath was more prominent in the context of Soweto. The hospital was developed in 1947 was meant to be used by the black population after the war as Jan Smuts declared at the hospital opening ceremony. By 1948, Barangwanath hospital was recognized and had its third place as the world's largest. Although many have lost their lives during the war, the presence of the hospital was a radical approach that emphasized on people's health states which is important.

3.3. Phase Two (Early 1940s- 1950s): The Era of Separate Developments

The Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013) presents phase two as the early 1940s/World War Two. This section extends the era to the 1950s. Under phase two, the key instruments of separate developments such as the Group's Areas Act of 1950 and Native Areas Act of 1952 are explored.

The era of separate development came about as devastating time of conflict between the local and national government as well as increased political oppression. Christopher (1991) identified the main implementations of separate developments introduced in this era as; the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1952. Essentially, the Bantu Building Act of 1951 and the Bantu Service Levy Act of 1952 resulted in the introduction of the Service Levy Fund which fuelled the housing boom from the previous era. This era comprises of a rigid layout plan for social organization of the government strategy as indicated below in map 1. The map also indicates the proclamation dates of various townships. The townships were also organized for certain inhabitants of a particular ethnic group (For example, the Zulu and Xhosa speaking group were accommodated in Emdeni, Zola, Jabulani, and Dhlamini, as the Sotho and Tswana speakers were distributed in Naledi, Tladi, Moletsane to name a few). Shops could only be purchased in the allocated ethnic area and children had to attend schools within ethnic boundaries.



Map 1: Proclamation dates of Townships: http://archive.uno.edu/unupress/unupbooks/uu26e/uu26ue0h.gif. Accessed 15.10.14.

One can say that, Soweto was a space of marginality (marginality corresponds to the types of houses that were established) and idea of habitus signified by certain economic and political form (Bourdieu, 1986). This reflect how the social order was gradually inscribed in people's minds through cultural means including systems of education, language, values, methods of classification and activities of everyday life (Bourdieu, 1986).

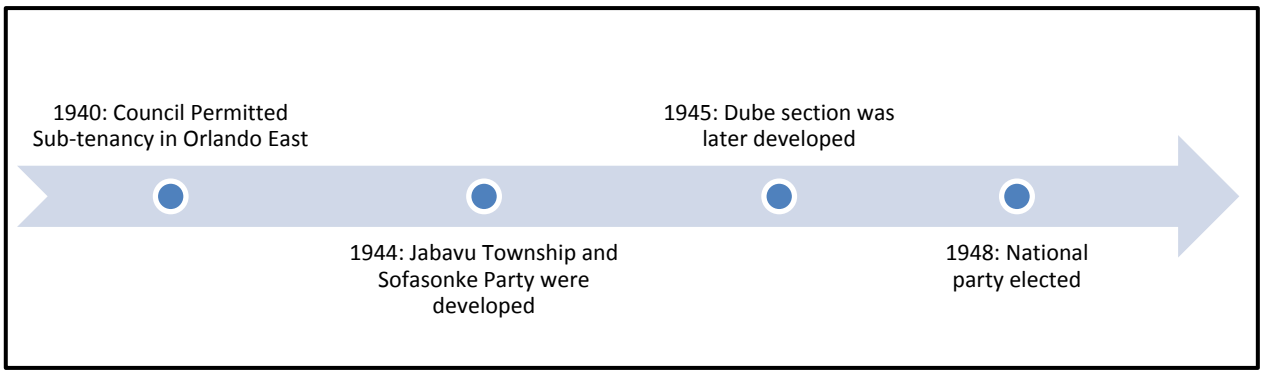


Figure 5: Historical timeline of Soweto (1940-1948)

Above all, the leading political cornerstone during this time was the signing of Freedom Charter of 1955 at the African National Congress (ANC) of the people in Freedom Square, Kliptown (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012). This brought about tremendous changes and hope to the residents. It laid down the vision and foundations for many developmental democratic ideals. These ideas included the human rights issue, production factors, freedom and code of governance although lack of funding was a challenge. In addition, Magubane (1978) states that the early 1960s was widely interpreted as a direct attempt to reduce the already insufficient funds available to the council for the Township development. This saw a rise of informality and home based entrepreneurship. Introduction of taxis as a mode of transportation and Spaza shops which signify the emergence of a different economic culture.

The townships were always located on the south-western part from the city, hence the name South Western Townships (Soweto). This name signifies collective townships located in the southern part of the city. The name was officially adopted in 1963 for the sprawling township that recently occupied what had been a farm of Klipriviersoor, Diepkloof, Klipspruit and Doornkop.

Furthermore, the Black Affairs Administration Act of 1971 introduced the regulation that all revenues accumulating from wide metropolitan resources should be terminated. The Act completely removed the administration of urban blacks from the local authorities (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012). As the coat of leadership by the apartheid government began to slack and out of fashion, it opened doors for

autonomy. As soon as the administration was removed, various racial groups had access to the township power. Thus elected councilors were now liable for township administration on budgets from local charge and rents.

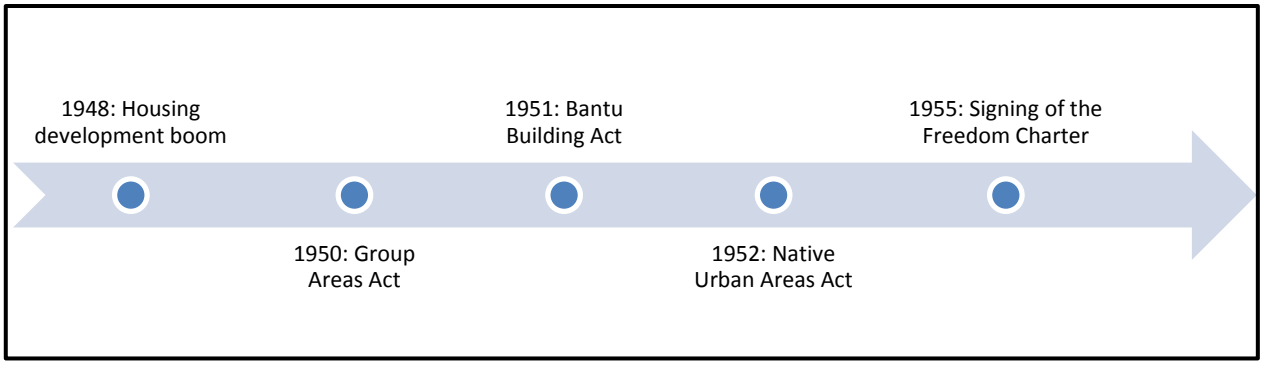


Figure 6: Historical timeline of Soweto (1948-1955)

In 1948, the apartheid government under the rule of Dr. D.F Malan dominated the National Party and was as powerful as ever in terms of decision making and policy formation (Figure 5). There was no peace but ruthless actions of hatred. This resulted in an increase in the rate of forced removals and formation of townships on the outskirts of white occupied areas. The city council continued to establish towns for evicted black majority to the southwest from the city's freehold areas of Sophiatown, Martindale and Alexandra. Some of the developed areas where basically service hubs or points. There were no variety or mixed uses. Evidently, there was a strong power and domination from the government of the time. Space was seen as a mode of control and platform for exercising that power. This intensified Soweto as a struggle center for the black population.

Unfairness, danger, inhuman activities, and fragmentation of land uses were the names associated with Soweto. However, places like Dube housed the middle-class residents whom many had the means of constructing their own houses. This is where the first boarding house was built to accommodate evicted migrant workers. In addition, newly built houses flooded over to vacant lands such as Meadowlands and Diepkloof.

3.4. Phase Three (1973-1982): The Era of Political flux

Between 1973 and 1982, black political resistance had been crushed. Blacks feared arrest and torture under the apartheid government rule. This inactive time in political resistance allowed the formation of

black urban culture. People of many different ethnic and cultural backgrounds came together, their anguish expressed in song and art. Thus, this was the era that saw the intensification of resistance and formalisation of Black Boards.

In 1973, the administration of Soweto was in the hands of the West Rand Administration Board from the Joburg City Council. They reflected a lack of development authority of the Administration Boards, their strict rule and unlawful tendencies blended with insufficient investment to Soweto. This proved that the offense against the Boards was justified. Since most goods and services were bought out of Soweto, the black majority believed that they were subsidizing the white taxpayers. Accordingly, a culture of resistance increased and non-payment of services succeeded (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012).

The situation began to explode when the law enforcing black high scholars to be taught in Afrikaans was introduced. Hence, the student marches against the instruction. Soweto was the everyday talk, on radio, television (media). It grabbed the world's attention with the student uprising.

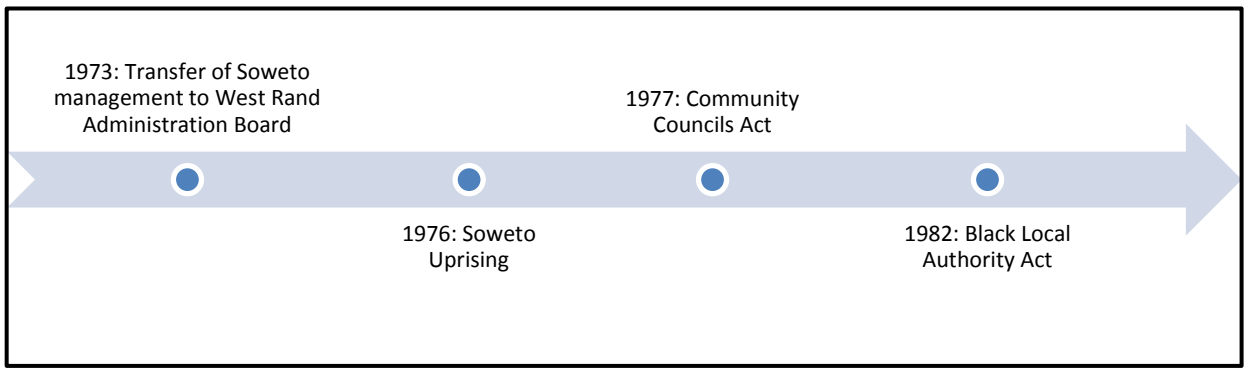


Figure 7: Historical timeline of Soweto (1973-1982)

The Soweto Uprising took place on the day that the Internal Amendment Act of 1976 was enacted. But this did not stop the young black scholars from boycotting this government policy. This was the moment when young black students joined together, marching against the formalization of Afrikaans language as a form of frustration. The smell of fire burning, the bang and blasts of gunshots from afar; expressions were blaring and loud cries were heard. Vilakazi Street, where a thirteen years old Hector Pieterson died in the process, along with many other children. It was during this time when the black masterminds were forced either into exile or hiding. The impact was viral around the world.

The youth played a key role in the liberation struggle. The class of 1976 bravely took to the streets and overturned the long held notion within the liberation movement that the working class was the

essential force in challenging the apartheid regime. The 1976 revolt (below in Image 2) brought together significant forces and changed the face of South African history by challenging the apartheid regime (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012).

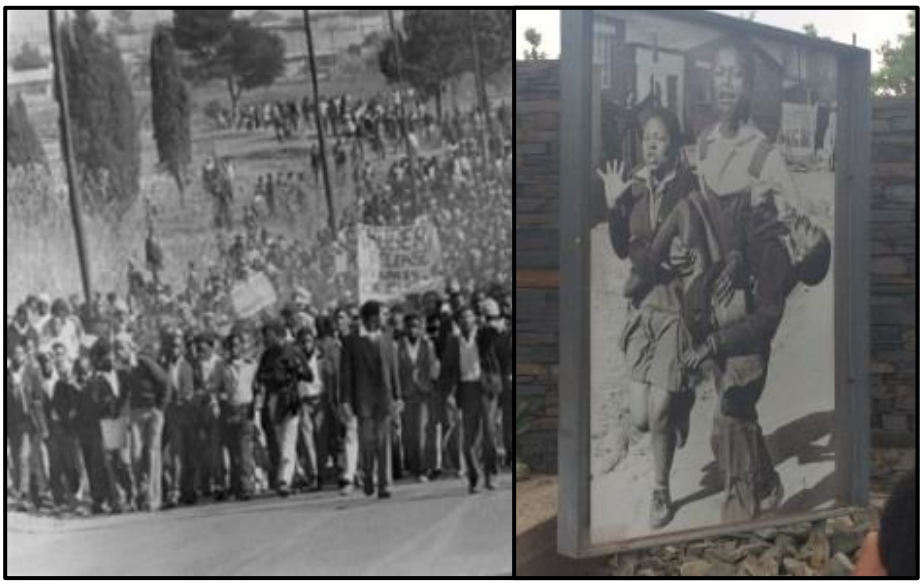


Image 2: Soweto Uprising.

http://johnnyafrica.com/2014/03/26/a-tale-of-two-cities-part-1-soweto. Accessed 30.09.14.

The aftermath led to the introduction of culture and the economy was endorsed from abroad. Improvements in service delivery took place. These included the supply of electricity to more houses without electricity, yet remained bankrupt to an extend that more dwelling units could not be built for the homeless or have electricity. This is indicative of the poor management system from above, that also had an effect on the economy, service delivery and education, which undermines the sense of place, identity and communications. Evidently, the image of Soweto was starting to be redefined. Image 3 below shows the redefined image of Soweto.



Image 3: Redefined image of Soweto.

https://happytrailswithjoann.files.wordpress.com/2011/09/jburg-042.jpg. Accessed 30.09.14.

