

https://dspace.org/

Imagining Alexandra: conceptualizing and building Alexandra during the Alexandra renewal project (2001-2012)

Sondzaba, Sandiswa Phiwe

2019
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/27054

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

WITS UNIVERSITY

Imagining Alexandra: Conceptualizing and Building Alexandra during the Alexandra Renewal Project (2001-2012)

Sandiswa Phiwe Sondzaba

723357

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Science, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science.

Supervisor: Dr Sian Butcher

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

February 2019

DECLARATION

I, Sandiswa Phiwe Sondzaba, declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

_____

Signature of Candidate

Date: _____ February 2019

DEDICATION

Dedicated to the memory of my dearest cousin Qaqambile "Q" Mapukata (1992-2011):

May your spirit continue to shine as bright as the quasars that inspired you.

"Until we meet again… forever begins NOW!"

ABSTRACT

The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) was part of a broader national programme of urban renewal that focused on eight central urban nodes that included KwaMashu and Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal; Mdantsane and Motherwell in the Eastern Cape; Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain in the Western Cape; Alexandra in Gauteng; and Galeshewe in the Northern Cape. The research undertaken in this study focuses on a group that has been less interrogated when researching the workings of urban renewal and the ARP- the urban professionals who were involved in the project. By urban professionals, I mean town planners, development consultants, architects, structural engineers, etc. Through in-depth interviews with fifteen key actors who were involved in the ARP's operations, I sought to gauge how their spatial imaginaries of Alexandra interacted with their material practices throughout their involvement with the ARP's operations. Using Watkins' (2015) framing of spatial imaginaries as performative discourse and the Lefebvrian spatial triad as my theoretical framework, my analysis worked to provide insight into how the urban professionals' spatial imaginaries interacted with the spatial imaginaries of other actors who were directly and indirectly involved with the ARP's operations. What emerged is that the connection between the urban professionals' spatial imaginaries and their implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives was not straightforward. This was because the contestations they encountered during their involvement with the ARP challenged any direct relationship between their spatial imaginaries and their material practices, reshaping both in the process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe my gratitude to the many people who provided support and assistance throughout this journey. Thank you to the National Research Foundation for their block grant funding which made the financial aspects of this research degree less perilous. Many thanks to my supervisor, Dr Sian Butcher, for all the patience, care and support she showed me throughout this project. Her attention to detail and astute scholarly engagement has contributed significantly to the final version of this dissertation that I have produced. I am also grateful to the City of Johannesburg's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management for their generosity with the policy documents that were the core of my documentary analysis. I wish to thank my research participants who were more than happy to share their reflections of their involvement with the ARP with me. To protect their privacy, I have chosen to not name them, but this does not reflect any lack of gratitude to them and their contribution to this study.

I was lucky to have a supervisor who always emphasised the importance of forging key relationships that make the research process less lonely. My fellow Masters' students' collegiality made the journey's joys more pleasurable and the difficulties more bearable. Ariel Prinsloo's friendship has been one the greatest sources of joy for me throughout this degree. Moreover, I wish to thank my family and friends for their unwavering support and encouragement. My mother's consistent love and wisdom sustained me throughout the joyous and difficult parts of producing this dissertation. Mama, you really do deserve all the great things that the world has to offer you. You are a constant source of inspiration for me and the other young adults whom you have taken under your wing. *Ndiyabulela kakhulu MaNkwali*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ii

DEDICATION iii

ABSTRACT iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES xii

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xiii

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Background: Alexandra Township and the ARP 1

1.2 Problem Statement/Rationale 4

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives 5

1.3.1 Research Question 5

1.3.2 Research Aim 5

1.3.3 Research Objectives 6

1.4 Dissertation Overview 6

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICISING THE ALEXANDRA RENEWAL PROJECT 8

2.1 Introduction 8

2.2 Alexandra Township's Origins in the Pre-Apartheid City 8

2.3 Alexandra's Perils under Apartheid 10

2.4 Late Apartheid Spatial Interventions in Alexandra 13

2.4.1 Negotiating Post-Apartheid Johannesburg's Urban Reconfiguration 18

2.5 Conclusion 23

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW 24

3.1 Introduction 24

3.2 Spatial Planning Approaches 24

3.2.1 Spatial Planning Policies 24

3.2.2 Effectiveness of Area-Based Planning 28
3.3 Land Use Management 30
3.3.1 Land Use Management Techniques 30
3.3.2 Legality and Land Use Management 31
3.3.3 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management in Delhi: Rule by Aesthetics 33
3.4 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management in Post-Apartheid South Africa 34
3.4.1 The Nationwide Urban Renewal Project 36
3.5 Anthropology of Development Experts and Brokers 39
3.5.1 Critiquing the Practices of Development Practitioners 40
3.5.2 De-Politicisation of Development and Developmental Expertise 41
3.5.3 Brokers 42
3.5.4 Professional Networks 45
3.6 Conclusion 46
CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 47
4.1 Introduction 47
4.2 The Lefebvrian Spatial Triad 47
4.3 Spatial Imaginaries 50
4.3.1 Spatial Imaginaries as Representational Discourse 51
4.3.2 Spatial Imaginaries as Semiotic Order, and Worldview 53
4.3.3 Spatial Imaginaries as Performative Discourse 54
4.3.4 Importance of Spatial Imaginaries Research 56
4.4 Conclusion 57
5.1 Introduction 58
5.2 Research Design/ Methodology 58

5.3 Research Methods Used for Data Collection 59
5.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews 59
5.3.2 Documentary Collection and Analysis 64
5.4 Data Analysis 66
5.4.1 Thematic Coding..... 67
5.5 Reflecting on the Ethics, Politics, and Positionalities of Research 69
5.5.1 Ethical Considerations 69
5.5.2 Positionality, Power and Reflexivity 72
5.6 Limitations..... 77
5.7 Conclusion..... 78
CHAPTER 6: POLICY CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF ALEXANDRA (CONCEIVED SPACES) 79
6.1 Introduction 79
6.2 The Beginnings: 2001-2005 80
6.2.1 The Urban Renewal Programme..... 80
6.2.2 The Importance of the Alexandra Renewal Project..... 81
6.2.3 Conceptualising and Organising the ARP 82
6.2.4 Development Forums and ARP Summits: Participatory Development in the ARP..... 86
6.3 New Dawn for the ARP: 2005-2011 88
6.3.1 Johannesburg's 2006/07 Spatial Development Framework 88
6.3.2 Johannesburg's 2010/11 Regional Spatial Development Framework: Alexandra vs. Sandton 91
6.4 Third phase (2011-present): The ARP's Loss of Political Significance 93
6.4.1 The 2011 Alexandra Masterplan..... 95
6.4.2 The 2011 GSDF 2030..... 100
6.4.3 The 2012/2016 IDP and its Relationship to the Joburg 2040 GDS 102

6.4.4 2016 Corridors of Freedom Policy Document 104
6.4.5 The 2017 Alexandra UDF 104
6.4.6 Transforming Township Economies: 2018 State of the Province Address 105
6.4.7 Continuities in the 2017/18 IDP Review 107
6.5 Conclusion 107
CHAPTER 7: SPATIAL IMAGINARIES (PERCEIVED SPACES) 110
7.1 Introduction 110
7.2 Alexandra as a Historically/Politically Significant Place 111
7.3 Well-Located Alexandra with Great Potential 112
7.3.1 Land-Value Capture 113
7.3.2 Alexandra's Integrated Future 115
7.4 Alexandra Requiring Intervention 117
7.5 Dense Alexandra 119
7.6 Impoverished Alexandra 120
7.7 Unsafe Alexandra 121
7.8 Deeply-Divided Alexandra 122
7.9 Conclusion 126
CHAPTER 8: CONTESTATIONS (LIVED SPACES) 127
8.1 Introduction 127
8.2 Disagreements among Technocrats 127
8.2.1 The Right to the City versus World Class City Imaginings 127
8.2.2 Debates about Relocation 131
8.2.3 Interpersonal Relations and Positionalities 134
8.3 Technocrats versus the State 136

8.3.1 Breakdown of the Professional Relationship between the ARP's Core Consulting Team and the Gauteng Provincial Government in 2005 136
8.3.2 Allegations of Corruption against the ARP's Core Consulting, and the State 140
8.4 Grappling with Alexandra 142
8.4.1 Complex Internal Politics 142
8.4.2 Contestations over RDP Housing Allocation 143
8.4.3 Alexandra's Land Politics 145
8.4.4 The Brokering Role of Community Liaison Officers 148
8.5 Contestations over Alexandra's Future 149
8.5.1 Frankenwald's Fate 150
8.6 Conclusion 152
CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION: ARP INTERMEDIARIES' ENCOUNTERS WITH CONCEIVED, PERCEIVED AND LIVED SPACES 153
9.1 Introduction 153
9.2 Reflections on the ARP's Spatial Objectives and Outcomes 153
9.3 Spatial Planning Approaches Adopted by the ARP 155
9.3.1 Telescopic Urbanism versus Human Potential City 155
9.3.2 Rendering Political the Technical 159
9.4 Importance of Spatial Imaginaries 162
9.5. The Relational Power of Development Experts and Brokers 165
9.5.1 Multiple Intermediaries, Multiple Positionalities 166
9.5.2 The "Will to Improve" 169
9.6. Conclusion 170
CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION 171
10.1 Aims and Objectives of the Study 172
10.2 Contribution of the Study 172

10.3 Summary of Key Arguments 173

10.3.1 Shifting Conceived Spaces from Telescopic to Concessionary Urbanisms 173

10.3.2 Perceived Spaces: Interactions between Spatial Imaginaries and Material Practices 174

10.3.3 The Contestations that Shaped Alexandra's Lived Spaces 175

10.3.4 Intermediaries' Encounters with the Lefebvrian Spatial Triad Throughout the ARP's Lifespan 176

10.4 Future research and recommendations 178

10.5 Coda: Learning from Alex 179

REFERENCES 181

APPENDICES 190

APPENDIX A- LIST OF INTERVIEWS 190

APPENDIX B- SAMPLING PROCESS 191

First Stage Sampling 191

Second Stage Sampling 192

Third Stage Sampling 193

APPENDIX C- INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 194

APPENDIX D- PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET 196

Participant Information Sheet for Urban Professionals 196

Participant Information Sheet for State Officials 197

Participant Information Sheet for Community Representatives 198

APPENDIX E- CONSENT FORM 199

APPENDIX F- WITS HREC ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE 200

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Maps of Municipal Wards in the City of Johannesburg and Alexandra Township. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (2013) and OpenStreetMap (2018). Cartography by Sandiswa Sondzaba 3

Figure 2.1: Maps showing Alexandra Township's proximity to Sandton and Wards in Alexandra Township. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (2013) and the GCRO (2017). Cartography by Sandiswa Sondzaba.....19

Table 5.1: Policy documents received from various online repositories and the CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management……..65

Figure 6. 1: Sites for the ARP's Implementation Projects (ARP, 2001b)……..84
Figure 6. 2: Organogram of the ARP's Structure Between 2001 and 2005 85
Figure 6. 3: The New Alex Town Centre (CoJ, 2012b)..... 96
Figure 6. 4: Proposed Walk-Ups in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b) 96
Figure 6. 5: Proposed New Layout of Housing in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b)..... 98
Figure 6. 6: Proposed Walk-Ups in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b) 99
Figure 6. 7: Proposed Green Space in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b) 100
Figure 6. 8: Classification of Urban Areas in Gauteng Province (CoJ, 2015).... 101

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABDMP	Area-Based Development Management Programme
ADF	Alexandra Development Forum
AHC	Alexandra Health Committee
ALC	Alexandra Liaison Committee
Alpoa	Alexandra Land and Property Owners' Association
ANC	African National Congress
ARIC	Alexandra Residents' Interim Committee
ARP	Alexandra Renewal Project
ASL	Alexandra Students' League
BLA	Black Local Authority
BRT	Bus Rapid Transit (System)
CAP	Community Active Protection
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CBP	Community-Based Planning
CoF	Corridors of Freedom
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CWMC	Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber
DA	Democratic Alliance
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
EMLC	Eastern Metropolitan Local Council
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GADF	Greater Alexandra Development Forum
GALXCOC	Greater Alexandra Chamber of Commerce
GDS	Growth and Development Strategy
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme
GJTMC	Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council
GSDF	Gauteng Spatial Development Framework

HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRC	Human Rights Commission
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IDT	Independent Development Trust
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISRDP	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme
Kathorus	Katlehong-Thokoza-Vosloorus
LGNF	Local Government Negotiating Forum
MOE	Municipal-Owned Enterprise
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMLC	Northern Metropolitan Local Council
NP	National Party
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
PUAHB	Peri-Urban Areas Health Board
PWV	Pretoria-Vereeniging-Witwatersrand
RA	Resident Association
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Plan
RSDF	Regional Spatial Development Framework
SANAC	South African Native Affairs' Commission
SANFED	Sandton Federation of Ratepayers Association
SAPS	South African Police Service
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SIPP	Special Integrated Presidential Project
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
TMC	Transitional Metropolitan Council
TOD	Transit-Oriented Development
UDF	Urban Development Framework
UF	Urban Foundation
UK	United Kingdom

URP	Urban Renewal Programme
USA	United States of America
Wits	University of the Witwatersrand
Wits HREC	University of the Witwatersrand Human Research Ethics Committee
WRAB	West Rand Administration Board

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background: Alexandra Township and the ARP

Established in 1912, Alexandra exists as the sole surviving example of the black freehold township, a space that "cultivated a distinct social ethos and imparted its own distinct flavour" in black urban society (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 1). Alexandra borders Sandton, an upper-class suburb of Johannesburg often referred to as "Africa's richest square mile" (Africa Property News, 2016). In the post-apartheid discourse, Alexandra is often characterised as a space plagued by "scarcity of land, homelessness, and a high rate of unemployment" (CoJ, 2007). This characterisation is in direct contrast to its identity as an "imprint of a largely vanished urban past" that has served as the starting-point of many urban political traditions (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 1). This oft-romanticised urban past stems from the relatively unusual privilege in white supremacist South Africa (whose formation was further entrenched with the 1913 Native Land Act and the 1923 Natives (Urban Area) Act) for black South Africans to own freehold land (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Property ownership allowed black South African homeowners in Alexandra to establish their claim of respectability vis-à-vis other urban Africans; thus, supporting their claims for the right to self-governance and political representation (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

Currently Alexandra is constituted by six wards in the City of Johannesburg (CoJ)[1]. As of 2017, Alexandra has a population of 325,000 on land that is 2,610 hectares (City of Johannesburg, 2007: 8). It is also part of Region E (one of seven regions) within the CoJ with 11.8% of the CoJ's population (CoJ, 2014: 17). Alexandra has an unemployment rate of 32% which is higher than the CoJ's unemployment rate of 28% (CoJ, 2017b). Alexandra's average monthly household income is R3,501.00 whilst its per capita income is R1,251.00 per month (CoJ, 2017a: 9). This is low considering that the CoJ's average GDP per capita is R117,225 which means that the CoJ is categorised as an upper middle-income economy (CoJ, 2017b).

[1] These are wards 75, 76, 105, 107, 108, and 116.

According to the Gauteng City Region Observatory's (GCRO) Ward Profile Viewer, Alexandra has a relatively high marginalisation index with a mean score of 3.00[2] (compared to the CoJ and Gauteng's mean scores of 2.43 and 2.48 respectively). Alexandra has a relatively low quality of life index with a mean score of 5.08 compared to the CoJ's mean score 6.27 and Gauteng's mean score of 6.2 (Wray and Katumba, 2017). Furthermore, 19.6% of people in Alexandra were the victims of crime in the last year. 30.65% of people in Alexandra reported that they did not have enough money to feed their family. 22.23% of the respondents felt that nobody cares about people like them with 34.92% of Alexandra's residents reporting that they do not feel empowered enough to influence community development. 43.98% of the respondents claimed that they felt the country was moving in the wrong direction. Most significantly, 52.85% of Alexandra's residents are dissatisfied with local government (Wray and Katumba, 2017). These figures demonstrate that Alexandra is a marginalised area with significant socio-economic problems. It is within this context that the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) was established in 2001- and continues to operate within the CoJ's structures.

[2] This mean score is the average of the mean scores of the six wards that constitute Alexandra. The same method of calculation was also used for Alexandra's quality of life index.

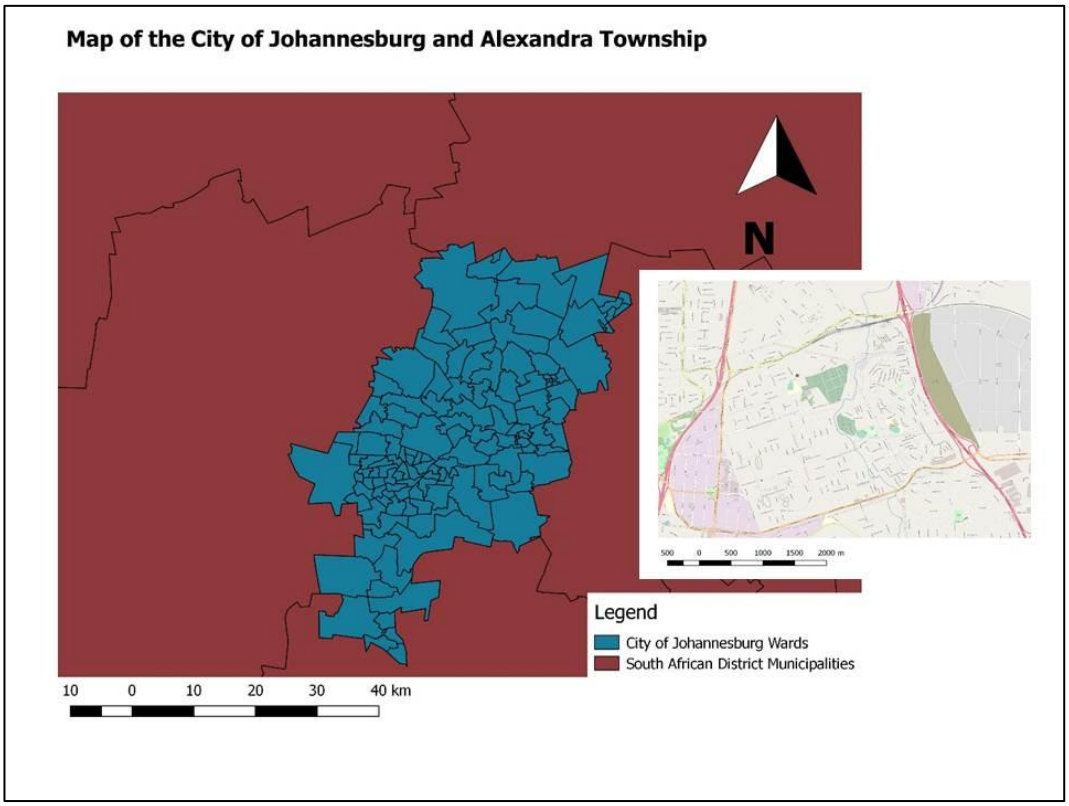


Figure 1.1: Maps of Municipal Wards in the City of Johannesburg and Alexandra Township. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (2013) and OpenStreetMap (2018). Cartography by Sandiswa Sondzaba

The ARP was launched by the post-apartheid South African government in 2001. The ARP was part of a broader national programme of urban renewal (the Urban Renewal Programme) that included eight central urban nodes across South Africa (Sinwell, 2009). The ARP was meant to rejuvenate a space that had become "renowned for the prolonged depressed social conditions" that have been partly responsible for Alexandra's high crime rate, and ethnic clashes[3] (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: viii). The announcement of the ARP generated enormous interest with a summit held on 18 and 19 April 2001 attracting about 450 representatives from community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and the private sector (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

[3] These ethnic clashes were, mainly, the bloody civil war between Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)-aligned hostel dwellers and ANC-supporting township residents. Furthermore, Alexandra was the starting point of the xenophobic attacks that spread to numerous South African townships in May 2008 (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

The programme was dedicated to "people-driven development" and was expected to make efficient use of the political support and resources invested into the success of the project (Sinwell, 2009: 163). The project was meant to be undertaken over seven years (2001-2008) and was intended to be a joint initiative between national, provincial, and local government; non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community organisations (CoJ, 2007). The ARP, despite its ambitious aim to improve the lives of Alexandra's residents, has been plagued by slow delivery and considerable opposition in the township. An explanation for the resistance includes residents' claims that there has been insufficient consultation between the ANC-led government and Alexandra's residents. Furthermore, the project's initial focus on removals resulted in the ARP generating opposition from new social movements within the township.

1.2 Problem Statement/Rationale

Harrison et al. (2014) argue that the ARP has had considerable successes and failures. The successes include the ARP making limited progress towards de-densification and new housing, two objectives set when the project started in 2001. The reasons for the project's failure in 'changing the face of Alexandra' include Alexandra's socio-spatial complexity and the difficulties of acquiring land in neighbouring areas (Harrison et al., 2014). Alexandra presents a "moving target" which has made the ARP's implementation of its objectives a necessarily long-term project (Harrison et al., 2014: 365). More research is needed to determine whether the ARP's spatial objectives are appropriate for Alexandra. De-densification remains a key political goal for Alexandra in post-apartheid South Africa. The focus on de-densifying Alexandra is a manifestation of its pathologisation as a place which is largely the result of Alexandra's proximity to surrounding (mostly-white) upper middle-class suburbs in northern Johannesburg (Harrison et al., 2014; Interview with Noor Nieftagodien, 2017). Harrison et al. (2014: 366) argue that there needs to be greater analysis into "the role of Alexandra in the wider city, and the contribution that Alexandra as a place makes to the lives of its people". Therefore, a comprehensive review of the ARP is required to appropriately respond to both the opportunities provided by its

proximity to urban opportunities and address Alexandra's lack of social cohesion (Harrison et al., 2014).

Subsequent work on the ARP has focussed on community perspectives of the ARP's operations (Kotze and Mathola, 2012) as well the ARP's failures in developing channels for meaningful community participation within its structures (Sinwell, 2009). My research project focusses on a group within the ARP that has been the subject of less scholarly engagement. These are the urban professionals who have been responsible for leading the implementation of the project's aims and objectives. Moreover, the relationship between spatial imaginaries and material practices is an under-studied aspect of research into urban planning (Watkins, 2015). By spatial imaginaries I mean the socially held ideas about places and spaces. Thus, my research project aims fill this gap by investigating the relationship between these urban professionals' spatial imaginaries of Alexandra Township and their material practices during their involvement in the ARP.

1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

1.3.1 Research Question

How has the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) reflected the spatial imaginaries of urban professionals who were involved in the project; and how have these spatial imaginaries interacted with both their material practices during the project as well as the spatial imaginaries of other interested stakeholders who were directly or indirectly involved with the ARP?

1.3.2 Research Aim

To understand how the spatial imaginaries of urban professionals involved in the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) interacted with both their material practices during their involvement with the ARP as well as the aims and objectives of the ARP, as articulated in the ARP policy documents. Furthermore, with this research, I analyse how the contestations the urban professionals during their involvement with the ARP impacted on the interaction between their spatial imaginaries and their material practices during their involvement with the project.

1.3.3 Research Objectives

1. To consider how the ARP reflected the spatial imaginaries of the urban professionals involved in the ARP.
2. To investigate how the spatial imaginaries of the urban professionals involved in the ARP conflicted with/complimented the broader aims of the project as outlined in the policy documents that set out the aims and objectives of the ARP.
3. To analyse how urban professionals' spatial imaginaries conflicted with/complimented the spatial imaginaries of other interested stakeholders who were directly or indirectly involved with the ARP.

1.4 Dissertation Overview

The introductory chapter is followed by *Historicising the Alexandra Renewal Project* which provides a historical overview of the socio-spatial interventions in Alexandra Township, that occurred at various points throughout the 20th century, that preceded the ARP. This is followed by the literature review and theoretical framework chapters which discuss the literature and theories which frame the discussion chapters of this dissertation. The literature review discusses scholarly insight into spatial planning approaches, land-use management, and the anthropology of development experts and brokers. My theoretical framework draws on Lefevre's spatial triad as well as scholarly engagement with spatial imaginaries. The methodology chapter follows which provides considerable insight into the qualitative data collection and thematic analysis processes undertaken through this research project. There is no separate study site in the methodology chapter as the study site specifics are well covered in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.

The analytical chapters follow the methodology chapter. First, the *Policy Conceptualisation of Alexandra* chapter analyses the policy documents that were drafted throughout the lifespan of the ARP. The chapter provides insight into how the state and technocrats involved in the ARP have conceptualised Alexandra throughout the ARP's lifespan. The *Spatial Imaginaries* (*Perceived Spaces)*

discusses how research participants' reflections of their involvement with the ARP demonstrates the relationship shared between their spatial imaginaries and their material practices during their involvement with the ARP. The *Contestations (Lived Spaces)* chapter which follows discusses how the contestations within Alexandra both impacted on my research participants' spatial imaginaries and made it difficult for my research participants to successfully implement the ARP's aims and objectives. Finally, the *Discussion: ARP Intermediaries' Encounters with Conceived, Perceived and Lived Spaces* chapter demonstrates the complexities that impacted on the spatial imaginaries of the urban professionals and other intermediaries involved in the ARP. Additionally, the chapter discusses how these complexities impacted on the relationship of these actors' spatial imaginaries and their material practices throughout their involvement with the ARP. The final chapter of the dissertation concludes by highlighting my key arguments as well as providing scholarly and policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICISING THE ALEXANDRA RENEWAL PROJECT

2.1 Introduction

Alexandra has a special history as one of the sole surviving examples of the black freehold township. The black freehold township was an influential segment of black urban society, succeeding in cultivating a "distinct social ethos" that imparts its own distinct characteristics to the black urban world (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 1). Alexandra has been subject to many attempts preceding the ARP to either remove or renew it. It is important to understand these historical attempts at spatially re-producing Alexandra to gain a greater appreciation of the ARP as being one of the latest examples of spatial interventions that have been proposed for Alexandra. In this chapter, I will discuss the spatial interventions and reconfigurations that preceded the ARP to historicise the ARP, drawing on the work of urban historians, sociologists and geographers.

2.2 Alexandra Township's Origins in the Pre-Apartheid City

Alexandra Township was established in 1912 and laid out as a freehold township for the black (hereafter used interchangeably with 'African') and the coloured population. Alongside Lady Selbourne, Sophiatown/Martindale, and Evaton, it was one of a handful of freehold townships in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area. The first landowners in Alexandra were formerly prosperous sharecroppers and labour tenants squeezed out of white South African farms (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 25-26)[4]. Unlike many other freehold townships, Alexandra managed to cling onto this identity (despite attempts by the apartheid government to demolish the township); thus, Alexandra represents a largely removed urban past.

[4] This migration was largely the result of the restrictions on black land utilisation and stock ownership following the imposition of the 1913 Land Act. The 1913 Native Land Act served two purposes. First, the Act aimed to stop the buying back of land by African communities from white farmers; the Act's second purpose was to outlaw sharecropping. The 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act empowered towns' authorities to proclaim entire areas white, thus enabling the eviction of all African residents (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

In the early days of Alexandra's existence, the core of the township's moral universe was the relatively unusual privilege for Africans to own freehold land. This privilege was unusual as the establishment of Alexandra coincided with the early formation of urban segregationist policies in South Africa. The adoption of segregation in the first half of the 20th century was intended to "maintain and entrench white supremacy" at all levels of the Union of South Africa (Dubow, 1989: 1). Dubow (1989) argues that segregation was founded on the two principles. The first principle is that Africans' right to land ownership was conditional on their sacrificing their claims to common citizenship in the Union of South Africa. Second, there was the understanding that Africans were the wards of white trustees who would encourage them to develop autonomously in becoming civilized beings.

The privilege for Africans to own freehold land thus marked propertied Alexandra residents' 'civilised status'. Furthermore, it established Africans' claim of difference from other urban Africans who were regarded as threatening the whiteness of South Africa's urban areas (Dubow, 1989; Sapire, 1990). Land-owning Africans' right to self-governance and political representation was especially exemplified through the establishment of the Alexandra Health Committee (AHC) in 1921[5]. For Alexandra's property owners, property signified "independence, self-worth and respectability" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 5). Property ownership demarcated Alexandra's residents from the rest of black society as they were able to aspire to an urbane lifestyle. Most of Alexandra's property owners shared common backgrounds; in some instances, propertied residents were part of the educated, professional elite, but mostly they were descendants of prosperous sharecroppers and better-off labour tenants in the former Orange Free State and the Transvaal (now the Free State and Gauteng, North-West, and Mpumalanga provinces) (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

[5] The AHC was an experiment in self-governance. Comprised of community members, the committee was intended to offer elementary servicing, governance, and administration. The AHC was constituted by a Provincial Proclamation on 1 December 1916 and was meant to comprise of five community members. The Health Committee was one of the most treasured institutions of Alexandra's community, serving as both a prime symbol of the township's political maturity and autonomy and as a core component of the political struggles that would be waged over the next three decades (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 31).

The shared common backgrounds of Alexandra's early property owners were largely the result of 1913 Natives Land Act, a policy which gave expression to the theory of territorial separation outlined during the 1903-1905 South African Native Affairs Commission (SANAC) (Dubow, 1989). Furthermore, the SANAC clearly articulated a theory of "differential sovereignty" that informed the core of Hertzog's 1926 Native Bills, which proposed to extend Africans' land rights in exchange for Africans surrendering the common franchise (Dubow, 1989: 6). These (and other developments) formed the backdrop of African resistance[6] in Alexandra in the period before the National Party's 1948 electoral victory as Africans became increasingly aware of the fact that segregation was to be used to further subordinate Africans whilst also furthering the cause for a white South African nationalism. In effect, segregation (in the hands of Afrikaner nationalists of Hertzog's ilk) was to make South Africa a whites-only nation (Dubow, 1989).

2.3 Alexandra's Perils under Apartheid

The Mentz Committee in 1953 largely settled Alexandra's fate in the new apartheid order. Appointed by H.F. Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, in 1952, the Committee was charged with "giving substance to the 1950 Group Areas Act" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 171)[7]. In June 1953 the Committee put forward its recommendations: "Alexandra should not grow any further, and Alexandra's population ought to be reduced so that it ultimately comprised of residents working in [Johannesburg's] northern suburbs" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 171). Alexandra's residents who worked in south/central Johannesburg and Germiston would be relocated to the African townships that serviced those areas (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Ironically, no time scale was laid down for accomplishing these goals, and there was no plan on what policy would be adopted for Alexandra's free-hold stand owners (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

[6] These moments of political resistance included the Alexandra Bus Boycotts of 1940-1944 and the Alexandra Squatters' Movement that took place between 1940 and 1947 which resulted in the Johannesburg City Council acting to address the squatters' grievance by providing access to better-quality municipal housing (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008; Stadler, 1979).

[7] The 1950 Group Areas Act laid down the broad principles for racial, residential and business segregation. The Mentz Committee was tasked with considering the racial zoning of the Witwatersrand's peri-urban areas circa September 1952.

In late 1955/ early 1956, there was clearer direction on Alexandra's fate going forward. In meetings held between the Department of Native Affairs and the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board (PUAHB), it was resolved that the PUAHB would assume administrative control of Alexandra. The township was to become a hostel complex and any excessive costs incurred for the endeavour "would have to be covered by the central government" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 172). In January 1956, a working committee of the Department of Native Affairs met and made four more detailed recommendations. First, a committee of the PUAHB (comprised of three members of the PUAHB and three members of the Department of Native Affairs) would undertake the running of Alexandra[8]. Second, strict influx control measures would reduce Alexandra's population from 90,000 to 30,000. Third, government loans would cover the capital expenses for the venture. Finally, increases in rates paid by Alexandra's residents would cover the costs for improved services. Stand owners would be forced to sell their houses to the PUAHB who would turn them into hostels (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008:172-177)[9].

Late 1958 marked the beginning of large-scale family removals to Meadowlands with a second big removal to Zone 8 in Meadowlands scheduled for April 1959 (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Single men who had legitimate employment were sent to hostels in Dube or Nancefield (where they were dispatched was dependent on whether they were Zulu or Sotho) (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). However, those who had spent time in jail were denied permits to reside in either Alexandra or other Johannesburg townships. By February 1960 it was reported that over 20,000 of Alexandra's residents had been moved to Meadowlands and Diepkloof. Over the following three years, another 27,000 people were forcibly removed from the township (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). The PUAHB recruited a squad of local police who carried out daily permit raids that aided in

[8] The establishment of the area committee following the dissolution of the AHC on 3 February 1958 which threatened the unity of Alexandra, which was best characterised during the 1957 bus boycott.

[9] The government expected stand owners to sell their property as a result of losing their lodgers and experiencing an increase in rates. This expectation demonstrated a great element of cynicism in official thinking (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

the removal of residents who did not have permits to stay in Alexandra. Families were more likely to be moved before single tenants. This was an act of malevolence that demonstrated that the "government wanted to stop blacks owning property" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 177). This coincided with the Johannesburg municipality's plan to relocate workers and their families from Johannesburg's wider peri-urban areas to Alexandra. This plan reflected the Mentz Committee's aim of turning Alexandra into a "dormitory for northern peri-urban Johannesburg workers" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 178). Alexandra's Coloured population was also the target of removals, with the government removing Alexandra's Coloured population of 3,600 to Noordgesig and Eldorado (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). "Between 1959 and 1963 the PUAHB resettled 44,700 people and bought 472 stands at a total cost of R1, 275,000 (an average of R2, 700 per property)" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 184). Furthermore, Soweto's housing production made it possible to continue with the rapid rate of forced removals.

By the mid-1960s, the removal of Alexandra's residents was slowed down because of the significant reduction in number of new houses being built in Soweto and Katlehong (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Moreover, there was significant criticism of the government's plans to transform Alexandra into a community of hostel. "The Black Sash and the Progressive Party (PP) were vocal in their criticism of the hostels and their negative effects on urban African family life" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 191). The imminent removal of live-in African domestic workers from Johannesburg's suburbs filled many with the anxiety of being highly inconvenienced and having their domestic labourers live in the "insalubrious hostels" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 192).

Nevertheless, the mounting criticism against the policy towards Alexandra did not stop the apartheid government from changing the administration of Alexandra. "In 1973 the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) took over the administration of Alexandra from the PUAHB" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 193). This change in the body governing the township represented a more strong-armed

approach to the dispossession of Alexandra's property owners. In December 1974, hundreds of Alexandra's property owners were instructed to vacate their properties by 16 January 1975 (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Moreover, property owners were informed that they would be stripped of their ownership rights and declared tenants. The WRAB's instruction received small but significant resistance from the dispossessed property owners.

One of the serious points of contention between stand owners and the government was the compensation awarded for expropriated properties. "Stand owners accused the government of gross underpayment"[10] (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 194). The WRAB demanded direct payment from tenants, depriving owners of a valuable (oftentimes sole) source of income. The position of stand owners was most threatened with the former owners of expropriated properties being forced to choose between relocating to another township and living in their own homes as tenants, thus having to pay rent to the WRAB (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Despite the state's repressive policies, opposition to these policies was increasing and affected the state's ability to implement its policies. In 1975 there only 252 removals; this was a significant drop from 1974's 2,300 removals (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 196). In 1976 the figure was even lower with a mere 35 people being removed from the township (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). The decline in the number of removals was the result of resistance by stand owners and the 1976 student uprising.