3.5. Phase Four (1982-1986): The Era of Income Inclusivity

In phase four, Soweto is painted as a space of contestations. This characterized by a series of talks, collective actions, media publications and performances. It was not just contested in terms of struggles but the image too. The year 1980s, was known as the popular years where the population had enough with the dysfunctional apartheid government. It was the era that witnessed community mass movements, rise in black consciousness movements, formation of civil organizations and a rise in social enquiry to the system.

By this time, communities began to affirm marginality. The location of Soweto was no longer seen as negative thing, but as a given. People started asserting blackness as a form of existence. Through embracing black hood, a new 'Kasi' / location culture was formed. If the apartheid government was a person, he would have surrendered by the look of events. What is interesting is the fact that the communities stood up for each other, they fought together for a better Soweto, better future for the upcoming generations. They never gave up with the battle of overthrowing the government.

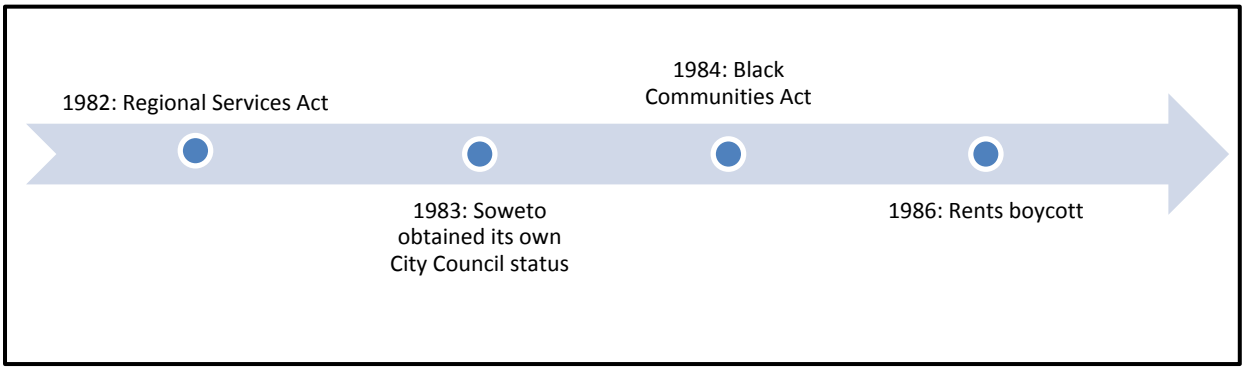


Figure 8: Historical timeline of Soweto (1982-1986)

Clearly the economic development of Soweto was relentlessly restrained by the apartheid state. Inadequate infrastructures and prevention of the society from creating their own businesses was Soweto's middle names but informal trading boomed outside legally established towns. In terms of physical landscape, roads remained unpaved, several residents had access to water through the use of one tap. This shows how strict the system was, and that it conceived Soweto as a residential squatter for mine laborers, and never anticipated its sprawl.

Pieces of legislation began to gain recognition in realizing the overall performance of Soweto. These legislations ranged from the Community Councils Act of 1977, the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982, the Black Communities Act of 1984, and the Regional Services Act of 1982 (Nieftagodien and Gaule, 2012). The legislative developments were incremental in a sense that problems were solved as they arise. These gained momentum when Soweto achieved its own City Council Status in 1983. According to Grinker (1986), considerable development burdens were witnessed. The developments appeared in a form of little revenue and inherited backlogs. As well, income was exclusively obtained from services and lease charges (state that led to the 1986 rents embargo). Gotz (2012:3) describe this event as an extraordinary experience in pursuit of "one city, one tax base" system. This system meant that the total area, including all properties, asserts and income can be taxed by the city. For example as the population of Soweto shifted to another area, the tax bases of that area will also change. And if the people are going out of their boundaries the tax base will decrease, whereas, the newly area experience an increased tax base. The argument made here as mentioned by Gotz (2012) is that those who have built the city should inherit the benefits of its development. Soweto from this perspective can be said to be a space of independence and isolation.

3.6. Phase Five (1990 - 2002): Towards an Improved Housing Supply and Service Delivery

This is according to the Soweto Economic Development Plan (2008/2013), a point that political will was very instrumental in contributing to the formation of an economic development landscape of the locality. Since early 1990s to date, the development of Soweto has evolved over a period of 100 years. Thus the journey is still continuous as the economic imprint of the region is still crafted. The history of South Africa as a whole was at a turning point by the time. The broken township was back to the hands of its people. The pieces of the missing puzzle were to be found in order to recreate Soweto. At an alarming rate, it was perceptible even the most audacious architects of apartheid needed by the regime were very costly. Black Local Authorities came to an end and lamented for a non-racial administrations. During this time, Soweto was realized and became a functional part of Johannesburg. It needed to be well integrated into the city governance, than let alone to the beast.

More vigorous and reformist part of legislation such as the Local Government Transition Amendment Act of 1993 and the Watershed Municipal Structures Act of 1998, were passed. At least the division of labor in bringing back Soweto was founded. By the time, Joburg was classified as the "Unicity", the city that was one and united as a whole. This called for management and integrated planning across all of the City's management regions to redefine and reinvent the meaning of Soweto (SEDP, 2008/2013). This responded to the financial crisis in the Township in terms of attracting investments for further developments. By the year 2000 the two-tier system was replaced with the unitary local government. The City of Johannesburg demarcated Soweto as region D, which fell amongst the seven regions across the City's regional administrative breakdown (CoJ, 2011).

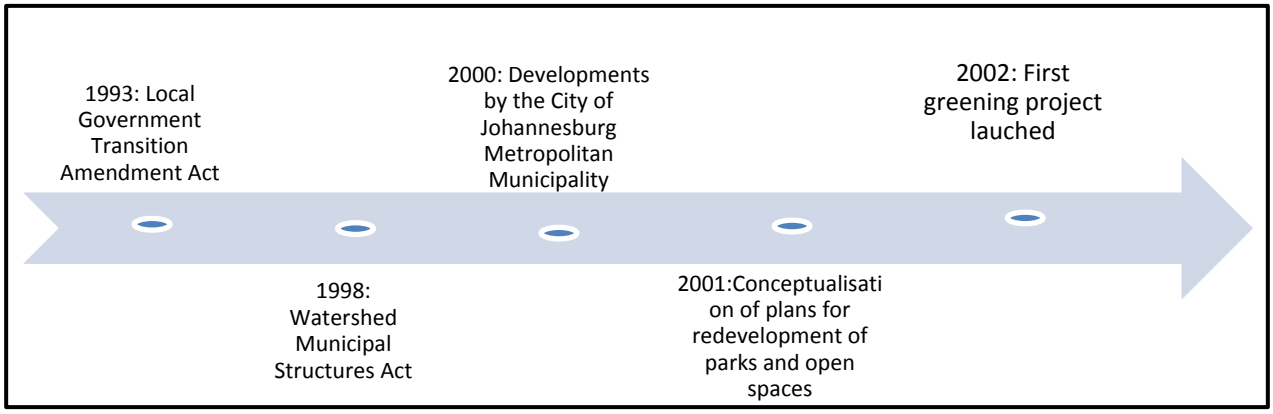


Figure 9: Historical timeline of Soweto (1990- 2002)

Evidently, the core of Soweto is its rich historical roots with strong active struggle credentials. Even though the journey itself was a painful trip in the evolution of Soweto, still the Five year Economic Development Plan remains a powerful tool for building on a positive development that is today characteristic of Soweto: tourism, retail, infrastructure, property; being the fundamental factors pushing forward the Economy of Soweto at the moment.

For many, democracy has brought to light the space of opportunities. From a 'no-go' area to a 'must go' area, the township has expanded; it has become a unitary character in a complex network of interconnected lived space (the township, the town, the mall, the suburb) as Bremner (2004) describes Soweto. She mentioned that "the city is fluid, dynamic, malleable, and interpretable. For others it has closed down; disappointed expectations have brought new expulsions and exclusions, a new sense of being on the outside of stasis and isolation" (Bremner, 2004:155). Today, new urban imaginaries or visions have failed to take hold and trace the everyday use of space by users. Thus Bremner (2004) also affirms, the geographies of apartheid have remained, intractable.

These are the magnitudes of the up-and-coming of the post-apartheid township landscape. Losing ground and yet persistent. It remains contained within a network of disconnected spaces and experiences, the former state of homogeneous landscape shattered by deviating practices and identities. It is being reconfigured according to the multiple logics of variation. Bremner (2004) proudly denotes that Soweto that was once an isolated, closed off township is today a site of multiple identities, moving in many directions all at once.

3.7. Phase Six (2003 to present): The Changing Face of Soweto

The changing face of Soweto focuses on the role of the production and reproduction of space from the injustices of the apartheid government and former systems. It clearly outlines the representation of place with reference to the formation and fundamental preservation of Soweto at large. As regeneration projects are implemented, it becomes clear how the former abstractly conceived idea of Soweto could gradually become similar to the revived Soweto. The social constructions should not prevent anyone from understanding how and on what grounds it was historically constructed. But through the rejuvenation, the contemporary ideology of globalisation has impacted in the everyday of Soweto.

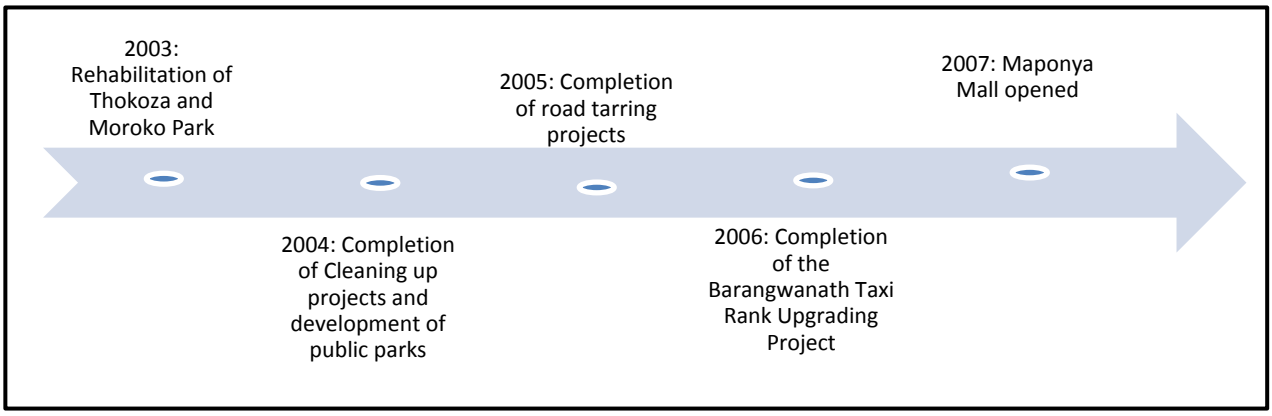


Figure 10: Regeneration Projects timeline of Soweto (2003- 2007)

Leonie Sandercock (1998), noted that in the rush of the post-war turning town planning into an applied science was much lost, the city of memory, of desire, of spirit; the significance of place and the art of place-making. This relates very well to the challenges that exist in the premises of Soweto as a result of the apartheid government who used spaces as a control tool. The sandy gravel roads which were battlegrounds and breaths of dusty air from the dry soils without the touch of greenery were inhaled. The quality of life was what existed on the other side, beyond the rail line and mine dumps. This developments and projects in place gave rise to other challenges.

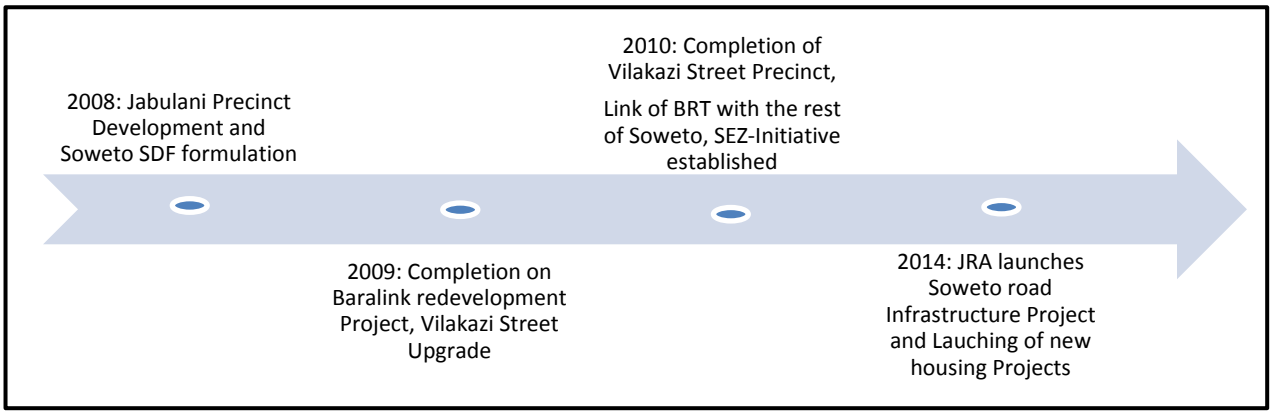


Figure 11: Regeneration Projects timeline of Soweto (2008- 2014)

Radically improving the quality of the physical and social infrastructures, particularly of life in a neighbourhood is not something that could be achieved overnight. Nor can be approached in blurred approaches that lack a sense of direction or anticipated outcomes. Instead of restoring, each new development further drains the vitality of the urban environment. Contrary, with such one-off planning,

architecture, and engineering, the notion of place-making strategies as a collective act of design should be reaffirmed the commitments.