2.4 Late Apartheid Spatial Interventions in Alexandra

Removals slowed down considerably in 1976; however, the state remained committed to its plans for Alexandra. Meanwhile, living conditions in the township plummeted considerably with Alexandra becoming the repository for waste material from industrial firms in the surrounding areas of Kew and Wynberg (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Additionally, "night-soil was only being removed on certain days, instead of daily before dawn" (Bonner and

[10] In the mid-1970s independent valuators put the price of stands at R8, 500, R13, 500, and R16, 000 respectively. However, the WRAB offered stand owners R3, 000, R5, 400, and R6, 070 for the same properties (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 194).

Nieftagodien, 2008: 216). With these deteriorating conditions, the Alexandra Liaison Committee (ALC) was established in 1974 (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 217). Alongside the Alexandra Students' League (ASL), the ALC protested the disruptive effects of the removals and the inhumane conditions at the City Deep hostel. The two organisations joined together to form the Alexandra Residents' Interim Committee which became increasingly concerned with making representations to the government about the proposed removals. With the slow and uneven development of the hostels, the National Party (NP) eventually agreed to begin negotiations with the Interim Committee that resulted in a reprieve for the township (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 217-227). With the reprieve, the township would not be removed. Additionally, Dr Willie Vosloo, the then-Deputy Minister of the Department of Co-operation and Community Development, announced the NP-led government's "intention to launch a 'renewal programme' that would redevelop the township for family housing" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 224).

The slowing down of removals in 1976 coincided with the launch of the Urban Foundation (UF) (1976-1994), an organisation co-founded by South African magnates Harry Oppenheimer and Anton Rupert whose objective was to "promote and co-ordinate involvement by the private sector in the improvement of the quality of life of urban communities on a non-political, non-racial basis" (Robbins, 1997: 2). Launched at a conference at the Carlton Hotel in late November 1976, the founders of the UF were at pains to make a distinction between political problems, which would not be the UF's concern, and developmental problems which the UF felt obligated to play a role in mitigating (Robbins, 1997). With Mr. Justice Jan Steyn appointed as the first executive director, the UF began to promote the establishment of urban environments that recognized urban Africans as permanent dwellers rather than as temporary migrant labourers (especially with regards to the apartheid government's influx control measures which predominated their dealings with Alexandra Township and its dwellers).

Despite the jubilance surrounding the reprieve, there was no comment on whether Alexandra would remain a freehold area. Eventually, there emerged details of a supposed 99-year-leasehold scheme, which would "remove the township's freehold status" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 226). The UF credited itself with playing a significant role in the emergence of the 99-year leasehold scheme (Robbins, 1997). The UF regarded the 99-year leasehold scheme as an important step in the right direction[11] which was the result of the submission of carefully researched memoranda, convening of meetings with government officials and politicians, and preparation of final draft legislation. It was not the ideal solution for the UF (as the organisation was aiming for more permanent security of tenure), however the 99-year leasehold scheme provided a solid foundation for the UF's housing programmes. In addition to the 99-year leasehold scheme, the government announced plans to remove Alexandra's remaining Coloured residents to Eldorado Park, Newclare, Western Coloured Township, and Klipspruit West (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). This announcement ignited resistance from Alexandra's Coloured residents, with the culmination of a Save Alexandra Coloured Party that was supported by the Save Alexandra Party. Despite these negative developments, the reprieve represented the failure of the NP's grand plan to "convert Alexandra into a prototype migrant urban township" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 227).

The reprieve of 1979 marked the end of nearly two decades of uncertainty for Alexandra's residents. The promises made by the NP-led national government and the ALC resulted in the formulation of the Alexandra Master Plan. The Alexandra Master Plan was intended to serve as "a blueprint for the reconstruction of the township" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 229). The Master Plan was part of the national government's reform policy which was the result of the Riekert Commission[12]. The Commission resulted in the government offering a limited

[11] This was especially true in case of non-white townships without freehold ownership that only had council tenancies.

[12] The Riekert Commission, established in 1977, was intended to investigate issues pertaining to the status of black labour and of the urban black population. The Commission acknowledged that townships were experiencing a deep crisis resulting from "poor local administration, financial shortfalls, and influx control" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 229).

development package to the township (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). The package was the result of the government withdrawing subsidies for housing and other municipality services. Instead, the government decided to "privatise the provision of housing" in Alexandra in an attempt to facilitate the rise of a black middle-class which was intended to act as a buffer between the state and the increasing radical urban working class (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 230). The government established the Black Local Authorities (BLAs) which would have to be fiscally self-sufficient. This placed a lot of them in a difficult position as they operated within "a context of radically reduced sources of income and pervasive poverty" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 230).

The state's policies towards urban Africans compromised the Master Plan's development objectives. In 1981, Alexandra received a measly sum of R1 million from the WRAB (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). This sum was significantly lower than the R100 million required to address Alexandra's development requirements. The financial shortfall resulted in the Save Alexandra Party (then Alexandra's BLA) adopting the apartheid government's heavy-handed rhetoric to prioritise Alexandra's various developmental needs (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 236). The promise to provide housing for the poor was side-lined with the Master Plan creating a hierarchy of communities of people who would be prioritised. Alexandra's stand owners were required to "sell their properties to the WRAB" to enable the restructuring of the township wherein the "grid layout of the township would be replaced by six neighbourhood units…comprising 1,000 families" (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 236). The Save Alexandra Party began to campaign against Alexandra's supposedly 'illegal' residents and took over from the WRAB in demolishing backyard shacks and evicting 'illegal' residents (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 237). In the four years of ALC control, conditions in the township had barely improved. The attempts at reform failed; therefore, the ALC/ Save Alexandra Party lost and the Master Plan lost legitimacy amongst Alexandra's residents.

In the 1980s, the UF was also experiencing some challenges because its activities roused the suspicions of both the apartheid government and African communities (including in Alexandra). Leaders within township liberation struggles accused the UF of offering a palliative for Africans in "an attempt to weaken the revolutionary resolve" (Robbins, 1997: 9). The UF's problems and Alexandra's general problems served as the backdrop for the establishment of Planact in 1985. Planact (1985-present) comprised of a group of urban development professionals who stated their commitment to effecting social and political change in South Africa. Planact was similar to the UF in that they both focused on providing housing and services to African urban communities. However, Planact differed from the UF in that it was an openly political organisation that sought to use their urban planning skills and expertise to support community-based organisations (CBOs) engaged in the anti-apartheid struggle (Swilling, 1998).

Planact was part of a group of six organisations founded in the ten-year period preceding the end of apartheid. The other organisations included the Built Environment Group in Durban, the Development Action Group and the Foundation for Contemporary Research in Cape Town, CORPLAN in East London, and the Urban Services in Port Elizabeth (Swilling, 1998: 286). Planact, like the UF, was confronted with the question of whether collaborating with the late-apartheid state would assist them in achieving their main objectives of improving African townships. Planact felt that their mission was to assist urban Africans in their "struggle for the city" (Swilling, 1998: 286). This mission culminated in their supporting anti-apartheid organisations in their calls for "one city, one tax base" in the late 1980s (Royston, 2006; Swilling, 1998).

Unlike the UF, Planact did not regard their work as being in the interest of South African big business. They approached community members as autonomous people who best knew what structural problems needed to be resolved within their communities (Swilling, 1998). Planact regarded itself as playing a role in the "conversational revolution" that precipitated the end of apartheid (Swilling, 1998: 291). Although the UF will stake its claim in this "conversational revolution", it is

important to note that their key members absolved their companies' roles in the establishment and perpetuation of the apartheid system by stating that business had become an unwitting accessory to the apartheid system which is definitely not the case. Furthermore, the UF's operations were top-down with a great focus on the technical, as opposed to Planact's adoption of a bottom-up process wherein their expertise served to support local community's organisation efforts. The UF and Planact are important historical actors to cover when discussing late-apartheid urban reforms. Their work affected late-apartheid attempts at reforming Alexandra Township, thus they were important actors that demonstrated attempts by private-sector and non-governmental actors at bringing about reforms in Alexandra.

2.4.1 Negotiating Post-Apartheid Johannesburg's Urban Reconfiguration

The end of apartheid resulted in the new democratic dispensation having to confront a spatial legacy of fragmented cityscapes. In the case of Johannesburg, this was a cityscape with heavily-subsidised wealthy white suburbs and heavily-indebted black townships. Furthermore, Johannesburg's cityscape consisted of thirteen distinct localities which the post-apartheid government intended on amalgamating into the City of Johannesburg (CoJ). The amalgamation was intended to heed late anti-apartheid calls for 'one city, one tax base'. This process of amalgamation resulted in the wealthy white suburbs such as Randburg and Sandton being combined with low-income (largely black) localities to facilitate the "cross-subsidisation of the provision of municipal services from wealthy areas to poor areas" (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006: 328). Sandton was combined with Alexandra Township because of both areas' proximity to one another, as is shown in figure 2.1 below.

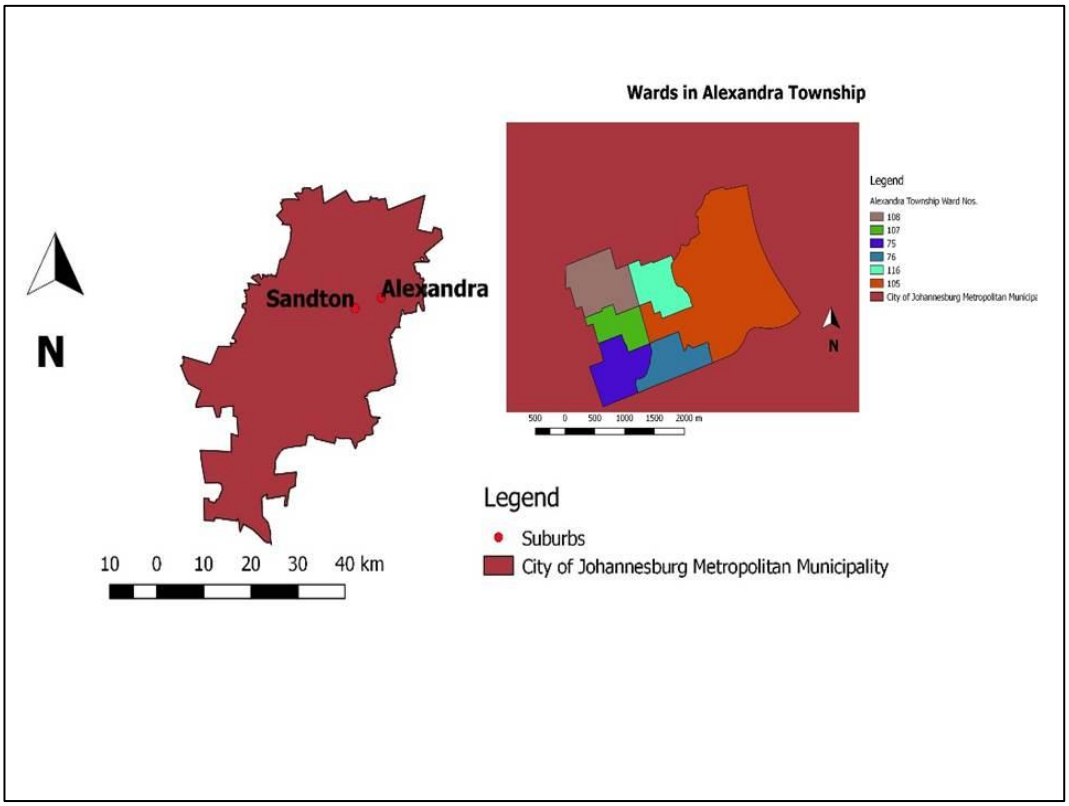


Figure 2.1: Maps Showing Alexandra Township's Proximity to Sandton and the Wards in Alexandra Township. Source: Municipal Demarcation Board (2013) and the GCRO (2017). Cartography by Sandiswa Sondzaba

Within the context of ever-escalating political and financial costs for the enforcement of apartheid municipal by-laws, many white localities entered negotiations with African civic leaders for "limited municipal integration" which culminated in the signing of the Soweto Accord of 1990 (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006: 333). In 1991, the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber (CWMC) was established to enable the successful development of a negotiated transformation of local government (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006). The CWMC included the Transvaal Provincial Administration, then-current local government structures, civic organisation from African townships, and representatives from the ANC and other recently-unbanned political parties. The main aim of the CWMC was to "provide a non-racial and democratic local governance structure that was to enable the cross subsidisation of municipal services and improve service delivery for all urban residents" (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006: 334).

Propositions for three different local government configurations were out forward: the ANC proposed three or four sub-structures to ensure an adequate tax base and redistribution of municipal services; the Democratic Party- now the Democratic Alliance (DA)- proposed twenty sub-structures to "ensure greater participation in and control of local government for residents of Johannesburg's northern suburbs"; and civic associations proposed seven sub-structures to allow redistribution and greater democratic governance (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006: 334).

By September 1994, the CWMC reached agreement on a Transitional Metropolitan Council (TMC) that would consist of seven sub-structures. This resulted in the establishment of the national Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) which was made up of representatives from the apartheid government and various other political parties, trade unions, civil society organisations (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006; Robinson, 1998). The LGNF negotiated for a system of local governance that would be a combination of ward and proportional representation. The final legislation agreed that fifty percent of the wards in any local government election would consist of previously white locality areas (which also included former Coloured and Indian areas) whilst the other fifty percent would be delimited in the remaining areas. Ultimately, the negotiations for post-apartheid local governance culminated in a settlement that gave white residents a veto over many areas of local government, thus, ensuring that white residents' privileges were to remain protected (Robinson, 1998).

The negotiations resulted in the drafting of 1993 Local Government Transition Act. Within that Act, provision was made for the Demarcation Boards in post-apartheid South Africa's nine provinces (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006). In Johannesburg, there was the development of a two-tier metropolitan structure with a TMC and four Transitional Metropolitan Substructures. This structure was later named the Transitional Metropolitan Local Councils (TMLCs). Within the TMLCs, the wealthier northern suburbs were combined with Johannesburg's poorer neighbourhoods. For example, the Eastern Metropolitan Local Council

(EMLC) was formed when Sandton and Alexandra were placed in the "same local government structure" whilst Randburg and Diepkloof to the south of Johannesburg were combined to form the Northern Metropolitan Council (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006: 335). The new councils were intended transitional until the local government elections which were to be held in 2000. The partly-centralised TMLCs fell under the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJTMC) which was meant to coordinate the full integration of the City of Johannesburg (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006).

a) Resistance from White Localities

With the restructuring of Johannesburg's localities, white residents (especially from the northern suburbs) were concerned that their property values would be negatively impacted by the changes in Johannesburg's municipal boundaries (Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006; Clarno, 2013). In addition to this, South Africa's post-apartheid era was marked by a huge surge in crime that resulted in South African post-apartheid urban governance being characterised as chaotic with local government seeking to "establish social order and stability to decrease levels of crime and violence" (Robinson, 1998: 383). In this context of increased insecurity, white localities began to demonstrate resistance to the post-apartheid order. Focusing on Sandton, this section will explore the Sandton Rates Dispute (1996-1998), and the rise of road closures and gated communities in the post-apartheid cityscape.

b) The Sandton Rates Dispute

The Sandton Rates Dispute emerged as a form of resistance to the ANC government's vision to consolidate urban governance and cross-subsidisation (Clarno, 2013). The principal object of contestation was the perceived cost to Sandton residents of upgrading black townships (Clarno, 2013; Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006). In 1992, the Sandton city council pre-empted the formation of the unification of the city of Johannesburg by proposing the creation of a municipality encompassing Sandton, Randburg and Alexandra Township. This proposition was an attempt to control the consequent cost of subsidising black areas as Alexandra

was regarded as being less expensive to subsidise than Soweto; however, proposal fell away with the adoption of the 1993 Local Government Transition Act. With the subsequent restructuring of the Johannesburg metropolis, a dispute emerged between the TMLC and the municipal sub-structures which resulted in the Sandton Rates Dispute (Clarno, 2013).

The rates dispute started with the GJMTC announcing its intention to equalise property tax rates across Johannesburg. The 150-385% increase in taxes created a R438 million surplus that was to be redistributed throughout Johannesburg's four municipal sub-structures. Appropriating an anti-apartheid protest strategy, the Sandton Federation of Ratepayers Association (SANFED) organised a boycott of payment of property taxes in Johannesburg's northern suburbs (Clarno, 2013). The rates boycott was in response to residents regarding the GJTMC as being "authoritarian and arrogant" with the fear that "equality would mean the decline of wealthy white suburbs rather than the upgrading of poor black townships" (Clarno, 2013: 1197). In the midst of the boycott's intermittent continuance between 1996 and 1998, the South African Constitutional Court upheld the equalisation of property tax rates in October 1998. In 1999, the GJTMC and the regional sub-structures were successfully replaced by the unified City of Johannesburg (CoJ) (Clarno, 2013).

This success, however, did not mark the end of white residents' attempts to undermine the new dispensation of urban governance through strategies such as residents' associations (RAs), gating streets, privatised security, gated communities and CIDs (Clarno, 2017; Dirsuweit and Wafer, 2006; Landman and Badenhorst, 2014). Within this context of white resistance to post-apartheid urban reconfiguration, Alexandra has continued to exist as a ghetto of urban poverty that provides cheap labour to the mostly-white wealthier suburbs. Increasingly, poor African men from marginalised areas like Alexandra are employed as security guards within these suburbs, acting as gatekeepers to their fellow poor Africans who are perceived to constitute a security threat to the mostly-white suburban dwellers (Clarno, 2007).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the historical spatial interventions in Alexandra, of which the ARP is a later iteration. Historicising the ARP is critical to get an understanding of the broader aims that led to the conceptualisation and implementation of the ARP's objectives, as will be explored in later chapters of this dissertation. This chapter has demonstrated that Alexandra is a locale that has been subjected to numerous attempts to reform it into what state officials, technocrats, and urban professionals have imagined as being the ideal version of the space in which Alexandra exists. Because of its strong community-based political tradition, Alexandra has managed to resist the attempts to change it into a more palatable version of itself. This resistance has rendered complex the relationship between state officials, technocrats, and urban professionals' spatial imaginaries of the idealised Alexandra and their material practices as they attempted to create the ideal version of Alexandra Township. It is within this formative legacy that my research project unpacks the relationship between the ARP's urban professionals' spatial imaginaries and these urban professionals' material practices in the ARP. However, before beginning this work, it is important to situate Alexandra's socio-spatial history in a broader context of scholarly debates around spatial planning and development. The following chapter outlines these scholarly engagements.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

In my literature review, I focus on four key literatures within which my project is situated and best enable me to analyse my research findings. First, I discuss the literature on spatial planning approaches, particularly on spatial planning policies, their effectiveness, and township renewal especially in relation to the URP of which the ARP was part. Following from that is the land use management literature which discusses land use management techniques, legality and land-use management, and how spatial planning and land-use management practices have combined in two contexts: Delhi, India and post-apartheid South Africa. Finally, I discuss the anthropology of development experts and brokers who serve as important intermediaries between institutions and the subjects of developmental interventions. All the sections of the literature review are meant to demonstrate the various elements of developmental projects such as the ARP and the debates which have both preceded and followed such developmental interventions.

3.2 Spatial Planning Approaches

3.2.1 Spatial Planning Policies

According to Lupton and Turok (2004), the best spatial planning approaches to development are interventions that are implemented on a small-area basis. These approaches are intended to change the nature of a place, as well as to involve residents and other stakeholders with an interest in the future success of the place. Increasing focus on spatial planning has largely been the result of increasing significance awarded to the spatial dimensions of poverty. This increasing significance has occurred concurrently with the shifting definition of poverty from a relative concept to an absolute concept (Lupton and Turok, 2004). Spatial planning approaches are regarded as either being important means of democratic renewal and practical problem-solving within deprived communities, or they are regarded as a diversion from other approaches that may tackle the root causes of various socio-economic challenges within a community (Lupton and Turok, 2004).

There are three distinct approaches to spatial planning policies; these are spatial rebalancing, space-neutral, and place-based approaches (Todes and Turok, 2015). Todes and Turok (2015, 2017) discuss the long infamous history of spatial planning in South Africa that first reinforced uneven geographical development between black and white (initially agriculturally but progressively urban) spaces in the colonial and apartheid eras before attempting to mitigate these spatial inequities in post-apartheid South Africa. Considering spatial planning approaches within this context is important as my dissertation focuses on a spatial planning project, the ARP, that attempted to mitigate historical spatial inequities that disadvantaged township spaces like Alexandra township. The three spatial planning approaches will be discussed in further detail below.

a) Spatial Rebalancing

Spatial rebalancing is intended to narrow geographical inequalities, as well as unemployment and poverty, within lagging regions (Todes and Turok, 2015). The approach is pursued by the state (often at the national scale) redistributing investment from prosperous to poor regions as well as by pursuing foreign direct investment (FDI) within lagging regions (Todes and Turok, 2015). This approach is guided by an assumption of "geographical polarisation over poverty" being both the "key cause and symptom of social exclusion" (Wallace, 2001: 2164). Policy interventions are normally standardised, with great emphasis placed on infrastructure-led developments that are intended to support large mobile manufacturing projects (e.g. SEZs). The economic benefits are normally derived from lower operating costs; therefore, these benefits are often one-off (Turok and Todes, 2015).

This approach has been criticised for being formulaic and failing to promote self-sustaining growth (Todes and Turok, 2015). Furthermore, the spatial rebalancing approach places responsibility on lagging regions for their misfortunes (Massey, 1979). What the approach misses is that the fortunes of lagging areas are often the result of wider trends beyond the immediate area (Lupton and Turok, 2004). In the context of the United Kingdom (UK), these trends are widening economic

disparities between city-regions; population redistribution as well as the lack of housing demand (although this downward trend in housing demand has changed in recent years); and the increasingly concentrated settlement patterns of minority, and marginalised groups resulting in increasing concentration of social and economic problems (Lupton and Turok, 2004).

b) Space-Neutral

The aim of the space-neutral approach is to increase efficiency to maximise overall growth (Todes and Turok, 2015). The approach is the result of area decline being attributed to economic change, industrial decline/stagnation, and increasing demand for new skillsets (Moira, 2001). It emerged partly because of the challenges redistributive policies faced within the context of an increasingly "competitive global environment with stressed public finances" (Todes and Turok, 2017: 6). Within the space-neutral approach, "labour migration and infrastructure [connection is encouraged] to facilitate economic concentration" (Todes and Turok, 2017: 6). Policy interventions respond to and reinforce market dynamics enabling the sustained growth of of large cities through prioritising people-focused public services and deregulating the housing market to "expand housing supply in fast-growing cities" (Todes and Turok, 2017: 6).

The space-neutral approach posits that spatial targeting is recommended only for highly urbanised countries with significant economic disparities across regions. Economic benefits are expected to be the result of productivity gains from proximity and agglomeration as economic growth is largely driven by density, distance, and division (Todes and Turok, 2015). The benefits are assumed to have more dynamism than the benefits accrued from spatial rebalancing approaches (Todes and Turok, 2015). Thus, the expected outcome is greater national economic growth with higher levels of income per capita.

Several criticisms have been levelled against this approach. First, the approach assumes that spatial impacts of most government policies are the same across the board. However, most spatially blind policies produce unequal outcomes and

differentiate impacts. This disparity is the result of spatially different conditions for implementation; this is particularly true in the case of human capital and institutions (Todes and Turok, 2017). Second, the approach assumes that mobility in trade and other factors are equalizing forces that bring about unequivocal gains from economic integration between regions (Todes and Turok, 2017). This is an ahistoric understanding of the factors that bring about significant socio-economic inequalities between and within regions. The space neutral approach is unhelpful for a context like South Africa, where historical socio-political processes (e.g. apartheid town planning) have continued to frustrate attempts to foster greater socio-spatial integration and equality in the post-apartheid South African context (Todes, 2014). Third, the space-neutral approach "neglects to consider the influence of local institutions, the qualitative character of growth, and the enduring economic inequalities between places" (Todes and Turok, 2017: 7). Too much reliance is placed on the market to address socio-spatial inequalities (Todes and Turok, 2017). Finally, the approach is underpinned by a causal model within which greater urbanization results in increased industrialisation which necessarily raises productivity, increases economic growth, increases wealth-creation, and leads to notable reduction in unemployment levels (Todes and Turok, 2017). There is evidence that disputes this causal relationship as increasing urbanisation in low-income countries has often resulted in jobless economic growth, thus, forcing semi- and un-skilled workers into the informal economic sector (Chen et al., 2016).

c) Place-Based Approaches

The place-based approach aims to improve economic conditions within regions by concentrating on each region's development instead of redistribution across regions (Todes and Turok, 2015). The key assumption of the place-based approach is that the good implementation of carefully-designed policies can have a positive impact on a region's economic trajectory (Todes and Turok, 2017). The approach both focuses on the strengthening of unique assets in each locality and on supporting diversification into new economic activities. Local enterprise and innovation are promoted by policy instruments being tailored for specific regions

(Todes and Turok, 2017). Therefore, the policy interventions combine improving mainstream programmes with developing more integrated local solutions (Moira, 2001). Developmental strategies should be tied to their local contexts and should build upon local knowledge, capabilities, and resources (Todes and Turok, 2015). The emphasis on differentiation results in the economic benefits being dynamic and qualitative in nature. The intended outcome of the place-based approach is each region developing its own unique economic growth path (Todes and Turok, 2015).

The place-based approach is based on a few fundamental principles. First, development strategies should be unique to their specific geographic context. Second, decision-making should not be based on narrow vested interests, especially with regards to the speculative development of urban land. Finally, planning, decision-making and co-financing at multiple levels are critical in ensuring that multi-scalar perspectives are factored into policy- design and implementation (Todes and Turok, 2015; Todes and Turok, 2017). Todes and Turok (2017) argue that there has not been enough robust engagement with the strengths and weaknesses of the place-based approach in South Africa. This is largely because the approach is difficult to design as it combines different policy mechanisms which are dependent on local socio-economic realities (Todes and Turok, 2017).

3.2.2 Effectiveness of Area-Based Planning

Area-based planning has become a key means of achieving structural reforms in places with deeply-entrenched spatial inequalities. Internationally, area-based planning policies have been developed to regenerate deprived areas through "improving job prospects, reducing crime, increasing educational opportunities [and] reducing poor health" (Kleinman, 1999: 188). Arguing from within the British context, Kleinman (1999) argues that there are four potential reasons for the importance of area-based planning policies: social and urban policy ought to concentrate on existing pockets of poverty and deprivation; general conditions are worsened by the pockets of poverty and deprivation as they intensify the negative

external impact from deprived areas to the rest of the nation-state; the disproportionate allocation of funds to the worst-off areas is an effective manner of increasing equity; and policy is more effective when it is implemented at the local scale, and when it is formulated in collaboration with the community the specific policy is directed towards.

To successfully achieve its aims, area-based planning needs to consider the "inseparability of economic processes from the social, political, historical, and geographic contexts that give them meaning" (Lawson, 2010: 353). Within the South African context, area-based planning policy is hindered by contradictory focusses in policy implementation. On the one hand, there is a new generation of policy instruments that prioritises the implementation of policy interventions in locations that are regarded as being both accessible and having great potential for economic growth (Rabe et al., 2015). On the other hand, there remains the entrenchment a traditional telescopic approach to area-based planning within local and regional policy discourse (Rabe et al., 2015). The telescopic approach conceptualises the urban region as consisting of siloed neighbourhoods that vie for "allocative preference in a perpetual zero-sum competition" (Rabe et al., 2015: 727).

According to Rabe et al (2015), the telescopic approach reproduces systemic inefficiencies through the three forms of spatial bias implicit within it. These three biases are dispersive[13], exclusionary[14], and supply-side biases[15]. More than reproducing economic inefficiencies, these biases reproduce a telescopic urban form that excludes the urban poor from meaningfully participating in the design and implementation of area-based policies (Amin, 2013). With these weaknesses

[13] Dispersive bias entails the emphasis of economic activity to new nodes instead of reinforcing existing nodes which results in telescopic targeting's failure "to take advantage from agglomeration economies" (Rabe et al., 2015: 728).

[14] The exclusionary bias involves the counterpoising of "social need and economic potential through a false binary of 'winners' and 'losers'" that results in a "bias towards areas with limited economic potential" (Rabe et al., 2015: 729).

[15] The supply-side bias is the result of the telescopic approach's "neglect of regional market forces"; this neglect weakens local government's capacity to "facilitate and direct private-sector investment". This results in the weakened capacity giving way to arbitrary decision-making that is "weakly linked to economic data" (Rabe et al., 2015: 729).

in mind, it then means that alternative approaches to development need to be investigated. Spatial targeting is often counterpoised with people-based approaches to development that include the livelihoods approach which proposes that addressing poverty requires thinking about it in terms of strength and assets (Rakodi, 2002). The ARP, as an example of area-based development in the post-apartheid South African context, sought to improve local conditions which is different to most instances of area-based development projects (particularly within Europe) which mostly focus on economic development.

3.3 Land Use Management

3.3.1 Land Use Management Techniques

It is critical to understand the role played by land use management in guiding approaches to area-based planning. Land use management consists of various techniques that include "land use zoning, performance zoning, form-based control and discretionary systems" (Nel, 2016: 79). A more controversial land use management technique is that of land use zoning which "defines the rules governing what and where people and institutions can and cannot build and operate in [their] cities, suburbs, and towns" (Nel, 2016: 82). Land use zoning has been enthusiastically embraced and propagated in spaces such as the USA for being the land use technique best able to both minimise hazards such as fires and pollution and resolving land use conflicts through demarcation certain land-zones for exclusive use in specific activities (Nel, 2016). In South Africa, land use management was historically used to mitigate potential conflict between different racial groups through the racial demarcation of pieces of land, particularly agricultural and urban land (Nel, 2016). According to Perin (1977), land use zoning is a land use technique that not only governs the arrangement of land uses but also governs how land users, in their various social categories, are to be related to one another. Perin (1977) examines the cultural meanings given to different categories of land users in the American context. Homeowners are regarded as having followed the correct sequence up the ladder of life from being a renter to being a homeowner (Perin, 1977). Renters, on the other hand, are regarded as having destabilising characteristics that threaten the stability of their community as well as the value of the properties within which they are renting.

3.3.2 Legality and Land Use Management

a) Property and Land Use Management

Blomley (2017) argues that land use management is a taken-for-granted aspect of town planning that has great significance. The significance lies in the fact that thinking of a town through a land use lens results in the classification of spaces "according to the function or use to which they are put" (Blomley, 2017: 353). Conceptualising a town around its "land use entails a form of primary spatialized classification" (Blomley, 2017: 353). The land use lens places the ownership of the land itself in a secondary position. The land use lens places objects, and not people, as the primary focus. Furthermore, Blomley (2017) argues that our investigations of land use management ought to include a focus on private property. Using the two intellectual currents of utilitarianism and the political economy of land, Blomley (2017) demonstrates how private property is an important component of investigating land uses[16]. When left uncontrolled, the ownership of private property causes significant harm to the land being used and, by extension, the general population using that land. Land use management is a form of biopolitics that results in the "use" of land having greater value than the actual land itself (Blomley, 2017: 355).

Property value is important, according to Perin (1977), as homeowners are in fact home-buyers. The value of buying property lies in the home-buyer having long-term debt to the supplier of their mortgages (Perin, 1977). Home-buyers agree to this debt as a result of their believing that their property will appreciate over time. Therefore, home-buyers regard renters as being a class of people who threaten this expected future income (Perin, 1977). This perceived threat results in homeowners being resistant to mixed-use zoning: renters and townhouse owners are expected to be in a different area to traditional homeowners. Perin (1977)

[16] According to utilitarianism, private property may be a hindrance to collective utility through its existence as a socially produced monopoly that may cause harm to the general well-being of the state (Blomley, 2017). With the political economy of land, it is argued that private property owners will not initiate the "improvements" required by the general population. Rent-seeking activity and economic inefficiencies are inherent in private property ownership. Both result in the land being ineffectively used (Blomley, 2017).

argues that these cultural meanings have class-and race-based consequences because of historical legislation that restricted property ownership to certain groups of people. For example, African-Americans were not given the opportunity of becoming homeowners through redlining, discrimination and racially-exclusive title deeds and zoning ordinances. Therefore, renters form a disproportionately large group among African-Americans. This then means that the disregard for renters (as a class) results in African-Americans being particularly disenfranchised as housing projects that would benefit them and other groups of low-income families receives resistance from homeowners (Perin, 1977).

b) Insurgent Property Ownership in Brazil

The use of legal instruments for restricting forms of property ownership is not unique to the USA. In Brazil, a perverted version of *sesmaria* law (a form of colonial land tenure) disenfranchised marginalised citizens such that they did not have access to property ownership- a precondition for being regarded as a free citizen in the Brazilian context (Holston, 2008). This historical injustice has manifested itself in recent times through various examples of families being unable to get legal titles for the lots they had purchased as these lots were illegally purchased (Holston, 2008). Holston (2008) discusses the example of land fraud in Jardim das Camélias which involved 207 families who purchased lots between 1969 and 1972 but, because of the land being purchased illegally, were unable to get legal title to them. The land fraud in Jardim das Camélias resulted in a legal chaos that negatively affected millions of residents living in Sao Paolo's peripheries (Holston, 2008). Remarkably, those who were negatively affected by this land fraud were able to articulate a rights-based discourse that legitimised their claims to property ownership and the lots which they (or their parents) had inadvertently illegally purchased (Holston, 2008). Like Perin (1977), Holston (2008) uses the example of land fraud to demonstrate "the relationship [that exists] between land use and social order" (Perin, 1977: xiii).

3.3.3 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management in Delhi: Rule by Aesthetics

Another element of land use management that needs to be considered is the visual appearance of the land that is to be managed. Ghertner (2011) discusses a legal case between a local environmental group and Delhi's top seven land developers between 2003 and 2007. The case involved the local environmental group, the Ridge Bachao Andolan (Save the Ridge Movement), challenging the construction of India's largest shopping mall on Delhi's southern ridge which was a protected legal space. The project was defended by the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) on the basis of its "planned-ness" (and thus its legality) being the result of its "involvement of professional builders, its high-quality construction, its strategic function in boosting Delhi's architectural profile" and the future mall's visual appearance (proof of which was provided by the blueprints of the proposed development) (Ghertner, 2011: 279). Concurrent with this legal dispute was another multigenerational slum development being deemed illegal and a nuisance by both the DDA and Delhi's Master Plan. Although the settlement was in conformance with the land use designation listed in the Master Plan, it was demolished because of the apparent "unsightly" condition of the slum (Ghertner, 2011: 280). Ghertner (2011) argues that both cases demonstrate that the appearance of a development's "planned-ness", and by extension legality, is based on its aesthetic without any regard for the actual development's legality or the existence of any complementarity between the actually-existing urban development and Delhi's Master Plan.

This "aesthetic mode of governing" is widespread in Delhi and prioritises developments that appear "world-class" whilst marginalising settlements that appear to be "polluting" (Ghertner, 2011: 280). This rule by aesthetics results in the categorisation of slum settlements- and by extension- slum dwellers as being undesirable and exterminable (with the extermination mostly occurring through the demolition of slum settlements). Furthermore, this rule by aesthetics has tangible effects in Delhi's social order with increased marginalisation of the slum dwellers (Ghertner, 2011). Moreover, the slum dwellers begin to perceive their

social standing negatively and they begin to *reimagine* their social position (as slum dwellers) as a temporary problem that will resolve itself once they become the owners of the "world-class" formal housing in the middle- and upper-class suburbs. This "aesthetic mode of governing" (Ghertner, 2011: 280) demonstrates how land use management coalesces with urban governance and further entrenches the marginalisation of socially marginalised urban dwellers.

3.4 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The interaction between addressing historical discriminatory spatial legislation and land use management is particularly pertinent in the post-apartheid South African context. South African cities such as Johannesburg have the key characteristics of the "fragmented nature of urban space" and sprawl (Gotz et al., 2014: 47). These characteristics have intersected with the adoption of racially discriminatory spatial policies, which inSouth Africa's key metropoles aimed to control migration and black urbanisation (Harrison and Todes, 2015). This resulted in the rapid spreading of white residential developments in the urban core with black residential developments being placed in the periphery of urban spaces. Harrison and Todes (2015) point out that these phenomena occurred during high-apartheid which was characterised by the apartheid state being "highly controlling" (149). The post-apartheid state apparatus has attempted to "loosen" state control over urbanisation in an effort to produce more racially integrated cities (Harrison and Todes, 2015). However, although "loosening" has enabled some form of desegregation, it is important to note that it has not wholly succeeded in fostering integration in South Africa's major metropoles (Harrison and Todes, 2015).

It is within this context of stalled integration that the post-apartheid government has attempted to use policy to enable greater spatial integration within the post-apartheid cityscape. In 2013, the then-new mayor of the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) Parks Tau announced his council's commitment to 'Corridors of Freedom' which, through the use of Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) routes across the city,

"would connect strategic urban nodes and attract high-density mixed-used development, shifting the city away from the sprawling urban form inherited from apartheid" (Todes, 2014: 83). This new commitment was in the context of the adoption of many local and national spatial policies which have produced mixed results.

An example of this adoption of spatial policies is the 2013 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) which created, for the first time, "an overarching framework for spatial planning, policy, and land use for the entire country, including rural and informal settlements" (Nel, 2016: 79). SPLUMA is applicable to all spheres of South Africa's government and is notable for being decidedly normative. SPLUMA:

> "emphasizes redress, social justice, equity and inclusion, community participation and transparent decision-making, and awareness of the role of property, housing and environmental management in creating functional, efficient and humane settlements" (Nel, 2016: 80).

SPLUMA has many innovative characteristics in the South African context but it is also noteworthy for basing its land use management tool on land use zoning. It is highly likely that SPLUMA has adopted zoning as its land use management tool because of its ability to restrict the threat of the devaluation of property through the restriction of neighbouring land uses to the same use (Nel, 2016). As Perin (1977) previously discussed, this restriction is problematic as it creates an exclusivity that further disenfranchises marginalised groups of people. Nel (2016) further argues that zoning is problematic because it is insensitive to aesthetics and design, it reduces diversity within the urban ecology, and it simplifies the complexity of the built environment to a set of rules of land uses that exists within an inflexible framework.

Considering alternative land use management tools, Nel (2016) concludes that no single land use management tool is appropriate for use in the South African context. Nel (2016) goes on to argue that a more appropriate land use system should satisfy four criteria. First, it needs to address spatial fragmentation and

exclusion whilst also promoting inclusion and integration within South African cities. Second, it must "promote environmental, social and economic sustainability and resilience" (Nel, 2016: 87). Third, it must opportunities for local livelihoods whilst also supporting the development of diverse economic actvities. Finally, it needs to address municipalities' capacity challenges by focusing on whatever is most essential for "health, safety, amenity and investor confidence" (Nel, 2016: 87).

There have been many debates around the virtues of post-apartheid's government's efforts at urban renewal. In post-apartheid South Africa, area-based interventions[17] delivered mixed results that were largely the result of socio-spatial, political, and institutional arrangements. These complexities made it difficult to account for the socio-spatial contestations that existed within those areas; they also resulted in the area-based interventions exacerbating already-existing contestations over access to various entitlements that include free Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses as well as other free basic social goods and services (Harrison and Harrison, 2014; Harrison et al., 2014; Todes and Turok, 2017).

3.4.1 The Nationwide Urban Renewal Project

The African National Congress (ANC)-led South African government has embarked on numerous township renewal projects. These projects mainly aim to transform townships, particularly former black only townships, from being dormitory areas of intense poverty to being vibrant areas that are well-integrated into the post-apartheid urban fabric (Everatt, 2014; Gotz et al., 2014; Kotze and Mathola, 2012; Todes, 2014). These projects, despite their ambitious aims, have had mixed results for both the townships' residents and their businesses (Donaldson and Du Plessis, 2013; Harrison et al., 2014; Kotze and Mathola, 2012). One such project was the URP whose main objective was the "physical

[17] Todes and Turok (2017: 8) argue that "transversal area-based and issue-based institutional arrangements" are an effective means of reducing the policy fragmentation and compartmentalised institutional mechanisms that often arise in the governance and coordination bodies that guide place-based spatial planning approaches.

and social re-engineering" to mitigate the negative effects of apartheid-era socio-spatial policies in eight central urban nodes (Küsel, 2009: 4). Alexandra Township in Johannesburg was one such central node with other nodes including "KwaMashu and Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal; Mdantsane and Motherwell in the Eastern Cape; Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain in the Western Cape; and Galeshewe in the Northern Cape" (Sinwell, 2009: 165).

The URP's main objective had sub-outcomes that included increasing intra-area mobility and integration of townships into cities; "enhancing the autonomy of townships by improving [townships'] access to services, infrastructure and information"; enhancing human and social capital; and greater connectivity which included both increased access to government services and "enhanced intra-area circulation of purchasing power, increased generation and capture of savings" (Küsel, 2009: 5; Harrison et al., 1997). Practitioners working in the URP nodes were to be guided by various types of interventions to achieve the above-mentioned sub-outcomes. These interventions included "crowding in of public investment, intergovernmental planning [and collaboration], area-based planning and budgeting, partnerships, and community participation" (Küsel, 2009: 5). Ultimately, the goal of the URP was to ensure that most South Africa's township residents would move from the informal second economy into the formal first economy (Küsel, 2009; Aliber et al., 2006).

The URPs were quite successful in delivering infrastructure and services, but the successes of their programmes were largely the result of being implemented through effective line departments (Todes and Turok, 2015). Unsuccessful implementation of the URP aims and objectives (as was the case in the Eastern Cape nodes of Motherwell and Mdantsane) was largely the result of "institutional, political and staffing problems" (Todes and Turok, 2015: 52). Donaldson et al. (2013) in their review of the URP in Khayelitsha's CBD argue that the success of the URP was largely dependent on effective line institutional arrangements that include dedicated project management resources and project 'champions' who can

engage investors from national and provincial government as well as the private sector (Donaldson et al., 2013; Todes and Turok, 2015).

Many scholars have argued that post-apartheid renewal is a term that is increasingly associated with a neoliberal paradigm of urban governance that displaces poor and marginalised individuals and communities (Haferburg and Huchzermeyer, 2014; Mosselson, 2017; Todes, 2014). This association between neoliberalism and post-apartheid urban renewal is most apparent in criticism of the iGoli 2010 and Johannesburg 2030 policies that focused on developing Johannesburg as a world-class African city and shifted attention towards economic development (Lipietz, 2008; Todes, 2014). According to Huchzermeyer (2011), these policies are a clear example of the post-apartheid government's conflation of urban governance with urban competitiveness[18]. However, authors such as Lipietz (2008) have argued that this criticism oversimplifies the complexities inherent within post-apartheid urban governance as a redistributive agenda focused on pro-poor policies and service delivery has remained important. Moreover, the 2006 Growth and Development Strategy (GDS), a long-term strategic plan for the city, has formally shifted the agenda to making Johannesburg "a world-class city for all" with a greater focus on creating equity and "balanced and shared growth" within the CoJ (Todes, 2014: 89). There has been considerable investment in improving the infrastructure and services in former township areas, with a focus on improving both access to services and infrastructural conditions in those areas (Ahmad and Pienaar, 2014; Harrison et al., 2014; Todes, 2014).

It is important to note, though, that post-apartheid urban renewal, especially within the context of an increased focus on urban competitiveness, has failed to mitigate the spatial inequalities that were deeply entrenched within the apartheid era. According to Todes (2014), this failure is the result of the weak linkage

[18] With a singular focus on urban competitiveness, urban governance has become solely focused on developing an environment that enables greater flows of capital (through increased private-sector investment) within particular city regions (Begg, 1999; Pillay, 2004; Turok, 2004).

between spatial planning and infrastructure development, a phenomenon which came to the fore during Eskom's rolling electricity blackouts across South Africa from 2007. Additionally, there was weak linkage between the policy, planning, and process instruments that aimed to effect meaningful transformation through post-apartheid urban renewal schema (Sihlongonyane, 2014). Although post-apartheid urban renewal has brought about significant positive changes, it has also highlighted several challenges to the development of equal access to urban opportunities- a key component of the right to the city (Huchzermeyer, 2011). Todes (2014) argues that the link between infrastructure and planning is one that has the potential to strengthen planning although it is an approach that is more demanding than the traditional master planning, which in the context of colonial and apartheid-era South Africa, has been used to further entrench economic and racialised segregation and inequalities between different areas.

3.5 Anthropology of Development Experts and Brokers

The previous section discussed the literature demonstrating the politicised nature of a technical practice, i.e. land-use management. It becomes important to anthropologise the actors (in this case, experts and brokers) who are tasked with conceptualising implementing these technical practices. In recent years, there has been a considerable increase in the literature on the anthropology of experts. Li (2007) uses the phrase "will to improve" to illustrate the ideology that guides the work that is done by members of professional expert classes. Alongside brokers, these experts often exist as intermediary classes that operate between the state and subaltern.

It would be greatly mistaken, though, to assume that these classes do not have considerable power. Their ubiquity in the development process thus warrants the greater analysis of brokerage and expertise as a phenomenon, instead of merely condemning the practices of brokers and experts. This section of the literature review discusses the literature that has anthropologised developmental experts and brokers. The section ends with Blomley's (2005) discussion of the geographies of professional networks which will enable me to consider the geographical

dimensions of the urban professionals and brokers involved in the ARP as I analyse my research participants' reflections of their involvement in the ARP in the analytical chapters of this dissertation.

3.5.1 Critiquing the Practices of Development Practitioners

The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) was an area-based renewal project that sought to, among other aims, develop Alexandra Township. The urban professionals who were involved in the ARP had a "will to improve" the township. This "will to improve" meant that the professionals occupied the role of trustees who would "claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need" (Li, 2007: 4). Goldman (2005: 11) argues that this occupation of the role of trustees is the result of the project of development building upon "prior colonial and imperial architecture [working in] coordination with powerful postcolonial institutions of capital and state power".

According to Goldman (2005), there exists a rich body of literature that analyses developmental regimes that were constituted under colonialism and imperialism. The connection shared between development and the colonial project is not lost on Li (2007) who analyses the various systems of rule that were used during Indonesia's colonial and post-colonial eras. One such system was the system of "ethical rule" (1905-1930) wherein the colonial state began to assume responsibility for the welfare of indigenous Indonesians. This assumption of responsibility was the result of the proliferation of a "public sense of guilt" about the livelihoods of indigenous Indonesians (Li, 2007: 41). The "ethical rule" was widely accepted in the Netherlands on the condition that the improvement of the welfare of indigenous Indonesians came at a low cost (Li, 2007: 41). The system of "ethical rule" was preceded by an economic boom and bust in the 1870s which, combined with the hyper-exploitation of indigenous Indonesians under state-supported capitalism, brought about increased development in the Netherlands whilst offering nothing for Indonesians.

3.5.2 De-Politicisation of Development and Developmental Expertise

Mitchell (2002: 209) argues that the question of the Global South's economic development is "invariably introduced as a problem of geography versus demography". This trope makes problems from the Global South appear too simple to question, thus legitimising technical solutions that include the more scientific management of resources and the use of new technologies to overcome the "simple" problems experienced by the Global South (Goldman, 2005; Mitchell, 2002; Li, 2007). This is invariably a de-politicisation of development and developmental expertise.

Two key practices are required in the process of developing these de-politicised developmental programmes. The first is problematisation which involves identifying the deficiencies that require rectification. Second is the practice of what Li (2007: 7) terms "rendering technical" which is a process that involves defining problems as existing within an intelligible field with "specifiable limits and particular characteristics". The process of "rendering technical" is one that de-politicises developmental questions and problems. Developmental experts tasked with improving a developmental problem exclude the political-economic relations from their diagnoses and prescriptions of such a problem (Li, 2007: 7). The de-politicisation of developmental problems involves usage of spatial imaginaries that transform power differentials between the state and its citizens into problems of mismanagement (Mitchell, 2002). The usage of these spatial imaginaries involves the unquestioned convention of imagining countries as empirical units which also serves to analyse the countries which are the objects of development as ahistorical and unchanging units of analysis.

This de-politicisation of development is problematic for several reasons. Mitchell (2002: 231-232) argues that de-politicising the nation-state as an object of development plays into an illusion which portrays the nation-state as a freestanding entity rather than as being positioned within a larger arrangement of transnational politico-economic forces. Therefore, comparisons are neatly made between different nation-states without considering their different positions in

greater economic and historical networks. Furthermore, the de-politicisation separates nation-states from the discourses that describe them. Development becomes a rational planning exercise that is imagined as being separate from the spatial imaginaries that play a role in as well as play into where nation-states are positioned within broader transnational networks. Furthermore, the de-politicisation of development excludes other non-state actors from addressing developmental issues (Anand, 2011; Ferguson, 1994; Li, 2007). Therefore, developmental projects often address problems that either fail to address the practical problems of communities or their solutions are appropriate but are not sustained in the long-run (Ferguson, 1994; Li, 2007). Furthermore, the de-politicisation of development fails to consider how conflicts may or may not affect the workings of the professional expert class (Moodie, 2009). These conflicts, instead of being apolitical, are deeply ideological and affect the work done by those professionals whose expertise is solicited. This conflict may be interpersonal or related to greater political processes "out there" (Anand, 2011; Moodie, 2009). Therefore, the de-politicisation of development does not account for the contestations that challenge developmental experts' attempts to remain apolitical technocratic actors. My work addresses these challenges by also paying attention to the contestations that shaped the relationship between my research participants' spatial imaginaries and their material practices throughout their involvement with the ARP.

3.5.3 Brokers

An important actor within the developmental process is the broker who acts as a figure connecting disparate worlds (Koster and van Leynseele, 2018). The broker uses their acquired knowledge, skillset, and authority to mediate between populations that often include the privileged and the marginalised (Koster and van Leynseele, 2018). According to Koster and van Leynseele (2018), brokers are recognised and approached by other actors; furthermore, their performances are guided by varying logics and rationales. They often emerge in societies in transition and determine the engagements between stakeholders who have differential levels of power and diverging interests (Beall et al., 2015; James,

2011; Koster and van Leynseele, 2018; Poltorak, 2016). Brokers may operate in top-down developmental interventions where the state is meant to set boundaries but is itself internally divided (Koster and van Leynseele, 2018). Koster and van Leynseele (2018) further argue that brokers are assemblers who forge alliances between different actors, institutions, and resources. However, James (2011) is careful to argue that brokers are morally ambiguous actors who both enable access to resources for marginalised populations whilst also benefitting materially from brokering such access. Therefore, brokers are not products of the societies in which they emerge; they are also the producers of such a society.

James (2011) discusses the importance of brokers in the post-apartheid South African government's attempts at effecting land reform in the Mpumalanga/Limpopo borderlands. The land reform programme attempted to combine the moral aims of redressing past injustices against the material demands for socio-economic redistribution. The programme had three main objectives. First, it was to restore property/citizenship rights for African communities, as well as private individuals, who were dispossessed of their land during colonialism and apartheid (particularly the 1960s and 1970s in this case study). Second, the programme aimed to resolve economic problems and ameliorate rural poverty. Finally, it was intended to establish a class of successful African farmers (James, 2011: 322). Comparing two brokers within this context of land-brokering, James (2011) discusses how marginalised peoples attach themselves to these entrepreneurial brokers who embody a complex mixture of dependency and self-sufficiency. Furthermore, marginalised South Africans' dependence on brokers in various contexts must be analysed with an understanding of the brokering occurring in a context of increasing inequality since the advent of democracy.

Remaining in the South African context, Beall et al. (2015) discuss the importance of brokerage in the functionality of African city-regions. Using the eThekwini Municipality as a case study, they discuss how area-based place is an

effective tool for brokering[19] the successful management of the Durban's urban core and rural/peri-urban periphery. Within the context of divergent interests within Durban's traditional and modern governmentalities, area-based management tools such as the Area-Based Development Management Programme (ABDMP) were able to effect discussions around how a unitary municipal structure could manage dual systems of land development mandates (Beall et al., 2015). Therefore, the ABDMP succeeded in addressing city-visioning priorities through translating traditional practices of land-use management in rural/peri-urban communities into city-wide or municipal codes and land-use zoning schemes (Beall et al., 2015).

Moving discussions around brokerage beyond the South African context, Anand (2011: 543) discusses how brokers in Mumbai's water supply department incorporate the language of "incomplete entitlements and differentiated state policies" in determining residents' access to water in the city. Patkar, a senior hydraulic engineer in Mumbai's water supply department, understands that despite certain classes of Mumbai residents having legal access to water supply, all Mumbai residents access some water. Residents' illegitimacy to access water is neither a result of their inability to afford water utilities nor is it the result of Mumbai's water utility lacking the funds to make the improvements needed to provide access to water within the city's informal settlements. Rather, their legitimacy is the result of an interplay between "politically mediated cutoff dates and physically mediated topographies" as well as the interactions physical infrastructure and on departmental policies and how these may be circumvented (Anand, 2011: 543). As a professional, Patkar understands that "politics, technology and physics simultaneously configure Mumbai's water supply" (Anand, 2011: 543). His intermediary status renders him able to understand how "pressure" may enable different groups to circumvent physical and political restrictions that would, in other circumstances, hinder their ability to access their right to the city- in this case, Mumbai's informal settlements. Anand (2011)

[19] It is interesting to note that the broker in the ABDMP case study discussed by Beall et al. (2005) is an institution and not a person.

illustrates the conflictual environments in which many brokers operate. Anand (2011) further demonstrates that developmental practices are intrinsically politicised.

Moodie (2009) discusses the division within mine management, particularly the Anglo-American Corporation, that culminated in the 1987 mine workers' strike institutionalising an industrial relations system based on negotiation rather than confrontation within South Africa's mining sector. Although the resolution of the strike resulted in the defeat of the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) and the victory of an authoritarian style of mine management, in the long-term the resolution ushered in the "principle of collective bargaining" alongside the "defeat of zero-sum politics of confrontation on both sides" (Moodie, 2009: 65). What both examples demonstrate is that brokering is a process that occurs within contexts of both external and internal conflicts between and within individuals, institutions, and resources.

3.5.4 Professional Networks

What emerges within the literature of the anthropology of experts is that professionals often negotiate the tensions between professionalism, neoliberal governance, and activism (Blomley, 2005). According to Blomley (2005), professionals hold a social standing that signals two things. The first is that professional standing often entails a formal, recognised status. Additionally, being a professional also means attaining a middle-class status. This production of social distinction culminates in the production and reproduction of social difference and distance. Blomley (2005) challenges geographers to begin thinking about how the organisation of space enables the buttressing of social hierarchies whilst also sustaining professional distinction. However, one's professional standing can be utilised to push for more progressive ends. This may occur through professionals forming professional networks that facilitate multilevel activism as members may use their networks to traverse between the local and national scales (Dowbor and Houtzager, 2014). Therefore, professional networks can serve as important forces of social sector change. More research needs to be

done to consider the role of the professional/expert as the intermediary between the state and the citizenry. Although both the state and the citizenry do hold significant levels of power in determining the rules of social engagement, the professional/expert plays an important role in producing and reproducing the interactions between the state and the citizenry.

3.6 Conclusion

The literature review above demonstrates that many authors have dealt with spatial planning, land use management, and the anthropology of development experts and brokers. What I hope to demonstrate is that there has been considerable debate around the relationship shared between spatial planning and land-use management approaches and how these in turn influence developmental practices. In the discussion chapters that follow later in this dissertation, I will be grappling with how the practices of the urban professionals who were affiliated with the ARP either confirm the key arguments in this literature or they bring forward new insights into how practitioners use spatial planning and land-use management as tools for potentially developing marginalised spaces, and how these attempts are rendered complicated by the contestations that precede and are changed by these spatial interventions.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

As this dissertation aims to demonstrate how my research participants' spatial imaginaries of Alexandra impacted on their efforts to renew Alexandra, my theoretical framework focuses on the production of space and spatial imaginaries. In the following chapter, I outline the Lefebvrian spatial triad which will enable me to analyse how efforts to renew Alexandra consisted of framing Alexandra as both a conceived space- as outlined in policy documents outlining the ARP's objectives for the renewal of Alexandra- and a perceived space- as demonstrated in my research participants' reflections of their involvement in Alexandra during the implementation of the ARP's objectives- and how encountering Alexandra as a lived space rendered my research participants' efforts to renew Alexandra more complex. Following from that, I will discuss spatial imaginaries and how Watkins' (2015) understanding of spatial imaginaries as performative discourse enables us to conceptualise the relationship shared between my research participants' spatial imaginaries and their attempts to spatially renew Alexandra through their efforts to renew Alexandra.

4.2 The Lefebvrian Spatial Triad

A key part of the theoretical framework that will be used to analyse my research findings will be based on Lefebvrian spatial theory. Lefebvre's work critically engages with the three key concepts of "space, difference and everyday life" (Kipfer et al., 2008). According to Kipfer et al. (2008), Lefebvre, through his spatial theory, attempted to overcome the epistemological divides that existed between culturalism and economism. Lefebvre's spatial theory was initially formulated as a critique of the dominant ideology in urban planning that intimated that space was pure and objective. In other words, space was regarded as an apolitical entity. In his essay, *Reflections on the Politics of Space* (2009), Lefebvre argues that the opposite is in fact true: space is a "political and ideological entity" (Lefebvre, 2009: 171). It is not an a priori entity but rather a social product (Kipfer et al., 2008). Therefore, it would be correct to term space

as social space (Lefebvre, 2005). Lefebvre (2005: 73) argues that (social) space "subsumes things produced" and encompasses the relative order and/or disorder of the things produced through, and within (social) space itself. Within urban planning, space is an entity that "has been fashioned and molded from historical and natural elements, but in a political way" (Lefebvre, 2009: 170-171). The artifice and malleability of space means that urban planning consists of three dimensions. The first dimension is material planning which is a form of planning that is quantifiable and based on the materials that modify space. The second dimension is financial planning that involves the use and study of financial instruments such as financial balance. Finally, the third dimension is the spatiotemporal planning which establishes localisations, requires the knowledge of networks of commerce and flows, and involves the study of centres of production and consumption (Lefebvre, 2009: 171).

The political nature of space has a profound influence on the political economy of urban planning, as explained in the paragraph above. Lefebvre (2009: 186) takes great pains to explain that social space is neither explained by nature (exemplified through physical geography), history, nor culture. Space is inherent in capitalist concerns with property ownership, and the capitalist production that is enabled through private property ownership. Reflecting Enlightenment thinking, Lefebvre argues that the production of social space occurs through conquering nature. Therefore, social space irreversibly destroys natural space through the fragmentation of natural spaces within absolute space (Lefebvre, 2005). Within social space, nature becomes relegated to the materials that enable that operation of capitalist productive forces (Lefebvre, 2009: 187).

According to Schmid (2008), Lefebvre's spatial triad is both phenomenological and semiotic. Phenomenologically, space exists as a triad which consists of "representations of space, spaces of representation, and spatial practices"[20]

[20] Harvey (2006:121), on the other hand, identifies "a tripartite division in the way space can be understood". This division includes "absolute, relative and relational space" (Harvey, 2006: 121). Absolute space is the definition of space from both the Newtonian and Cartesian traditions of thought. This is the idea that space is "fixed" and that events are planned and recorded within its

(Merrifield, 2006: 109). These are "dialectically interconnected dimensions and processes" which are simultaneously determined and designated (Schmid, 2008: 29). Representations of space are conceptualised spaces that are constructed by assorted professionals and technocrats. It is a space wherein "ideology, knowledge, and power" exist within its representation (Merrifield, 2006: 109). Spaces of representation are spaces within which everyday life operate. They are spaces within which inhabitants make symbolic use of objects that exist within physical spaces (Merrifield, 2006: 110). Spaces of representation may include a café within a gentrified part of an inner-city that acts as a middle-class sanctum away from the impoverished that have come to occupy South Africa's inner-city neighbourhoods (Merrifield, 2006; Kruger, 2013). Spatial practices are the practices that, "propound and propose" society's spaces (Merrifield, 2006: 110). Spatial practices are closely connected with perceived spaces, in that they structure lived reality through connecting "places and people, images with reality, work with leisure" (Merrifield, 2006: 110). However, spatial practices are lived spaces whose value is ideally constituted by their use-value. Semiotically, the Lefebvrian spatial triad consists of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. Perceived spaces are socially held ideas of representations of spaces. Conceived spaces are conceived in thought and are "linked to the production of knowledge" (Schmid, 2008: 40). Lived spaces are transformed through people's various uses of those spaces. It is the world as it is experienced by people through their everyday life practices.

Deploying the Lefebvrian spatial triad, Robinson (1998) argues that the excitement that accompanied post-apartheid urban renewal demonstrated both a new way of relating to space and a need for reflecting upon individual and collective experiences of apartheid spaces. According to Robinson (1998), spaces serve an integral role in how people build their everyday lives, imagine and

---

frame (Harvey, 2006: 121). Relative space exists "in a double sense: there are multiple geometries from which [one can] choose, and the spatial frame depends upon what is being [relativized] and by whom" (Harvey, 2006: 122). Relational space is a Leibnizian concept that objects to the Newtonian idea of absolute space. The relational concept of space holds the view that there is "no such thing as space or time outside of the processes that define them" (Harvey, 2006: 123).

reimagine themselves, and make homes in which people may negotiate and change these spaces. As the subject moves within space, they then experience and remake the meanings of spaces that were originally constituted to speak of power. Through performing everyday activities, subjects are then able to witness the possibility for other forms of spatiality through their bodies and their movements, as well as their imaginations. Therefore, the body plays a critical role in the production and (potential) transformation of spaces (Robinson, 1998: 166).

Ballard (forthcoming) explores how political visions and spatial imaginaries guide the transformation of spaces in his analysis of the transformation of post-apartheid housing policy from a focus on the construction of small settlements consisting of a few hundred identical houses to mega-projects consisting of at least 10,000 housing units targeted at different income levels. Using the Lefebvrian triad of space in relation to state officials' responses to the proliferation of backyard structures in Cosmo City, Ballard (forthcoming) discusses how perceived spaces may not necessarily be congruent with conceived spaces. Ballard goes on to argue that space is not simply empirical nor is it objective. Space is also constituted by human experiences, the messages communicated to people, and people's emotions. Drawing on Lefebvre's spatial triad, Ballard (forthcoming) space is the mutually constitutive notion of conceived, perceived and lived spaces. Therefore, Ballard (forthcoming) proposes that greater congruency between conceived, perceived and lived spaces can be facilitated through a better understanding of how identity is constituted by particular spaces and the emotional responses that people have when their sense of self aligns or diverges from their sense of space.

4.3 Spatial Imaginaries

Both Robinson (1998) and Ballard (forthcoming) demonstrate that spatial imaginaries are intricately connected to the Lefebvrian spatial triad. As space is a social entity, the production of space is influenced by spatial imaginaries and vice-versa. According to Watkins (2015), spatial imaginaries are collective

representations of places and spaces. Despite the act of imagining being regarded as an individualised action, spatial imaginaries are socially-held ideas shared about places and spaces. Social perceptions about places are (re)produced and changed by spatial imaginaries. This (re)production and change applies even to those who have never physically been to those places (Gregory, 2004; Lutz and Collins, 1993). Three types of spatial imaginaries have been identified by geographers; of place, idealised spaces, and spatial transformations. Watkins (2015) argues that past literature on spatial imaginaries has predominantly focussed on cultural geography, and Said's (1978) ideas around "imaginative geographies". Watkins (2015) argues that this almost-exclusive focus on "imaginative geographies" ignores the other framings of spatial imaginaries' ontology. According to Watkins (2015: 514), the four main framings of "spatial imaginaries' ontology" are "semiotic orders, worldview, representational discourse, and performative discourse". These notions and the reasons for the usefulness of a framing of spatial imaginaries as performative discourse will be discussed further in the paragraphs below.

4.3.1 Spatial Imaginaries as Representational Discourse

Spatial imaginaries are most frequently framed as representational discourses, a position which stems from Said's (1978) work on "imaginative geographies". "Imaginative geography" is a term coined by Edward Said which was used to analyse how Orientalism[21] became an academic field with great geographic scope in his seminal book *Orientalism* (1978). "Imaginative geographies" is a term that considers how "people imagine the geography of cultures and places" (Driver, 2014: 234). Within the nexus of "imaginative geographies", studying spatial imaginaries places great importance on images and discourse; words and visuals are regarded as their own objects of study and as evidence for understanding how identities of both the Self and the Other are constructed (Driver, 2014). Spatial imaginaries are important as they help people to make sense of, and shape,

[21] Orientalism initially referred to the academic study of the depiction of Middle Eastern, South Asian, and East Asian cultures. However, Said's (1978) use of the term refers to the fetishisation of Arab peoples and cultures and the depiction of Arab peoples and cultures as the exotic, backward, uncivilised, and dangerous Other vis-à-vis the Western Self.

physical and cultural geographies (Driver, 2014). According to Said (1978: 54), "imaginative geographies" (i.e. spatial imaginaries) have played an integral role in the construction of the Other. The spatial imaginary of the Self-Other is arbitrary as it does not require the Other to acknowledge, and accept, the distinction. Rather, the Self formulates the distinction within its mind and derives its identity negatively, in opposition to the Other (Said, 1978: 54).

"Imaginative geographies" are constructions that coalesce distance into difference through a "series of spatializations" (Gregory, 2004: 17). These spatialisations work to distinguish the familiar from the strange: the Other may one day become like the Self; however, the Other is also regarded as being incapable of developing the positive attributes that constitute the Self. Lutz and Collins (1993) discuss the effects of these "imaginative geographies" through their ethnographic study of white American readers of the *National Geographic* magazine. What emerged is that readers associated the lighter-skinned people featured in *National Geographic* photographs with positive attributes and darker-skinned people featured in the same text with negative attributes. Furthermore, darker-skinned people are regarded as being unable, and unwilling, to accept modernity; whereas, lighter-skinned people (like the white American readers of the *National Geographic*) willingly choose modernity and its accompanying consumerist lifestyle and they also possess "an inner life of ideas, feelings, and motives, including the pursuit of happiness" (Lutz and Collins, 1993: 258).

"Imaginative geographies" also play a significant role in the formation of the Self's identity. Driver (2010) discusses how British Imperial-era cartography aided in imagining and shaping the British Empire. The imperial map obscures the "territorial fragility of British imperial power by foregrounding its territorial reach" (Driver, 2010: 147). This foregrounding was made possible through key visual elements that included the depiction of global regions using the Mercator projection; the centre of the map being the Greenwich Meridian; and the territories under British colonial rule being coloured red or pink (Driver, 2010: 147). The image of the British imperial map "became so well-ingrained in the

consciousness" of British citizens (and British historians) that it became a self-evident truth that no longer needed to be examined (Driver, 2010: 147). Maps have served an important role in illustrating, enticing, and challenging people to engage with the role that images play in representing geographies (Driver, 2014; Driver, 2010). Additionally, "imaginative geographies" provide insight into the subjectivities formed at a locale at different historical points. Driver (2013) discusses how visual media unsettled assumptions about the history of exploration and geography. Analysing the Royal Geographical Society's 2009 *Hidden Histories of Exploration* exhibition, Driver discusses how the exhibition revealed "the agency of indigenous peoples and intermediaries in the history of exploration" whilst prompting "questions about what is made visible and what is obscured in standard narratives of exploration" (2013: 420). What emerges is that visual images and narrative play a key role in shaping thinking around varying geographies.

4.3.2 Spatial Imaginaries as Semiotic Order, and Worldview

The semiotic orders' framing of spatial imaginaries argues that spatial imaginaries are more than mere discourse as it also consists of styles and genres that interact with discourses that create widely-held cultural understandings of particular topics. This framing places great focus on the interaction between spatial imaginaries and the linguistic systems of discourse, genre, and style – essentially, semiotic orders. Furthermore, representation is regarded as being separate from material practice as imaginaries are represented by language but exist separately from it (Watkins, 2015). The worldview notion of spatial imaginaries also regards spatial imaginaries as being more than discursive in nature. Spatial imaginaries are regarded as ideologies[22] which legitimise material practices (Watkins, 2015). Therefore, spatial imaginaries are a "shared system of thought" that supersede discursive practices. However, most spatial imaginaries research regards spatial imaginaries as a discourse that consists of a collage of different ideas and actions (Bialasiewicz et al., 2007). Spatial imaginaries are, thus, unique entities that

[22] These ideologies consist of ideals, norms, discourse, and ethics that work to legitimate material practices (Watkins, 2015).

naturalise often-contradicting configurations of other conceptual entities as self-evident. However, this is, in fact, not the case (Bialasiewicz et al., 2007). Therefore, discourse exists to link various widely-held ideals that are both interdependent with, as well as, independent of one another (Watkins, 2015: 515).

4.3.3 Spatial Imaginaries as Performative Discourse

The performative discursive notion of spatial imaginaries regards spatial imaginaries as "a medium through which social relations are both reproduced and changed" (Watkins, 2015: 516). The performative discursive notion of spatial imaginaries rejects the binary that is often made between discourse and material practice. It also attempts to achieve greater consistency in conceptualising "subjects' agency in developing and modifying spatial imaginaries; [thus, the notion] enables [the development of] new forms of [research into] spatial imaginaries" (Watkins, 2015: 516). A performative discursive notion of spatial imaginaries puts forward the understanding that spatial imaginaries both representationally influence, 'prefigure' or legitimise spatial practices through language, and are also embodied by people in what they do (i.e. their material practices). Therefore, space is "produced through performances, building material geographies from the embodiment of discourse" (Watkins, 2015: 517).