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) is a City development agency of the City of Johannesburg responsible for managing and facilitating developments (as outlined in figure 9 and 10). This is achieved through efficient and innovative methods to build an equitable, sustainable and resilient city. The (JDA) is positioned to take on a broader function, with much emphasis on development areas selected for their prospective to satisfy strategic objectives such as restructuring the space economy. The JDA aims "to build a more welcoming and competitive Johannesburg that is a better city to live, work and play in" (JDA Business Plan, 2013/13). Soweto is no longer seen as a narrative but a brand.

The impacts of the changes in Vilakazi Street have resulted in the popularity of the Street. Vilakazi Street has created significant business opportunities for residents of the area. Many restaurants and street trading businesses have been established along the street to cater for tourists and local visitors' needs. Local artist have also taken advantage of showcasing power of the history of Soweto and the 'Kasi' (local) culture through arts and crafts developments, as well as offer their work for sale as souvenirs. The former red face brick and zinc-roof houses are becoming a thing of the past on Vilakazi Street. Some have been replaced with businesses and double-story restaurants with township views as far as the eye can see. Other houses have been renovated into bigger and modern homes. The property prices are definitely pushed up by locating on Vilakazi Street, and many of the residents have leased out part of their property for the extra income.

3.8. Conclusion

This chapter outlined the progression of Soweto emphasising more on the main economic, political and social stages of production. It is clear the apartheid government comprised of a strict believe in the rational organisation of space, as a way of achieving human welfare. Contrary, the new Soweto has wiped the dusts off the streets and reintroduced the sense of a place through its regeneration programs. Although they are associated with fragmentation, social exclusion and prioritisation of mobility, as well as other challenges that do not benefit the society at large.

It raises the question of possible emerging dynamics when dealing with multiple and often conflicting conceptions of the same space as it evolves through time. Vilakazi street (or Soweto as a whole) was planned (conceived) in the past, continues to be planned now and the same will happen even in the

future as the township continues to evolve. Thus seeking spatial management. Hence part of any conception has to do with dealing with past conceptions and so present interventions have to try draw a balance between correcting past 'mistakes', although someone planned them, as well as creating a desired future.

In view of the fact, the Johannesburg Development Agency has found its place working in marginalized areas. These areas include; Kliptown, and more recently Orange Farm, Diepsloot, Vilakazi Street and Orlando East. Similarly, in each case the aim has been to enhance the economic development while at the same time improving the standard of living for poor residents. While many challenges remain, the overall results are extremely positive (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2003/2010). Evidently, Vilakazi Street in Orlando West, climbed its way up as a fashionable tourist destination as a direct result of the JDA investment and marketing initiatives. These initiatives appeared to be very clear benefits for local property and business owners within and around the area.

CHAPTER FOUR

VILAKAZI STREET AS A SOCIAL PRODUCT

4.1. Introduction to the Social Production of Vilakazi Street

This chapter looks into Vilakazi Street (Orlando West) as a social product. The case study was chosen for its influential and irreplaceable relations of its social production. It explains the spatial formation of cultural, economic and social relations within Vilakazi Street. The chapter will critically explore how creativity and innovation within the social space of the street contributed to the needs of contemporary local communities. With an increased level of developments within and around Soweto, some relationships such as the economic, social, environmental, cultural and political aspects are becoming more and more complex.

With that in mind, this chapter will firstly present a brief overview of the Street's evolution from 1976 to date. Secondly, the chapter will draw out the thinking behind the upgrade of Vilakazi Street into a Precinct (representations of space). Thirdly, this will be followed by exploring the transition of its development within the social relations and productions of today (representational space). This will be complemented by interviewees' perspectives on Vilakazi Street as conceived, perceived and lived. Lastly, a conclusion that captures the overall production of Vilakazi Street as a social space is outlined.

4.2. The Nature of Vilakazi Street, Soweto

Vilakazi Street Precinct is about a kilometre long, in a shape of a triangle (as indicated below in Map 2). In its boundaries are the original apartheid-era rectangular houses which are beyond one's imagination. These houses are located close to the newly developed homes. These newly developed homes are distinguishable from older buildings. As the material, typology, form and architectural design appear so modern. According to the architect Jonathan Manning of Ikemeleng Architects, the idea behind the Vilakazi project is to conserve the historical importance and interpret the lost memory of the street. This was actually a success, but to some extent went an extra mile which distorts the whole purpose behind its development. This is a true outcome of globalisation and regeneration programmes. The meaning conceived is not what is perceived around Vilakazi Street.

a) Boundaries of Vilakazi Street Precinct



Map 2: Vilakazi Street Precinct adapted from: http://urbanworks.co.za/oldsite/projects/projects/scroll%20image/vilakazi/3.jpg. Accessed 28.08.14.

4.3. The Early Days of Vilakazi Street

As already discussed in chapter three, Vilakazi Street has a Modernism history. Before the regeneration it consisted of monotonous mass housing developments, lack of service delivery to low income residents, poor road infrastructures and absence of a sense of place. Under the apartheid government, officials tried to present Soweto as an autonomous city within a city with its own 'Bantu-owned' shops, sports facilities, and beer gardens (CoJ, 2011). Soweto was presented as a place where energy and enterprise were fostered and rewarded. This was the life introduced to the locals or residents of Soweto and could not have been any better.

One argues that the government led firmly and kept tight control over every aspect of social life in the township. Practically every sign of individual proposal and project was regulated and engraved out. Licenses for shop-owners were restricted. Existing shops keepers were restricted from stocking anything but a limited range of basic necessities (CoJ, 2011). Without a way forward; hawking and street trading were mostly prohibited. The daily labourers' pass which had once given some of the oppressed people the liberation to be self-employed was ended in 1952 (CoJ, 2011). Only markets selling herbal

medicines and funeral undertakers were the most profitable businesses in Soweto. These made disease and death Soweto's largest industry. Space was not produced by choice but by force and control over the minds of many individuals.

Clearly around the 1950s, the government tried to paint Soweto as a place of opportunity. In truths, regulations kept individual enterprise from happening. Luckily, in 1950s, the Vilakazi and Khumalo Families owned general dealer stores along the Street (CoJ, 2011). This remained in line with the apartheid government regulations. The stores were highly controlled in terms of what they could trade, their opening and closing times. In today's democratic society, shops in the area operate none stop, without any pressure imposed. The struggle for liberation has found its way to Vilakazi Street with much historical burden to the awakening news of today.

Before Vilakazi Street was conceived or imagined as a precinct, it was just like any other typical township with characteristics of the apartheid government rule. It was only seen as unsafe and without a global image or recognition. Today, Vilakazi Street Precinct has been identified by the City of Johannesburg through its implementing agent Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) as a potentially significant heritage, cultural and economic node. Ever since, JDA has been responsible for facilitating and managing investment into critical marketable and cultural infrastructure projects, Vilakazi Street, being in the midst of those projects. This has enabled and continues to enable the stimulation of growth and development of businesses as well as, tourism in specific urban localities.



Image 4: Vilakazi Street realignment_ (Civil engineering, 2011)



Image 5: Street furniture and paving_ (Civil engineering, 2011)

Even the small-scale entrepreneurship has been stimulated. This was enforced by means of developmental guidelines in order to safeguard the importance of heritage within the precinct. In

addition, local residents have been advised to offer a variety of products such as arts and crafts, fashions and souvenirs as depicted below.



Image 6: Artistic cultural expressions



Image 7: Local cultural fashion sales



Image 8: The use of use of urban furniture for art sales



Image 9: Different art and crafts sales

In accordance, while the JDA contends that the long-term intention for Vilakazi Street aims to put in place a sustainable management model for the precinct; the short-term purpose was to soothe, consolidate and improve the heritage asserts in the Orlando Township, as noted by the assistant development manager, Mr Ntoyi. Moreover, the capacity of work for the fiscal year at the time was the development of a detailed upgrade design framework. This was focused on upgrading interventions and the implementation of quick catalytic proposals. These proposals were meant to initiate the development process. The JDA felt that such long-term proposals could influence both the private and public sector investment into the area (Global post, 2010).

Vilakazi Street named after Dr BW Vilakazi, a poet, novelist and intellectual who was the first black lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, though at the time he was only allowed to be called a "language assistant" (Global post, 2010).The Street upgrade took place when the World Cup kicked off in June 2010. Erin Conway-Smith wrote in Global Post (2010) that all eyes will be fixed on Soweto, the "famed Johannesburg Township where the opening match will be played at a bright new soccer stadium" in a shape of a traditional African calabash.

As one of the country's most historic street and the main tourist draw in Soweto, it went through tremendous physical transformation as it prepared for an arrival of soccer fans. The Street was given a makeover that sets it apart from Soweto's other crumbling, unpaved potholed streets. The transformation included pedestrian path pavements, streetlights, newly planted trees, 'street furniture' such as benches, trash cans, concrete pillars that see double duty as places to sit and barriers to prevent sidewalk parking for cars in typical Sowetans style as Erin Conway-Smith (2010) asserts. Sadly most residents were uncomfortable lamenting that not enough is being done to ensure that the poor communities benefits from the economic improvements of having the world's attention. Contrary, Mr Vilakazi, the owner of Nambitha restaurant (the first restaurant to open on the street in 1999) mentioned that "…although the positive changes in the street, not enough is being done to remake the special street as a tourist draw, and local residents are ignorant as few locals are taking advantage of the opportunity on their doorsteps" (Global Post, 2010).

In addition, wherever feasible the project included improvements to existing storm water systems and other basic infrastructure in the precinct. Generally speaking, a "sense of place" had to be retained throughout. Part of the client's brief included maximum use of local labour, and of local SMMEs and business enterprises. The project design was influenced by the existing road alignment, access to the existing sites, the location of existing restaurant, and architectural requirements to promote pedestrian movement. The potential environmental impact of the street upgrade was determined by environmental consultants, Eco Africa, who then guided the route of the project. In order to ensure fair and equitable distribution of benefits for the production of Vilakazi Street within the targeted communities, Project Liaison Committees were formed to provide a point of contact between the project team and the communities. Community Liaison Officers and an employment desk were utilised to ensure that local labour, SMMEs and local business enterprises were given access to employment opportunities. Emerging contractors were employed in pipe laying, concrete operations, transport of material, layer-works construction, kerb-laying, brick-paving, etc. (Civil Engineering, 2011; Global Post, 2010).

The Johannesburg Development Agency which is behind the Street transformations, anticipates a gentrified Vilakazi Street as a "laid-back boulevard" for strolling. A place where locals and tourist can safely walk and mingle over a cup of tea at any of the cafes, restaurants or shops along the Street (Image 10). The City of Johannesburg official website (2014) noted that, the Street comprises of a diverse mix of people from different cultures and backgrounds. These groups "all bask in the glory of treading on the Street where Mandela, one of the worlds' most respected politicians and human beings, once walk in their younger days. Unfortunately, for Mr Maqubela (owner of Sakhumzi restaurant along the street) some the changes on the street like the new concrete pillars are not good for his business. He argues that they inconvenience guests or customers by preventing them from parking directly in front of his restaurant. Additionally, he noted that tourists on group tours are not spending much time strolling because the tour operators don't budget enough time for business.



Image 10: Different restaurants in Vilakazi Street, http://i.imgur.com/TwKez94.png. Accessed 29.08.2014

Due to an increased number of tourists crowding the Street, it appears that some homes were turned into bed and breakfasts, a good example being the Ekhaya Guesthouse situated directly opposite Tutu's house. The vibrantly painted enterprise promises visitors a "homely experience," says Mrs Mngomezulu (an ambitious woman who opened the arts and craft establishment in her house, a block away from

Mandela House Museum (City of Johannesburg, 2012). Regardless of the relative success of some Vilakazi Street residents, other people seem to be living a life of resistance. Evidently, two houses directly opposite Sakhumzi restaurant remains in the spot-light. The houses are dilapidated and rejected among the economic activity going on around the street. As a form of suggestion, those dilapidated stands existing along Vilakazi Street could be transformed into lavatories or information centre for visitors and tourists to keep the vibrancy in the street.

4.4. Emphases on Vilakazi Street Tourism Precinct

The vision for the future Vilakazi Street Precinct is a thriving destination attraction. It is based on its historical struggle, township heritage status, dynamic spirit and unique 'sense of a place' (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2008). The street in anticipated to draw in visitors, tourists, and students/learners from all over the globe (Image 11). This is also thought to produce economic spin-offs and prospects for local residents and initiatives. Additionally, the physical vision is of a high-quality environment that is legibility and liveable (has clear points of arrival, diverse activities, functional movement system and gives a sense of direction).



Image 11: Group of school children touring the street

The Johannesburg Development Agency (2008), mentioned in the Vilakazi Street Precinct Tourism Report that the precinct 'will be a living entity, fully integrated into the surrounding residential neighbourhood.' The documents also outlines that, the visitors' experience will lead to a life-long personal relationship with Soweto, its dynamic spirit and its role in the struggle (The Johannesburg Development Agency, 2008). From a tourist perspective, the district comprises of the Vilakazi Lodge and the Cultural Education Centre. These sub-initiatives are discussed below:

The creation of Vilakazi Street aims to effectively market and build the capacity to effectively deal with tour groups bookings. This is intended to facilitate the formation of a structure whereby the existing and future guesthouses, Bed and Breakfast in Vilakazi Street Precinct are accessible. All these work together and form an entity called the Vilakazi Lodge (The Johannesburg Development Agency, 2008). In order for the Vilakazi Street Precinct to penetrate the tour operator market, and subsequently give rise to occupancy rates in the B&BS, increase income from accommodation, and increase general spending from visitors; a centralised booking system is put in place. This type of booking system is centralised and will allow tour operators easy access to the township experience.