The performative discursive notion of spatial imaginaries enables us to analyse the relationship shared between material practices and spatial imaginaries. Spatial imaginaries are created and changed by material practices. The performative discursive notion of spatial imaginaries complements the representational discursive notion of spatial imaginaries by adding 'living', 'citing', and 'reiterating' elements to the inquiries into language, texts, and images that are often the sole focus of more traditional spatial imaginaries' research (Watkins, 2015: 518). Specific actors' projection and materialisations of spatial imaginaries can be examined without being reified. Performative discourse assumes that actors are always constrained by discourse; but are also able to "slowly modify discourse through performances that bring new meanings [to the fore] over time" (Watkins, 2015: 518). Bialasiewicz et al. (2007) have argued that the performative

discursive notion of spatial imaginaries has provided a key framework through which political geographers may focus on the performative nature and spatial imaginaries of the post-9/11 United States of America (USA) security strategies. Performative discursive spatial imaginaries enable the USA to construct post-9/11 security strategies around a policy of integration that encourages states to have almost-unanimous attitudes and views of the world (Bialasiewicz et al., 2007). This unification enables the USA to further exploit spatial imaginaries that position it as a hegemonic global superpower.

Furthermore, the performative discursive framework regards spatial imaginaries as being capable of change and formation; thus, providing empirical verification for the fluidity of material practices themselves. Material practices do not need to temporally follow representation. Spatial imaginaries can be formed through repeated practices before being circulated through representation. Therefore, performances "connect, cite, and operate through language as well as practice" (Watkins, 2015: 518). Gregory (2004), in his book *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq* argues that this indirect relationship between spatial imaginaries and material practices has informed the USA and Israel's foreign policies in the Middle East. These spatial imaginaries that are formed in and through performative discourses have aided in justifying the USA's twentieth century/twenty-first century military attacks against Afghanistan and Iraq, as well as Israel's gradual colonial occupation of the Palestinian territories. Additionally, Puar (2006) argues that the Orientalist invocation of 'terrorist' has enabled the formation of a USA-based homo-nationalism that disaggregates USA-national queer people from racialised and sexualised Others. Therefore, the USA is conceptualised as being a queer-friendly space (despite widespread contradictory evidence) that ought to occupy Oriental-Other spaces in a bid to "save" the necessarily oppressed queer Other who lives within those Orientalist-Other spaces.

Spatial imaginaries research that is conducted through a performative discursive lens brings opportunities for researching the relationships shared between spatial

imaginaries and emotions (i.e. social anxieties) (Pilkey, 2013) as well as between spatial imaginaries and identities (Puar, 2006; Talburt and Matus, 2013). It also enables greater insight into both how the future is represented and how 'the future'- as an object- is produced through material practices (Martin and Simon, 2008; Marx, 2011; Mosselson, 2017; Robinson, 2008). There is also greater consideration into

> "how, for example, varying kinds of performances emerge in relation to spatial imaginaries about the future as well as what kinds of spatial imaginaries- either that of place, idealised space, or spatial transformation- either best enable material practices or are caused by" those spatial material practices (Watkins, 2015: 519).

Therefore, performative discursive notions of encourage the documentation and analysis of how spatial imaginaries are presented (Watkins, 2015). However, this focus on representation needs to be complemented by analyses of embodiment and how embodiment may form new, or may modify existing, spatial imaginaries (Watkins, 2015).

4.3.4 Importance of Spatial Imaginaries Research

Although spatial imaginaries are an under-researched aspect of geography, understanding them is of the utmost importance. The semiotic order, worldview, and representational discourse notions of spatial imaginaries have been important in understanding how spatial imaginaries are represented through language, texts, and images. However, these notions have tended to reify spatial imaginaries, and they have not considered how spatial imaginaries are formed in and through material practices.

Kruger (2013) explores this relationship between visual images and narratives, and geography. Her analysis presents Johannesburg as a city that has been "distinguished both by innovation and illegality" at various points throughout its 131-year history (Kruger, 2013: 1). Inspired by this spirit of "innovation and illegality", Kruger (2013) produces a text-focused analysis of seminal texts produced at key moments in Johannesburg's history to explore the subjectivities and discourses that played integral roles in Johannesburg's varying and mutable

spatial imaginaries. Knevel (2015), in his article *Sophiatown as Lieu de Memoire*, discusses how Sophiatown's spatial imaginaries have changed before, during, and after its existence as a black freehold township. These spatial imaginaries have played an integral part in understanding how "different people imagine the space and place they live or have lived in, in order to make claims, shape identities and define belonging" (Knevel, 2015: 51). Spatial imaginaries are important "as representations of place, space, and landscape structure people's understandings of the world, and help shape their actions" (Driver, 2014: 235). However, it is important to note that spatial imaginaries are modified not only through language. Material practices also have an indelible influence on spatial imaginaries. Therefore, the notion of spatial imaginaries as representational discourse focuses on linguistic representations whilst neglecting material practices. This understanding forms a key component in the conceptualisation of spatial imaginaries as performative discourses.

4.4 Conclusion

The performative discursive framing of spatial imaginaries is important in this regard as it enables us to develop a greater understanding of the relationship that is shared between spatial imaginaries and material practices. Utilising the performative discursive framing of spatial imaginaries for my theoretical framework enables me to demonstrate how my research participants' perspectives of Alexandra influenced their practices during the ARP and how those practices, in turn, affected their spatial imaginaries during their involvement in Alexandra during the implementation of the ARP's objectives**.** By integrating the performative discursive notion of spatial imaginaries with the Lefebvrian spatial triad, I hope to develop a theoretical framework that will demonstrate the complex and interlinking relationship shared between spatial imaginaries and the production of space. In the following chapters that analyse my research participants' reflections of their involvement in Alexandra during the implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives, I seek to demonstrate that, despite their best attempts, my research participants' efforts in renewing Alexandra were to be rendered complicated by the interactions between their

spatial imaginaries and the conceived, perceived, and lived spaces they encountered during their efforts to renew Alexandra.**CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY**

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I reflect on the design of my research project. I first discuss the process I undertook to sample the individuals who constituted my research participants as well as the documents I used to analyse policy conceptualisations of Alexandra throughout the lifespan of the ARP. Moreover, I reflect on the process I undertook to collect and analyse the data I had collected. Following from that I reflect on the ethical considerations that emerged before and during the fieldwork stage of my research project. Finally, I reflect on my positionality throughout the fieldwork process as well as the limitations of the design and methodology of this research project.

5.2 Research Design/ Methodology

The methodology I used consisted entirely of qualitative research methods. Qualitative research aims to understand some aspect of social life. Ragin (1994:14-15) argues that qualitative research methods are "data enhancers. When data are enhanced, it is possible to see key aspects of cases more clearly". Furthermore, qualitative research methods produce words rather than numbers (Brikci and Green, 2007). Qualitative research methods aim to answer questions around the what, why, and how of a phenomenon (Ibid). Qualitative research methods primarily aim to analyse "concrete cases in their temporal and local particularity" in order to simplify the complexities that exist within social worlds (Flick 1998: 3). The main aim of qualitative research is to "construct different versions of the social world" (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 14) through the collection and deconstruction of rich data. With this in purpose in mind, the two research methods I employed for my data collection were semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis.

5.3 Research Methods Used for Data Collection

5.3.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews as I believed that it would give me enough flexibility to get my participants to give me insight into 1) how they came to be involved in the ARP; 2) their role in the ARP; 3) their reflections on the successes and failures of the ARP; 4) how they imagine Alexandra and its relationship more broadly; 5) how they imagine Alexandra's potential as a place; and 6) their opinions on township renewal schemes more broadly.[23] Semi-structured interviews resemble everyday conversations, but they are focused on the researcher's needs during the data collection process (Brikci and Green, 2007). Semi-structured interviews are often "self-conscious, orderly and partially structured" (Longhurst, 2012: 103). Semi-structured interviews are different to structured and unstructured interviews in that structured interviews "follow a predetermined and standardised list of question" whilst unstructured interviews are directed by the informant instead of set questions (Longhurst, 2012: 105). Semi-structured interviews follow a predetermined order but allows flexibility for the informant to approach issues in ways most comfortable for them. Semi-structured interviews allow participants to give the researcher access into how they represent themselves and the world in the context of the interview as a conversation (Secor, 2010).

My interviews were of varying lengths; my shortest interview was approximately twelve minutes whilst my longest interview was three hours. The interviews I conducted were an approximate average length of forty minutes. The interviews took place around Johannesburg with most of them occurring in Johannesburg's northern suburbs. With their permission, I recorded all but one of my interviews; the one interview that I did not record was a telephonic interview that I took written notes for during the interview. Moreover, one of my interviews was conducted in isiZulu. Therefore, I had to translate that particular into English before I wrote up an interview transcript that I could analyse.

[23] An interview schedule that guided my interviews is available in Appendix C.

Sampling and Participant Recruitment Process

To identify and recruit my participants, I first used the purposive sampling technique before using the snowball sampling technique[24]. Purposive sampling involves the identification and selection of information-rich participants related to the phenomenon of interest (Palinkas et al., 2015). Purposive sampling "involves [identifying] and [selecting] individuals or groups of individuals that are knowledgeable about a phenomenon of interest" (Palinkas et al., 2015: 533). Snowball sampling begins by finding an entry point and contacting some members of the group who are then asked to provide the names of others (Secor, 2010). Snowball sampling enables researchers to facilitate the identification of participants in challenging cases (Brikci and Green, 2007). When using the snowball sampling technique, the researcher must be deliberate in "developing and controlling the sample's initiation, progress and termination" (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981: 155). Snowball sampling has specific problem areas that include finding initial participants who will start the snowballing; verifying the eligibility of potential participants; engaging participants as research assistants; controlling the types of sub-groups and the number of participants in each sub-group; and pacing and monitoring the snowball sampling and the quality of the data collected from each informant (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

In the case of my research, one of my social contacts gave me the contact details of two potential participants who were directly and indirectly involved in the ARP during the most active years of the ARP (2001-2012)[25]. One of the contacts, a businesswoman who was a high-ranking state official in the first few years of the project (2002-2010), was unavailable for an interview but she gave me the contact details of an urban planner currently employed by the CoJ. The urban planner, also, was unavailable for an interview but she gave me the names of a high-ranking state official involved with the ARP (interviewee EE) and an urban designer who has worked in Alexandra since the 1990s and was indirectly involved in community projects affiliated to the ARP (interviewee OL). The other

[24] A table providing greater detail around my participants and my interviews with each informant is available in Appendix A.
[25] A figure detailing my sampling process is available in Appendix B.

contact was available for an interview and she was my first interviewee (AA). She was involved in the ARP between 2000 and 2002 as one of the development consultants but left before the 2005 termination of the ARP core consulting team's contract by the Gauteng provincial government. She gave me the names and contact details of five other urban professionals who were/are still involved in the ARP (EE, IO, AT and OO). Most of them were part of the core consulting team who led the project's operations between 2001 and 2005. One of the contacts put forward by AA was unavailable for an interview but he gave me the name and contact details of two other individuals who were in key managerial roles during the early years of the ARP's operations. One of the contacts, a state official who ran the project was unavailable for contact; the other contact, the ARP's project manager (interviewee EA) was available for an interview.

In order to increase the diversity of participants whom I would interview, I made the concerted effort to contact other actors through other channels. This led to my interviewing a professor (interviewee HA) who held a directorial role in the CoJ. HA directed me to the current employer of interviewee who played a key leadership role in the ARP. Through contacting his current employer, they were able to give me UA's work email address and I was then able to contact him to arrange a Skype interview with him. Furthermore, one of my social contacts was a structural engineer who was involved in the construction of the Alexandra (Mandela) Interpretation Centre (interviewee EH). I managed to secure an interview with him and he gave me the names of two other urban professionals who played integral roles in the construction of the Alexandra (Mandela) Interpretation Centre but, because I contacted them at the end of the year in 2017 (November/December), they were unavailable for an interview. I also contacted a heritage consultant who led the conceptualisation of the Alexandra (Mandela) Interpretation Centre. However, because of time constraints, we were unable to secure an interview with each other.

I initially thought that I would not need to interview any community activists, but with careful prompting from my supervisor, I began to try and find potential

participants who would be part of that sub-group. It was important to get their insights as part of meeting the third objective for my research study which was to analyse how the urban professionals' spatial imaginaries interacted with the spatial imaginaries of other interested stakeholder groupings that were directly or indirectly involved with the ARP's operations. After failing to secure interviews with both the head of the Greater Alexandra Chamber of Commerce (GALXCOC) and a prominent community activist, I contacted a professor who has extensively engaged with community activists from many neighbourhoods in Johannesburg, which include Alexandra. She gave me the contact details of two Alexandra-based community activists whom I met with in Alexandra (with my other interviewees, I met them in other areas in Johannesburg- I met with the vast majority of my interviewees in areas located in Johannesburg's northern suburbs). One of the interviewees (LH) stayed in the Silver Town transit camp in S'swetla so I met her at her home there. I met with the other community activist (interviewee HO) at the Alex San Kopano Community Centre in Alexandra. My interviewee with HO ended up being the longest, at almost three hours, and he gave me the contact details of many other community stakeholders in Alexandra whom I could potentially interview. Only three of the stakeholders I approached were available for an interview. Two of the stakeholders (interviewees MA and NA) are community liaison officers in the ARP who gave me insight into their roles as brokers who mediate between the ARP and the broader Alexandra community. The other stakeholder (interviewee HE) is a community activist involved in one of Alexandra's key political structures. He was initially reluctant to meet with me as he feared that I was a state actor who was trying to solicit sensitive information from him.

At the end of the interview process, I interviewed fifteen participants. I stopped approaching other people for interviews because of the time constraints that restricted my fieldwork period. I also felt as though I had reached saturation point with my interview data collection as I felt that adding more participants would not add to the analysis of my data (Malterud et al., 2016). Considering that Malterud et al. (2016) argue that the usage of the concept 'saturation point' beyond the

Grounded Theory framework of analysis[26] is incorrect, I refer to their concept of "information power" to justify my limitation of the number of interview participants to fifteen (Malterud et al., 2016: 1753). The concept of information power states that the greater the information power a sample holds, the lower the sample size required and vice versa (Malterud et al., 2016). Information power is determined by the breadth of the study aim, i.e. a broad study aim requires a larger sample size than a narrow study aim because, with a broad study aim, the phenomenon under study is more comprehensive; the density of the sample specificity, i.e. a smaller sample size is required for participants holding specific characteristics; the applicability of established theory, i.e. a research project with limited applicability to established theoretical frameworks requires more participants; the strength of the quality of dialogue, i.e. stronger dialogue requires a smaller sample size; and the analysis strategy employed, i.e. a cross-case analysis requires a larger sample size than a single-case analysis (Malterud et al., 2016: 1754-1756).

When applying the concept of information power to my research, fifteen participants provided adequate information power for the data collected from my interviews for the following reasons. My research project has a narrow aim and a dense sample specificity as my participants had specific characteristics of engaging with the ARP as either urban professionals, state officials, or community activists. My research project has high applicability to established theoretical frameworks that include the right to the city, spatial imaginaries, and the Lefebvrian production of space. My interviews consisted of strong dialogue as 150 pages of transcripts were produced from the interviews. Finally, my research project consists of a single-case analysis, i.e. the work of urban professionals on various projects aligned with the ARP in Alexandra township in Johannesburg, South Africa.

[26] Within the Grounded Theory "framework, sample size is an element of ongoing analysis where every new observation is compared with the previous observations to determine both similarities and differences between" the new and old observations (Malterud et al., 2016: 1753).

5.3.2 Documentary Collection and Analysis

Documentary analysis includes the collection of data that is closely related to the subject of inquiry. The data collected can include historical data; when collecting historical data, it is important to consider a few key questions. These questions include: what sources of information have been kept; where and how are these sources of information kept; who can get access to them; and what should you do once you get access to these sources of information? The use of historical data often limits the researcher to sources that have 'survived'. Archives are the site of memory. The survival of historical data is often a demonstration of power relations within a society as often what survives is part of the reserve of events that the powerful deem as worth memorialising (Ogborn, 2012). Yet Ogborn (2012) is careful to point out that the preservation of historical data is about more than just power. Archives, as sites for preserving memory, are places where people can "construct accounts of the past"; thus, archives are sites of emotion as "they are places where people's lives are remembered" (Ogborn, 2012: 92). Therefore, there is a responsibility placed on the archive to carefully consider how past lives and events are reconstructed in the present and for the future. Historical sources include libraries, books, printed sources (e.g. minutes from parliamentary minutes), archival collections, and online archives. Ogborn (2012) carefully notes that state archives are the most prevalent and accessible for public knowledge. Therefore, when considering using historical data it is more practical to consider accessing documents from state archives.

The documents I collected included policy documents, planning documents, and unofficial documents that my research participants shared with me. Initially, I restricted myself to collecting documents from the period 2001 to 2012 (the period I initially envisioned as the timeframe of my research project). However, upon encountering documents relevant to my research project that were beyond my study period, I decided to expand the timeframe of my research project to include documents that were finalised before 2001 and after 2012. I initially got historical documents from two of my participants (interviewees AA and OO). AA shared a draft document that was finalised in late 2001. This was a proposal to the

World Bank that sought expert advisory assistance to support settlement upgrading in Alexandra over a period of 24 months that would begin in March 2002. OO shared three of the ARP's biannual newsletters (November 2001-November 2002) that aimed to inform key stakeholders around the ARP's objectives, strategies, and progress.

Most of the policy documents and planning documents I collected were acquired from the CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management at their Metropolitan Municipality offices in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. All the planners I encountered at these offices were more than willing to save their policy documents and planning documents onto my USB memory stick. The table below lists the documents I received from various online repositories and the CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management:

Table 5.1: Policy documents received from various online repositories and the CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management

Document Name	Sourced From	Year Published
National Urban Renewal Programme: Implementation Framework	Department of Provincial and Local Government Online Repository	2002
Regional Spatial Development Framework: Region E	CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management	2010
Alexandra Urban Design Framework and Implementation Master Plan	CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management	2012
2012/16 Integrated Development Plan: 2013/14 Review	CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management	2012
Joburg 2040: Growth and Development Strategy	CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management	2013
Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2030	CoJ's Department of Development Planning and Urban Management	2015
Corridors of Freedom: Louis Botha Avenue	CoJ Online Repository	2016
Corridors of Freedom: Re-Stitching our City to Create a New Future	CoJ Online Repository	2016
Louis Botha Avenue Development Corridor: Strategic Area Framework	CoJ Online Repository	2016
Alexandra Urban Development	CoJ's Department of Development	2017

Framework and Northeast Quadrant Progress Status Report	Planning and Urban Management	
Spatial Development Zones: Louis Botha Corridor	CoJ Online Repository	2017

However, as noted by Ogborn (2012), the survival of historical documents became an issue that I had to grapple with. One such document was the 2002 Alexandra Masterplan. Although it was explicitly mentioned by one of my participants (interviewee OL), I was unable to track it down. None of my participants had it on record. The same was true for the CoJ Department of Development Planning and Urban Management. This is a critical document whose lack of inclusion has proven to be a major limitation in the richness of my documentary analysis. Therefore, I have had to rely upon secondary documents that describe the contents of this masterplan. One example of a secondary document I've relied upon in this case is the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) *Alexandra: A Case Study of Service Delivery for the Presidential 10 Year Review Project* (2003). In an effort to link these historical documents to present imaginings of Alexandra, I have also referred to the Gauteng Premier David Makhura's 2018 State of the Province address (Makhura, 2018) in order to analyse how Alexandra fits into present state imaginings of what Johannesburg and Gauteng, more broadly, will ideally become in the future.

5.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process whereby researchers focus on the data through which "information about ourselves, others, and the world around us is imparted" (Dixon, 2010:392). Data analysis is meant to uncover the varied tone of meaning in data collected (Dixon, 2010). It is the process of "bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 111). Effective data analysis is facilitated through the systematic recording and storage of data (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). The process of data analysis involves five modes:

> "organising the data; generating categories, themes, and patterns; testing emergent hypotheses against the data; searching for alternative explanations

> of the data; and writing the research report" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 113).

Qualitative data analysis aims to "uncover general statements about relationships shared among categories of data" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 113). Because of the text-heavy nature of qualitative data, it becomes more crucial to adopt a systematic approach to the collection and management of the data collected. According to Coffey and Atkinson (1996: 6), qualitative data analysis is a cyclical process that is pervasive throughout the lifespan of a research project. Analysing qualitative data constitutes the continuous "dialogue between data and theory" as it is inseparable from the processes of writing-up and representing the qualitative data that has been collected (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996: 23). There are various methods that can be used to analyse qualitative data. The method I used to analyse the data I collected was thematic coding.

5.4.1 Thematic Coding

Thematic coding was used to analyse the data I collected from both my semi-structured interviews (namely my interview transcripts) and my documentary analysis of the policy, planning, and historical documents. Thematic coding is used to evaluate and organise data to understand meanings in a text (Cope, 2012). Thematic coding helps the researcher to understand categories and patterns so that the researcher may then begin to make more sense of the data and, following from that, ask new questions. However, the identification of patterns and the formation of categories are the basic level of coding. The beginning of coding analysis involves themes around "conditions, interaction among the actors, strategies, and tactics and consequences" (Cope, 2012: 442). Thematic coding "enables the researcher to make new connections; the researcher [becomes sensitive] to [these new] connections and [thus, tries] to identify other similar relationships within the data" (Cope, 2012: 442). Thematic coding is meant to be an iterative process that involves both the stages of data collection and data analysis with the purpose of collecting rich data (Cope, 2012).

Thematic coding is a process that is circular and involves "reading and rereading, thinking and rethinking, and developing codes that are tentative and temporary along the way" (Cope, 2012: 445). There are "three levels of coding; open coding, axial coding, and selective coding" (Cope, 2012: 446). The first level, open coding is done by scrutinising the document carefully in order to produce concepts that fit the data. Open coding is intended to 'open up' the data and "breaking the data down [to allow] conceptual implications to emerge in the later steps" (Cope, 2012: 446). The second level, "axial coding, allows the researcher to follow a particular category for a while as a means of testing its relevance" (Cope, 2012: 446). The third level of coding, "selective coding, is a systematic approach to coding that is done when a central or 'core' category is identified and followed" (Cope, 2012: 446). Both open coding and axial coding are descriptive whilst selective coding is analytic (Cope, 2012).

The process undertaken for thematic analysis was quite arduous one for me. I initially thought that I would be able to exclusively undertake open coding but because of the richness of my data, I had to do all three levels of coding. When conducting open coding, I first read through my interview transcripts before I summarised my individual interview transcripts. Following the summaries, I conducted a thematic mapping of my interview transcripts. I then moved to conducting axial coding wherein I then produced documents that mapped out the individual themes that are present within the interview transcripts. Following that, I then created memos of the individual themes that outlined my definition of the theme, the frequency of the themes within my interview transcripts, and the literature I would be using to analyse the key quotes from that theme. Finally, I performed selective coding wherein I created sub-theme maps wherein I would place key quotes under certain sub-themes. It was a laborious process, but it proved to make the write-up process a lot easier for my dissertation.

5.5 Reflecting on the Ethics, Politics, and Positionalities of Research

5.5.1 Ethical Considerations

It is important to conduct research ethically. Conducting research ethically should be the result of the researcher reflexively engaging with the rightness or wrongness of their research practices. Furthermore, it is important to note that the politics of research concerns who may gain or lose from the research undertaken (Smith, 2012). Furthermore, the political considerations of research concern choices around research subject, topic or problem, along with aspects of broad strategies of investigation undertaken during the research project. The politics of research merge with the ethics of undertaking a particular research project. Hay (2010) argues that there are three main categories of practical arguments for why geographical researchers ought to act ethically as they conduct their research. First, ethical research "protects the rights of individuals, communities, and environments involved in, or affected by, our research" (Hay, 2010: 36). Second, conducting research ethically enables that an environment that is favourable to continued scientific research. Third, institutions such as universities legally protect themselves from the possible repercussions of any unethical or immoral actions by students or employees as they conduct their research. This is especially important in a context of growing public demand for accountability (Hay, 2010).

The principles of ethical behaviour in the research process include justice which emphasises the fair distribution of benefits and burdens; beneficence/non-maleficence which means that the researcher should aim to maximise the potential benefits from their research practices whilst simultaneously minimising any harms that may result from their research; and respect (Hay, 2010). When both conceptualising and conducting the research project, the researcher needs to consider having issues around "consent, confidentiality, harm, cultural awareness, and the dissemination of results and feedback to research participants" (Hay, 2010: 36). However, it is important to note that the researcher will always encounter some form of ethical dilemma as they conduct their research. In order to resolve such dilemmas, it is important to consider the full range of options for possible actions available to the researcher; consider the consequences of the

actions associated with each action that the researcher may undertake; analyse the actions in terms of moral principles such as honesty, fairness, equality, and consideration of social and environmental vulnerability; the researcher must make their decision and commit to acting out that decision; and finally, the researcher must evaluate the system and the actions that they have undertaken (Hay, 2010).

Other ethical issues around conducting research include plagiarism which concerns the proper acknowledgement of all parties who directly, or indirectly contributed to the researcher's research findings through previous knowledge that has been published (Smith, 2012). Furthermore, the researcher needs to consider their positionality, i.e. how the researcher's personal characteristics like social origin, race, and gender impacts on power dynamics between them and their research participants. The issue of positionality will be discussed further later in this section.

a) Process of Applying for Ethical Clearance

The process of applying for ethical clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) (Non-Medical) was relatively challenging for me, as I had never applied for ethical clearance before. I started working on my ethical clearance application at the same time as when I was completing my research proposal. I initially aimed to submit my ethical clearance application to the Wits HREC by 30 June 2017 but because of delays in completing and presenting my proposal to my proposal panel (on 12 July 2017), I only submitted my application to the Wits HREC on 28 July 2017. I received feedback on my application by 31 August 2017. I was only required to make minor changes to my application, i.e. to my participant information sheet and consent form. I then submitted the amended version of my ethical clearance application to the Wits HREC on 06 September 2017. On 14 September 2017, I received my ethical clearance certificate[27] and I also received the Wits HREC annual progress report which I submitted on 23 October 2018.

[27] My University of the Witwatersrand HREC ethical clearance certificate is available in Appendix F.

b) Ethical Dilemmas Encountered during Data Collection and Analysis

With my documentary analysis, I did not encounter any ethical dilemmas as the documents I collected were in the public domain. The documents shared with me by two of my participants (interviewees AA and OO) were not of a sensitive nature and were to be shared with the public. However, my semi-structured interviews provided a few significant ethical dilemmas for me.

When I conducted my first interview (with interviewee AA), it became clear why I was required by the Wits HREC to use pseudonyms for my participants. Because my participants shared highly sensitive information with me, I made sure to exclude information (including names and detailed occupational positions) that would implicate prominent individuals who were either directly or indirectly involved with the ARP. One of my participants (interviewee HE) later told me that he was reluctant to participate in my research project as he thought that I was someone who was going to harm him. He had previously received death threats because of both his activism in Alexandra and his public criticism of the ARP. I chose to exclude information that would implicate prominent individuals as I wanted to protect my participants as well as to not be implicated in defamation of character of certain individuals whom I did not directly engage with in my data collection process. I also did this to protect myself as some of my participants levelled allegations of corruption against prominent (and named) individuals. One of my participants (interviewee LH) called me after my interview to confirm the spelling of her name with me. I found this to be a heart-breaking moment as I had to inform her that I would not be referring to her by her real name because I wanted to protect the identities of my other participants. Although she had shared her life story with me, I was unable to credit her as I wanted to protect both myself and my participants.

A lot of my participants shared traumatic memories of their participation in the ARP with me. Although this was a way of getting catharsis for them, I was aware of the ethical implications of our engagement. Although mentioned in the

participant information sheet[28] I shared with my participants when I invited them to participate in my research project, I did reiterate the availability of therapeutic services to the research participants who shared traumatic memories with me. In hindsight, I should have reiterated the availability of these services for them as I am aware that the participants were not getting any direct benefit from sharing these painful memories with me.

5.5.2 Positionality, Power and Reflexivity

a) Positionality

Paulido and Peña (1998: 33), define positionality as "one's location within a larger social formation, and thus how one experiences [a developmental] problem". In broader terms, positionality can be defined as how your location within the axes of social power differential influences how an issue affects you. For the researcher to acknowledge their positionality within the multiple axes of "difference, inequalities, geopolitics" is important in order to avoid conducting exploitative research that perpetuates relations of dominance and control (Sultana, 2007: 374). Furthermore, "ethical research is produced through negotiated spaces and practices of reflexivity that is critical about issues of positionality and power relations at multiple scales" (Sultana, 2007: 375). Being aware of your own positionality as a researcher requires being fluid and open in the research process. The fluidity and openness are not always possible to enact or maintain, especially within the varying differentials that exist between the researcher and their participants.

Acknowledging your own positionality as a researcher sometimes forces you to grapple with questions around the ethics and politics of research that involves negotiating respectful and productive relationships with your participants (Sultana, 2007). Katz (1994) adds that it then becomes important to recognise the artificiality of the binaries between research and politics, the operations of research and the researching findings themselves, the field and the broader world (what Katz calls the "not field" (67)), and the researcher and the participant. This

[28] My participant information sheet and consent form are in Appendices D and E respectively.

enables the researcher to produce research that is mutually defined by both the researcher and their participants. Another part of acknowledging your own positionality within the research involves acknowledging the "politics of the place and the politics of development" which can influence and/or constrain the research process within a particular place (Sultana, 2007: 381). Therefore, the knowledge produced during the research process:

> "occurs within the context of the research process [that is] embedded within broader social relations and development processes that place [the researcher] and [their participants] in different locations" (Sultana, 2007: 382).

b) Reflexivity

In recent years, it has become important to practise reflexivity when conducting research, particularly amongst feminist researchers. Reflexivity entails critically analysing how qualitative research findings are shaped by "shifting contextual, and relational contours" of the researcher's identity in relation to their research participants and by the researcher's positionality in social constructions such as race, gender, class, and other intersections of identity (Nagar, 2002: 179). Reflexivity is important in situating the research and knowledge production in order to maintain ethical commitments. Ethical considerations are shifting away from strict codes of institutional frameworks towards endeavouring to conduct respectful and ethical research that minimises for all that are involved in the research project (Sultana, 2007).

Kobayashi (2003: 345) states however that "self-reflexivity, as a foundation for engaged activist scholarship, needs to be questioned". In some cases, the reflexive acknowledgement of the researcher's positionality becomes a self-centred focus on that further distances the researcher from the research participants whose conditions they hope to change (Kobayashi, 2003). Furthermore, Nagar (2002) argues that despite the increasing proliferation of self-reflexivity, feminist social scientists have avoided confronting the political issues that result in researchers' (in)ability to talk across worlds. These include questions around accountability and the specificity of the researcher's political commitments; a serious

engagement with questions around collaborative research processes; and interrogating the structure of the academy, and the values and constraints embedded within the academy. Because of this dilemma posed by practising self-reflexivity, it becomes important to recognise the limits of reflexivity, and to consider the extent to which the researcher's reflexive moments need to be shared with their colleagues and readers.

c) My Own Reflexivity and Positionality

Initially, I believed that the interviews would give me a more gentrified insight into the spatial imaginaries that guided the ARP. I imagined that the urban professionals I spoke to would have given me insights into the ARP that coincided with the popular imaginaries of urban renewal within inner-city Johannesburg, i.e. the proliferation of coffee shops and arts and cultural spaces within Alexandra. Initially, I believed that interviewing professionals allowed me to not have to engage with the messy power dynamics that emerged between researchers and research participants who are based in marginalised spaces like Alexandra. However, there were power differentials between myself and the professionals whom I interviewed. Because most of them were white and middle-class, I had to grapple with the racial power differentials that existed between us. I found, however, that it was easier to meaningful engage with female research participants than it was with their male counterparts. All of the female professionals with whom I engaged were more than happy to discuss the feelings of vulnerability that emerged during their involvement with the ARP. I suppose that my coming from a similar class background to theirs also made it easier for them to open up to me as there were more similarities (with regards to gender and class-status) than there were differences (on the basis of race) between us.

When my supervisor first suggested that I interview community activists, I was apprehensive as I believed that that would have made the project less "creative" I suppose. I went into this research project having a certain spatial imaginary of Alexandra and the ARP, and I was more comfortable approaching studying Alexandra from a remote perspective. I intended on avoiding being in Alexandra

as I imagined it to be an area that would have plenty of crime, grime and giant rats. My pathologisation of Alexandra was largely the projection of my middle-class anxieties as well as my awareness of the dangers that come with being a black woman in public spaces in marginalised areas like Alexandra. It was only when I actually drove through Alexandra (on three different occasions) that I began to confront my own biases against Alexandra.

My first interview took place at the Alex San Kopano Education Centre and it was my first time entering (and driving into) the township itself. As I drove through Alexandra, I began to have a more material understanding of the ARP's early interventions- described by the urban professionals (and two state officials)- that resulted in Alexandra's roads being less narrow. As I drove through Alexandra, I remember thinking of the narrowness of the roads and only then, did I begin to appreciate the infrastructural work performed by the professionals in the beginning stages of the programme's operations.

My second interview also took place at the Alex San Kopano Education Centre. This time, I took an Uber and the route taken by the driver took us through the whole of Alexandra. I saw the places that I had only read about in academic articles about Alexandra. The drive gave me the opportunity to see for myself the complexity that existed within the space of Alexandra itself. I saw the shacks that made up the S'swetla informal settlement and was shocked to see the insignia of middle-class life in Johannesburg that were visible on the East Bank of Johannesburg (i.e. high walls, solid gates, and a sign of the armed security company 'protecting' that specific property). Moreover, that drive gave me the opportunity to confront both my own as well as the Uber driver's imaginings of Alexandra. As we entered the township, the Uber driver moved his phone from his car's dashboard to under his thighs and called for me to move from my passenger seat of his car. He explained that because of the current contestation between meter taxi drivers and Uber drivers, "opportunistic" criminals took advantage of the contestation to commit either smash and grabs or hijackings against Uber drivers. That was the moment when I realised that conducting

research within and on Johannesburg will always include confronting spatial imaginaries led by fear of the Other, particularly fear of the racialised poor black Other. Once, I arrived at the Alex San Kopano Education Centre, I got the opportunity to witness the collection of SASSA social grants and the social interactions that guided this process. It was an opportunity for collectors to socialise besides the monetary transactions that enabled these social engagements. I then realised my relative ignorance as a middle-class individual around the processes South Africa's poor undergo (e.g. through collecting social grants) to mitigate the constant threats, both of and resulting from, social and economic poverty.