The Johannesburg Development Agency (2008), described basic products applied to support the Lodge proposal to be in place. Nine B&BS or guesthouses have been recorded in the Precinct. Amongst the recorded, eight of the guesthouses/B&Bs are graded by the Tourism Graded Council. However, all the nine Precinct B&BS are distributed around the eastern part of Vilakazi Precinct (The Johannesburg Development Agency, 2008). Below is the list of centralised functions set out by the Johannesburg Development Agency (2008) to be followed as soon as the "Lodge" is formed.

a) Joint marketing, including a joint pamphlet, a website, and engagement with Johannesburg Tourism Company and Gauteng
b) Tourism Association to be represented at Tourism Indaba in Durban and possibly overseas;
c) Centralized booking system;
d) Reception office, that takes responsibility for equitable allocation to individual "units" within walking distance according to a strict allocation protocol,
e) Organization of dinners and entertainment for large groups (on a commission basis),
f) Strict standards, including regular inspection, and rapid reaction to complaints.

The above mentioned challenges are thought to form part of the management system that will take charge for maintenance of standards, distribute bed-nights fairly amongst the different B&B owners, assist in organising dinners and entertainment for tour groups, as well as to help increase the profile of the Vilakazi Street Precinct as a social space.

In addition, the introduction of Vilakazi Cultural Education Centre is targeted at developing a facility for learners from Gauteng and other parts of the country (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2008). This allows pre-booked tours organised by schools for a night or nights in Soweto. At the same time whilst being educated about the struggle of the area, they also get a chance to spend their quality times in

the vicinity of Vilakazi Precinct. In this regard, visiting the museums and other historical sites, walking along the routes followed by some protestors of the June 1976 Uprising struggle within the Precinct and interact with local residents particularly, children.

In the history of Soweto and South Africa at large, the 1976 uprising is a significant milestone. However very few students of this current generation are aware of the landmark event. The Cultural Education Centre proposes that the dilapidated, unused schools be converted into accommodation facilities and space for activities. This is certainly a representation of the first serious attempt of bringing together a coherent economic programme within the region. It draws together the critical stakeholders, namely government, business, and civil society to continuously work together and reach consensus even on the most inflexible challenges associated with the implementation of the programme. Thus, continue to create awareness and empower the youth of today.

4.5. Significance of Street Art in Vilakazi Street Precinct

Artist Joseph Gaylard argues that public art plays a vital role in place-making, local development, cultural tourism and the overall regeneration of cities and regions. Johannesburg Development Agency has emphasised on creating public-works that will contribute to the new, revitalised identity of the city. Several landmarks proposals and buildings that symbolises the new Johannesburg would not exist if it was not for the funds and support provided through the Johannesburg Development Agency's Public Art Program. Examples are the artistic features on Vilakazi Street, the eland that graces the Jan Smuts Avenue, the iconic Firewalker sculpture in Newtown, the art on the Rea Vaya bust stations. All these exclusive artistic pieces have assisted to create a vibrant and intriguing Johannesburg.

It is a requirement for the City to improve the lives of those who reside within its area of responsibility, by ensuring better access to basic education, infrastructure, health, housing and social services (Johannesburg Development Agency (2003/2010). Many contend that the upgrading of such areas often ends here. On the contrary, resilience has to do with building economically vibrant neighbourhoods (Johannesburg Development Agency, 2003/2010). These neighbourhoods are diverse and distinct in urban form, structure, density, and cultural identity.

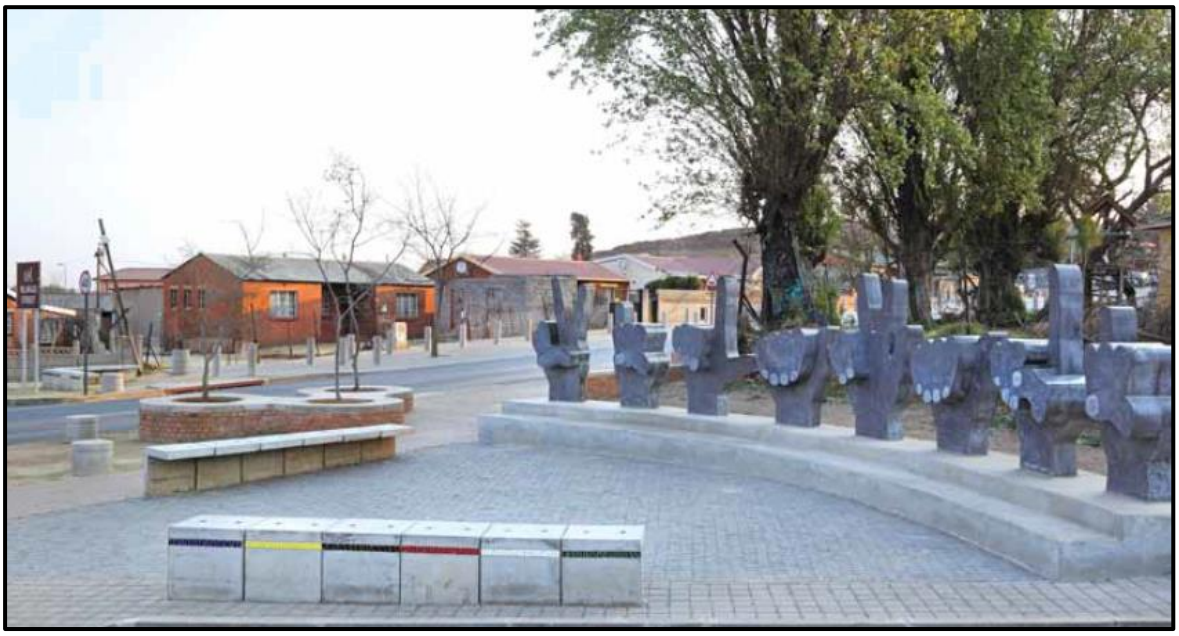


Image 12: Entrance to Vilakazi Street with hands spelling “Vilakazi” _Civil Engineering, 2011.

As indicated above in image 12 (above), eight huge, grey hands spell “Vilakazi” in sign language is situated at the start of Vilakazi Street. Another artwork is located where the entrance intersects with Khumalo Street. The hands appear all so big and bold and accessible to all residents. In addition, the ‘hands’ have now become playing objects with children taking time out climbing on them. Furthermore, other artworks include two murals. One gives a picture of the June 1976, scene of police officers and their vans, and placard-carrying schoolchildren. There are also mosaics energizing up several concrete benches on the corner of Moema Street. Down Vilakazi Street are more mosaic strips of paving. Further along the Street on corner Vilakazi and Ngakane Street is a row of bollards with decorative solid heads. Indeed, Vilakazi Street is a different place as noted by the artist Mr Ramutumbu.



Image 13: Narrative of historical events through art

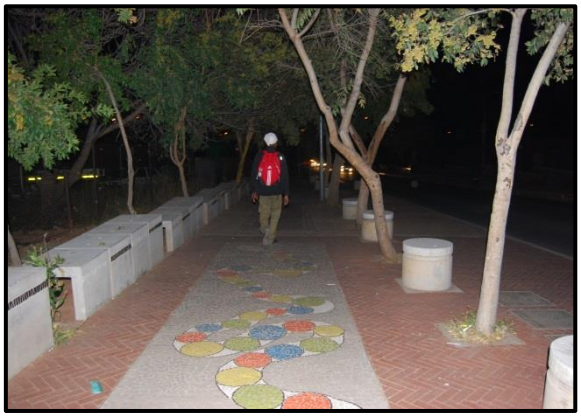


Image 14: Artistic mosaic representing an indigenous game



Image 15: Sense of place through the use of colour



Image 16: Graffiti used as a form of expression

The inclusion of artworks programme is the main element of this development (JDA, 2003/2010). This programme was aimed at creating and revealing a number of important political and historical sites. These sites often describe the historical story of the area and events such as the Soweto Uprising. As such, the artworks programme prioritises on commemorating and celebrating such individuals of the struggle, as well as the youth of the day who were influential in bringing about an essential turning point in the politics of South Africa. To date, the development process has involved a seven month workshop programme with local artists from the area. Meeting held weekly at Mbuyisa School of Arts and Culture, located on Vilakazi Street. This was in line with developing concepts and proposals towards the above-mentioned.

4.6. Interviewees Perspectives on the Production of Vilakazi Street Precinct

4.6.1. Interviewees Perspectives on the Conceived Space (Representations of Space)

The mental space, also known as conceived space is linked 'to the relations of production and the "organisation or order" (of the market and of the state) which those relations impose' and the space of scientist, planners, technocratic, sub dividers and social engineers. They often identify what is "lived" and what is "perceived" with what is "conceived". This is certainly the dominant space in any society or community (or mode of production).

For Many years the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) has been responsible for various high-profile cultural oriented urban regeneration initiatives. According to an interview with Johannesburg

Development Agency (JDA)'s assistant Development Manager, Mr Ntoyi [26.08.14]; Vilakazi Precinct Project was overseen by the Agency and guided by the vision of the future Vilakazi Street as a "thriving destination attraction, based on its struggle history, township heritage, vibrant spirit and distinctive sense of place." Already, there was an idea or conceptualisation of what the Street should achieve and the rest were put into place in collaboration with other stakeholders in pursuit of the Johannesburg vision to exist as a World Class African City. Thus Johannesburg is branded as a World Class African City.

It was not long ago Mr Ntoyi was involved in the Vilakazi Street Project. "I am not going to steal the lime light," he articulates. The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) began a project of upgrading Vilakazi Street in 2009 and completed it in May 2010. "It is evident that the innovative and creative touches and infrastructure upgrades have turned Vilakazi Street into a proper tourist precinct…" Mr Ntoyi [26.08.14] declares unassumingly. Indeed, space is treated as a mirror of society shaped through the social processes and practices of economies, culture, history and politics. Thus, for Mr Ntoyi [26.08.14], "tourism, the heritage and great history" motivated the design of Vilakazi Precinct. Adding on to that, this has contributed to the employment creation for locals and brought to light the possibilities of Soweto at large.

Ideally, Lefebvre (1991:34) argues that "spatial practice is lived directly before it is conceptualised or conceived." What he means by this is that, spatial symbols that the planners or designers use to produce conceived spaces should be distilled from life stories (historical symbolism) and messages of people's lived experiences. This could be a consequence of long-term appropriation of the spatial context, to be understood through the pulse of life and time when their sincerity 'successfully decodes the social order into territorial reality' (Harvey, 1990). However, with regard to Vilakazi Street, the tentative superiority of the conceived space over the lived space will cause the spatial practice to disappear along with daily practices and so does little justice to the lifeless level of the lived experience. Therefore, it becomes apparent what is lived and perceived is of secondary importance compared to what is conceived. "When it comes to a township, any development is mostly noticed and the product of development is marketing itself," Mr Ntoyi [26.08.14], laments. This is why Vilakazi Street was only realised long after the apartheid government ended.

The new elected government carried out further resurgence to meet the needs of a developing economy and inclusive public spaces were conceived in Orlando West, enabling the general public to 'appropriate' them as lived spaces. One can argue that Vilakazi Street was conceptualised as a 'living museum'. Evidently, the project attempted to negotiate the desires of locals and tourist alike,

integrating sites of rich historical value with the everyday activities of the street. The introduction of new systems of mapping (through technology) and curated implementation of public art, layered neighbourhood narratives are revealed through landscaping, street furniture, signage and surface treatment.

According to Mr Ntoyi [26.08.14], 'an area with a structured responsive public art policy and program often sets trends for ways of seeing the built environment, its social spaces and cultural identity.' On the global level these creates a competitive edge and construct an aura of attraction to place with distinct culture, art, architecture and public space. "The project was the first of its kind, where community artists and local residents were fully engaged in the development and design of the precinct. By the look and the feeling as opposed to professionals dictating how space should be used. Artists were taught new skills through various workshops. They were exposed to employment opportunities and those artists that were chosen to make work for the precinct will now have a good portfolio…," Mr Ramutumbu states.

Conceived Space (perception)	Control of space	Use of Space	Production of Space
	• Hierarchy of developments • Regional Culture • Prohibited Spaces	• Mental maps of occupied space • Spatial hierarchies • Symbolic representation of space	• New systems of mapping • Visual representation and communication etc. • New artistic and architectural discourses • Use of signs and symbols

Table 1: Reflections of the conceived space from interviews

Clearly, as far as conceivers of space lay a foundation or plan and occupants of space continue to bring life and meaning into that plan, the meaning constructed often diverge from that which the conceiver has imagined. This process shows that conceivers of space will never completely be post-modern enough in their planning approaches, because occupants of space will always identify the gaps (gaps between the control of space, use of space and the product of space) evident through sort of relationships they create with and meanings attached to space. Thus Vilakazi Street evolves and people will always find new gaps to fill- creating hybrid spaces.

4.6.2. Interviewees Perspectives on the Perceived Space (Spatial Practice)

According to Lefebvre (1991:38), 'spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space. It is the existences of spatial practices (physical space) that give structure to everyday activities within the wide extend of socio-economic context. As witnessed along Vilakazi Street, spatial practices ensure continuity and a positive level of cohesion for a certain degree of competence as well as, an explicit level of performance of every society members' social relationship in space. Such a space turns to be exposed through the making sense of and interpretations of its space; in this case, Vilakazi Street.

Eleven business representatives and six tourists out of thirty-five interviewees were randomly selected and questioned. These business representatives were mostly restaurant managers and street vendors. And the tourists were from different countries around the world; with two out of the six from South Africa. The reasoning behind their decision to locate or visit Vilakazi Street Precinct, according to the various business representatives represents the satisfaction and suitability of the Street as a location. As a common respond pertaining to the above asked question, many saw an opportunity for business, potential to meet tourists and to showcase their talents through art and crafts sales. Mr Mphofu [24.08.14] an attendant at the Mandela Family Restaurant says that "the availability of clients, different activities taking place and the opportunity to cater traditional food to locals and international visitors attracted us to the site."