The third time I entered Alexandra, I again took an Uber to 'Silver Town' transit camp which is a part of the S'swetla informal settlement. Sitting in the interviewee's shack whilst it was raining, I was then confronted by the importance of actually engaging with the people who were imagined as the subjects of the ARP's developmental aims. I also began to appreciate the importance of understanding that the tales of corruption, contestation, disappointment as well as carefully-measured pride were important to consider in totality when we are to discuss post-apartheid governance. Listening to one of my participants (interviewee LH) tell me her life story, I became aware of how my identification as a black woman enabled LH to trust and connect with me enough to share significant details of her experiences of being evicted from the Marlboro warehouse she called home for a long time as well as her struggle in trying to make a home for herself in that the government allocated to her in the 'Silver Town' transit camp. This trust culminated in her calling me about an hour after I had left her home in order to check that I had gotten home okay. Through the process of actually being in Alexandra, I really began to understand the importance of spatial imaginaries in the conceptualisation and implementation of urban renewal schemes as well as the importance in understanding the complexities that underpin the spatial politics of a place as contested as Alexandra Township.

5.6 Limitations

As with most research projects, this project has a few limitations. First, I conducted fewer interviews with state officials and community activists than I did with urban professionals. The reason for this is because the urban professionals grouping was the main subject of study for this group. However, during the data collection, I realised that the interaction between urban professionals' spatial imaginaries and their ability to fulfil the mandates for the ARP were greatly influenced by their engagements with other groupings, i.e. state officials and community activists. Although this research project does discuss these engagements in some detail, more in-depth research needs to be done around the engagements between urban professionals' spatial imaginaries and practices, and the spatial imaginaries' and practices/expectations of state officials and community activists.

The second limitation was that I interviewed fewer urban professionals than I thought I would. I set out to interview ten urban professionals, but I only managed to interview seven urban professionals. This is largely because the urban professionals involved in the ARP was constituted by a small number of individuals. Furthermore, I was unable to secure interviews with other key informants who were involved in the ARP. This limitation has resulted in my research project focussing on the perspectives of a few individuals; thus, my findings are subjective and cannot comprehensively map all the spatial imaginaries that guided the practices of the urban professionals who were involved in the ARP.

The final limitation is that the documents I collected do not include some key documents. One such document is the *2002 Alexandra Masterplan*. I was unable to access it as none of the informants I spoke to had it within their personal or official archives. Although some of the other documents I collected speak to the early imaginings that guided the ARP, none of them are as detailed as the masterplan. Therefore, I have had to infer the early spatial imaginaries that guided

the conceptualisation of the ARP from other documents produced in the same period as the *2002 Alexandra Masterplan*.

5.7 Conclusion

My research project was a challenging undertaking that yielded rich findings. Reflecting on the process I undertook to conduct this project has been a rewarding exercise. Writing up this *Methodology* chapter has given me the opportunity to see how far I have come and how much work was put into collecting the data which constitutes this entire project. The following chapters are the result of the extensive data analysis I undertook and discuss my main findings in great detail.

CHAPTER 6: POLICY CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF ALEXANDRA (CONCEIVED SPACES)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on post-apartheid policy conceptualisations of Alex and the ARP and how these changed over time. In this chapter, I conduct an analysis of policy documents at a range of scales that include the City of Johannesburg and the Gauteng province as well as original documents that were provided by my interviewees who were directly involved with the ARP. I supplement this documentary analysis with insights on these policies and plans from my research participants who include the urban professionals involved in the ARP's core consulting team in 2001-2005, state officials who engaged with the ARP's structures, the community liaison officers who mediate engagements between the Alexandra Townships and the ARP's organisational structures, and community activists based in Alexandra.

Referring back to the Lefebvrian notion of conceived space, I consider the interaction between my research participants' spatial imaginaries and policy conceptualisations of Alexandra throughout the ARP's lifespan. I discuss the ARP's development across time and how conceptualisations of Alexandra have shifted and contradicted with my research participants' spatial imaginaries at particular points in time. The focus of the chapter is on these documents' conceptualisations of Alexandra and how these have changed during the ARP's operations. Through my analysis, the various documents demonstrate both contradicting and changing conceptualisations of Alexandra Township throughout the ARP's lifespan. Initially, Alexandra is conceptualised as a siloed neighbourhood but over time, this spatial imaginary changes to one in which the township's development is integral to the sustained development of Johannesburg on a city-wide scale. Furthermore, over the ARP's lifespan greater priority is placed on integrating Alexandra with other key nodes within the CoJ's landscape. According to one of my interviewees, the ARP's lifespan has consisted of three distinct phases:

> "See, one has to analyse the institutional arrangements that were put in place in 2001 and how they evolved and changed over the sixteen-year period and measure that against what was delivered … I can divide this period up into three distinct phases … the first phase would be between 2001 and 2005. The second phase would be between 2005 and 2011. And the third phase between 2011 and today." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

I structure the chapter along the three periods provided by EE by chronologically analysing the documents within those timescales.

6.2 The Beginnings: 2001-2005

6.2.1 The Urban Renewal Programme

Alexandra is one of eight urban nodes included in the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) which was launched by the then-South African President Thabo during his 2001 State of the Nation Address. Alongside the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP), the URP was intended to be a ten-year programme that would "conduct a sustained campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment, bringing in the resources of all three spheres of government in a co-ordinated manner" (Urban Renewal Programme, n.d.: 1). According to Zack (n.d.: 1), the eight urban nodes identified by the URP are complex human settlements that suffered from neglect and continuous state efforts to demolish them during the apartheid era. The URP was intended to focus on poverty alleviation as its explicit objective (GovSA, n.d.: 3). Furthermore, the urban "nodes were also seen as spaces [for] new styles of governance" that would enable improved intergovernmental co-ordination and integration alongside the development of more participatory nodes (Todes, 2013: 32).

The URP was meant to follow on the successes of the early post-apartheid Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs), which included the Kathorus SIPP. This focussed on fast-tracking economic development, and infrastructure and service delivery in the Katlehong, Thokoza, and Vosloorus townships in Johannesburg between 1994 and 1999 (Todes and Turok, 2015). In the case of the ARP, most of the urban professionals who were in the core consulting team were either directly or indirectly involved in the implementation of the Kathorus SIPP. Three of my

participants explicitly mentioned the role that their involvement in the Kathorus SIPP played in their later involvement in the ARP. EA, one of the ARP's project managers, mentions the Kathorus SIPP leading consulting team's later application for the tender to run the ARP:

> "there was an expression of interest for [renewing] Alex then I met all the criteria and that's how I became involved with the ARP. Then I submitted [a proposal], [our proposal] was evaluated and that's how I came to be involved with it." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

The professional networks developed through involvement in the Kathorus SIPP lead consulting team is critical to the ARP's core consulting team's legitimation of their early leadership of the project.

6.2.2 The Importance of the Alexandra Renewal Project

As one of the urban nodes prioritised, Alexandra was, in 2001, described by the URP as having the following characteristics: an apartheid township; poverty and high levels of crime; a shortage of formal housing stock; "inadequate operational and maintenance budgets"; a relatively low presence of internal economic opportunities; "low education and skills levels of [the] resident population"; and being "poorly connected to surrounding neighbourhoods" (GovSA, n.d.: 6). Alexandra is described as predominantly residential with a population that works in the surrounding former 'Whites-only' areas of Johannesburg, Sandton and Wynberg. Alexandra's good location is a feature that was mentioned by most of my participants (see Chapter 7 for more). AT, one of the ARP's development consultants, mentions that before the implementation of the ARP, business-people from the greater Sandton area did propose various measures to gentrify Alexandra:

> "So, basically what they were pushing for- there was a position that the land [that Alex stood on] should be sold. It should be put into the free market and sold at free market prices. The idea was that potentially, [the people living in Alex] would get lots of money and they would be free to move anywhere else which is the old gentrification argument." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

Interestingly, there was a significant discrepancy in the population figures given as the 2001 Census gave a figure of 166,969 persons whilst the CoJ estimated the population size being closer to 360,000. The unemployment rate given was 45% which was exceedingly high. Considering that 48% of the population was between 15 to 34 years of age, this meant that Alexandra had, and still has, a significant youth unemployment problem. The HIV infection rate was 16.8% which means that HIV/Aids was a serious problem in the township. Alexandra was estimated to have about 4,060 formal houses with around 34,000 shacks notwithstanding the other types of accommodation that included flats, hostels and warehouses. 1 in 3 persons was estimated to live in an informal settlement which is one of the highest figures in South Africa. 27.4% of households did not have access to piped water which is significantly higher than total backlogs recorded for the CoJ which, in 2001, is 15.3% (GovSA, n.d.: 7).

In a proposal, Zack (n.d.: 1) argues that Alexandra is the urban node whose renewal project, the ARP, has made significant progress in "actual upgrading implementation". This implies that the ARP's relative good progress is the result of its proximity to well-developed areas within the CoJ. Zack (n.d.: 3) requested an expert upgrading team that would be able to use international best practices in the efforts to upgrade Alexandra through the ARP. This appeal to international expertise is significant considering that the ARP was established in the beginning stages of the CoJ's efforts at branding itself as a world-class city. This would be contested by various urban professionals involved in the project (see Chapter 8): not all of the urban professionals affiliated with the ARP's structures agreed with the socio-spatial interventions prioritised by the main project structures. Therefore, there existed differing perspectives on the best approaches for renewing Alexandra.

6.2.3 Conceptualising and Organising the ARP

In its first few months of existence, the ARP focussed on "formulating plans, strategies and policies and developing administrative systems" (ARP, 2001b: 1).

An overall strategy for the project was developed with the vision and key outcomes being articulated. The overall vision for the ARP was to:

> "fundamentally upgrade living conditions and human development potential within Alexandra by reducing levels of unemployment; creating a healthy and clean-living environment; providing affordable and sustainable services; reducing levels of crime and violence; upgrading existing housing environments and creating [additional] housing opportunities; [and achieving] de-densification to [surrounding] land." (ARP, 2001b: 2)

The ARP was initially envisioned as being a seven-year programme (2001-2008) that would achieve the following outcomes: reducing crime by 20% or more; creating a sustainable community with civic pride through the use of a wide range of cultural and recreational activities; reducing serious crime and violence by 50%; obtaining payment levels of 90% for quality municipal services; providing an effective local administration; creating a healthy living environment; and providing a range of sustainable and affordable housing with secure tenure through the national government's RDP housing scheme. Furthermore, the project was to be implemented in terms of ten precincts with three precincts being selected to pilot the approach as is shown in figure 6.1 below (ARP, 2001b: 4)[29].

[29] The three precincts were RCA Area- Precinct 2; Pan Africa Square- Precinct 1; and Marlboro- Precinct 7. There are no explicitly stated reasons for why these three precincts were selected to pilot the precinct-approach for the ARP's implementation.

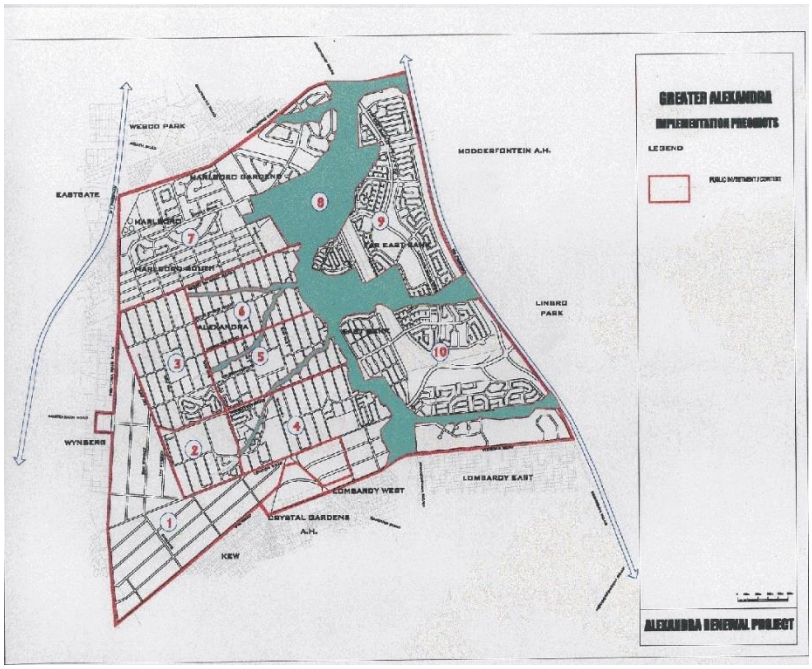


Figure 6. 1: Sites for the ARP's Implementation Projects (ARP, 2001b)

The ARP was initially conceptualised as having the three focus areas of economic development, social development, and physical development. These focus areas also determined the allocation of urban professionals who were part of the core consulting team. The core consulting team won a tender put out by the Gauteng Provincial Department of Housing and the funds were allocated through various Provincial departments; thus, the ARP did not have funds directly allocated to it. Interestingly, almost all the urban professionals I interviewed had been previously involved in the early post-apartheid Katlehong, Thokoza, and Vosloorus (Kathorus) Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs). One consultant explicitly stated that it was her involvement in the Kathorus SIPP consulting team that led to her involvement with the ARP. Two consultants who both led the SIPP and the ARP's core consulting teams also described how their project management experience in the SIPP gave them the legitimacy they needed to prove they would be able to adequately lead the implementation of the ARP's goals and objectives. Additionally, consultants from the late apartheid Independent Development Trust were also later involved with the ARP. One of the IDT's consultant's AT, explained that "you will see that these consultants worked with the IDT; that was our kind of network" (Interview with AT, 10

November 2017). These professional networks proved critical to many of the urban professionals' (whom I interviewed) involvement with the ARP. EE mentioned that his position as a long-serving town-planner within the state's bureaucratic structures also proved fortuitous to enabling his involvement within the ARP's structures.

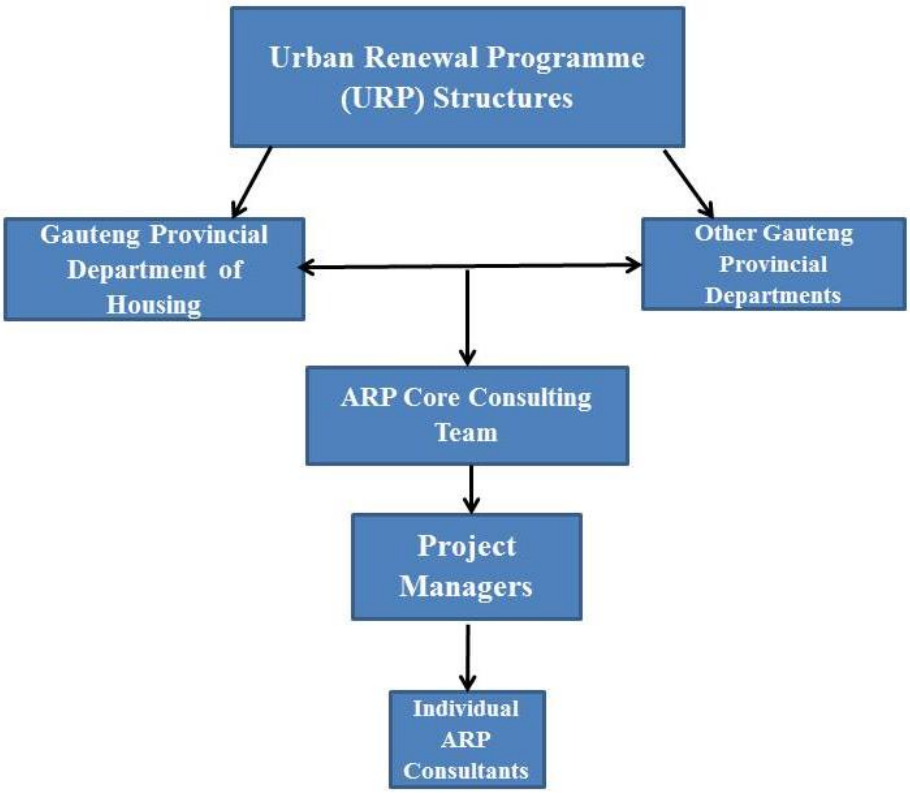


Figure 6. 2: Organogram of the ARP's Structure Between 2001 and 2005

Figure 6.2 above provides a broad outline of the ARP's organisational structure between 2001 and 2005. As has been discussed earlier, the ARP fell under the nationwide URP. According to AT and EA, core funding for the project came through the Gauteng Provincial Department of Housing and other departments within the Gauteng Provincial Government. The Gauteng Provincial Department of Housing awarded the tender for the ARP's to the core consulting team which consisted of two project managers and several individual consultants who worked within departments that focused on the ARP's eleven functional areas.

The ARP's three focus areas were encompassed by eleven functional areas. These functional areas were:

> "local economic development; safety and security; local government capacitation; heritage, arts and culture; education; health; welfare; sports and recreation; spatial planning and environment; housing; and environment." (ARP, 2001a: 117)

The multi-faceted approach of the ARP demonstrates its attempt at holistically renewing Alexandra and "making Alexandra a town" which will have its own sustainable internal economy (ARP, 2001a: 117). However, this multi-faceted approach resulted in the core consulting team making a lot of trade-offs between which functional areas to prioritise. EA mentions that in terms of achieving the project's broader aims and objectives, "[t]here's quite a lot of trade-offs and arguments which actually make sense" (Interview with EA, 2017).

EA's mention of trade-offs was particularly relevant to the ARP's early de-densification measures which targeted areas along the Jukskei riverbanks and involved moving 6,800 households to Bramfischerville and Diepsloot. When asked how it was decided who would be moved from a particular area, EA explained that there were various angles that were used to determined who would be moved and who would remain in whichever area required de-densification. These included paying attention to residents' locations in relation to particular hazards that included open sewers and the Jukskei riverbanks.

6.2.4 Development Forums and ARP Summits: Participatory Development in the ARP

The ARP used a participatory development approach that included the establishment of the Greater Alexandra Development Forum (GADF)[30] and the ARP Summits to encourage Alexandra's residents to play an integral role in the development process. The Summits, held in 2001, included the presentation of a business plan that was presented to about 450 government and local stakeholders

[30] The GADF was established in 2002 as the Alexandra Development Forum (ADF). It was created by the ANC-led provincial government to become a part of the ARP and serve as an institutional forum for participation (Sinwell, 2010).

attending the summit (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008; Harrison et al., 2014). The summit's involvement of community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and the private sector reflected the multi-sectoral interest in the ARP.

Throughout the ARP Summit notes, it is evident that residents were calling for greater participation in the renewal process with the emphasis that community participation "could not become a reality unless all were involved in ongoing facilitation" (ARP, 2001a: 8) and that "renewal should not be dominated by politics" (ARP, 2001a: 131). Moreover, Alexandra residents were conscious of the mainstream spatial imaginaries around Alexandra as a precarious environment with many stating that the ARP ought to "create a safe and healthy environment" (ARP, 2001a: 12). What becomes most apparent in the Alexandra Renewal Project Summit notes is that both the urban professionals (namely the consultants) involved in the ARP and Alexandra's residents are trying to co-create a coherent spatial imaginary that will guide the renewal of Alexandra. However, AT believes that the ARP's attempts at implementing a participatory approach to development were a failure because:

> "we [the ARP's core consulting team] never had an interface that was equal to the consultancy group which we needed in order to add [community representation] onto the team. Even if that was more a reference group- and we talked about a reference group, we talked about advisory boards. I don't know if those came [after I left] but those certainly weren't there when I was there." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

Furthermore, HO, a community activist argues that a culture of patronage emerged within the GADF, claiming that the GADF "were a mini-government by themselves" (Interview with HO, 14 November 2017). This culture of patronage within the GDF's structures significantly contributed to the ARP's failure in meaningfully facilitating a participatory approach to development. It is also within this context of increasing contestation within community structures that there emerged greater tensions between the Gauteng provincial government and the ARP's core consulting team which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8 of

this dissertation. The termination of the ARP's core consulting team's contract meant that the ARP was under new leadership and that the ARP's structure and areas of prioritisation shifted.

6.3 New Dawn for the ARP: 2005-2011

UA, a leader within the ARP's structures, mentions that his tenure of leading the ARP began when:

> "there [were] huge tensions between the consultants and the provincial government- I don't [know] if it was also the national government but it was definitely the provincial government." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

Following the termination of the core consulting team's contract by the Gauteng Provincial Department of Housing, the ARP became its own standalone entity which was still independent of the CoJ's internal structures. This independence enabled it to place greater focus on deliverables such as RDP housing delivery. EE states that:

> "in the second period, there was a much more focused…of accent and attention to housing delivery… So in the first part- in the second five years was a big emphasis on housing delivery. We delivered in those, that second period, just over 10,000 housing units in the second five years mainly along the Far East Bank because there was a lot of vacant land available in those days." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

This focus was complemented by new spatial planning policy at the municipal scale with the CoJ's 2006/07 Spatial Development Framework and in the CoJ's 2010/11 Regional Development Framework.

6.3.1 Johannesburg's 2006/07 Spatial Development Framework

Johannesburg's Spatial Development Framework (SDF) for 2006/07 consists of development initiatives either planned for or initiated within the CoJ so that the city may "restructure urban form and tangible contributions to all the

communities" of the CoJ (CoJ, 2006: 1)[31]. The projects are driven by the state, private business as well as a combination of public and private resources. Among the nineteen initiatives featured in the SDF is the ARP. Alexandra is described as a well-located area in terms both of its proximity to key arterial road networks linking the CoJ to the City of Tshwane and its proximity to the economic opportunities that exist in Sandton, Wynberg and other industrial and commercial areas. Alexandra is described as having a population of 350,000 that live in "formal houses, shacks, hostel complexes and numerous old factories and buildings" (CoJ, 2006: 1). Thus, it is implied that the township is over-populated and in serious need of sustainable housing solutions. The ARP's initial housing solutions are mentioned with "the development of some 11,000 social housing units" (CoJ, 2006: 1). However, the document goes on to mention that ARP's housing strategy is moving towards a "unique framework for low-cost, high-density urban living in ensuring a diverse range of housing typologies" (CoJ, 2006: 1).

This new vision of the ideal housing strategy for Alexandra preceded the various other documents outlining their visions of Alexandra becoming an integral part of a compact urban fabric. A key development in this regard was the adoption of the block by block approach to RDP housing delivery in Alexandra which enabled the faster allocation of RDP housing within prioritised blocks.

Shifting Focus in Housing Delivery: Adoption of the Block by Block Approach and its ramifications

The ARP adopted a block-by-block approach to housing delivery in Alexandra, which according to HA, was more effective than the waiting-list approach because:

> "Basically, the ARP decided that if you follow the housing waiting list [approach], you might replace a shack here, and one there, and one there, and one very scattered popcorn approach- I think that's what it's referred to-

[31] I was unable to access the SDF for 2003; therefore, I have not discussed it. This, of course, does limit the scope of my discussion on various official policy documents' spatial imaginaries of Alexandra.

> and you don't make any impact on the physical form of Alex. But if you do it block-by-block, for instance if there is a very densely packed shack settlement which covers a school field (which was a common issue) and then allocate housing to people living in that block, and then open that block for reinstating the school field, you have more impact on form." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

However, the block-by-block approach exacerbated tensions between residents who had waited a long time for housing but were not residing in the blocks that were prioritised for receiving RDP housing. EE explains these resulting tensions:

> "obviously the block-by-block approach had a lot of criticism as well because it did not address longstanding people that were on the housing waiting-list that were still waiting. And we actually found situations where people that had only been in Alex for three or four years were benefitting from new housing because they were, coincidentally, in that block which we [had] identified for relocation. So, that was the downside of the housing allocation process." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

Despite these contestations, the new approaches to renewal in the second phase of the ARP's operations did yield some successes. Prioritised blocks in Alexandra received fast-tracked allocation of RDP housing. According to EE, this enabled the ARP to make some visible changes to the township's visible form by giving the ARP greater control over prioritised blocks. This level of control was not possible with the waiting list approach to RDP housing allocation both because of Alexandra's high density and the transient nature of its residential population.

The successes yielded by the adoption of the block-by-block approach for RDP housing delivery was overshadowed by the Alexandra Property Owners' Association (Alpoa)'s 2008 decision to take out a court interdict against the CoJ and the ARP. The interdict was taken out in a context of increasing dissatisfaction over land redistribution processes to Alexandra property owners who were dispossessed of their property by the apartheid government. The interdict prohibited the CoJ and the ARP from renewing the backyards in old Alexandra which has frustrated the redevelopment of old Alexandra. There was the establishment of the Alexandra Land Task Team which was tasked with resolving

the impasse between Alpoa and the ARP. This task team encountered numerous challenges. Both the land impasse and the Alexandra Land Task Team are discussed further in Chapter 8.

The land-impasse delegitimised the spatial practices that the ARP anticipated embarking upon. Thus, the ARP adopted more innovative spatial strategies. The first innovation was to "find land in the broader sub-region (within a ten-kilometre radius of Alexandra) for around 11,300 housing units" (Harrison et al., 2014: 355). The second innovation involved strengthening the focus on providing rental housing for households that did not qualify to receive RDP housing (Harrison et al., 2014). Third, was an attempt to increase the densities of new developments by reducing RDP houses by 20 square metres and going double storey, as a means of increasing the units per hectare by about 3.25 (Harrison et al., 2014). Each of these featured in the 2010/11 RSDF which is discussed further below.

6.3.2 Johannesburg's 2010/11 Regional Spatial Development Framework: Alexandra vs. Sandton

The Regional Spatial Development Framework (RSDF) works alongside the SDF at the regional scale[32] to represent the prevailing spatial planning policy within the CoJ. Both policy documents are prepared and adopted in terms of the Municipal Systems Act (Act 32 of 2000) and are an integral part of the CoJ's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (CoJ, 2010: 7). According to my reading of the RSDF 2010/2011, Region E, alongside the CoJ, was experiencing economic growth in both the formal and informal economy. The growing economy was a major drawcard for people migrating to the CoJ and the region. Sandton held the most economic power as South Africa's financial district with several head offices of major firms located there (CoJ, 2010: 15). Alexandra is mentioned as one of Region E's marginal areas. Its proximity to Sandton is mentioned as a way of

[32] The CoJ's seven regions serve as a conduit for decentralising the CoJ's municipal administrative functions which include health care, housing, libraries, and other local community-based services.

emphasising the extremes of poverty and wealth that characterise the region (CoJ, 2010: 16).

The highest densities in the region were located within Alexandra with the need for promoting residential densification through the provision of low-income housing (CoJ, 2010). There were also significant informal settlements in Alexandra along the banks of the Jukskei River (namely S'swetla). The 2010/2011 RSDF credits the ARP for the de-densification that has occurred in Alexandra. Moreover, the ARP is credited for enabling the needs of the poor living in Alexandra being met (CoJ, 2010). However, these de-densification approaches adopted by the ARP were constantly frustrated by the transient nature of Alexandra's population. Therefore, the de-densification approaches were, in some ways, ineffective in being sustained over the long-term. EE explains:

> "In certain instances, we demolished the shacks, well I was not involved but the people dealing with the project…and within days, that space in the yard was taken over by another person. In certain instances, even so that the family that was moved left some of their family members behind and they still today control those spaces." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

Despite the inefficiencies of the ARP's de-densification measures, RSDF lauds the ARP's housing strategy because of its role in the CoJ's continual efforts to eradicate informal settlements. Furthermore, the ARP's housing strategy is recognised for its role in redeveloping Alexandra through the construction of various housing typologies.

Because of the regional focus of the document, the 2010/11 RSDF also focusses on the developmental trajectories of areas that neighbour Alexandra. According to the 2010/11 RSDF, Alexandra's proximity to neighbouring industrial/commercial areas have resulted in these areas experiencing both a decline in rentals and an increase in incidences of crime and squatting (CoJ, 2010). Furthermore, these areas have suffered strong competition from other industrial nodes. The 2010/11 RSDF proposes that capitalising on transportation links neighbouring Alexandra is crucial to facilitating the township's renewal. Moreover, the 2010/11 RSDF proposes that Alexandra's developmental objectives may be achieved through

developing the neighbouring Frankenwald site, particularly supporting "office, commercial and industrial development along the western side of the N3 [on Frankenwald] to the [east of] the Jukskei River" (CoJ, 2010: 145).

However, the suggestion of consolidating non-residential development in Frankenwald demonstrates that the CoJ is trying to find long-term solutions for addressing the high unemployment in Alexandra as well as the high rate of poverty that such unemployment levels. The development of non-residential land use in Frankenwald is the CoJ's attempt at reintegrating Alexandra into Region E's spatial economic fabric. However, the development of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits)-owned Frankenwald has been fraught with tensions over the best land-use for the site (see Chapter 8). These debates around the fate of Frankenwald demonstrate HA's point that the "future of the Frankenwald site is very important" (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017). Therefore, Frankenwald holds key strategic importance as the ARP tries to achieve its objective in its latest phase of operations (2011-present).

6.4 Third phase (2011-present): The ARP's Loss of Political Significance

Initially, the ARP's objectives were to be implemented over a seven-year period (2001-2008). After that initial period, the project's lifespan was expanded by a few more years until the project was eventually absorbed into the CoJ's structures in 2013 (Harrison et al., 2014). Since 2011, the ARP has lost political significance because it is no longer an independent entity. The third phase of the ARP's lifespan has occurred within this context of the project's decreasing political significance. The current phase of the ARP (2011-present) has been regarded as the period in which the ARP has down-scaled its activities considerably. EE lamented the level of downscaling that the ARP has undergone, commenting that "In the early years, everything had to go through us; we were in charge of Alex. That is not there [anymore]" (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017). Furthermore, HA regards this current phase as one where Alexandra has lost the level of political prioritisation that it once enjoyed. HA explains further:

> "It is politically significant…but I think in terms of the level of priority it once had, perhaps, in the earlier part of the ARP days, that level of priority has declined somewhat." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017).

However, UA believes that this downscaling of the ARP's activities is a positive development as this has enabled the implementation of township renewal on a city-wide instead of an area-based scale. This, he believes, is a more sustainable way of approaching renewing marginalised areas like Alexandra:

> "One, because I mean other areas are left out and become quite bitter [with people asking] 'why is so much investment going into Alex compared to where I live?' [Alex] has a political terrain which is hard to manage … which means that the pressure there…so you turn off the taps off of [investing in other areas] which makes it difficult to sustain." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017).

New policies and plans have emerged during this period. These include the CoJ's 2011 Alexandra Masterplan which outlines plan's for Alexandra's future socio-spatial development. The 2011 GSDF 2030 develops a framework for Gauteng province's polycentric spatial development but does not discuss Alexandra township in depth. The 2012/16 IDP which does not explicitly mention Alexandra but it does provide a guideline for the CoJ's sustainable development. The 2016 Corridors of Freedom Policy Document mentions Alexandra as a key node for the CoJ's future transit-oriented development. The 2017 Alexandra UDF outlines Alexandra's increasingly important role in making the CoJ a more compact and socially just city. Gauteng Premier David Makhura's *2018 State of the Province Address* highlights the importance of developing township economies in order to address the key social challenges of youth unemployment and low education levels which affect township areas such as Alexandra. Finally, the 2017/18 IDP is discussed is relation to the new DA-led local government's vision for the CoJ. These documents are discussed in chronological order and discuss the varying scalar approaches to development.

6.4.1 The 2011 Alexandra Masterplan

In the CoJ's Alexandra Masterplan for 2011, it is stated that numerous projects have been implemented to improve the quality of life for Alexandra's residents. These efforts include "new housing, open space development and the upgrade of services and infrastructure" (CoJ, 2012b: 2). Interestingly, this Masterplan makes reference to the Alexandra Physical Development Framework of 2002[33] which aimed to consolidate the grid layout of the township, complete the 'ring road' system into and around Alexandra, developing new business activities around key east-west and north-south areas of the township, develop a hierarchy of centres at intersections, develop an open space system and finally, redevelop Alexandra on a precinct basis (CoJ, 2012b: 3). The 2011 Alexandra Masterplan analyses the outcomes of these goals in four key areas: Alexandra's development as a heritage area; movement and accessibility; land use and urban form, as well as ownership patterns in Alexandra; and the development of green space in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b: 4). Although there have been some key successes in previous interventions, the 2011 Alexandra Masterplan argues that more needs to be done to develop Alexandra. The new development proposals still use the previously mentioned four areas as key locales for strategic intervention in Alexandra's urban design.

With heritage, the 2011 Alexandra Masterplan endeavours to adhere to "place-making principles and establishing physical place-making elements" as well as developing "human-scale streetscapes". The place-making elements include the development of the New Alex Town Centre with the core at the Civic Precinct-shown below in figure 6.3 (again, going back to the precinct-centred mode of development as discussed earlier in this chapter), continuous parklands, new linear parks, a landmark/historical gateway to enhance existing heritage sites within old Alexandra, and a defined and pedestrianised Alex Main Street (CoJ, 2012b: 14).

[33] Again, I was unable to access this specific document.

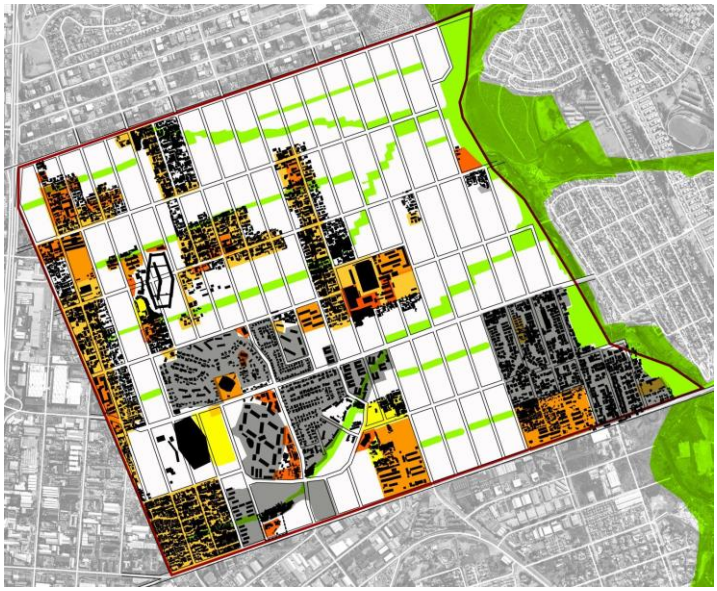


Figure 6. 3: The New Alex Town Centre (CoJ, 2012b)

Furthermore, the 2011 Masterplan envisions Alexandra's streets as being pedestrian-oriented with slower traffic, wide sidewalks, plenty of overhead lighting, continuous and level surfaces to walk on, wide spill-over spaces, seating dustbins and trees to provide shading (CoJ, 2012b). This vision implies that the spatial imaginary for Alexandra is one that contrasts with the sprawling, motor-centred urban design that exists in most parts of Johannesburg (Harrison and Harrison, 2014: 8). At the same time, the spatial imaginary presented is one that aimed to suburbanise- thus, further formalising- Alexandra's spatial form.