From the tourists' perspective, the research discovered similar but different varying responses. These responses indicate a common interest everyone has behind visiting a place such as Vilakazi Precinct Street. Three out of the six saw Vilakazi Street as a location where opportunities are embedded and created as they find out more about the history of the area. The respondents' choice of walking passed Vilakazi Street resulted in the discovery of the rich history within the area, with emphasis to Mandela House. The house is one of the biggest tourist attractions in the city, drawing visitors such as heads of states from abroad and local residents seeking a glance into the former elder statesman's early life.

The Johannesburg Development Agency and its partners have emphasised on creating public-artworks that contributes to the new, revitalised identity of the city. The artwork placed in Vilakazi Street can be a representation of a concept or an idea by an artist, or a statement by the city to its inhabitants and visitors, or it can be a collective statement of a community about its own context. "As an artist you can always be inspired by different cultures," Mr Ramutumbu [24.08.14] says modestly. The incorporation of Street art on Vilakazi Street Precinct narrates the story of its birth and struggles and even creates the shared ownership and support.

Vilakazi Street appears to be steeped in struggle history (CoJ, 2011). Altered into a precinct, the Street has fully become visitor- friendly, with grand public art, dedicatory plaques, and benches (street furniture) picking out its historical sites. The scheme to revitalise the site and capture the memory took a step with heritage as the guide and standardised the former unplanned structures. This included the preparations of landscaping, paving, kerb, signage and greenery. These are basically the main pillars of social production of the precinct. They offer platform for exercising the spatial activities associated and attracting investments to the site for further developments.

Social practices in Vilakazi Street unfolds in a spatial context and contribute thus to its production. Therefore from the respondents' perspectives, social practices are not only contextualised but also structure their context, modifying it or at least participating in a dynamic movement that may lead to its transformation. The upgrading of Vilakazi Street has offered an opportunity through engineering, to strike an appropriate balance between providing globally benchmarked infrastructure, while maintaining the history and heritage that is characteristic to the Vilakazi Street Precinct. The reproduction and transformation of social practices has implications for patterns of consumption and for institutions and infrastructures associated with them.

a) Spaces of Desire

The question asked here is to envision how the Street will be like in the next five years to come. This question has received several tentative but positive and negative responses regarding the direction of growth the Street is taking. This says a lot about the gap between the plans of the area and how the people see it. For others Vilakazi Street endures images of other well-known streets despite the characteristics of being in a township. Whereas Mrs Chabedi [24.08.14], sees the 'Long Street of Soweto;' Mrs Motau [25.08.14], (the local visual artist) perceives the next Rocky Street, Melville (Anonymous one) or Time Square of Soweto. Anonymous two mentioned that if the growth is not attended to, or well managed the Street may lose its meaning. "It is almost on the same decree with Maboneng District, but slowly getting there," Mr Ntoyi [26.08.14] boldly states.

The development of the Street is thought to be out of control. Mr Ntoyi [26.08.14] argues that such a growth was not anticipated to be this rapid, reflecting a sense of mixed feelings. Moreover, without second thoughts, majority of the people of Vilakazi Street recognize a Street littered with chains of restaurants and potential economic tourism growth. This observation has also led to a number of local residents renting out their properties or converting them into businesses. Mr Ramanugu [24.08.14] a

street vendor states that “all I see in the next five years is a business space; the place of commodities.” He mentions that this is undeniably going to change the face of Soweto because people are moving out and every year a restaurant is opened.

As for existing businesses, Mr Gondwe (the manager of Vilakazi Restaurant) foresees an increased competitive advantage. He implies that to adapt to change, many will have to keep on upgrading their businesses [01.08.14]. While he emphasises the possibilities of a high technological advancement (Wi-Fi connections etc.); he also advocated for local participation as vital. Additionally, Mr Mokoena (the manager of Thrive Restaurant) also urges spatial management to be encouraged to avoid the ‘death or loss of heritage, meaning and vibrancy’ of the Street [21.08.14]. Sadly one saw a number of young school kids evade classes during school hours performing indigenous activities for tourists in return of money. What kind of production forgets about the futures of young school kids over the arrival of tourists? Thus Lefebvre (1991:40), cautions that this kind of approach will lose ‘all forces if it is treated as an abstract “model”… if it cannot grasp the concrete.’



Image 17: School children approaching a group of tourists



Image 18: School Children performing for tourists

“I really hope the rapid development of the Street does not take away from us in case legislation changes and our stalls are neglected…” Mr Marite [01.08.14] (street vendor) says with tenderness. For Mr Hlatswayo [31.07.14] the level of tourists’ tolerance from local residents might depreciate. “Where are the Vilakazi people?” he repeatedly asks. The curious Lefebvre also asks if the production is such a ‘matter of life and death’, if so the ‘why do the people of Vilakazi Street allow themselves to be manipulated in ways so damaging to their spaces and their daily life without taking off on massive revolts? Why is protest left to “progressive,” and hence elites, groups who find themselves in any case, largely exempt from this manipulations? For this reason, silence of the “user” is indeed problematic and it is the entire problem.

Perceived Space/ Material Spatial Practices (Experience)	Control of space	Use of Space	Production of Space
	• Exclusive communities and neighbourhoods • Exclusionary zoning and other forms of social control (policing and surveillance • Administrative divisions of space	• Social networks of communication and mutual aid • Land uses and built environment • Social spaces (including open spaces)	• Physical infrastructures such as public transportation, communications and technology) • Territorial organisation of social infrastructures (both formal and informal activities)

Table 2: Reflections of the perceived space from interviews

4.6.3. Interviewees Perspectives on the Lived Space (Representational Space)

Understanding of the physical setting of Vilakazi Street was achieved by interviewing twelve local residents selected at random. The question on how they would describe the street right now has received positive response and uncertainties on the future of the street. All questions posed to the local residents help understand how the influences have shaped and continue to shape and improve the living conditions in the township of Soweto, especially Vilakazi Street and its inhabitants.

Five out of the twelve noted that Vilakazi Street is the busiest Street filled with tourists from all over the world. According to the local resident Mr Mbere [26.08.14] who has been living in the area for 57 years now, argues that the "rich history and open doors of opportunities have given meaning to the street." In contrast, Mr Ncgobo [24.08.14] who has 47 years living in the area describes the Street in two ways. Firstly as chaotic due to poor planning by the officials- emphasising on the lack of parking spaces for cars that cause traffic on the street and the BRT system (Bus Rapid Transit) that passes on the site is problematic. Secondly it is adventurous to the community uplifting, emphatically saying "management system strategies can be better if introduced." Conversely, Mrs Pule of the Engineering and Development Officer states that the introduction of the Rea Vaya Bus along Vilakazi Street was an initiative to link the area to various other parts of Soweto [27.08.14].

This could mean the City has rationally been planning and organising society. This could have been feasible with the help of knowledge and technology, besides destruction of 'the social and cultural spheres'. This means coming up with holistic approaches to reduce conflicts and uncertainties. As it seems, the ultimate goal was to provide the total of space 'with exchange principles' (Lefebvre, 1991:337).

In addition, four out of the six tourists said that they describe the street as the famous, tourist focused Street in South Africa. Mr Mahlatsi [24.08.14], as an artist describes the street as "a vibrant place which is spiritually uplifting." To him it is a good market place for artists and for socialising although it blossoming. Hence, with a historical focus in mind, Mr Hlatswayo [31.07.14], proudly states that "Vilakazi Street is one of the best streets to facilitate the history and the futures of Soweto and South Africa in particular."

Moreover, kilometres away from Mandela Family Restaurant, is Nambitha Restaurant located in the tranquil environment of Orlando West on the peak of Vilakazi Street. It has been twelve years since Nambitha welcomed people through its doors, setting the benchmark for upmarket eatery in Soweto, which at the time, was never heard of. Known for "serving soul food recipes, that were created by Mama Vilakazi (the co-founder soul), and a touch of the a la carte menu, and not forgetting the soft music playing in the midst of it all, makes Nambitha an ideal venue for Sunday gatherings" Mr Masango (Nambitha Restaurant Manager) expressively laments. Without a shadow of doubt, Mr Mthetwa [24.08.14], the Nex-Dor Restaurant manager agrees that choice of music plays a major role especially on busy days like Sundays which he calls "a chilling session" for visitors, where they sit, drink and eat as well be able to understand each other without yelling.

Local Resident Mama Khumalo has more than twenty years living in the area. Through time, she decided to convert her home into a Spaza shop serving visitors with the 'Kasi' food such as amaghwinya (fat cakes), Kota (African bunny- chow) and various other traditional African foods; as well as educating them about the local culture. In addition to that, Mrs Adoor who owns a hair salon along the Street argues that despite the lack of support from the visitors, Vilakazi Street is still a nice place to relax. "It feels like a blessing, because of what has happened to Tata Nelson Mandela and it is also an honour to be part of the history in the present day" she says.

Unlike any business development, it all began with a group of friends, beers and one very special tree. The tree became their gathering spot as it offered shade during hot days and moreover, a place where dreams and ideas were shared as friendships were created. As the days went passed, dumpies ran dry and hunger kicked in, the whiff of mouth-watering home-cooked meal ensnared people gathering by the tree into Sakhumzi's home. The legend, found himself having to share his evening meal every time. Willingly, everyone had to put money together for drinks and the food were freely shared.

Later in the years Sakhumzi decided to "formalise the shebeen and trade as he does today…" narrates Mr Williams a waiter at Sakhumzi Restaurant. The lounge became an eating area, which soon spilled over into the bed rooms and every part of the house. Accordingly, with the complete renovations and a service to offer, Sakhumzi Restaurant was born in 2001. Now Thirteen years later, the old home is still vibrant with both the local and international people to experience a taste of true township flavour and Ubuntu.

The question pertaining to the portrayal of the Street has resulted in varying responds. Two out of twelve respondents noted that the street feels like a suburb, so peaceful and accommodating to everyone. "The minute one gets to the street, you have this feeling; you kind of forget all your problems. The street consists of well-behaved people and honestly, you don't have to be in Sandton once here" Mrs Adoor [01.08.14], says assertively. According to Nambitha Restaurant Manager. Vilakazi Street is the "entertainment hub of Soweto." This is evident due to the different cultural expressions that make the street more vibrant and internationally exposed. Similarly five out of the eleven representatives mentioned that the Street is the busiest in terms of business, flee-markets stands to add variety and attracts attention and traffic. "This is the busiest Street I have ever known" certainly says street vendor Mr Zulu [01.08.14]. For Mr Marite (street vendor), it is a "well established street which increases opportunity costs and complements something about the street and the country at large."

"Vilakazi Street is a gold mine…" says the manager at Thrive Restaurant. He further states boldly that the history of the Street carries more value than the money made on daily basis. "Personally, I adore the Street" he fondly adds. From the above mentioned, without the shadow of doubt that the Street is still up and coming, the manager at Vilakazi Restaurants sees an increase in opportunities for local residents and visitors as more and more businesses locate, giving the street a title as the "premium precinct." Moreover, the presence of Street vendors brings a balance in terms of choice, and the African taste, through their arts and craft sales.

a) Type of Culture Introduced

According to an American Cultural anthropologist, Clyde Kluckhohn the term culture is described as a 'complete design for living,' the entire way of life of people and even as the 'learned behaviour'. Basically, it is the main and pivotal meaning in social interaction. Thus, cultural patterns are mechanisms for the perceptions, understanding, judgement and manipulation of the world. Additionally, Hare in Sennet (1990:130) denotes cultural patterns provide a 'blue print' for the organisation of social and psychological processes. As Charles Baudelaine; the French Poet observed, the modern city can transform people outwards, not inwards and rather than totality. The city can introduce them to the experience of otherness (visitors/tourists). He argues that the power of the city is to reorient people in this way lies in the diversity; in the presence of different, people at least have the possibility to step outside themselves. This is what Vilakazi Street Precinct has introduced to its people.

The question asked here was what kind of culture do they think is been introduced in the Street. This question was directed to both local residents (twelve) and tourists (six). The question received varied responds. This shows individuality and how each respondent has a different understanding of culture and its role in societies.

Six out of the sixteen respondents argue Vilakazi Street reflects more of the African Culture. "The choice of food supplied, hand-made crafts sold and type of activities that represent the African Culture, it's all African to me," observably states Mr Nkosi [24.08.14] a grade seven learner attending at a local school along the Street. In contrast, people like Mr Ngwenya and Mr Mahlatsi see more of the Western Culture which is slowly but surely dominating the neighbourhoods of Vilakazi Street. This is actually more characteristic of the Middle class, typically with reference to its perceived materialistic values or conventional altitudes and architectural designs (as indicated in image 5). "The introduction of wining and dining, the type of architectural designs is just so bourgeois," laments Mr Ngwenya [12.07.14].

As for the others, the 'Africannes' and the 'Western Cultures' are inseparable. They are actually combined and moulded with variety of other cultures. This is characteristic of what Bhabha (1994) describes as a hybrid culture, the mixture different cultures, which a more representative of the post-modernist developments. Mrs Monakwane [01.08.14], a local resident perceivably mentions that, this kind of culture is inclusive to otherness. "Everyone is accommodated and continues to introduce more at the same time," she says. Wretchedly, Mr Ncgobo sees a confused culture. "People do not understand who they are anymore; they are fuelled by political systems which is not a recent thing…

but from long ago" he speaks out. The pang of gloom by the look on his face, the researcher was longing for words to comment but decided to pay attention for more. The vibrations of his nostalgic comment kept the researcher wondering, whose culture is really represented? And whose interests are met?