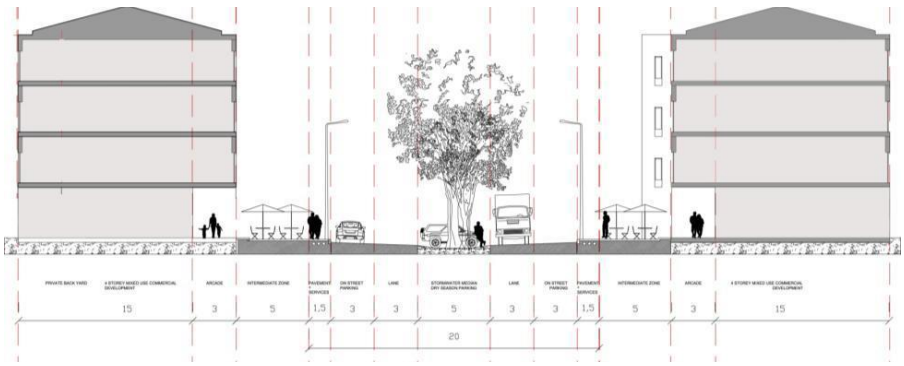


Figure 6. 4: Proposed Walk-Ups in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b)

With accessibility, the 2011 Alexandra Masterplan proposed a greater focus on improving local accessibility through developing smaller block sizes and

continuing the grid patter through hostel sites. Additionally, there is a greater emphasis on increasing walkability around Alexandra through the development of areas of high walkability into high-density and mixed-use (mostly retail) spaces. A variety of housing types are proposed with higher densities to be located close to the core of the high walkability radius around the Civic Precinct/proposed new Town Centre and the Pan Africa Mall.

Interestingly, there is still a focus on de-densification with the 2011 Alexandra Masterplan proposing the relocation of 22,000 households with 44,699 households in Old Alexandra in need of redevelopment (CoJ, 2012b: 20). With the new residential developments, there is greater prioritisation into developing spaces that have densities of between 200 and 400 units per hectare. Various housing typologies are proposed: these include walk-ups, bonded walk-ups, row houses, infill houses (which will include affordable rental rooms), and infill in heritage areas (as shown in figures 3, 4, 5, and 6) (CoJ, 2012b: 22). However, these rental rooms (a recent public housing development) have been the subject of various contestations between those who are allocated as landlords and the landlords' allocated tenants (see Chapter 9). LH discussed, at length, her misgivings around being allocated this rental housing. She complained about the walk-ups being an inappropriate housing typology for an elderly person who may suffer from joint pain. She also mentioned the contestations between the landlords and tenants that often became violent:

> "They should remove the other people because, the minute you talk about rental, [the renters] will go to the offices and state that they will refuse to pay rent to me. And then, you find that that person will disrespect and challenge you… And then they also take a South African to rent from a foreign national who has bought the [main] house. Most years, [you hear of] people that tried to kill each other because of that." (Interview with LH, 05 December 2017)

Despite these challenges, the state is seemingly determined to move ahead with these proposed developments. The infill development would have buildings oriented towards the street to both "feed off pedestrian activity and allow for

passive surveillance" (CoJ, 2012b: 24). Moreover, the position of the buildings "discourages informal dwellings from being built on the street sidewalks" (CoJ, 2012b: 24).



Figure 6. 5: Proposed New Layout of Housing in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b)

For mixed-use developments, a vertical mix of uses is proposed with retail uses proposed to be at the street level. On the first floor, a mix of office use and appropriate public amenities is proposed. Additionally, the top two storeys are exclusively reserved for residential uses with 30-60m² units. These mixed-use areas are proposed along the main roads and around the Civic Precinct/ new Town Centre. Approximately these new developments would provide 500 additional residential units in addition to the total developed in the residential blocks (CoJ, 2012b: 32).

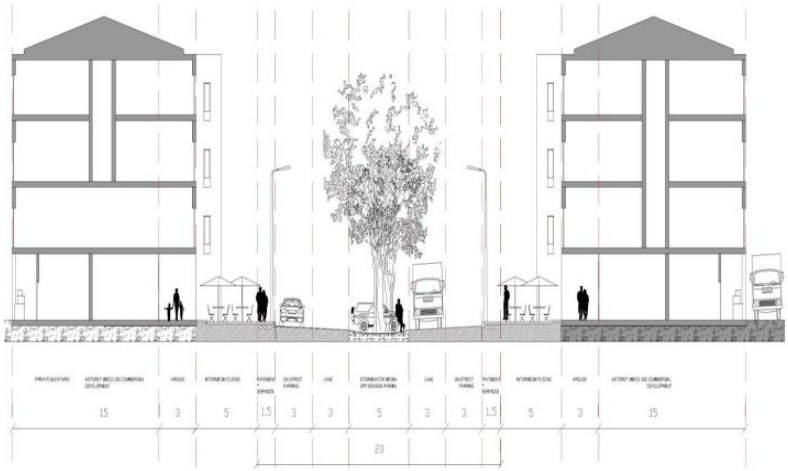


Figure 6. 6: Proposed Walk-Ups in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b)

The 2011 Alexandra Masterplan proposes three distinct types of open space. These are river edge promenade and activity nodes in the rehabilitated area along the Jukskei River; continuous linear parks with activity, sport and play areas; and major sports parks next to estuaries with pedestrian lanes (CoJ, 2012b: 33). The area along the Jukskei River is proposed to be developed as a promenade with specific activity nodes. In addition to that, the promenade will be edged by high-end residential development which will overlook the promenade. This spatial imaginary appears similar to the eco-estates that have proliferated in the CoJ in recent years (Landman and Badenhorst, 2014). However, the proposed area along the Jukskei River is a public area that accommodates a spatial imaginary of a more inclusive cityscape. Moreover, the new proposed area along the Jukskei River includes a wider river edge with on-street parking. Therefore, the 2011 Alexandra Masterplan is one that imagines a future Alexandra with a consolidated urban design framework that will make it a more hospitable area for low-income households to exercise their right to access economic opportunities (and more broadly, the city) within the CoJ cityscape.

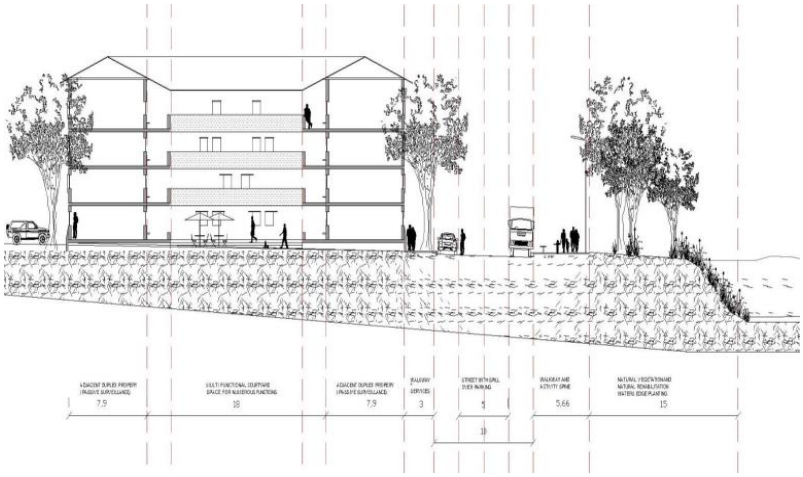


Figure 6. 7: Proposed Green Space in Alexandra (CoJ, 2012b)

6.4.2 The 2011 GSDF 2030

The spatial imaginaries of Alexandra presented in the 2011 Alexandra Masterplan are similar to the ones present in the 2011 Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (GSDF) 2030, whose review was prompted by the 2015 enforcement of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) (Act 16 of 2013). The GSDF 2030 aims to direct and coordinate all development spending in the Gauteng Province to ensure rapid and sustainable provincial economic growth and township redevelopment, thus enabling meaningful spatial transformation in Gauteng (CoJ, 2015.: viii). The GSDF aims to develop a polycentric spatial network in Gauteng which will enable "mutually beneficial exchanges of goods and services, and movement of people" (CoJ, 2015: x). Four spatial development strategies are to be followed to support the development of the polycentric spatial network. These strategies are:

> "capitalising on proximity, managing new settlement development, building an economic network, and creating a viable and productive hinterland" (CoJ, 2015: x).

The GSDF 2030 has also put forward a spatial development logic based on the five focus areas of "shared economic prosperity, socio-economic integration, economic consolidation, social and local economic support, [and] rural enterprise support" (CoJ, 2015: xi).

The GSDF 2030 does not mention Alexandra in depth. This indicates the provincial and local governments' decreased focus on area-based spatial development. Instead, there is an increased prioritisation of a regionalised approach to spatial development. However, Alexandra is mentioned as enjoying a central location but not being "functionally integrated with the surrounding urban fabric" (CoJ, 2015: 58). Furthermore, Alexandra is, alongside Soweto, one of two townships that are described as receiving extensive private sector investment in its spatial economy (CoJ, 2015: 80). Interestingly, the map outlining township economies in the GSDF 2030 (figure 7) does not label Alexandra, thus, demonstrating its increasingly peripheral role in the Gauteng spatial imaginary. Modderfontein- which is adjacent to Alexandra- is discussed in greater detail owing to its being the location for one of the mega human settlements slated for development in the Gauteng Province (CoJ, 2015).

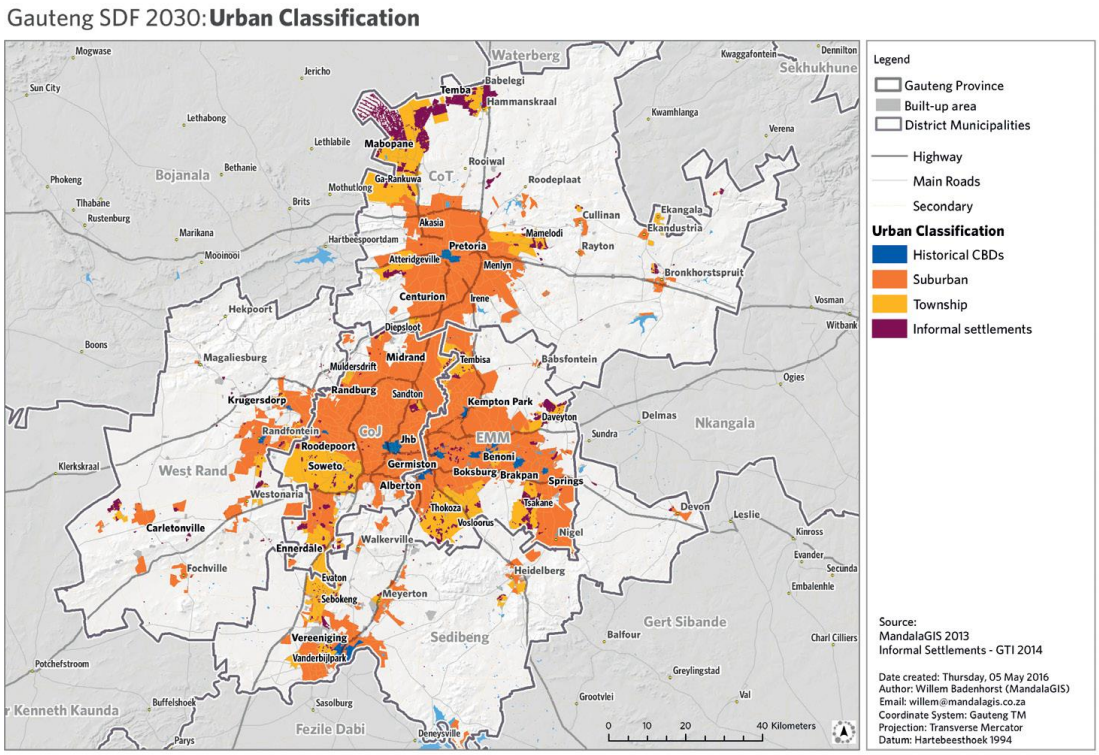


Figure 6. 8: Classification of Urban Areas in Gauteng Province (CoJ, 2015)

6.4.3 The 2012/2016 IDP and its Relationship to the Joburg 2040 GDS

Back at the city-scale, the medium-term 2012/2016 IDP is meant to complement the long-term visions posited by the Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) policy document. It aims to adhere to the six principles outlined in the Joburg 2040 GDS which include:

> "eradicating poverty, building sustainable human settlements, ensuring resource and environmental sustainability, achieving social inclusion, and promoting good governance" (CoJ, 2013: 7).

Although, the Joburg 2040 GDS does not explicitly mention Alexandra, it can be inferred that this document imagines Alexandra as becoming an integral part of the CoJ's urban fabric, where the CoJ will:

> "address poverty and ensure human and social development, create an inclusive economy and a healthy environment, and establish a liveable, resilient and sustainable city for all- supported by a capable, soundly governed metropolitan government (CoJ, 2012a: 113)."

Moreover, the Joburg 2040 GDS aims to respond to the multiple challenges and uncertainties faced by the CoJ by adopting a 'business unusual' approach that will enable spaces such as Alexandra to become resilient spaces that best serve their residents.

The 2012/2016 IDP uses six criteria to determine the CoJ's progress in achieving its developmental goals. These criteria include "being transformative, ensuring continuity and change, being integrative, building capacity for inclusion, [enable state] development capacity, [and] risk assessment" (CoJ, 2013: 7). The 2012/2016 IDP includes a roadmap process that enables the CoJ to build on the flagship programmes detailed in previous IDPs which have included:

> "financial sustainability and resilience; agriculture and food security; sustainable human settlements; small, medium, and micro- enterprises (SMME) and entrepreneurial support; engaged active citizenry; resource sustainability; smart city; investment attraction, retention and expansion; green economy; and safer cities" (CoJ, 2013: 8).

Within Region E, there was the piloting of the Community Based Planning (CBP) approach which enables citizen-focused community planning as well as promoting mutual accountability between the communities and officials (CoJ, 2013: 158). The CBP approach consists of ward plans, community plans, and strategic partnerships with the intention of getting "all stakeholders to play a role in development and planning of the region" (CoJ, 2013: 164). The CBP process includes interventions such as converting showers into addition toilets in Alexandra; redeveloping the Helen Joseph women's hostel; fixing collapsing roofs; fencing 75% of identified flats in Alexandra; and the management of an Emergency Facility to house people displaced by incidents such as disasters (CoJ, 2013: 163). The piloting of the approach in Region E (which includes Alexandra) demonstrates the CoJ's understanding of Alexandra's complexity socio-spatial condition and how addressing that complexity may be a gateway for the CoJ to address the city's socio-spatial challenges more broadly. It also demonstrates the ARP's weakened position within the CoJ governance framework with the mentioning of the CBP Emergency Facility being handed over from the ARP for management (CoJ, 2013: 163).

Furthermore, the CoJ has changed its focus on "moving away from borders and ward boundaries in planning for communities" to ensure social cohesion within and across communities (CoJ, 2013: 8). Within the CoJ, urban management has moved to a regional scale (with seven regions) with Alexandra placed in Region E alongside Wynberg and Bruma. Moreover, housing is regarded as still being a major challenge for both Alexandra and the CoJ, with the CoJ committing to addressing the service backlogs that accompany Alexandra's housing backlog (CoJ, 2013: 34). The CoJ's commitment occurs in a context of increasing prioritisation of increasing Alexandra's proximity to key transport nodes within the CoJ. The *2016 Corridors of Freedom* policy document discusses how areas like Alexandra may benefit from the focus on transit-oriented development.

6.4.4 2016 Corridors of Freedom Policy Document

The Corridors of Freedom is another city-scale, Johannesburg-specific project whose spatial vision is in line with the Joburg 2040 GDS. The Corridors of Freedom is based on corridor Transit-oriented Development (TOD). It is imagined as consisting of well-planned transport arteries (which will mainly make use of the Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system) that are linked to interchanges with mixed-use developments consisting of high-density accommodation, office buildings, retail development, and opportunities for leisure and recreation. In the medium-term (2016), the focus of the Corridors of Freedom will be on "areas such as Soweto to the Central Business District (CBD) along Perth Empire; the CBD to Alexandra; Alexandra to Sandton; the Turfontein node; and the mining belt" (CoJ, 2016: 4). Alexandra features explicitly in the city's ToD vision.

Interestingly, one of the cited benefits of the Corridors of Freedom project is that it will improve the "social fabric of families" by ensuring that people will not miss out on crucial moments in their children's and spouses' lives as they will no longer be spending a significant period commuting to and from work (CoJ, 2016: 12). What this implies is that the CoJ has a spatial imaginary of a successful cityscape consisting of heteronormative families where all members are fully involved in each other's lives. Furthermore, I would like to argue that the CoJ's heteronormative spatial imaginary of the cityscape as well as the project's significant focus on Alexandra (as a part of the Louis Botha Corridor) implies that the CoJ may believe that Alexandra's socio-spatial challenges will be resolved through this heteronormative socio-spatial development framework. However, it is important to understand that the overriding vision for the 2016 Corridors of Freedom is to mitigate the spatial mismatch between residential and employment opportunities that is largely the result of apartheid-era spatial planning.

6.4.5 The 2017 Alexandra UDF

The 2016 Corridors of Freedom provides a city-wide vision of transit-oriented development as a means for integrating areas like Alexandra into Johannesburg's broader urban fabric. The very recent 2017 Alexandra Urban Development

Framework (UDF) aims to make Alexandra an integral part of the CoJ's endeavour to become a "compact, inclusive, connected, resilient, and generative city" (CoJ, 2017a: 3). The 2017 Alexandra UDF states that access to suitable land for development within the area remains a significant constraint for the renewal of Alexandra. Moreover, the 2017 Alexandra UDF reiterates the importance of the ARP's "combined and integrated strategy" (despite the ARP no longer existing as its own standalone entity at this stage) of people-driven development that makes use of public-private development strategies (CoJ, 2017a: 5).

Because of Alexandra's being part of the Louis Botha Corridors of Freedom development strategy, several key projects have been identified that include the redevelopment of the Alex Stadium, Alex library, and the 4th Avenue and Thoko Ngoma Clinics. However, the framework argues that public participation is still an important process that needs to be negotiated with the convening of an Alexandra Summit which is similar to the one convened in the beginning stages of the ARP. Furthermore, public participation is also to be supported by stakeholder focus groups, ward-based workshops, and action research that consists of ongoing one-on-one meetings with organisations that are active in Alexandra (CoJ, 2017b: 11).

6.4.6 Transforming Township Economies: 2018 State of the Province Address

Following the development of the 2012/2016 IDP and the Joburg 2040 GDS, it has emerged that youth unemployment is still a major remain problem in Alexandra (and the CoJ more broadly) with a low skillsbase and slowing formal sector growth cited as two significant causes (CoJ, 2013: 27). In his *2018 State of the Province Address*, Gauteng Premier David Makhura mentions that the Gauteng province has "close to 2 million young people who are neither in employment, in education nor in training" (Makhura, 2018). Makhura (2018) also states that "youth unemployment is the most acute and primary economic problem of our time".

A proposed solution for the youth unemployment crisis is the development of the township economy. Makhura (2018) does not directly mention Alexandra but he does outline strategies that will enable Gauteng's townships to become spaces of "vibrant culture and dynamic local economies underpinned by state-of-the-art infrastructure". Interestingly, he outlines the unregulated business activities of "foreign" entrepreneurs as being a major threat to the development of township-based businesses seemingly owned by South Africans. This xenophobic rhetoric goes against the spatial imaginaries of Gauteng being a cosmopolitan province. However, the rhetoric does reflect tensions between non-South African migrants and South Africans living in Alexandra, a fact alluded to by UA. These tensions culminated in the May 2008 xenophobic violence in Alexandra which drew widespread attention to the different manifestations of the contestations between insiders and outsiders that occur within the township. The identification of immigrant informal economic activities to township-based businesses is in opposition to what my research participants identified as the main threat to the sustainable development of the township economy.

EA blames the government's reliance on the development of shopping centres for the decreasing revenues of township-based businesses:

> "The way that [government] is doing it, they are killing [the township economy] fast by virtue of the malls, and then they keep on saying [we need to develop] the township. It is totally bizarre, according to me." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2018)

EA also alleges that shopping centres are mushrooming in townships for less than altruistic reasons:

> "And the reason why these shopping malls are entering the township markets- what people don't know- is that these companies, they target the social grants. That's why you see the shopping malls even in the villages. The money which they get [in those markets] is the social grant." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

Furthermore, MA identifies the lack of operating spaces for small businesses as being a hindrance to the successful running of township-based businesses:

> "In the intervention of small businesses, our people need facilities to run their small businesses… You know why? Because I know that most people survive from those small businesses, selling vegetables, selling kota-slice. Those are the things- kasi food. Selling mogodu, selling those things. Surely, they don't have anywhere to operate those businesses." (Interview with MA, 24 November 2017)

Therefore, the causes as well as the solutions to the underdevelopment of the township economy are more complex than what Makhura has alleged in his *2018 State of the Province* Address.

6.4.7 Continuities in the 2017/18 IDP Review

It is worth mentioning that the 2017/2018 IDP Review still has the same spatial imaginaries as the 2012/2016 IDP with a few minor changes in its focus, despite the 2017/2018 IDP Review being precipitated by a city regime change from an African National Congress (ANC)- led regime to a Democratic Alliance (DA)-Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) coalition administration. Although Herman Mashaba's DA-EFF coalition administration has focused on creating business-friendly urban environments, the administration still continues with the development-focused approach of the previous ANC-led administration. Therefore, urban governance in the CoJ still attempts to balance the "dual agendas of economic growth and development" (Parnell and Robinson, 2006: 341). However, both the previous ANC-led administration and DA-EFF coalition CoJ administrations have failed to develop urban policies that are systematically considered through a pro-poor lens. Furthermore, both administrations have a temperamental approach to informality within the CoJ (Todes, 2014). Thus, Alexandra is still imagined as a place that has significant socio-spatial challenges- largely resulting from significant "job-housing mismatch" and "little land use diversity"- that needs to be reintegrated into the CoJ's broader urban fabric (CoJ, 2017c: 32).

6.5 Conclusion

The fact that the ARP is no longer its own standalone entity has weakened its power within the CoJ's structures. EE believes that the only solution to the ARP's

current state of political and bureaucratic weakness is to increase the area-based focus of the ARP and the role of experts within its structures:

> "the only way you can do that is to have a focused team, you appoint them with the necessary qualifications and the necessary resources and you say to them 'this is what you're going to do over the next so many years' and they just focus on that only… That's why you need guys on the ground, in the area, and they work. That's why the JDA was so successful in the inner-city; it's because they were there, had offices in the inner-city and they ran the show there. That's how it was and we've got to get that back." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

However, I would like to argue that the ARP does have some indirect power within the CoJ's structures. What is apparent in the 2017 Alexandra UDF is that despite its no longer existing as a standalone project, the ARP has had considerable influence on past, present, and future conceptualisations of Alexandra with remnants of its processes still being used by the CoJ as it approaches socio-spatial interventions that are intended to renew and develop Alexandra. However, the ARP's influence over the conceptualisations of Alexandra cannot be over-emphasised as factors apart from the ARP have influenced the evolving conceptualisation of Alexandra over the course of the ARP's lifespan.

The documents analysed in this chapter demonstrate contradicting and changing conceptualisations of Alexandra. In the policy documents Alexandra is conceptualised as requiring de-densification but is also recognised as being a key location for the urban poor to access opportunities in Johannesburg's cityscape. Furthermore, there has been a shift from conceptualising Alexandra's development in isolation from other locations to strategising the township's development in tandem with Johannesburg's development on a city-scale. The formulation of documents such as Corridors of Freedom demonstrates the increasing prioritisation of Alexandra's integration within Johannesburg's broader urban. These contradictions and changes manifest themselves in the differing spatial imaginaries reflected by my research participants, for example, Alexandra as being impoverished yet at the same time having great potential. Furthermore,

these contradicting and changing conceptualisations are apparent in contestations that rendered the implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives more complex.

The chapters that follow will discuss these contradictions in my research participants' spatial imaginaries as well as the contestations that my research participants encountered that impacted on the relationship between their spatial imaginaries and their material practices throughout their involvement with the ARP. Conceived spaces are dynamic and are produced in relation to perceived and lived spaces. Spatial imaginaries, conceptualisations of spaces, and lived spaces share a messy relationship with one another which makes the implementation of urban renewal projects like the ARP more complex than what was initially conceptualised.

CHAPTER 7: SPATIAL IMAGINARIES (PERCEIVED SPACES)

7.1 Introduction

Reflecting on both my research questions and my interviews with my research participants reaffirmed for me that it was critical to understand the role that spatial imaginaries, as Lefebvrian perceived spaces, played in my respondents' engagement and relationship with the ARP. What became apparent during my interviews was that a lot of my research participants had similar perceptions of Alexandra as a place. This similarity reflects Watkins' (2015) definition of spatial imaginaries as socially held representations of places and spaces. Therefore, despite the commonly-held assumption that the act of imagining is an individual one, spatial imaginaries are collectively held ideas about places and spaces. Watkins (2015) further argues that spatial imaginaries are the medium through which social relations are both reproduced and changed.

Moreover, through defining spatial imaginaries as performative discourse, Watkins (2015) rejects the commonly-held binary between discourse and material practice. Material practices communicate, create, and change spatial imaginaries; therefore, material practice and discourse share an interdependent relationship. It is critical to consider the relationship between performative spatial imaginaries and urban practice. How do spatial imaginaries inform technocratic practice and how do these technocratic practices, in turn, influence spatial imaginaries? These questions are to be considered in greater depth in this chapter. I will discuss how the literature around spatial imaginaries, and technocratic practices interact with my research participants' reflections of their engagement/relationship with the ARP as they reflect on their attempts to "develop" Alexandra through the ARP. In this chapter, I track several core spatial imaginaries that include, among others, Alexandra as a historically significant place to Alexandra as a deeply-divided place.

7.2 Alexandra as a Historically/Politically Significant Place

For a number of my participants, Alexandra has a rich history that has made it hold great significance in Johannesburg's post-apartheid political landscape. Thus, Alexandra as a historically and politically significant place is a key spatial imaginary amongst my research participants. Established in 1912, Alexandra is one of the sole surviving examples of the black freehold township having managed to evade the destruction experienced by other multiracial locations such as Sophiatown in Johannesburg and District Six in Cape Town[34]. Most of my research participants were cognisant of Alexandra's rich history and felt a sense of responsibility towards the township during their involvement with the ARP.

Interestingly, three of my participants referred to the historical dispossession of Alexandra's *bomastandi* through the apartheid government's expropriation of their property. All of them argued that it was important to consider this historical episode when considering Alexandra's current socio-spatial fabric. AA remarked that, "we can't underestimate the history of people who weren't allowed home ownership" (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017). AT also commented on the significance of the relocation of Alexandra's population to racially-segregated areas to Johannesburg's current socio-spatial fabric by lamenting that:

> "I wish we didn't have these historical places because one tends to be aware of the segregated nature of many of these historically 'black' spaces." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

Here, AT was referring to how the segregated apartheid urban form still manifests in many South African cities, including Johannesburg. However, she then moved on to argue that she believed that because of its rich history, Alexandra could serve as a useful example for the integration of mixed-use living for lower- to middle-class black people within Johannesburg's township spaces.

Both HA and EE acknowledged Alexandra's importance to Johannesburg because of its political significance. However, HA did acknowledge that Alexandra no

[34] Both Sophiatown and District Six were eradicated under the 1950 Group Areas Act. The mostly-African and Coloured populations in these townships were moved to racially-designated areas whilst the spaces that the townships were based in were reserved as whites-only suburbs.

longer enjoyed the political significance that it once did within Johannesburg. On some level, this is because of the increasing socio-political importance given to other townships such as Soweto. AA remarked that one of the CoJ's former mayor's policy of rebranding Soweto aided in getting Soweto to be regarded as a well-run post-apartheid township.

7.3 Well-Located Alexandra with Great Potential

Almost all my research participants, bar one, believed that Alexandra was a place with great potential that was largely the result of its great location. This spatial imaginary motivated most of my research participants during their involvement with the ARP. All of my interviewees mentioned that Alexandra's potential resided in its excellent location with UA exclaiming that "Alex is Alex because of its location" (Interview with HA, 21 November 2017). HA further explained that:

> "It's got good location now- for the middle-class in Alex- to the Gautrain with commuting opportunities. So, its location is incredibly good within the city, and I do think that [fact] needs to properly recognised." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

MA further discussed how Alexandra's excellent location made it a key strategic point within Johannesburg's broader urban fabric:

> "The Alexandra- it's at a very strategic point. It's at the richest part of…it's the only township that's at the richest part of Africa. And, uh, like from all points, it's a point where many things can happen…And, on itself- in Alexandra- that is why you will find there's more talent. You look at it in arts and culture, you look at it in sporting, you look at the people themselves- politicians. Alexandra, it's a small…I think it's the smallest township. Maybe it's like Diepsloot. It's the oldest. It's so small but you will never leave it somewhere because it has people that are very vibrant." (Interview with MA, 24 November 2017)

AA argued that more needed to be done to exploit Alexandra's unrealised potential:

> "I mean, the first potential, obviously, is its location. It is extraordinarily well-located. We need to improve that connectivity, keep building that connectivity. Uhm, I there's an under- there's an under-realised potential around its connection to the Gautrain. Uhm, I think taking business into the

> space- leading Louis Botha [and] Wynberg's businesses into Alex would be important or making stronger connections over there in terms of those are already established businesses." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

This sentiment seems to echo an argument for land-value capture. Interestingly, two of my participants (AA and EA) mentioned that the value of land per km² is higher in Alexandra than in Sandton. EA mentions that the reason for that is because of Alexandra's excellent location. He expanded on this further:

> "And, remember that Alex per square meter, is far more expensive than Sandton. It's very expensive…You know, a person will rather live in Alex where he will have quick access to town- Joburg [is] 12 minutes, quick access to Randburg, Kaya Sands- twelve minutes, quick access to Sandton- five/six minutes, quick access to Pretoria- thirty/forty-five minutes, quick access to Germiston- thirty-five, airport, anywhere. When you look at your overall development framework, you can see where it is located. It is quite central." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

Only one of my participants, OO, believed that because of Alexandra's high levels of social risk, she was doubtful about its potential. She remarks that:

> "[s]orry, I'm not going to tell you that it's got a glowing future…I don't know. I'm not that hopeful." (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017)

Interestingly, she also expressed her doubts about the effectiveness of the ARP's interventions in realising its potential, stating that:

> "[Alex is] probably back to the way it used to be before we got there." (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017)

EE was cautious in his optimism for Alexandra's future as he believed that a lot of work still needed to be done to improve socio-economic conditions. IO echoed this sentiment by stating that, despite its great potential, Alexandra could not continue to exist in its current form.

7.3.1 Land-Value Capture

This perceived need to capture Alexandra's excellent land-value could be interpreted as a means of managing social orders. Because through managing Alexandra's space, there is the invariable management of the social relations that

takes place within that space- as was stated by Perin (1977). However, it would be an oversimplification to assume that five of my research participants' preoccupation with land-value capture is exclusively a means of preserving the current social order. When considering Alexandra's ideal future, most of my participants proposed a system of land-value capture that adhered to at least three of Nel's (2016) criteria[35]. For example, AA, OO, and UA believed that exploiting Alexandra's location would prove advantageous to attempts to reindustrialise the surrounding former industrial areas of Kew, Wynberg, and Marlboro. UA explained further:

> "The funny thing about Alex for me is that right next door you have an industrial park… and to put industrial parks together…the country has battled to get investments for industrial parks. But you go anywhere else in Africa and they are streaming with industrial parks… or you're developing them [in South Africa] and they battle." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

Furthermore, both UA and AA asserted that the reindustrialisation of neighbouring areas in Alexandra would prove critical in addressing the high levels of unemployment and skills shortage within the township. These are critical areas as both AA and IO also pointed out that another source of huge potential in Alexandra was its resident population which, according to IO, is "[a] richness of human elements that is incredibly common in that space" (Interview with IO, 11 October 2017).

AA argued that in order to fully exploit this opportune potential more needed to be done to:

> "improve that connectivity, keep building that connectivity…I there's an under- there's an under-realised potential around its connection to the Gautrain…I think taking business into the space- leading Louis Botha [and] Wynberg's businesses into Alex would be important or making stronger

[35] These criteria include the land use system addressing spatial fragmentation and exclusive whilst simultaneously promoting spatial inclusion and integration; promoting environmental, and socio-economic sustainability and resilience; providing opportunities for livelihoods whilst also supporting diverse economies; and addressing South African municipalities' capacity challenges (Nel, 2016).

> connections over there in terms of those are already established businesses." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

Furthermore, UA emphasised that there needed to be greater emphasis placed on fully exploiting the tracts of available land surrounding the township. Moreover, UA argued that the combination of its great location and the available land in surrounding areas made Alexandra a place that gave poor people access to various urban opportunities. However, the tracts of available surrounding land have not been fully exploited. UA, when reflecting on his involvement with the ARP, alluded to this being one of his regrets around his involvement with the ARP.

However, in recent years, there has been increasing interest paid to the potential development of the available land in surrounding areas. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, recent urban policy documents drafted by the CoJ have placed increasing importance on the development of the areas neighbouring Alexandra. For example, the 2010/2011 RSDF has argued for the development of Frankenwald by supporting its office, industrial and commercial development as a means of reinstating Alexandra as a viable and sustainable residential suburb as well as reintegrating the township with the rest of the CoJ. This marks an ambiguous shift away from what Amin (2013) termed a "telescopic urbanism" which prioritises an urban development that accommodates elite urban residents through the exclusion of poor and marginalised urban residents. Therefore, greater emphasis is placed on developing a more integrated cityscape through the exploitation of unused land's high market-value. However, this attempt at redeveloping Alexandra through the development of adjacent areas has been met with significant contestation from various stakeholders (see Chapter 8).

7.3.2 Alexandra's Integrated Future

Most of my research participants mentioned that they imagined Alexandra being integrated into Johannesburg's broader urban fabric. However, most also warned that adopting a gentrifying stance towards Alexandra would be misguided. Instead, most participants argued for the adoption of a developmental regeneration that prioritises mixed-income development as well as backyard rental systems that

cater to Alexandra's largely transient population. This, of course, goes back to what OL argued as the importance:

> "[we are] trying to look at different scenarios, model different options and, fundamentally, learn from what we actually observe what people are doing instead of imagining, I don't know, this fantasy world that will come…another Dubai that will come and rescue Alex." (Interview with OL, 10 January 2018)

Alexandra would be in a good position to learn from the developmental regeneration practices of property developers in Johannesburg who, according to Mosselson (2017: 1286), "engage with their tenants and take their socio-economic circumstances into account".

Alexandra's imagined ideal future would be a reintegration into Johannesburg's urban fabric in a manner that embodies the fluidity of Alexandra as a place. This may mean taking on a more productive approach to home as a space that is produced through movement (Pilkey, 2013). The embodiment framework of homemaking-through-movement is particularly relevant to Alexandra's largely marginalised and transient population. The home is both a material and an imaginative space that may be produced through migration and movement. Considering that the Corridors of Freedom project prioritises transit-oriented development (TOD), it would be interesting to consider what Alexandra's integration into Johannesburg's broader urban fabric means for its (largely) marginalised and transient population. Perhaps the best solution is the one offered by OL who calls for a collaborative process in attempting to develop an integrated broader urban fabric:

> "Because, also, that brings new energy and that is what city life is about. Just harnessing that energy of the people that are really looking for opportunities. And the ones that understand how to get there. You put those two minds together and really the opportunities, the options are endless." (Interview with OL, 10 January 2018)

Therefore, the ideal future for Alexandra within Johannesburg, as imagined by my research participants, is one in which, as AT argues, different classes of people

occupy the same residential spaces which, for AT, "a different kind of mind set and that's what we need" (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017). It could be argued that the idealised future that has been imagined for Alexandra is a progressive one that adheres to Nel's (2016) four criteria for an appropriate land-use system. This idealised future goes against what Ghertner (2011) terms as a "rule by aesthetics" wherein a world-class aesthetic has greater legitimacy over an informal-looking space that is occupied by marginalised urban populations. Therefore, although there were fears around the attempts to make Alexandra a middle-class area, most of my participants reflected on how they have begun to accept its identity as a low-income area that has a burgeoning informal backyard rental economy. What is being argued for is for the state and urban professionals within both the private and third sectors to inform their policies and practices in Alexandra on the basis of Alexandra's complex internal politics, its transience as well as its need for being reintegrated into both Johannesburg's broader urban fabrics.

7.4 Alexandra Requiring Intervention

Most of my participants argued that Alexandra is a place that requires technocratic socio-spatial interventions. This spatial imaginary demonstrates that my research participants believe that Alexandra's socio-economic problems are highly complex and thus require interventions from technocratic experts. The question around who should intervene with what mandate was a greatly contested one that has been discussed above.

As has been mentioned before, the ARP was one of eight urban renewal projects championed by the URP. A lot of my participants who were urban professionals involved in the ARP often spoke of their "will to improve" Alexandra through their personal contributions towards the implementation of the ARP's objectives. As Li (2007) claimed, many of the urban professionals I interviewed did believe that their professional expertise afforded them the legitimacy to know what was best for the people who would be the subject of their technocratic practices- despite encountering significant political constraints to this legitimacy. This

perceived legitimacy was most visible in the ARP's core consulting team's decision, in 2001, to move people from the Jukskei River banks to the then-peripheral locations of Bramfischerville and Diepsloot. Both EA and IO explained that the decision was an unavoidable one to make because of the residents' unsafe living conditions along the banks of the Jukskei River. Furthermore, OO took care to explain that despite the disruptive nature of the relocations themselves, the ARP did make it a point of ensuring that people's other socio-economic needs were cared for in a bid to ensure that the adjustment in the new locations would be less arduous. The legitimacy that the urban professional claimed in making the decision to relocate people was still fraught as EA explained:

> "So, it was quite hard, very hard. I spent sleepless nights trying to resolve the issue and even the politicians were not happy [with the decision]. But there was no other way…Because sometimes you've got to leave, unfortunately." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

There were, though, some urban professionals who challenged their colleagues' perceived legitimacy. The decision to relocate residents from the Jukskei River banks was one that was controversial amongst a few of the urban professionals I interviewed. Besides the decision to relocate people, one other urban professional, OL, argued that urban professionals needed to plan spatial interventions around the current living practices of residents. She emphasised that, "[l]ooking at the living conditions people were living in, and [thus] trying to develop a better understanding of what was happening there" was crucial to implementing successful and sustainable socio-spatial interventions. OL, criticising the ARP's implementation of the block-by-block approach for RDP housing allocation, argued that to successfully operate in environments like Alexandra with transient populations, it was critical to:

> "Look at what people actually do: extend the rooms, extend the units. [We began to ask ourselves questions such as] how do they invest [and] who do they actually use. And in doing that, we are discovering enormous amount of skills that are already within the area that one could actually tap into, especially if you were to develop a programme that take block-by-block [approach] that begins to find solutions in conversation and in discussion with the residents." (Interview with OL, 10 January 2018)

This critique of her colleagues' technocratic approaches is one of numerous examples of the conflicts that manifested among the urban professionals who were involved with the ARP. These conflicts will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter of this dissertation.

7.5 Dense Alexandra

Going back to the ARP's objectives, one key spatial objective of the ARP was de-densification. Amongst my research participants, many stated that Alexandra was a place whose potential was curtailed by its high density. EH argued that:

> "I think [Alexandra] has got massive potential which is limited by a lack of space in the urban context. I think the people who live in Alex are such [an] incredible mix; the biodiversity of people creates huge potential in the area but they are just so constrained by where they are and the lack of space." (Interview with EH, 14 November 2017)

Some of my research participates restated that Alexandra would only reach its full potential through the successful implementation of de-densification measures. EH, for example, argued that modern technology may help Alexandra to reach its full potential by supporting the de-densification of the township. According to EH, Alexandra's high density was largely the result of extended families living together. EH further argued that:

> "You know, but in this day and age, perhaps with technology at our hand, everyone has cellphones. It's not necessarily the case that extended families have to live together these days which I think [used to be] the traditional thing in Alex. So, society is changing in that regard." (Interview with EH, 14 November 2017)

However, the support for de-densification was not a unanimous one amongst my research participants. Throughout our interview, HA criticised the efforts to de-densify Alexandra. He asserted that because of Alexandra's excellent location, greater densification was required to facilitate the urban poor's access to economic opportunities in various parts of Johannesburg. MA further stated that Alexandra's high density was "everybody feels if they are in Alexandra, it's easy

to get employment. You just walk to where you are looking for a job" (Interview with MA, 24 November 2017). This quote demonstrates that high densities are not necessarily negative. Some spaces, that accommodate the poor and un-/under-employed, do need to have higher densities to give marginalised people greater access to urban opportunities.

7.6 Impoverished Alexandra

Four of my research participants acknowledged that they perceived Alexandra as a highly impoverished place. Because of its impoverished status, Alexandra has not gotten the chance to enjoy the status that Soweto has enjoyed as it is still largely pathologised as "a very contested, congested, scary place" (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017) with its residents, according to MA, referred to as "these people from the rats' place…." (Interview with MA, 24 November 2017).

Moreover, unemployment is identified as one of Alexandra's most significant challenges with one of my research participants, NA explaining that one of his greatest worries for Alexandra was the high levels of youth unemployment:

> "I'm worried that once you are done with your degree where you will be employed [considering] the status of our economy as the country. It's common, you understand? So, it's unemployment, the number of dropouts in schools; those people need to be motivated and shown that's not the end." (Interview with NA, 24 November 2017)

OL also discussed the severity of youth unemployment in Alexandra, arguing that there was a critical mismatch between Alexandra's residents' skills-base and the employment opportunities available in neighbouring areas:

> "And we're talking- in my experience, I've come across a lot of graduates that actually have got no jobs. And it's not only we're talking about the people that have got no skills; there's a lot of very well-trained people in Alex that is still not finding the right sort of path to create a much more stable income-generating kind of activity. So, I think on that, we need to really rely on entrepreneurialship (sic) spirit that you can find in places like Alex." (Interview with OL, 10 January 2018)

In the quote above, OL argues that increasing entrepreneurial opportunities will be the most effective means of addressing the mismatch between Alexandra's

residents' skills-base and the employment opportunities available in neighbouring wealthier areas in Johannesburg's northern suburbs. Furthermore, OL argues that the formal economic sector is inadequately equipped to absorb all of Alexandra's skilled residents. Over the long term, entrepreneurship in both the formal and informal sectors will ensure greater employment opportunities for Alexandra's residents and youth.

7.7 Unsafe Alexandra

OO mentioned that the socio-economic challenges that the urban professionals were confronted by were significant. She regaled an anecdote of an engineer involved with the ARP who witnessed many instances of gender-based violence whilst he was conducting site research in Alexandra. When asked about whether she ever felt unsafe in Alexandra during her involvement with the ARP, she stated that "[y]ou'd be an idiot if you didn't!" (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017). AA took a more nuanced view of her positionality as a white female professional working in Alexandra. She stated that, realistically speaking, her feelings of being safe/unsafe in Alexandra were mitigated by her privileged race and class identities. However, she concluded that women and children occupied precarious positions vis-à-vis the level of risk they were exposed to in Alexandra:

> "so maybe we should say that from my perception would I think that I'd feel unsafe as a woman who is in that space? Hmmm…I think it would be mixed for me. I think there would be parts of Alex where I would feel that. I sort of have my own internal code of where I feel safe really- if there are women and children in a space- it's not really my internal code but it is an international code, it is generally safer. You know, so I wouldn't feel unsafe in sort of the shack areas of Alex and the community spaces but I might feel unsafe in some of the higher-density business spaces. Around sort of the shebeen spaces and the taxi rank spaces, I'd feel unsafe. I mean, it's a difficult question because I go with a white skin and that gives me an immediate level of protection obviously. We know that. It gives me a level of protection and it also gives me a level of suspicion because I look like I'm from the authorities. So, that I know in the work that I do everywhere. Now I'm not…and I'm not complacent around moving around spaces but I think it is a place of risk for women generally. Yes, a place of extreme risk and for children." (Interview with 04 October 2017)

In the quote above, AA demonstrates the high levels of social risk encountered by women and children in Alexandra. Interestingly, she associated feelings of safety with less dense spaces. Therefore, highly dense public spaces would make her feel incredibly unsafe.

Alexandra is a space with high levels of social risk which is why OO is doubtful about its potential. She remarks that "[s]orry, I'm not going to tell you that it's got a glowing future… I don't know. I'm not that hopeful" (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017). Pilkey (2013) notes that there exists a connection between spatial imaginaries and emotions (e.g. social anxieties) that has been under-researched. Considering OO's exposure to traumatic events during her involvement with the ARP (which included a fatal robbery at one of the hospitals in which she was based), it is expected that she would have a negative perception of Alexandra as a place. Furthermore, Pilkey (2013) considers the processes through which the future is represented as well as how 'the future' as an object is produced through material practices. These material practices also include traumatic memories which may explain OO's grim vision of Alexandra's 'future' as both a representation and an object.

7.8 Deeply-Divided Alexandra

Most of my research participants acknowledged that Alexandra was a deeply divided community with HA remarking that "there's always been an insider-outsider game in Alex" (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017). HE, who lived in Alexandra during the 1980s, made the assertion that the development of Alexandra's East Bank in the 1980s was meant to "divide the people of Alex because the people of Alex were united. So, it was used as a class thing" (Interview with HE, 30 November 2017). Although HE made these assertions about the unity displayed by Alexandra residents' during the later struggle against apartheid in the 1980s and 1990s, there were many divisions within Alexandra's community which have had an influence on current perceptions of Alexandra. The ARP experienced significant challenges that were a result of the complex socio-political landscape that it was operating in.

In May 2008, xenophobic violence erupted in Alexandra and spread to other parts of Johannesburg and South Africa. The causes of the violence were varied but it was argued that one of the causes was the insider-outsider divides that were deeply entrenched within the community (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008; Harrison et al., 2014). Reflecting on the contestations that existed during his involvement with the ARP, UA explained that a lot of challenges that he either encountered or witnessed were the result of:

> "tension between the newcomers and the 'bona fides' and the newcomers tended to be on the periphery around the area. So, there were lots of issues. There were tons of issues around the Alex project." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

UA further added that the May 2008 xenophobic attacks were a flare-up of resentments Alexandra residents held against foreign migrants. He added that the accusations Alexandra's residents levelled against foreign migrants was:

> "more of an imaginary issue than a real issue. It was definitely an issue that took a lot of ground but it was something which I'm not quite sure where it was rooted and why it was so bitter. It wasn't borne out of facts. It was borne out of a mythology and the story that went by- it certainly wasn't borne out of the facts." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

Another significant conflict the ARP faced, was the one with the historical land-owning families represented by the Alexandra Land and Property Owners' Association (Alpoa) (Bonner and Nieftagodien, Harrison et al., 2014; Sinwell, 2009). The ARP-Alpoa land-impasse had significant repercussions for the ARP's developmental plans that will be discussed in the next chapter of this dissertation. Instead of solely placing the blame for the land-impasse on Alpoa, it is important to understand the complexity that the land restitution process in Alexandra involved. Although the state believed that the land restitution process would be easily resolved, Alexandra's settlement patterns complicated the process. As EE explains:

> "on every, each of the 2,500 yards that were dispossessed, you find an average of nineteen households because the yards were big. They were just

> under 1,200 square metres. Nineteen households. So, this is a restitution process [where] you cannot go and now restore the land to the former owner because what do you now do with the other eighteen families?" (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

As has been previously mentioned, the land-impasse halted development in Alexandra. Therefore, the amount of space that the ARP could imagine developing was significantly reduced. EE explains that:

> "the reason then that Alex was not developed- the reason that we have development in the East of Alex, we have today, uhm, areas that is called Tsutsumane Village, Far East Extension 7- the reason we have that is [that] the government could not to anything here in anything because of the interdict." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

Therefore, the ARP was forced to renew a smaller area than it had originally anticipated, much to the frustration of all my research participants. What emerged was that the ARP was then forced to adopt different material practices that would enable them to effectively renew Alexandra.

7.8.1 The Perceived Importance of Mediation and Brokerage

Ten of my research participants mentioned that Alexandra was a highly contested space that required some form of mediation. Although most of my research participants did have progressive intentions for their involvement in Alexandra, it is important to understand that spaces are social products. Alexandra is a highly contested space whose socio-political dynamics complicated my research participants' attempts to successfully implement the ARP's aims and objectives. Some of my participants mentioned that the ARP would have been more successful if it had been developed along the principle of learning from people's lived experiences which is what Nikhil Anand (2011) engages with in his work on Mumbai's water supply department's engineer's understanding of residents' subversion of state policies and state infrastructure in order to appropriate water supply. During my fieldwork, I managed to speak to two community liaison officers (CLOs) within the ARP's offices. Both MA and NA described their positions as being one in which they enable effective communication between the

ARP and Alexandra's residents. The ARP's decision to appoint CLOs was for the CLOs to mediate communication between the ARP and Alexandra's residents. According to MA, the ARP's decision to hire CLOs came in the wake of community resistance to the relocation of residents from the Jukskei River banks to Bramfischerville and Diepsloot.

Community resistance to technocratic developmental interventions is a phenomenon that has been discussed in literature addressing the problems that challenge the attempt to de-politicise development. Mitchell (2002: 209) emphasises that the de-politicisation of development occurs through positioning developmental problems as crudely one of "geography versus demography". Ferguson (1994) further argues that the de-politicisation of development results in the de-centring of power. Therefore, developmental projects "unwittingly" serve the main levers of power, perpetuating the status quos that continue to marginalise the poor and other vulnerable groups. However, both Ferguson (1994) and Li (2007) discuss bottom-up resistance to these de-politicised developmental interventions in a bid to demonstrate that power is never bottom-up during the implementation of developmental projects. Initially, the two CLOs I interviewed did tried to de-politicise their role as CLOs within the ARP's structures. On more than one occasion, NA mentioned that the sole purpose of the CLOs was to enable effective communication between the ARP and Alexandra's broader community. He further emphasised that CLOs were neutral agents who:

> "in the communication, you are like an ambassador. You don't take sides- it's like when you are in the same area, you criticize the project if it is not going to be delivered directly in the community and then also, you take the project and you go and sell it to the community. It's community liaising you understand?" (Interview with NA, 24 November 2017)

The CLOs are expected to mediate and assemble the disparate worlds represented by different stakeholder interests. However, at the same time, they did not have the agency to completely subvert political norms as they were expected to adhere to municipal- and institutional-strictures which resulted in their having to enforce certain decisions that they did not support. Furthermore, the CLOs had to, through their decision-making, abide by official imaginings of Alexandra that they may or

may not agree with. Therefore, the performativity of spatial imaginaries is one that occurs through the interactions between technocratic practices, residents' living practices, and the mediation and brokerage between technocratic rule and bottom-up socio-spatial interventions.

7.9 Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have provided a snapshot of my research participants' reflections of their spatial imaginaries during their involvement with the ARP. Most of my research participants regarded Alexandra as an impoverished location which had great potential which was largely because of its excellent location. It is important to note though most of my research participants were reflecting on their spatial imaginaries of a place that they had last directly engaged with a decade prior. Thus, their current reflections of their spatial imaginaries during their involvement with Alexandra may not reflect what they were during their involvement with the project.

For the urban professionals who were involved with the ARP's operations, there would have ideally existed a direct relationship between the individual urban professional's spatial imaginaries and their material practices. This demonstrates the dynamism of spatial imaginaries and how they are impacted upon by various factors. One such factor is the contestations that may occur within a space. The next chapter discusses the contestations that my research participants encountered during their involvement with the ARP's operations and how these contestations impacted upon the direct relationship between my research participants' spatial imaginaries and their material practices during their involvement with the project.

CHAPTER 8: CONTESTATIONS (LIVED SPACES)

8.1 Introduction

The ARP was a project that was confronted by several contestations resulting from differing stakeholder interests. These contestations also occurred in an environment with both longstanding community-level contestations and significant socio-economic challenges. AT elaborated on this point below:

> "So, like I said, the major challenge was you literally had a multiplicity of role-players in Alex…and I think that was a challenge. So, you had the community; you had the government bureaucracy; and then you had the team of specialists and all of us were trying to figure out how to interact with each other." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

My research participants, through their involvement with the ARP, were confronted by these complex contestations in Alexandra. Because spatial imaginaries cannot be discussed apart from lived spaces, these contestations affected the relationship between my research participants' spatial imaginaries and their material practices during their involvement with the ARP. Additionally, these contestations impacted on my research participants' imaginings of Alexandra. In this chapter, I discuss my research participants' reflections on the contestations that made their engagement with Alexandra more complex. This discussion will occur in relation to literature around the Lefebvrian spatial triad and spatial imaginaries.

8.2 Disagreements among Technocrats

Although the urban professionals whom I interviewed worked together in a bid to redevelop Alexandra, there were some disagreements between them over how best to achieve this renewal. The sub-sections below will outline these disgreements over developmental approaches as well the power dynamics that exacerbated the tensions between technocrats.

8.2.1 The Right to the City versus World Class City Imaginings

The ARP's early years coincided with the CoJ's increasing preoccupation with achieving world-class city status. This world-class city imaginary stood in

opposition to increasing calls for the right to the city for Johannesburg's poorer residents. This contestation manifested itself through disagreements between the ARP's urban professionals over which imaginary required greater prioritisation. Moreover, this also manifested itself through the urban professionals' disagreements with conceptualisations that impacted on the orientation of policy documents during the earlier years of the ARP's operations.

The right to the city has become a cry and demand that has intensified over recent years. The term, coined by Henri Lefebvre in his essay *The Right to the City*, has become the rallying call for citizens to fight against the gradual withering away of the quality of life for the marginalised majority who inhabit urban spaces. In the South African context, the fight for the right to the city has been waged by the (mostly black) urban poor who, because of apartheid-era spatial planning, are forced to live in peripheral settlements that are a significant distance away from urban opportunities in the city core (Murray, 2008). Furthermore, the physical peripheralisation of the urban poor has also been accompanied by the (late- and post-apartheid) shifting of significant business activity from cities' central business districts (CBDs) to centrally located suburbs that are occupied by the (mostly white) middle- and upper-class urban elite (Murray, 2008). Therefore, the capital flight from city centres in most South African cities have made the urban cores more accessible to the urban poor; however, these cores have become shells that do not house significant economic opportunities within the formal economy (Ibid). The fight for the right to the city has resulted in the urban poor adopting insurgent citizenship practices to claim urban spaces (i.e. the occupation of peripheral land, and the occupation of empty building in CBDs). These insurgent citizenship practices have prompted reactions from mainly the state which then attempts to either co-opt those collective movements or seeks to delegitimise them through the use of legal apparatuses in order to render the practices illegal (Holston, 2008; Huchzermeyer, 2004; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Mitchell, 2003).

Additionally, contestations over the right to the city in the early 2000s took place in a context wherein post-apartheid South African urban governance was largely

concerned with making South African cities adhere to world-class city imaginaries (Huchzermeyer, 2011). Within this context, urban governance solely focused on developing an environment that enables greater flows of capital (through increased private-sector investment) within particular city regions (Begg, 1999; Pillay, 2004; Turok, 2004). AA criticised the world-class city imaginaries that coincided with the ARP's early operations as she believed that officials incorrectly believed that through the ARP's interventions:

> "Alex was going to transform, magically, into a middle-income [area]. There would be no unemployed people and it's this great…you know, that era of global cities and of Johannesburg being part of those discussions was so cavalier about this great economic growth we were going to have. And then it was like, we wouldn't have to worry about the poor because there wouldn't be any." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

The urban policies developed under this world-class city visioning were intended to make Johannesburg "a world-class African city" (CoJ, 2007). This would then bring about job-intensive economic growth whose benefits would trickle down to the urban because "there would be jobs for everybody" (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017). She argued that it guided a discourse where the state believed that there would no longer be any poor urban residents. Therefore, AA argued that the CoJ pursued urban policies that prioritised middle- and upper-class developments at the expense of policies that would make Johannesburg more accommodating towards its poor residents.

Both AT and OL expressed concerns over the rapid property development that was occurring in neighbouring middle- and upper-class areas of Johannesburg. AT did express an understanding of these developments' importance to increasing the CoJ's municipal revenue. However, she worried that they were exacerbating the inequalities that existed between marginalised and more-prosperous areas in the CoJ. OL, on the other hand, criticised these developments for being exclusionary in nature. Using Sandton and Alexandra as examples, she believed that these developments disadvantaged residents in both Alexandra and the more-prosperous Sandton. She argued for there to be greater imagination around designing urban spaces that would bridge the gaps between elite residents and the

urban poor (i.e. Amin's (2013) plea for developing a human potential[36] city). She stated her belief that:

> "At the moment, they have all this development taking place that only address a limited group. The minority of our population. [We need to look at] how we can change the mind of those investors that can actually show some respect and sensitivity to people in total poverty, and how they can actually provide streets and sidewalks that actually…people can actually sit while they're having to spend an hour getting to [their] place of work. That there's proper lighting at night and, it's a lovely idea, to allow trading on certain streets [so that] it becomes a more animated [environment]." (Interview with OL, 10 January 2018)

AA also argued for developing urban governance practices that would include both South African and non-South African residents in Johannesburg. She proposed that the internal social divisions in spaces like Alexandra would be ameliorated by:

> "[introducing] a permit stating that you're a citizen of Johannesburg rather than worrying about which country they came from. That would be a very big advance in Alex. We probably won't get that right but it's important to try that." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

Moreover, AT argued that the redevelopment of marginalised areas like Alexandra needed to occur in tandem with reintegrating and redeveloping all areas in the CoJ:

> "But certainly having it is important for the poor to be able to access many opportunities. The problem is that we've got Alex, it's getting upgraded but all around it there is more and more urban decay and we don't get an integration that seamlessly moves into one another, you know?" (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

Therefore, AT argues for a more city-wide approach to urban development that was reflected by all of my research participants as well as in later policy documents drafted by the CoJ. This adoption of a city-wide approach to urban development demonstrates the increasing importance accorded to the right to the city. Increasingly, a rights-based approach has been adopted by hegemonic

[36] The human potential city is the city that is formed through bottom-up processes. It is the city that is designed to cater to the needs of marginalised urban inhabitants (Amin, 2013).

institutions such as the state that aim to determine who has the right to the city and its public spaces; how the right to the city is determined both within the law and on streets themselves; how the right to the city is policed, legitimised or undermined; and how does that right enable social justice- or the absence thereof- in the city (Mitchell, 2003: 29).

Although rights are an important legitimising tool, they do have limitations that include rendering the right to the city as a mere incremental addition to liberal-democratic rights (Purcell, 2014). What AA, AT, and OL have argued for is more than a mere incremental improvement to urban residents' rights. Rather, they have made a call for improving access to urban resources for all segments of the urban population, and the possible experimentation with alternative ways of life that will bring about meaningful societal transformation (Marcuse, 2012). This rhetoric is increasingly being adopted by both urban professionals and CoJ policy documents. However, this is more an example of concessionary urbanism than the development of the human potential city as this adoption is "an act of munificence or begrudging recognition of a section of urban society…without entitlement" (Amin, 2013: 484). More needs to be done to ensure that this rhetorical commitment translates to meaningful transformation in the accessing of urban opportunities for Johannesburg's poorer residents.

8.2.2 Debates about Relocation

The spatial interventions proposed in the early years of the ARP mostly prioritised de-densification which led to major debates among various stakeholders in the ARP's early years. Although all my research participants were in agreement about ensuring that the urban poor have good access to urban opportunities, there was disagreement around how to approach relocating those who lived in dangerous locations. The 2001 decision to move families from the banks of the Jukskei River to the distant locations of Diepsloot and Bramfischerville drew a lot of criticism.During their reflections on that decision to relocate those families, many of my participants shared contesting opinions about the rightness/wrongness of

that decision. EA discussed the difficulties he experienced when he had to make that decision:

> "So, it was quite hard, very hard. I spent sleepless nights trying to resolve the issue and even the politicians were not happy [with the decision]. But there was no other way… And it was either we had to make a decision to leave the situation as it is- and the situation will never improve- or take a strategic view of things, say that this is going to be hard and you're going to get resistance [so] you've got to use instruments of power where it's feasible and then remove these people and then we can improve the environment right."

He later added that sometimes people had to leave dangerous places. Furthermore, he believed that the residents who were relocated to Diepsloot and Bramfischerville had greater access to opportunities there than when they lived in Alexandra. He added that:

> "…if you look at the people- most of them who were relocated to Bramfischer (sic), they are so happy that they've got property and there was an issue of [the new areas being] far. And the contradiction was- you say it's far but here you're not working. So, it's far from where? You know. And there was no answer." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

This was because EA believed that all things considered, their chances of getting access to employment would not be hindered by moving away from Alexandra as they were already unemployed in Alexandra. OO argued that, despite these detriments, the relocations were still necessary. She explained that, as part of the ARP's social services team, she did everything that she possibly could to make the relocation less traumatic for those who had been relocated. Additionally, both EA and EE added that the de-densification measures were necessary for enabling the successful implementation of infrastructure projects that were previously hindered by having large numbers of people living in the areas that were earmarked for those infrastructure developments. EE explained the processes that followed the de-densification of those areas:

> "so you would take all those people, you move them and you [then] take possession of that vacated land, as well as the structures, and you then redevelop it into something else. That was the approach. Or you give it to the schools in the case of the schools. Or along the Jukskei River, you

> develop that as open space, which we've done." (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017)

However, a few of their colleagues argued against this this reasoning. AA, a development consultant in the ARP's core consulting lambasts this prioritisation, stating that "it was absolutely ridiculous that people were removed from the Jukskei River to Bramfischerville" (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017). Both AT and HA argued against this reasoning. HA believed that de-densification measures were near-impossible to implement in an area like Alexandra because of its proximity to other areas that offer socio-economic opportunities for the urban poor. AT argued that the de-densification measures resulted in the increase in relocated residents' social impoverishment through their being moved from social networks that they could rely upon:

> "I mean, aside from your actually…and the need to feel a sense of place- aside from that- just from a social [perspective] you know if I need to go to the clinic, I know that Mama so-and-so down the road can take care of my child; she'll be safe and well taken care of. Now, if I've been moved then who do I know? I must now find new bonds that I need to cultivate [those new bonds]." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

AT argued that she believed that the relocations were insensitively handled whilst AA remarked that there was a lack of will on the urban professionals' part to try and implement in-situ upgrading measures. She discussed how, whenever, she would bring up in-situ upgrading as an alternative to de-densification her colleagues would berate her on technocratic grounds. This example illustrates what Mitchell (2002) as the importance of de-politicising developmental problems. Therefore, the problems would be framed as merely a problem of geography and demography, thus, rendering the developmental interventions chosen inevitable. However, IO did argue that the urban professionals did try and implement in-situ upgrading in areas like the S'swetla informal settlement. IO alleges, though, that there was a lack of political will within the Gauteng provincial government for in-situ upgrading in S'swetla so it did not occur.

8.2.3 Interpersonal Relations and Positionalities

What the disagreement in the sub-section above demonstrates is that the urban professionals were not a hegemonic grouping who always agreed on the decisions undertaken for the ARP's operations. Because they were a diverse group of professionals, the individual urban professional's positionality vis-à-vis their race, class and gender influenced their engagements with their colleagues and the broader Alexandra community. As was discussed in the perceived spaces chapter, both AA and OO did reflect on how their positioning as white, middle-class, female professionals influenced their engagement with Alexandra. On the one hand, AA believed that, despite her vulnerability as a female, her whiteness did offer some level of protection for her during her period of direct engagement with Alexandra. On the other hand, OO did state that she felt unsafe in Alexandra. Her retelling a story of a fatal robbery in one of the hospitals she was working in did- on some level- explain her feelings of being unsafe in Alexandra.

Both OO and AA's awareness of their positionality as outsiders' operating in Alexandra demonstrates the reflexivity required to ensure ethical and professional practice, especially in marginalised areas. Although the literature on reflexivity and positionality (Katz, 1994; Kobayashi, 2003; Nagar, 2002; Sultana, 2007) which has been discussed in detail in the methodology chapter discusses the importance of reflexive practice amongst researchers, it is important to consider the role that reflexivity and positionality have to play amongst professionals who operate in marginalised spaces. Moreover, both women's reflections on how they felt in Alexandra also reflects Ahmed's (2000) writings on the process that underlies the recognition of the stranger vis-à-vis the Self. There is a differentiation that is made between the stranger and the non-threatening Other (e.g. neighbours and fellow inhabitants) who belongs within the space occupied by the Self. What both women's reflections on how they felt in Alexandra demonstrate is that they continuously shifted between regarding themselves as the Self or the Other vis-à-vis Alexandra as a place as well as the people in Alexandra. They demonstrated an understanding of their positions as strangers

who were operating in a space that neither belonged to them nor did they ever belong to.

When asked if his race impacted upon his engagement with his colleagues during the ARP's operations, EA was vehement in stating that his race did not affect other people's perceptions of his ability to play a key role in the ARP's operations. He explained that:

> "So, it was not really one black against a white majority. That is not correct. It was not the true picture…People are professionals. Yeah, so there was never really any, uhm, what should I call it tension- racial tension." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

AT, as a woman of colour, had different reflections of her engagement with her colleagues during the ARP's operations:

> "The team was probably 98 per cent men, there were women and I was probably the only woman of colour on the senior consulting team. And, yeah it was extremely challenging. The men were…I think I was initially taken on board to fill the quota both in terms of social services and in terms of my colour and my gender. And so you were continually having to challenge [the men's] thinking and that was hard work. And especially when you're working in a space where there's so many conflictual needs, voices- that makes it even more complicated." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

AT further elaborated on her interpersonal engagements with her colleagues:

> "It was different for me; I was equal…an equal in those [working] relationships so that was not how they perceived it. And people- the whole question around gender and race is that we underplay as opposed to the claims that we overplay it. And we don't realise the subtleties that happen in those situations. People don't intend on being chauvinist or racist but their mind-frame is such that they accept a viewpoint much easier somewhere else and take a longer time to accept another viewpoint because of the value they hold in that viewpoint from where they came from. " (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

AT's reflections on her positionality vis-à-vis her colleagues demonstrates the importance of positionality with regards to understanding the dynamics amongst

the ARP's core consulting team. It is important to consider these disagreements and the differences in the individual urban professionals' positionality in order to fully consider the conflicts that the urban professionals were confronted with during their engagement with the ARP. The other conflicts that the urban professionals dealt with included community resistance to the ARP's operations, internal divisions within Alexandra itself, as well as the conflict between the Gauteng provincial government and the ARP's core consulting team that resulted in the consulting team's contract being terminated in 2005. These reflections will be discussed in detail in the section below.

8.3 Technocrats versus the State

As the largest area-based urban development project in the country (Harrison et al., 2014), the ARP involved collaboration between multiple stakeholders. Two key stakeholders in the project particularly in its early years of operation between 2001 and 2005 were the Gauteng provincial government and the technocratic consulting team that led the project. Most of the urban professionals whom I interviewed reflected on the breakdown in the relationship between the Gauteng provincial government and the ARP's core consulting team that resulted in the consulting team's contract being terminated in 2005. Within the reflections on the breakdown in that critical relationship, there were allegations of intimidation and acts of corruption against both parties.

8.3.1 Breakdown of the Professional Relationship between the ARP's Core Consulting Team and the Gauteng Provincial Government in 2005

When asked about her greatest regret during her involvement with the ARP's core consulting team, AA shared that she regretted not ceasing her involvement with the ARP in the beginning stages of the breakdown of the relationship between the ARP's core consulting team and the Gauteng provincial government. AA was not the only person to have shared that the relationship gradually broke down before the termination of the core consulting team's contract in 2005. IO explains that the breakdown in relations between the ARP's core consulting team and the Gauteng provincial government occurred in a context of:

> "The ARP…[being] a difficult project to manage as the client was hostile. We had to hand over the project to the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) after three years. During our involvement with the ARP, our involvement with the project was subjected to several auditors." (Interview with IO, 11 October 2017)

These tensions, which AA mentions as being the result of "there were particular personalities that wanted to pull the ARP in one direction and…" culminated in the ARP's core consulting team's contract being terminated in 2005 which IO elaborates on:

> "There was also a lot of conflict between the Department of Housing and the core consulting team which culminated in our contracts being terminated in 2005." (Interview with IO, 11 October 2017)

The termination of the contract was justified based on the consultants' management of the project being a significant obstacle to both meaningful participatory development and service delivery.