The seemingly 'objective' and 'neutral' plans (the conceived spaces) provide simply 'a tool of thought and of action', 'a means of production' and ' a means of control, of domination, of power, as Lefebvre (1991:45) explains. As the respondents have mentioned above, the lived spaces, spaces wherever concrete daily activities seem to take place, are just boxed in, disrupted and forgotten, if not uneven or shattered. Lefebvre (1991) informs us about the interference of the institutional (academic) knowledge. He states that it sets itself above lived experiences, 'calamity is in the offing' (Lefebvre, 1991: 413).This is the reason why he challenges the experts with the subsequent questions: "Whence does the representation of space derive? Whose interests are served when the plan becomes operational"? (Lefebvre, 1991:44). Consequently he also insists on the reconstruction of spatial codes or symbols. With hope, he avers for the recovery of knowledge that refuses to acknowledge power and pushes for the real task of the experts (planners or designers) to uncover and stimulate demand even at the risk of their insecurity in the face of obligation of oppressive and repressive commands (Lefebvre, 1991: 64).

With the application of Lefebvrean lens, we are reminded that the dominated space is space with use values (capital and resources). On that thought, they are other forces on the boil, since the rationality of the state, of its practices, plans and agendas aggravates conflict. In the latter, the opposition may be defeated, but it lives on, fighting back from time to time to reclaim and change itself through struggle. However, if the residents with the natural right of appropriation take up the challenge and demand an innermost role in decision making in every production of space. Through this, people like Mr Ncgobo may directly challenge the political-economic relationships that are at the centre of establishing and maintaining the price (of a commodity) of the township space. The question, on the other hand is, when is it the right time when people summon up their lived spaces/ places and set ahead their demands against the imposition of conceived spaces by the market is not the experts? (Healey, 2007).

Lived Space (Imagination)	Control of space	Use of Space	Production of Space
	• Spaces of fear	• Open spaces • Sense of a place	• Spaces of desire • Imaginary landscapes

	• Symbolic barriers and symbolic capital • Construction of tradition • Controlled spaces • Unfamiliarity	• Places of popular spectacle • Graffiti, advertising and public art • Place like home • Familiarity	• Utopian plans • Artists' sketches and designs • Traditions of space and place • Everyday experiences

Table 3: Reflections of the lived space from interviews

4.7. Individual Reflections

Just food for thought: is the image 17 below a representation of a work or a product? Clearly, products have replaced the work of the city. The landscape of Soweto indicates such production as a reflection of the modernist history. While it was still "progressive" it increasingly saw traditional forms and traditional social arrangements as hindering progress, and therefore the artist was recast as a revolutionary progress, overthrowing rather than enlightening. Clearly, art always attempts to 'imitate' or represent reality; what changes is our understanding of what constitutes reality, and how that reality can best be represented.



Image 19: Landscape of Soweto: http://blog.sa-venues.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/vilakazi-street.jpg. Accessed 30.09.14

The area of Soweto only existed as an object, conceived as a space of control and platform for exercising power. This intensified Soweto as a struggle center for the black population. As indicative of the obsessive management system from above (government), this had a great impact on the economy, service delivery and education (factors of social production), which undermines the sense of place, identity and communications. This intensification gave rise to a space of contestations against the apartheid government rule. As time passed, the image of Soweto was redefined to being a space of independence and isolation.

Soweto was once a place of fear, paranoia and the object of virtuous resentment over the conditions of coercion to those who inhibited the space. The black majority lived in a city where land uses, vehicles, ethnicities, races, women, children, and men were in Howe's (1986) understanding 'over- planned'. The very disorder that existed, the pain and chaos of the township evoked the ideal alternative: the rational city. As far as Soweto is concerned, the expectation of the place, in Howe's (1986) observation there was no renaissance of the stability of the township, of the importance of streets and open spaces, of building regulations, transportation, physical foundations which support the social life. In essence, planning came as a response to the confusions of modernist planning approaches in Soweto. This according to Beuregard (1989) was both a responsive model of capitalism, and a challenge to the worst surplus of the forced of privatisation.

From a no-go area to a must-go area, the meaning and image of Vilakazi Street has changed. As noted by Bremmer (2004), Soweto that was once an isolated and closed off township. It is today a site of multiple identities, moving in many directions all at once. Vilakazi Street became recognized as a potential heritage site after 1994. The regeneration of this Street created a sense of community and place, which is significant of the post-modern planning. In addition, it has given Vilakazi Street, Soweto an identity to local cultures that were ignored by modernism. The Street is fashioned, moulded to shape and invested by variety of social activities. Below are the notable dynamics of social production of Vilakazi Street.

a) Landscape: The landscape is the green part of the city that intertwines throughout in the form of urban parks, street trees, flowers and water features in many forms. Vilakazi Street is trimmed with lines trees that help it breathe. It assists define the character and beauty of an area and creates soft, contrasting spaces and elements.

b) Streets: Vilakazi Street is part of the veins of the Soweto. It connect between spaces, and places as well as being spaces themselves. The Streets is defined by its physical dimension and

character as well as the size, scale and the character of the buildings that line them. Noteworthy, the pattern of the Street network is part of what makes each city or pace unique.

c) Buildings: Buildings are the most prominent elements of spatial production (urban design). They shape and articulate space by creating the street-walls of a place. Thus well designed buildings (reflecting both modernist and post-modernist designs) and groups of buildings function together to create the sense of place. The availability restaurants and street traders introduces choice and difference to the site.

d) Deconstructionist architecture: This is developed by Derrida (2004) in the study of literature or philosophy which says that a piece of writing does not have just one meaning and that the meaning depends on the reader. So as spatial interpretation which depends entirely on the user. This type of architecture has its origins in a program of social and political change of Vilakazi Street. Although the name may suggest a purely negative operation, both Derrida (2004) himself and the majority of the original deconstructionist architects such as those contracted to develop Vilakazi Street were motivated by a desire to implement architectural responses to the hierarchical structures of social power inscribed in the built environment. Deconstructionist architecture used architecture as a means of, if not resolving, at least revealing and disrupting the inertial effect that architectural space has on the social order along the Street. It is clear, architectural deconstructions have gone beyond the mere negation of traditional forms, but introduce some kind of positive social transformation as well (design of restaurants and some dwellings).

e) Public Space: Indeed, Vilakazi Street has become Soweto's living room. Such a great public space is where different people come together to enjoy themselves. Therefore, is known for being inclusive to otherness and making high quality life in this township possible. Day in day out, I have witnessed the formation of the stage and backdrop to the drama life of Vilakazi Street. It is worth it.

f) Transport: Transport systems connect parts of cities or neighbourhoods and help shape them, as well as enable movement throughout the city. In order to form the total movement system; they include road, rail, bicycle and pedestrian network. What helps define the quality and character of a place is the balance between the above mentioned transport systems. Sometimes these various systems are either friendly or hostile to pedestrians. Despite dominance given to mobility on Vilakazi Street, it still remains among the ones that elevate the

experience of the pedestrian (wideness of pavements). For example; the Bus Rapid Transit System (Rea Vaya bus) passes through Vilakazi Street as a way of linking it to the rest of the township and other places. "This is what has been done to link the Street to other parts of Soweto" says Mrs Pule [27.08.14] the Engineering and Development Controller at Johannesburg Road Agency (JDA).

g) Art and Culture: This has enhanced the creative abilities of people from which all other aspects of life gradually benefit: creativity, innovation, imagination, intuition are skills of utmost importance for the future. In this sense, culture not only enriches the quality of life in Soweto (Vilakazi Street), but also increases the probabilities of a person in creating or finding employment. Therefore the encouragement of culture by townships, cities, regions and the country at large, as a public policy serving both development and social targets, has become imperative of our times. Thus is what cultural planning could enhance and benefit societies.

In addition, the case study has reminded us that the way we circulate ourselves and make sense of our environments results in the creation of spaces (third space). Spaces are not only assumed or ordinary, but is moulded through time and produced by social experiences. The case study of Vilakazi Street has provided that, such spaces are social and technical, even psychological accomplishments. Whereas time remains spatial because space can be socially constructed, the notion of space remains progressive as we move through it. It is through space that the people of Vilakazi Street Precinct are capable of addressing time (in terms of changing landscape). However, time also exists to activate our spaces, occasionally changing them by challenging perceptions of their limitations (Tschumi, 2000:19). Through interviews, Vilakazi Street reflected struggles over meaning of space and considers how relations across places were given cultural meaning. This exposed the gaps between the conceived and perceived spaces, which people always find a way to bridge by creating the third space.

The old adage that says "It is hard to be down when you are up" fits really well for planners. In other words, it is difficult to produce a design that captures the conditions of the society, city or policy; as well as meet the demands of each of the inhabitants experiencing the challenges society is mobilised to process at once. This means, it is hard to be scopic, comprehensive, instantaneous and individually responsive; at the same time. These gaps continue to reflect in cities of today which is problematic.

The research has presented those characters about globalisation as a 'lived space' is structured around the vision of the area or city life through branding. It also acknowledges the reflexive dimensions of global practices characterised by an integration of economies, industries, markets, cultures and policy-

making around the world. However, continue to raise questions about how certain conceptions of what globalisation refers to have been applied and mobilised. The research takes a stand when it gained momentum by examining the tracery that envelopes or set apart in the lived experience. It remains the patterns of fluctuating consumption, in the shifts of community, in social environments and indeed the changes in production itself as witnessed.

It argues for planning to be thought spatially not as a conceptualisation of relations within boundaries of non-representational space, but as both the cross-examination and affirmative interventions of such construct, such as the production of space. However, just as planning practice offered plans that replicated and legitimated the relations of power found in the capitalist city, they also served to challenge the excess to capitalism. Planning as a mode of expression symbolises the inconsistencies of capitalism and a response to the turmoil of the 'the wild-city' such relations of production produce.

During the past year, globalisation primarily focused on the economic side of world, such as trade, international capital flows, and foreign direct investments. Recently the idea has expanded to include broader range of focus and activities such as media, technology, and culture, socio-cultural, political, even biological factors such as climate change. This increases the importance of marketing and producing other forms of production activities in the networked society.

It is apparent from the case study; most societies find difficulty in functioning without any fictions, myths, ethics or underlying beliefs. As Barnett (1989:262) denotes, "cultures and societies are significant for their ability to work successfully on the basis of myths, fictions, false principles and misconceptions." Thus the truth remains unknown and supported materially by a variety of practices and institutions. Discourse signifies one of the domains in which truth is produced and reproduced. Drawing on Foucault, Mills (2003) has noted that discourse is the general domain of all statements that are made, have meanings, and some sort of effects to the receiver or audience.

4.7. Conclusion

The production of Vilakazi street studied how new systems of land use, transport, territorial organisations and network communications are produced. It also observed how new modes of representation, for example; computerized mapping or design, technology, arise. As Harvey (1990) puts it 'individual agents' spatial practices belong more to the use and control of spaces (indicated in table 1, 2 and 3).

The represented tables (1, 2 & 3) portray a shifting experience of space in the history of modernism and post modernism. Moreover, spatial practices derive their effectiveness in social life only through the structures of social relations within which they are recognized. Under social relations of capitalism for example, the spatial practices indicated in tables (1, 2 & 3) above become saturated with class meaning.

Vilakazi Street appears to be a vital case of this social production. It is a living space in which the physical space is dependent on. The social production (social, political and economic) varies with the dimensions of houses, usage of other streets, age of buildings and even the colours of the houses which gives it the modern look. Thus innovative thinking should be a priority when dealing with developments targeted at economic growth. As noted by Richard Florida in the Rise of the Creative Class, the growth of the economy in the region is driven by the location choices of creative people who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant, and open to new ideas. One argues that this approach will minimise the cut and paste approach to developments. Evidently, the JDA works hard to renew underdeveloped areas and avoid exclusive identities in societies. The addition of public art's purpose is to strengthen these sites and improve user appearance, truly creating a 'place.'

The chapter's concern is on the cultural significance of the upgrade. It does not represent anything African or local except for the presence of street vendors who offer a touch of arts and crafts that allows one to travel with the memory. The self-appropriation and adaptation by the local residents within the street is also tentative, undermining the representational element of Vilakazi Street.

Additionally, Van der Westhuizen (2005) presupposes spatial practices (perceived) as the use for gestures, sensory, hands and designs. This is through the art and craft sales, precinct designs and public art on the site. Representations of space (conceived) which describes the representation of the place sourced from physical understandings and scientific knowledge, as well as the relation with nature (Lefebvre, 1991: 38); moreover, the Representational space (lived experience) which expresses bodies infused with culture and symbolism through individual experience.

The study has proven that for areas like Vilakazi Street, where cultural, economic and social relations have interwoven a place, as a social product. Vilakazi Street, a space which is fashioned, shaped and invested by social activities during a fixed historical era. It is evident that as these forces of production are taking place, they are taking over pre-existing space or empty space. Taking into consideration the everyday life, Bilgic (2013) states that space is not only a product of material, but also a production of

space which is affected by several factors such as place, culture, fabric, texture and space itself, to name a few. Thus this chapter has unpacked the different aspects the social production of Vilakazi Street.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION TO PLANNING AS A MODE OF EXPRESSION

"Cities are an invention of society, of what the society believes it to be, especially through space and time. We experience cities; primarily through our 'sense' of space. All our consciousness is grounded in spatial experiences" (Borden et al 2001: 8).

5.1. Introduction to Planning as a Mode of Expression

This research report's core objective was to explore the dynamics of social production within the social space of Vilakazi Street Precinct and how those dynamics have contributed to the needs of existing local communities. The most important part of this study was to examine the consequences of the (social) production of the Street. Lefebvre's framework on the 'Production of Space,' has helped understand how this influence has shaped and continue to shape and improve living conditions in the township of Soweto, especially Vilakazi Street and its local residents.

There are certain challenges that need to be recognised and overcome in order to give effect to the social production of Vilakazi Street as a social space. The study has discovered a number of challenges that relate to strategies, applications, as well as, social and spatial practices of production of space. These challenges have been presented throughout the four chapters of the study as they have not only challenged the understanding of Vilakazi Street as a social product but also challenged the social practice contributing to an effective social production in newly developed or regenerated spaces in townships (including other areas). Before, providing solutions to challenges, one first outlines those challenges of the everyday experience. This will be presented in the first section. The second section will make use of a conceptual framework with recommendations to address solutions to the challenges of social production of space and forecasting futures trends. The third section outlines the need for further research thus a concluding note that ties everything together, integrate and synthesize the various issues raised in the discussion sections whilst reflecting the introductory thesis objectives.

5.2. Challenges of the Dynamics of Vilakazi Street as a Social Product

The dynamics of social production of space are explored and discussed with case study of Vilakazi Street and its historical neighbourhoods by focusing on the conceived, perceived and lived experiences. The conceptual diagram of the study was analysed by inspecting its components which are described as social, economic (depending on production relationship) and culture from the modernist and post-modernist perspectives. Therefore, depending on the analyses, it is important to indicate that Vilakazi Street and its neighbourhoods are unique for sample of social, physical formation, which has different characters of township texture. Vilakazi Street's collective life has been formed in accordance with production and social relations that were explored in chapter four.

The notable challenges include:

a) Poor public policy interventions to manage gentrification
b) Global economic development overpowering local economic development
c) Ineffective design and architecture that reflect the South African context
d) Destruction of noticeable cultural heritage and parts of the historic urban landscape
e) Lack of emotional and cultural value in social spaces
f) Challenge of managing and organizing creativity in the cultural economy.
g) Lack of cultural planning

Poor Public Policy Interventions to Manage Gentrification

Existing policies that encourage some form of residential integration as part of the gentrification or redevelopment process are ideally promising. However, more effort of the gentrification process is required. This will bridge the potential social gap between older and newer residents, establish a sense of community among them, and provide a choice to older existing renters and homeowner of any income to remain in their homes. One suggests more structured policy alternatives to provide assistance and empower original land holders and renters. These solution will essentially assist those vulnerable of being priced out of their homes due to rising rental prices and increasing property taxes. Rather an introduction of rent control in gentrifying neighbourhoods can help low-income renters to remain in their neighbourhoods. These suggested operational solutions are to be viewed carefully as it may assist to maintain the affordability of some of these homes, although they provide little solution in reducing the gap among the old and the new residents. Thus policymakers and advocates must take

steps to ensure that redevelopments are truly inclusive through opening doors of communication between the old and the new and involving community members in the decision making processes.

Global economic development overpowering local economic development

From the interviews conducted it is apparent that the production of Vilakazi Street, like in other cities, is threatened by globalisation which continues to foster social polarisation, exclusion and spatial segregation to those who do not have the means to participate. The same is expressed in sub-urbanisation and inner city decay. As government intervention, regeneration programmes have been implemented as part of a general trend of societal change, balance and production of Vilakazi Street as a social space continues to favour private interests which are often misinterpreted in a township context. Such combined effects of privatisation of space and the threat of social fragmentation in Vilakazi Street pose serious threat for the future of Orlando West, particularly Soweto. Despite improvements in infrastructure and the gloss of middle-class living suggested by the increasing spread of retail businesses, economic stratification remains unchanged.

It is argued here that a well-integrated economic efficiency is achieved when society has secured best allocation of its limited resources in a sense that maximum possible satisfaction is achieved. The contribution of urban design/planning to this problem has been the promotion of urban public space as nodes for social integration. This happens to fit very well with the change of economic base from industrial to the service sector which requires new forms of production and consumption of space.

Ineffective Design and Architecture that Reflect the South African Context

According to Van Der Westhuizen (2005), architecture is produced and reproduced, experienced and designed. He argues that such architecture is at once temporal, spatial and social. The main design objective is to include the notion of space as a social production in the Township or the city context. Space is treated as a mirror of society produced through the social processes, political and economic practices. One of the respondents mentioned that the architecture of newly developed buildings distort the spatial significance and understanding of local culture as they give a different meaning of confusion within the township context. This needs attention and new design interventions that are more South African and fits the context that applying the cut and paste approaches to development.

Destruction of Noticeable Cultural Heritage and Parts of the Historical Urban Landscape

Spaces of opportunities are often challenged by economic pressures (flooding of street traders and increase in restaurant infrastructures). This is usually a result of appropriate structure and lack of

extension possibilities for business and economic activities. Economic pressures tend to overlap the noticeable cultural heritage and parts of the historical landscape.

Lack of Emotional and Cultural Value in Social Spaces

Throughout history, urban public space has always played a significant role in the social life of cities. But, they have also proven a loss of significance and are no longer the main nodes of all social networks. For example, Newtown precinct. They are general patterns that will shift as cultures and contexts shifts. Change in technology, increase in population, and specialisation of activities have led to a fragmentation of functions and inadequate sense of place. It is argued here that Vilakazi Street is a space of sheer commodity. This is because, it is slowly stripped of its emotional and cultural value, which is developed through people's use over time. This becomes a safe return to the investors' investment on the site and contribute less to the empowerment of local communities

Treating the design of Vilakazi Street precinct as merely offering an aesthetic experience, is in line with marketing the township and a new attention to townships by capital markets. In this context, social space like Vilakazi Street, can once again play an active role in improving the township life. The development of Vilakazi Street thus promote spatial enclosures which is also positively defined and accommodate variety of people and activities. Creating these inclusive nodes in other townships may be a positive step towards reducing the potential conflicts arising from different interpretation and expectation of social spaces, and in encouraging an urbanism of tolerance and social cohesion to benefit the local residents.

Challenge of Managing and Organising Creativity in the Cultural Economy

The analysis of the challenge of managing and organising creativity in the cultural economy centres on issues of governance, business strategy principles and necessary tools needed to adapt to the unstructured nature of creative and cultural productions. These have proven to contain implications for policy-makers and global business strategies (particularly in the strategy and marketing area). For instance, the worldwide cultural policy has been influenced by drifts and development in the creative and cultural economy. According to Mercer (2006) cultural industries are expected to flourish without restrictive regulations, to be internationally competitive and self-sustaining financially which has not been the case in townships. In this manner, it will be easy for places to attract investments and secure local funding.

In order to stimulate economic growth and imagine some new and resourceful responses to social, cultural and technological challenges, strategies to manage and organise creativity in the cultural economy is vital. The findings indicate that planners need practical tools that will enable them to comprehend and better manage emerging contradiction in space and fully understand the implications of contradictory (human reactions and spatial organisation) situations and organisational change. This will redefine the market and market place where there will be a shift from producer-oriented issues to distribution and consumer-oriented marketing issues such as copyrights, royalties and merchandising of images or brand names.

5.3. Recommendations

5.3.1. A Conceptual Framework for Addressing the Challenges of Social Production of Space

The conceptual framework presented in figure 12, represents an improvement plan for the social production of space. It contains of four major planning recommendations namely, place marketing, strategic spatial representation, place branding, and cultural planning, and expands on each. The presented framework is not strictly limited to the provided but gives an understanding into possible ways of addressing challenges of social production of space.

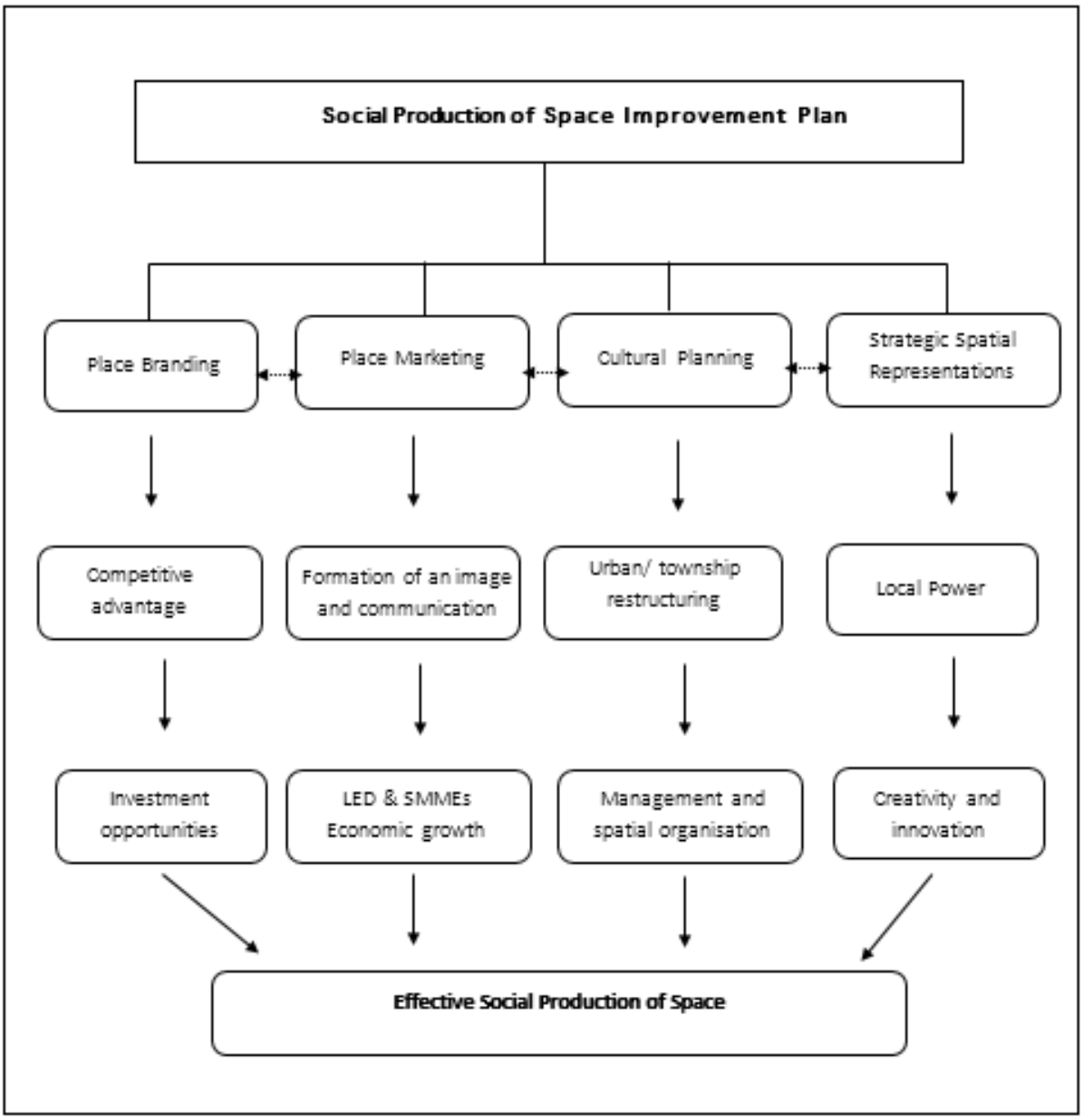


Figure 12: Conceptual Framework for the improvement of social production of space.

There has been minimal interventions for empowering townships and benefit local societies, thus, city development and city culture should be perceived as a unity. Branding can be used as a planning tool to assist in dealing with the discussed challenges and enclose the gap between the perceived and conceived spaces. In addition, there is a need for Cultural Planning too. Cultural Planning doesn't necessarily mean planning for culture, but planning with culture in mind. This could be used as a form of urban restructuring and offers better perceptions into values and desired local communities. If Cultural Planning principles are introduced and attempted by local areas, then urban planning and culture have to go hand in hand, in joint effort under the guidance of local administrative structures.

For example: Barcelona in Brazil is among the cities which practiced a sustained cultural policy combined with economic restructuring. This was practiced to put into gear a city of modernity and innovation. In this process was inscribed the manner in which the city government organised the 1991 Olympics whereby urban design and innovative planning interventions (creation on 160 public squares) were not an isolated endeavour but instead the cornerstones and physical symbols of urban regeneration.

As characteristic of a metropolis with high status in the financial field, Frankfurt in Germany has been performing very poorly in terms of culture. Through time, the city has managed to offset pre-existing images (expressed in nicknames such as Kranfurt, Bankfurt) and reaffirm its profile through highly prestige cultural interventions.

Furthermore, as indicated by the examples above, townships and other areas could follow in the steps and encourage investments to former marginalised townships. This could also enhance development to the rest of Soweto. This addressed the research question in a manner that bridges the uncertainties that exist in developments and keep the motivation and driving force towards the production of spaces. Place branding and place marketing could also assist the competitive advantage and positioning of development within the township context.

5.3.2. Place Branding and Place Marketing: Focus on Persuasion in Soweto, Vilakazi Street

Narratives are just stories closely tied to symbols or representations. This is because symbols construct certain images suggested by our use of language (Fischer and Forester, 1993) when producing and reproducing space. Conversely, representations often create the context within which speech gain power and meaning. This easily influences the receiver, in this case, communities. Thus, circulation of utterances, responds, and counter replies can be emulated as a flow of action which can be changed through the use of narratives by particular characters, through a particular time and place at a different direction (Fischer and Forester, 1993). This has been used to globally position Vilakazi Street in Soweto. And as suggested by Tayebi (2006), the status of a project depends on how they are circulated in the global context. In this case, the image is sold. There is always something or a form of representation associated with that particular space that when people think of it, they are reminded of that particular space. Thus spaces have associated themselves with specific brands to attract ‘otherness’ and investments to their sites for further developments.

Kavaratzis and Ashwort (2005) have argued that places have discovered a need to differentiate themselves from each other, to assert their distinctiveness in pursuit of various economic, social and political objectives. Places compete with each other all time for various reasons, one of them being to set a target market usually through Local Economic Development (LED) approaches (Taskei and Kozak, 2006). Baker (2010) indicated that the more attractive or distinctive an identity of a place is, makes it recognisable and easier to be opted for in any competitive setting and can enhance the well-being of its citizens. As Kavaratzis and Ashwort (2005) put it, 'identity, personality, differentiation and positioning' are the key factors in a competitive arena like Vilakazi Street. The question remains, how do we achieve global competence while maintaining a local touch?

De Chernatony (2006:5) detailed that, "brands are powerful entities because they blend functional, performance-based values with emotional values." They are according to Hofmeyer and Parton (2006:2) sets of "hooks the mind uses to generate its experiences of a commercial offering". This is because brands such as the name of the former president; Nelson Mandela represent a dynamic interface between an organisation's actions and the customer's interpretations along the study area and elsewhere. Thus, branding remains a framework that moulds and manages the city's reputation in regards to key audiences proactively as Baker (2010) states from a conservative perspective. This takes place through the manipulation of language, because it has a general structure. Moreover, Pasquinelli (2010) argues, the power of rhetoric and brand narratives present opportunity to capitalise on such expressions by coordinating local discussions in the social production of space.

Additionally, marketing is a conscious strategy and planned practice of signification and representation. The fundamental role within the city marketing is based on the formation of an image and the communication of that specific image (Pasquinelli, 2010). In essence place marketing is not only about marketing the city or place itself, but the image, the experience, the feeling, the emotion that comes with it. This images results from various often conflicting messages about an area. The image of a city is better explained as the link between what is real, objective and subjective (conceived, perceived and lived). It finds its roots in parts from a physical reality and it's founded on desires, memories and injustices. Cities ensure the marketing of its image through planning for branding because it is the image of and about the city that is planned or space that is created and recreated.

According to Lefebvre (1991:188); Throgmorton (1991) planning is a theatrical practice. Planners and analysts always know that oratory is a matter of 'mere words' that simply add gloss to the vital stuff (Throgmorton, 1991). There are different approaches to branding. Most city planners and city officials borrow their branding approaches from the corporate world. In such context, branding is linked to services, products, and planners apply these apparatus to place creation. The research unassumingly,

argues that if it the street was not home to the two Nobel Prize winners or the epicentre for liberation, it would just be like any other township street. Now that we find ourselves living in era of the experience economy, the experience is sold.

The full understanding of how brands can be transformed to people's minds is not an easy task according to Pasquinelli (2010). So, planners and officials create brand identity in the manner they want the brand to be perceived. Along this process, the chances of communication persuasion between the persuader and the persuaded are greater. It turns to promote a certain class, a certain experience, a certain emotion, thus excluding other groups or cultural values and symbols. This is associated with propaganda and several other unintended consequences. This shows how reductionist brands can be.

The limitations of applying product branding to place are too complex to be taken for as products. While others from a Marxist perspective would argue for places as products, Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2005), argue that places are not products, governments are not producers and users are not consumers. This criticism is directed towards the fact that places have become jungles of logos, messages, slogans that have nothing to do with the local communities but is just favourable to the middle-upper classes (Sandbothe, 2003). Other scholars, have argued that place branding is escapism. That it is just a convenient escape from substantial political projects, which often hides the real images, nature or character of the majority.

Moreover it is clear to notice that the city branding is targeted largely at the economic aspects of developments other than the social and environmental or cultural objectives (Tayebi, 2006). As indicated above, it is apparent that, city branding has both strengths and weaknesses, but too long attention is focused at the positive than it is to the negatives. Since the rhetorical turn is utilised to represent many identities of one place attention should thus the on the process. As rhetoric has been criticised for embracing the universal truth, it has also led to the failure of branding endeavours. This is witnessed in its application. A good choice of brand and the process of branding can strongly tighten relationships in spaces.

5.3.3. The role of Planners in the Persuasion Process

The role of a planner in this context is of influence. The planner may find different methods to convince stakeholders of the benefits and strengths of branding. As mediators, they play a significant role in ensuring participation between participants in the process of city branding. And often facilitate projects, to gain consensus and consent from several diverging groups, including the various audiences.

According to Forester (1989) Planners often alter information through misinterpretations of facts, the use of inappropriate conduct to expertise, blurring the attention from other matters in their professional pursuit.

Bureaucracy is exactly what is stopping progress in neighbourhoods. This type of social structure encourages misinformation and leading to propaganda. In essence, indicating how the structure may be unintentional or unplanned. Moreover, planners learn that they are immersed in a deeply politicised world where opponents do not hesitate to falsehood, distort, and deceive, and were seemingly must do the same in order to survive. Most, if not all, planners trying to act in consensus with the scientific ethics of the technician can appear immature at best and dangerous at worst (Wachs, 1985 in Fischer and Forester, 1993). Thus as planners we seem to face a tragic choice to be right and do well or at least get thing done as opined by Throgmorton (1991). Rather than expression as gloss, we can regard it as the study and practice of persuasion and recognise that persuasion is constitutive and has influenced several establishments. The use of narratives and arguments have also offered meaning and given power to the larger narratives of which they are part (Throgmorton, 1991).

Though language does not mirror or picture the world but instead profoundly shapes our views and the way we perceive the world. Language is a powerful tool and words are well selected to suit a certain description in particular context. Thus, the use of linguistics could be utilised to argue both for the economic growth as well as the social well-being of the public. In this essence, planners will find the balance by making use of their professional skills to achieve the public interest and the economy

The introduction of effective cultural planning approaches in the city, can offer better perceptions into the values and aspirations of local communities. It basically ensures that all that is understood by the notion of 'culture' (which is what matters between people and communities) in a broader sense can actually form part of the local government decision-making fabric including meeting the community's expectations. Mercer (2006) has argued that cultural planning is targeted at providing prospects for all individuals and community groups to be included in the government's rich and diverse cultural life. It is important to ensure that local councils' main role in contributing to the well- being of local communities' means that they are well placed to extend a hand in cultural foundations and to encourage inclusivity, participation in cultural expressions at a local level. Although, existing planning systems such as environmental planning, community or social planning, and management planning address some issues of cultural relevance, cultural planning guarantee that all characteristics of cultural life are addressed in an proficient, manageable and integrated way.

5.4. Future Research

The scope of this discussion is not only multidimensional at a broader scale but also at the home-grown (local) level. Every society produces its own social space and this result in third spaces which are produced by the user in relation to the perceived. Thus the social production of urban space is essential to the reproduction of society (its social control). There is a need for more local case studies to allow the assessment of local dimensions of the subject matter. Exploring the following as a future research strategy can facilitate the fulfilment of this objective. Possible topics related to the enquiry include space and culture; social space and social change; social construction and the use of space and the future of planning at the end of history. Therefore, the way society produces space is based on its mode production often associated with associated brands.

5.5. Concluding Note

The cultural, economic and social relations have interwoven a place such as Vilakazi Street as a social product. Space as a social product is a multifaceted object which cannot be generalised or limited to a single product. It is actually a devoted part of the production process of the material space. The research captured the different levels of special dynamics from an abstract, natural to multiple specialities whose importance is socially constructed and produced. Space is subject of society and it cannot be recognised as a factor to change the structure of society. The dynamics of space are not limited to the history, heritage, tourism, innovation and the design. But there are different phases of the production of space. Nevertheless, space is a component of production processes in space. It is clear from the Vilakazi Case study, that space as an institution of the society having effect on the social life and activities is a factor to affect the social production mode as the central idea of social construction in Lefebvre's lens.

Cultural planning is indeed a way of linking the contemporary with the historical and the impending. The notion is characterised connections, memoirs, and practises within a specific place. Moreover, it always involves attractiveness, historical events and a sense of place. It is true, with effective cultural planning approaches; government and councils can offer a clearer sense of a community's desires and standards. In turn, this makes it easier for officials to trace daily practices and cater services for them. At the same time, it also informs policy-makers and guide further planning decisions inclusive to existing local communities. Definitely, a cultural plan that is well tied together to local government strategic objectives can assist councils to tackle with challenges of social exclusions, issues of fragmentation and

urbanisation in order to foster urban regeneration, create employment opportunities, construct safer and liveable communities as well as enhance healthier lifestyles.

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APPENDICES A

APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM

Good day,

My name is Tjaka Segooa. I am a full-time student registered for Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

As part of the study requirement for my research report (thesis or dissertation), I am conducting a research on an Exploration of Social Production of Vilakazi Street as a social space. The main aim of this study is explore different aspects of the social production of Vilakazi Street. It is exploring how the street was conceived, perceived and lived since 1994. In essence the goal is to critically explore how creativity and innovation within the social space of the street contributed to the needs of contemporary local communities. And the vital part of the study is to examine the consequences of the social production in the street.

As point of departure, one seeks to understand how this influence has shaped and continue to shape and improve living conditions in the township of Soweto, especially Vilakazi Street and its local residents. Thus to do so, your contribution and allowance to interview you will be appreciated.

I do not promise you anything in return than to send you a copy of the research thesis with the acknowledgment of your contribution if needs be, when complete. Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Your choice to remain anonymous, and confidentiality of the information provided will highly be respected.

I Tjaka Segooa, truly appreciate your willingness to participate in this study and for your assistance in this research.

CONSENT AGREEMENT

I_____, am willing to take part in this study and understand that my participation is voluntarily and that I can withdraw from participation at any time.

Name: _____

Signature of Interviewee: _____

Date: _____

Please also sign below if you allow your name to be recorded and used throughout the research report.

Signature: _____

APPENDICES B

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview Guide for the Assistant Development Manager, Thanduxolo Ntoyi from Johannesburg Development Agency

1. How long have you been involved with Vilakazi Street?
2. How do you think Vilakazi Street is perceived?
3. How would you describe Vilakazi Street right now?
4. What motivated the design of Vilakazi Street?
5. What is the vision of Vilakazi Street?
6. What are the strategies that the JDA in relation to other stakeholders proposed to realise this vision?
7. Who were the people involved in the design of Vilakazi Street?
8. Over the years what have been done to improve the Street?
9. What kinds of activities were introduced in the street?
10. What do you think are the strengths of Vilakazi Street now?
11. What do you are the projects limitations of Vilakazi Street now?
12. How do you seek to address these?
13. How do you see Vilakazi Street 5 years from now?
14. How have renovations in the Street contributed to the needs of contemporary local communities?
15. What has been done to link the street to other parts of Soweto?
16. How has development of the Street avoided the challenges of exclusion, forced removals; etc.?
17. What do you think works or does not work on this Street?
18. How can we improve the Street?
19. Would you consider Vilakazi Street a model for other areas with similar characteristics in other South African townships?

Interview Guide for Engineering and Development Officer, Portia Pule from Road Development Agency

1. How long have you been involved with Vilakazi Street?
2. How do you think Vilakazi Street is perceived?
   How would you describe Vilakazi Street right now?
3. What do you think motivated the design of Vilakazi Street?
4. What was your role in the development of the Street?
5. What is your vision of the Street?
6. What is the design concept of Vilakazi Street?
7. Which stakeholders were involved and how was the collaboration process?
8. What changes did you bring about on this Street?
9. What kinds of activities did you introduce in the street?
10. What is the nature of the development in relation to Vilakazi Street?
11. What do you are the projects limitations of Vilakazi Street now?
12. How do you seek to address these?
13. How do you see Vilakazi Street 5 years from now?
14. How have renovations in the Street contributed to the needs of contemporary local communities?
15. What has been done to link the street to other parts of Soweto?
16. How has development of the Street avoided the challenges of exclusion, forced removals; etc.?
17. What do you think works or does not work on this Street?
18. How can we improve the Street?
19. Would you consider Vilakazi Street a model for other areas with similar characteristics in other South African townships?

Interview Guide for business representatives along Vilakazi Street.

1. What is the name of the establishment?
2. How long have you been in this area?
3. What attracted you to Vilakazi Street?
4. Do you get most support from the local residents or tourists?
5. Where do you think they originate from?
6. Which days of the week is the Street mostly busy?
7. How would you describe Vilakazi Street right now?
8. What are the activities that take place on the street?
9. How was the Street before the upgrade started?
10. What do you think has changed on this Street?
11. How do you see Vilakazi Street 5 years from now?
12. Which are your favourite parts of the street?
13. What do you think works or does not work on this Street?
14. How can we improve the Street?

Interview Guide for local residents along Vilakazi Street

1. How long have you been staying in Vilakazi Street?
2. Which days of the week is the Street mostly busy?
3. How would you describe Vilakazi Street right now?
4. How was the Street before the upgrade started?
5. Have you been consulted or asked to participate in the development process of the Street? How?
6. What do you think has changed on this Street?
7. What kind of culture do you think is introduced on the Street?
8. What are the activities that take place on the street?
9. How do you see Vilakazi Street 5 years from now?
10. Which are your favourite parts of the street?
11. What do you think works or does not work on this Street?
12. How can we improve the Street?
13. Would you consider Vilakazi Street a model for other areas with similar characteristics in other South African townships?