By 2004, the ARP had produced very little meaningful infrastructural development within Alexandra; moreover, only 639 RDP houses had been built in the township. However, as was discussed in the *Policy Conceptualisations of Alexandra (Conceived Spaces)* chapter and will be discussed in the latter sections of the chapter, EE did explain that ARP's early operations focussed on developing 'invisible' infrastructure that included water and sanitation projects. He explained that the ARP's infrastructural team had decided on this order of infrastructural development because:

> "The foundations being, if you're doing a housing project, you have to have the services that will support those housing programmes in place… So, in the first five years, the programme was focusing on getting the basis right for huge housing delivery." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

When reflecting on the process of early infrastructural development, he stated his belief that these infrastructural developments did make meaningful changes in Alexandra. However, he also understood that the 'invisibility' of the infrastructure developed would have frustrated residents who would feel that the ARP did not make any meaningful changes to the socio-economic circumstances:

> "Water supplies has improved; your sanitation has improved; the bulk- although you've still got pockets…where there is problems but that is more your leak services that need to be upgraded. But the main infrastructure stuff is there. Electrification- [in] Alex, large areas have been electrified. Individual units have their [own] electricity with prepaid metres… So, when you finish the big water project or a sanitation project, you're a person coming and didn't see it will say 'what have you guys done? You spent R50 million on this but where is it?' So, that sort of disconnect to say that the lay person in the street said 'I'm still sitting in my shack after five years; the ARP has done nothing for us.'" (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

UA, however, remarked that the breakdown in the relationship between the ARP's technocratic team and the state was inevitable as he believed that the project became increasingly inefficient:

> "…[when] I first got there, one of the first things I remembered distinctly it was a programme of consultants. There were so many consultants working on this programme and so many government officials that no one knew what was going on. Everyone was part of the process. You know, there [were] so many ministries, so many departments, so many consultants, so many groupings of communities…there [was] a sense that the project was going nowhere; there was just so many reports, and there [were] consultants doing all of these things that just weren't happening either…and the consultants were going to get a percentage of the money that they had reached to invest in the area." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

UA further added that consultants were not meant to lead developmental projects that were operating on the scale of the ARP during its early operations. Consultants were meant to offer support; they were not meant to play key leadership roles in developmental projects:

> "It's going to sound unfair from me [to say] but consultants are there to provide the knowledge, extra capacity and technical assistance. Consultants…it is never their…it is never in their mandate. They don't know who they're accountable to when they take leadership roles…so [the consultants] had to be completely taken off because I think that they got very very confused [about what role they were meant to play in the project]. The consultants saw themselves as leading the process and it was not meant to be that way, in my opinion." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

It was interesting to get UA's perspective on the breakdown of the relationship between the ARP's consultants and the state as it contrasted with the perspective of most of the research participants whom I had interviewed. AA did, however, concede that the differing visions of the many stakeholders involved in leading the ARP contributed to the breakdown in the relationship between the consultants and the Gauteng provincial government as "there were particular personalities that wanted to pull the ARP in one direction" (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017). She added that there were particular individuals who played an integral role in the breakdown of the relationship between the ARP's core consulting team and the Gauteng provincial government. IO reiterated this point when he discussed his experience of working under certain individual state officials during his period of direct involvement with the ARP who made his involvement more strenuous. EE added that certain political changes in 2004 also contributed the ARP's core consulting team's contract being terminated in 2005. He explained that:

> "Then you had, obviously you had political changes within the ruling party so in 2004, with the national elections, a new MEC came into power for Human Settlements in those days it was still called Housing in the province. And there was obviously new rules (sic), new they wanted to start with a clean slate she was not prepared to continue with the so-called elite consultants and so the contract got terminated and the strategy was now government was going to run the urban renewal from within government." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

This insight demonstrates how, despite the attempts of developmental experts to render developmental projects exclusively apolitical and technocratic, the developmental process is an inherently political process. This is a point that was stressed by Ferguson (1994: xiii) when he stated that development is a central value which is also a "dominant problematic or interpretive grid through which the impoverished regions of the world are known to us". Furthermore, Ferguson (1994) argues de-politicisation of development often serves to preserve the status quo. However, politics do interfere in the attempt to de-politicise development through various contestations that either further entrench or destabilise existing power dynamics (Ferguson, 1994; Li, 2007). The termination of the ARP's core

consulting team's consulting was justified as a means of ensuring greater citizen participation and accountability for the ARP. However, some of the other urban professionals did allege that the termination of the consultants' contracts was a means for consolidating state control over the project's operations. These allegations will be discussed in more detail in the sub-section below.

8.3.2 Allegations of Corruption against the ARP's Core Consulting, and the State

Both EA and IO discussed the auditing process that the ARP's core consulting team had to undergo before the 2005 termination of their contract. According to EA, the ARP's consultants were accused of laundering money during the ARP's early operations:

> "By now, Alex would have been different but, you know, the project was cancelled on the basis that we [the consultants] were making a lot of money and we were not making money." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

HE, although he was not directly involved with the ARP, did confirm that the allegations against the ARP's core consulting team were widespread:

> "…now it was met with challenges because the most- the first part of it that was supposed to do work, the money ended up [going] to consultants. Of which it is still a problem even today, uhm, for the programme in Alex to be audited. You know, if you want to step on people's toes, you must talk about auditing this programme from when it started." (Interview with HE, 30 November 2017)

OO believed that the allegations of corruption against the ARP's core consulting team was a means for certain state officials to get access to the ARP's financial resources. She further explained that:

> "there was always a lot of challenges for the consulting team because it was a very lucrative contract so I think it was a 100 million [rand] contract and so, uhm, and there was a lot of corruption in the Department of Human Settlements. Uhm, and we didn't pay bribes so we kept being audited and so then, a new Minister [of Human Settlements] came in and basically our team was fired." (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017)

AA added to OO's allegations by emphasising that certain state officials engaged in high levels of wrong practice toward the end of the consultants' direct involvement with the ARP. According to AA, certain state high-ranking state officials engaged in nepotistic practices that compromised the integrity of the ARP's early operations:

> "It wasn't a…at the end of that consulting project, it wasn't a mild business and then the ARP went through various iterations of leadership and, you know, appointments of…the people that you are talking about…I mean [a high-ranking state official's partner was appointed to a key role in the ARP leadership structures]. She had absolutely no professional [experience]. That's the level of …wrong practice. The word "corruption" is thrown around today so often but the things that were happening there were just not okay. That's the kind of…the leaders that took over [one of them was problematic and later fingered for corruption]." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

The allegations of corruption demonstrate the levels of politicisation that manifest themselves during developmental interventions. The urban professionals who reflected on the state's corrupt practices demonstrated that developmental interventions often produce contestations over who will be able to determine the concentration of (mainly financial) resources that have been allocated to developmental projects. The exclusion of certain parties from the benefits of developmental projects coexists with the breakdown of authority that often accompanies that emergence of corrupt practices. The breakdown of authority is also accompanied by non-state actors demonstrating extreme deference towards the state's administrative and political leadership (Von Holdt, 2012). The result of this exclusion is that developmental interventions either only solve practical problems that are not relevant to the community or produce appropriate solutions that are not sustainable over the long-run. What emerges from this is a bottom-up insurgence that frustrates state- and technocratic- level developmental interventions as well as exacerbates already-existing tensions that manifest themselves at the community level.

8.4 Grappling with Alexandra

HA, a former government official, states that the Alexandra's social challenges during the ARP exacerbated already-existing social tensions within the township through the emergence of contestations over resources (e.g. RDP housing) that would be allocated through the ARP. According to HA, these contestations arose because "levels of social-trust in Alex are very low" (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017). OO, another one of the development consultants in the ARP's core consulting team mentions that the ARP's early operations were against this backdrop of significant social challenges:

> "I mean, it just is a very socially challenged community. Both because of the poverty and because of the overcrowding in the area." (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017)

Thus, the ARP operated in an environment whose significant socio-economic challenges were accompanied by complex internal politics that manifested themselves through the various community-level contestations that occurred during the ARP's operations.

8.4.1 Complex Internal Politics

As has been stated before, Alexandra is an area that houses high levels of contestation. HA mentioned that "there's always been an insider-outsider game in Alex" (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017). All my research participants made mention of some level of community-level contestations that they were confronted by during their involvement with the ARP and Alexandra more broadly.

Most of my research participants mentioned that there were divisions between those regarded as 'insiders' and the 'outsiders' in Alexandra. These long-running social divisions have manifested themselves in different ways during Alexandra's evolution as a community. OO remarked that the high level of contestations made Alexandra a difficult operating environment during her direct involvement with the ARP:

> "Alex is a very contested place and no matter what you do in Alex, it is a very difficult operating environment. So yeah. So, that was limited. A lot of the stuff that we planned to do didn't come into fruition." (Interview with OO, 25 October 2017)

These divisions manifested over which community members were entitled to benefits from the ARP's interventions, particularly RDP housing. HA explained that the contestations internal to Alexandra were mostly of a spatial nature:

> "And there's obviously the East Bank/West Bank divide in Alex. The old Alex and the more middle-class Alex- there's some tensions there." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

UA also mentioned that the insider/outsider divisions in Alexandra became increasingly xenophobic. This was a factor in the eruption of xenophobic violence in the township in May 2008 (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008; Harrison et al., 2014). UA observed the xenophobic sentiment becoming increasingly embedded within the township's socio-political dynamics throughout his involvement with the ARP's operations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, UA argued that the xenophobic resentment towards non-South African residents in Alexandra was not based on any solid evidence.

8.4.2 Contestations over RDP Housing Allocation

RDP housing allocation was a major source of conflict that exacerbated existing tensions in Alexandra. Following the ARP's decision to use the block-by-block approach for allocating RDP housing, HA argued that RDP became the biggest source of conflict in Alexandra during the ARP's operations:

> "there were always huge debates over housing and housing allocations. It was a very controversial issue and, perhaps, the most controversial issue. This was the most material issue for the people living in Alex. So, who gained priority in terms of housing allocation- a very big issue. So, the decision by Alex not to follow the housing waiting list approach but rather to do block-by-block provision was I think a controversial one and a difficult one." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

EE further expanded on the spatial nature of Alexandra's social divisions by remarking on the potential consequences of the ARP implementing housing interventions in certain spaces:

> "That's how the bona fides organisation started; to counter that thing of the government going into S'swetla. Because they consider S'swetla to be a late arrival in Alex. People living in factories in Marlboro are late arrivals. There's huge tension. I mean, if we were today say that we're going to clear all the factories and we're going to build housing in Linbro Park or Modderfontein and move all the Marlboro people there, ooh you will have a war in Alex- you will have absolute war. That's the biggest thing in Alex…who goes first?" (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

EE further argued that the prioritisation of S'swetla residents for RDP housing allocation was a source of tension amongst Alexandra's residents. He explained that:

> "But the problem with that was, in that S'swetla informal settlement, you find a youngster like yourself with two children come into Alex three years ago, now she's the beneficiary of an RDP house…that didn't sit [well] with the older people in Alex. So, there's a huge tension, always, with these housing allocations between the old and the new." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

The resentment towards S'swetla residents was emphasised when HO accused S'swetla residents of purposefully placing themselves in dangerous situations to get first preference for RDP housing. He recounted a statement by one of Gauteng's former Housing[37] MECs who:

> "promised people of S'swetla that they were not going to be allocated houses and whatever might have put them there next to the river banks, they must find a way to swim. Yes, she said, 'they must swim. They must find a way to swim there by [the] Jukskei River. Because, they are jumping the [housing] queue; they put themselves next to [dangerous] areas, now that's denies the community of the residents of Alexandra who are living in squalor conditions in the middle of Alexandra, access to get houses. Because they put themselves next to the river banks.'" (Interview with HO, 14 November 2017)

[37] The Department of Housing has been renamed the Department of Human Settlements in recent years.

The then-Housing MEC's condemnatory stance against S'swetla informal settlement's residents also reflects the post-apartheid ANC government's increasingly aggressive position against informal settlements and informal settlement residents. Huchzermeyer (2011) argues that the ANC's stated goal of eradicating informal settlements by 2010 was an attempt to make South African cities achieve a world-class status. However, this form of urban governance has increasingly jeopardised the urban poor's ability to access urban opportunities (Amin, 2013; Huchzermeyer, 2011).

8.4.3 Alexandra's Land Politics

Alexandra's internal divisions along with divisions between the state and the ARP's core consulting team manifested itself through the frustration of the ARP's planned spatial interventions, particularly in the backyards in old Alexandra. In 2008, the Alexandra Property Owners' Association took out a court interdict against the CoJ and the ARP. The interdict prohibited the CoJ and the ARP from renewing the backyards in old Alexandra. EE explained the conditions of Alpoa's court interdict:

> "if you read the wording, it even says that we're not allowed to plan, redevelop, change the status of land until such time as their case has been settled and heard by the court. And that is still the status quo today; that the case has not been heard, the interdict stands and government is not allowed to do any development that touches the properties of the landowners." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

The court interdict limited the ARP's operations to the East Bank and the Far East Bank. Alpoa's interdict was largely the result of the failure to successfully resolve the land claims that were intended to resolve apartheid-era state expropriation of private land in Alexandra. AA discusses this further:

> "Uhm, and the land claims is the core issue that has halted development in Alex. They were never able to resolve that so…people were paid out but still, there were never satisfactory solutions and there is still writing about that. It is a terrible nightmare to resolve. And until you can resolve that, it is very hard to resolve any of the shack-lands of Alex." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

UA further explained the origins of the land impasse:

> "Okay…and the next huge…the next huge issue was always around the what we called the bona fide residents and their issues with the new others. And the issues around who owns the land of Alex; whether it belonged to the state who could then subdivide the land as they will or does [the land] belong to the original land-owners and there was a conflict that never got resolved." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

OL argued that the land impasse contributed to the increasingly fractious relationship between Alexandra residents, the ARP, and the state:

> "I think that [the bomastandi] was one of the issues that actually delayed a lot of the infrastructure development…and…it created a lot of suspicion from the Alex residents in terms of what this [project] was going to deliver at the end of the day." (Interview with OL, 10 January 2018)

The land impasse represented a continuation in the divisions between 'bona fides' and 'outsiders' that existed in Alexandra. It was also the manifestation of contestations between interested stakeholder groupings in Alexandra, and the CoJ and ARP structures. The land impasse frustrated the ARP's plans for implementing renewal projects around old Alexandra. Therefore, it was critical for the ARP to try and resolve this contestation.

Attempts to Resolve Alexandra's Land Impasse

EE discusses the complexity in trying to resolve Alexandra's land claims:

> "But what we now find is that on every, each of the 2,500 yards that were dispossessed, you find an average of nineteen households because the yards were big. They were just under 1,200 square metres. Nineteen households. So, this is a restitution process [where] you cannot go and now restore the land to the former owner because what do you now do with the other eighteen families?" (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

There have been attempts to resolve the land impasse in Alexandra. HE, a community activist, discusses the formation of the Alexandra Land Task Team that attempted to resolve the land impasse that constrained the ARP's activities in old Alexandra:

> "[The Land Task Team operated] throughout all government spheres to resolve the land impasse in Alex, and we have been sitting with the government to try and find a political settlement because the legal case might drag for another twenty years- for all we know, you know. There is no way of knowing when [this legal case] will end. So, we then agreed that we would find a political settlement." (Interview with HE, 30 November 2017)

However, the Land Task Team's effectiveness has been frustrated by allegations of corruption on the part of government by HE. HE further argued that the Land Task Team would fail unless it came to be composed solely of members who had Alexandra's best interest at heart. The task team's attempts to resolve the impasse largely resulted in the adoption of rhetoric supporting de-densification with HE arguing that the development of vacant land adjacent to the township would be of great assistance to the attempts to de-densify. This relatively new focus has brought greater focus on the contestations around the fate of undeveloped land neighbouring Alexandra. An undeveloped area which has been the subject of recent contestation is the Wits-owned Frankenwald which will be further discussed later on in this chapter.

The increasingly fractious relationship between Alexandra's residents and the ARP was evident during my interviews with Alexandra-based community activists. HO spent a significant amount of time criticising the ARP's failures during our interview. LH felt that the ARP was elitist and did not effect any meaningful changes in the lives of Alexandra's residents. Her ill-feeling towards the ARP was further exacerbated by her being evicted from her residence in a Marlboro warehouse to construct of the Pan-Africa Mall. The eviction resulted in an extended legal contestation that culminated in her and other residents from the Marlboro warehouse being assigned temporary housing in the Silver Town transit camp which neighbours the S'swetla transit camp. By the time our interview took place, LH and her fellow residents had been living in the transit camp for twelve years. Therefore, one could understand her disenchantment over the ARP and its processes. HE blamed the tension on Alexandra's highly fraught political landscape. He explained to me that:

> "You may, at face value, think that this is a small area, you know, but it's very political. Everything that happens here- it's politics. Even these people that you see in CWP overalls; they're all members of a particular political organisation. Even to a simple structure like the CWP Programme, if you are not aligned, you may not- as a starving person, because this is an intervention for those who cannot make ends meet. Even at that level, if you are not politically connected, you are not going to be employed. You know? I'm using that as a way of saying to you this is how deep politics are in Alex. In everything. Across all political parties. In everything that happens with government- you have to have that political connection and the other thing is that the private businesses is not coming to the party, you know." (Interview with HE, 30 November 2017)

What this demonstrates is that Alexandra is space with complex socio-political dynamics that manifest themselves at grassroots level. Furthermore, private sector firms do not provide adequate employment for Alexandra's residents which has meant that the public sector has had to become the primary source of employment for Alexandra's unemployed residents. The dependence on public sector employment exacerbates internal political contestations in Alexandra because of the ensuing contestations over resources in Alexandra.

8.4.4 The Brokering Role of Community Liaison Officers

HE expressed a deep understanding of the internal politics that have significantly challenged the ARP's progress. With the increasing fragmentation of the relationship between the ARP and Alexandra's residents, there emerged the need for CLOs who would mediate interactions between the ARP and Alexandra's residents. UA credited the CLOs for helping him to connect with Alexandra's residents. One of the CLOs, MA, explained how he came to be involved with the ARP:

> "And then, it was realised that there was a need for people who would sensitise the community to the requirements of the project for the project to gain some ground. So, then they got the CLOs [community liaison officers] to be under the project management company for urban renewal, [particularly] under the Alexandra Renewal [Project]." (Interview with MA, 24 November 2017)

MA emphasised that the CLOs played an exclusively mediatory role between the ARP and Alexandra's residents. He also discussed the emergence of participatory bodies like the Greater Alexandra Development Forum (GADF), which was criticised by both HO and HE for being partisan in its approach to participatory development. Two other research participants alleged that the GADF became a vehicle for patronage within Alexandra during the ARP's operations.

MA expressed a great level of insight into the complex contestations in Alexandra. He discussed, at length, the challenges that he encountered in his attempts to balance the interests of multiple stakeholders during the ARP's operations. Despite his satisfaction with his job, he did express frustration over the municipal by-laws which, he felt, hindered the development of small businesses in Alexandra. The other CLO I interviewed, NA, believed that his role as a CLO was exclusively ambassadorial. He seemed uneasy whenever I tried to discuss the contestations in Alexandra that he encountered during his tenure as a CLO for the ARP. Both men demonstrated an altruistic positionality vis-à-vis Alexandra in their roles as CLOs. However, MA's reflections of his role as a CLO demonstrated the relative powerlessness he had as a broker within a bureaucratic structure. This powerlessness is in opposition to the negotiated and subverted power demonstrated by brokers in the various literature examining brokerage (Beall et al., 2015; James, 2011; Koster and van Leynseele, 2018; Poltorak, 2016). They did express their power in small ways through their enforcement of municipal by-laws- a fact that was alluded to by MA.

8.5 Contestations over Alexandra's Future

As has been mentioned before in other chapters, Alexandra's future is one that has been contested by many stakeholders. Many scholars have outlined the various factors that have made it difficult to conventionally renew/redevelop Alexandra. EE noted that a lot of criticism levelled against the ARP was that it did not change the face of Alexandra. EE explained that the ARP was unable to substantially transform Alexandra because of the complex land politics that culminated in Alpoa taking an interdict against the ARP or the CoJ making any physical

changes to the backyards in old Alexandra. The contestations in Alexandra, which have been outlined earlier in this chapter, have also brought to the fore questions around Alexandra's future.

8.5.1 Frankenwald's Fate

Frankenwald is located in Kelvin, meaning that it is adjacent to Alexandra Township. It is an area that has been, and continues to be, the object of great contestation. HA first introduced the significance of Frankenwald to me. During our interview, he explained Frankenwald's connection to the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits):

> "Wits actually owns the Frankenwald site- very close to Alex. I'll show you on Google Map. The future of the Frankenwald site is very important- it's still an issue and Wits is a big player actually and obviously the ARP was looking to negotiate for an affordable housing component for Frankenwald. Frankenwald didn't develop at that stage because the Midrand developers- the Islamic trust that developed Waterfall [estate]- interdicted Wits from developing Frankenwald…It was originally, the land was given for educational purposes in the deed of grant going back to the 1920s and the developers of the Waterfall saw Frankenwald as commercial competition so they used the fact that the deed of grant referred to education use to interdict the development of that land. That has been resolved and Wits is in the process of negotiating land development now. But when I was in the City, that land remained vacant; although there was a development plan, it would not be developed because of the legal case." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

In the CoJ's 2010/2011 RSDF, Frankenwald is envisioned to be developed as office, commercial or industrial real-estate. However, many of my interviewees mentioned that the area is meant to be developed as low-income housing. When discussing the activities of the Alexandra Land Task Team, HE mentioned that:

> "Through the Land Task Team, we have [identified] pockets of land in Marlboro, in Frankenwald- in fact, Frankenwald was set to be earmarked for [the] development of Alex, in Linbro Park, and in Lombardy East and [Lombardy] West." (Interview with HE, 30 November 2017)

OL refutes this perception by stating that:

> "First, I don't believe that that land belongs to the people of Alex, the land belongs to the city. To everyone. And, it needs to be put to the best use. The housing needs of different income groups; create opportunities for developing stable and healthy communities, including all income groups. Uh, and I think Wits is looking at engaging in a programme that is going to be innovative and is going to be really focused on bringing new alternatives to, uhm, the way we actually develop residential, new residential estates. I mean, it's not going to be like Fleurhof [in Randburg], for example. It's something that is going to a lot more mixed, incorporating a big component of income-generation, of mixed-use and commercially viable spaces. It could actually cater for everyone within the area." (Interview with OL, 10 January 2018)

However, in recent months it has become more apparent that Frankenwald will be developed for non-residential purposes. HE has expressed doubt over the future land-use of Frankenwald as he mentioned that he heard that "Wits, now wants to sell Frankenwald at R1 billion or so amount instead of giving it to the people of Alex, who need it the most. You know. There is a whole confusion around that". LH also expressed doubt over the development of Frankenwald's ability to de-densify Alexandra. Furthermore, during our interview, HO explained his role in a late 2017 land occupation of Frankenwald:

> "Here is the land that we have been disputing, [the] youth they have been arrested on Meyer's farm. They now call it Frankenwald. You saw ANN7? The show about the issues of Frankenwald? You saw the Indaba? We organised it here, me and my friend, we were the ones that were the organisers of the Indaba with Transform SA. So, we are bringing from Transform SA now to- into- other issues of [the] Alexandra Renewal Project and the Alex mafia. And the housing of people. And the access…that land becomes available for the people of Alexandra. People of Alexandra are living like chickens. Even chickens are better." (Interview with HO, 14 November 2017)

The contestation over Frankenwald's future land-use may be read as Alexandra's claiming their right to the city. Alexandra's location makes greater Johannesburg's (and Gauteng's) urban opportunities more accessible for its residents. Therefore, it is a critical site for ensuring that the CoJ's poorer residents

may fully access their right to the city. Considering Alexandra's complex internal politics, it is accurate to read Alexandra as the centre of its residents' political struggle and political imagination. Frankenwald, although adjacent to Alexandra, has become a critical locus for imagining Alexandra's future. Therefore, the contestations over Frankenwald's future are also important for the determination- and realisation of- Alexandra's ideal future for its residents as well as its importance to the CoJ and South Africa more broadly.

8.6 Conclusion

Alexandra has a strong political tradition that has enabled it to survive to become one of Johannesburg's few remaining black freehold townships. The various contestations within the township have enabled Alexandra to hold onto its own identity despite various attempts by state officials and technocrats to change the township into an idealised version of itself. It is crucial to not romanticise these contestations. Contestations in the earlier years of the ARP's operations have resulted in the irreversible breakdown in relations between state officials and the urban professionals who were involved in the ARP's operations. Some of these contestations, for example, the ARP-Alpoa land impasse have significantly challenged further development in parts of Alexandra which have resulted in the face of Alexandra not changing. These contestations demonstrate how lived spaces do intersect and shape relationship that exists between conceived and perceived spaces.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION: ARP INTERMEDIARIES' ENCOUNTERS WITH CONCEIVED, PERCEIVED AND LIVED SPACES

9.1 Introduction

The ARP has a complex history that would render any attempt to simplify it impossible. Furthermore, the project itself is preceded by a history of various attempts to renew- and in some cases remove- Alexandra Township. Throughout this project, I reckoned with the key roles played by the various urban professionals and other intermediaries who have been directly and indirectly involved with the ARP's operations. In this final discussion chapter, I focus on the urban professionals and other intermediaries groupings' conceived, perceived and lived spaces which they encountered through their involvement with the ARP. I put together the elements of the Lefebvrian spatial triad which have been discussed as singular elements in the preceding chapters of my dissertation.

First, I reflect on the ARP's spatial objectives and outcomes. Following that, I critically analyse the spatial planning approaches that have guided the ARP's operation by speaking back to key literature around spatial planning approaches. I then use critically analyse the role played by the urban professionals and other intermediary groupings throughout the project's lifespan in relation to literature around development experts and brokers. Finally, I discuss my research participants' reflections on their spatial imaginaries throughout their involvement with the ARP within both the professional expectations of their grouping and the ideological framework of the "will to improve" Alexandra Township.

9.2 Reflections on the ARP's Spatial Objectives and Outcomes

According to Harrison et al. (2014), the implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives is a necessarily long-term project. Furthermore, I agree with their claim that more research is needed to determine whether the ARP's spatial objectives are appropriate for Alexandra. I have tried to address this gap in research around the ARP and its operations. The ARP has had limited success, however, both in providing widescale RDP housing and de-densifying Alexandra.

All three of the community leaders I interviewed criticised the ARP for failing to deliver RDP housing to all of Alexandra's 'legitimate' residents. The question around who may claim to be a 'legitimate' resident in Alexandra is a pertinent one that manifests itself in the demarcations of people living in Alexandra as either being 'bona-fides' or outsiders. These divisions are deeply entrenched within the community and have manifested through the various contestations over resources (especially RDP housing) that occurred during the ARP's implementation of its aims and objectives (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008; Harrison et al., 2014). HO identified himself as a 'bona-fide' Alexandra resident and did not conceal his disdain for the outsiders who, from his perspective, were usurping resources designated for Alexandra's 'bona-fide' residents. During our interview, he mentioned that:

> "in 2006, they launched K206 by the then-Housing MEC. She promised people of S'swetla that they were not going to be allocated [RDP housing]…we were happy now that the then-Housing MEC is coming with a solution…" (Interview with HO, 14 November 2017).

What the above quote demonstrates is the level of social mistrust that exists within Alexandra. Notwithstanding the internal divisions within the ARP, the social divisions within Alexandra that were exacerbated by the rollout of benefits (which include RDP housing) by the ARP were always going to present a significant challenge to the successful implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives. Harrison et al. (2014) argue that these complex socio-spatial dynamics have been one of many factors that have contributed to the ARP's failure to 'change the face of Alexandra'. Alexandra's largely transient population has also contributed to making the ARP's aims and objectives a "moving target" which has made these aims and objectives difficult to successfully implement. Kotze and Mathola (2012), in a study, found that a significant proportion of Alexandra residents they interviewed communicated high level of dissatisfaction or neutrality towards the ARP. Despite the successes of the ARP, the beneficiaries of the project felt that management and government did not do enough to meet their expectations.

Alexandra holds great historical significance, but it is important to not romanticise the socio-politico-economic dynamics that exist within it (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). The ARP's aims and objectives- except for the contentious aim of de-densifying Alexandra through the removal of 'surplus residents'- were relevant to the needs of the community during the inception of the project. However, the time-frame for the project's life-span was over-ambitious and the project was destined to appear to fail at the end of its life-span. De-densification is not an appropriate spatial objective for Alexandra as the township is one of very few places in post-apartheid Johannesburg that is both accessible to the urban poor and is proximate to economically-viable spaces within the city. We cannot under-estimate the ARP's positive contribution to Alexandra. The project was successful in increasing Alexandra's residents' access to infrastructure as such electricity which led to the township no longer being known as 'The Dark City'. However, reiterating Harrison et al. (2014) argued, I do believe that any future socio-spatial intervention in Alexandra needs to consider Alexandra's importance to the Johannesburg's poorer residents (because of its proximity to economic opportunities around Johannesburg) and the socio-spatial contestations that will render the successful implementation of such an intervention's aims and objectives difficult to achieve.

9.3 Spatial Planning Approaches Adopted by the ARP

9.3.1 Telescopic Urbanism versus Human Potential City

The ARP is an example of an area-based approach to spatial planning as it concentrated mainly on infrastructural development and housing provision in Alexandra Township. As was discussed in the *Policy Conceptualisations of Alexandra* chapter of this dissertation, one of the ARP's main aims was to improve socio-economic conditions in Alexandra through the effective implementation of carefully designed but area-based aims and objectives. As was discussed in the 'Spatial Planning Policies' sub-section of my literature review, Todes and Turok argue that area-based interventions such as the ARP delivered mixed results because various socio-spatial contestations were unaccounted for in the design of their aims and objectives which is discussed below. Furthermore, I

would like to argue that the ARP's failures were also the result of its being designed along the prism of telescopic urbanism.

The telescopic approach to urbanism conceptualises urban spaces as consisting of siloed neighbourhoods that compete with one another in a zero-sum game for the allocation of (mostly financial) investment. This is a process which is largely managed by business consulting elites who are interested in designing a cityscape that solely adheres to the prescriptions for attaining world-class city status (Amin, 2013). Seemingly, the early years of the ARP's operations occurred under such an approach to urban renewal and governance with the project being run by an elite group of external consultants (who largely constituted the urban professionals whom I interviewed for this research project). Areas perceived to have great political significance received more investment. Therefore, townships such as Soweto and Alexandra competed for the allocation of investments in order to catch up (particularly in terms of economic and infrastructural development) to the more prosperous spaces within post-apartheid Johannesburg's cityscape. AA argued that Alexandra has received less investment than Soweto which received significant investment under a former CoJ mayor's term in office. She explained that:

> "So let's look at Soweto [which] had a much less, much less of an infrastructure burden to Alex. There's no question. But when [the former Mayor of Johannesburg] came in and he said Soweto is a priority, he paved every single road in Soweto and put in, I know it's a very big difference, but I never really know whether it's 100,000 or 200,000 trees [laughs]. That very quickly shifted Brand Soweto…Very powerfully. That wasn't done through a renewal project. It was done with a political will and an emphasis on that space." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

Furthermore, HA argued that the prioritisation of the ARP within the CoJ's administrative functions has declined because:

> "The current city administration is very much [focused on] the inner city…obviously Alex has political weight so it will continue to press on the administration for resources. It is politically significant…but I think in terms of the level of priority it once had, perhaps, in the earlier part of the ARP

> days, that level of priority has declined somewhat." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

According to Amin (2013), this telescopic approach to urban renewal reproduces systemic biases that exclude poor and marginalised urban residents from meaningfully participating in the design and implementation of area-based policies. This critique of telescopic urbanism is useful when considering the relative failure of the GADF in effecting greater community-based engagement in the ARP's operation. This is reflected in the claims of HE, community-activist based in Alexandra, that the GADF "became its own government" which excluded any members who were not a part of its elite groupings. Thus, socio-spatial dynamics in Alexandra reproduced themselves and marginalised community members who were not a part of the hegemonic structures governing the GADF operations (Sinwell, 2009).

It is within this context that many of my research participants argued for a different approach to urban renewal. Some of my participants called for urban renewal that adhered to the development of what Amin (2013) terms a human potential city. The human potential city is "increasingly referenced to itself, to interventions that will enhance self-help and development from below" (Amin, 2013: 479). A few had a more concessionary approach, meaning that they supported interventions that improved the lives of the CoJ's poorer residents. However, this support did not extent to initiatives that may radically enable poorer residents to meaningfully participate in the CoJ's development trajectory (Amin 2013). At the least, most of my participants supported a less telescopic approach to urban renewal. These participants argued that the implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives would only be sustained through a more integrative approach to urban renewal within the CoJ's urban landscape. Additionally, later documents reviewed in the *Policy Conceptualisations of Alexandra* chapter of this dissertation demonstrate that, on some level, the CoJ is adopting a less telescopic and more regional spatial planning approaches for Alexandra.

According to HA and UA, the adoption of a less telescopic approach meant considering Alexandra's importance as a transient space which provides access to Johannesburg's socio-economic opportunities for the urban poor. Furthermore, OL argued that the effective implementation of a less telescopic approach to renewing Alexandra would require technocrats to learn from residents' current spatial practices in Alexandra. Thus, technocrats would have to adopt urban renewal and governance practices that would accommodate the transient nature of living arrangements for most of the township's residents. Moreover, a more integrative approach to perceiving Alexandra's identity in relation to Johannesburg's urban landscape is critical to the long-term success of the ARP. EE argues that such an approach would result in there being greater political support for long-term investment in the renewal of marginalised places like Alexandra. EE further argued that this long-term investment is important because

> "I'm saying that marginalised areas need a much longer focused approach than just ten years. Obviously, it depends on the size of the area that you're going to work in but, I mean, an area the scale of Alex with 350/400 thousand people" (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

The policy documents I analysed demonstrate contradicting and changing conceptualisations of Alexandra that oscillate between telescopic and concessionary perceptions of Alexandra and its place within the broader Johannesburg cityscape. This oscillation demonstrates the dynamism of conceived spaces in relation to both perceived and lived spaces. During our interview, OL implied that policymakers were beginning to model development in Alexandra around residents' current spatial practices. However, OL's lambasting of the divisions that exist between the physically proximate Alexandra and Sandton demonstrate the pervasiveness of telescopic forms of urbanism that continue to permeate urban development and governance in post-apartheid Johannesburg. The ARP still attempts to formalise Alexandra through its repeated calls for de-densifying the township.

9.3.2 Rendering Political the Technical

As Lefebvre argues in his magnum opus *The Production of Space* (1971), space is a social product. Despite what scientists and technocrats may argue, it is not an apolitical entity that exists beyond the social relations within which it exists. It then becomes critical to understand that marginalised spaces such as Alexandra are not apolitical entities. They are socially produced spaces that also (re)produce the socio-spatial dynamics that exist within them. Although socio-spatial interventions such as the ARP are framed as technical operations, it would be mistaken to disregard the political nature of such interventions. The ARP was initially framed a technical operation but it became increasingly politicised through the various contestations that occurred both within and outside of its structures. Contestations such as the land impasse between Alpoa and the ARP undermined the project's attempts to deliver purely-technical outputs that included RDP housing and infrastructural development within demarcated areas in the township (namely the backyards in old Alexandra in the case of the Alpoa-ARP land impasse).

Land-use management serves as the frame through which spaces are classified according to their function or use (Blomley, 2017). Within the context of urban spaces in the Global South, there exists a preference for urban spaces that appear formal and orderly. A significant factor in this preference for orderliness is the attempt by technocrats and politicians to make these urban spaces appear more world-class. Ghertner (2011: 280) argues that legality then coalesces with a preference for the aesthetic of order to create an "aesthetic mode of governing". This mode of urban governance results in the classification of seemingly-informal spaces as illegitimate. However, as Chen et al. (2016) argue, informality does not solely exist outside of state structures. Thus, contestations between the informalities from above (within state structures) and below (amongst the citizenry) often play out in the domains of "access to and use of public space, public services, and public procurement" (Chen et al., 2016: 8). These contestations are often to the disadvantages of the urban poor whom the state displaces in a bid to expel crime and grime within the city.

Alexandra and the ARP both confirm and confound these arguments. Although the ARP has attempted to remove informality in the township by mainly focussing on de-densifying the township, Alexandra's transient population has made it nearly impossible to formalise certain parts of the township. Therefore, the ARP has increasingly begun to plan around Alexandra's informal housing market through the conceptualisation and implementation of innovative social practices that do not hinder the township's largely profitable backyard rental market. These innovative practices included an amendment to the RDP housing typology which HA explains:

> "One of the significant interventions was the shift away from RDP housing typology. So those who would qualify would be given their house but, in addition to their house, they would be given two rooms in the back for rental so that they could also gain an income. That was a great innovation but, of course, the tenants said that the owner got the free house as the qualifier but they would have to pay rent- and they were perhaps poorer. So of course, there was the rent boycott. People would move into the backyards and not pay the house-owner. So, those were complicated." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

What the example above demonstrates is that the effectiveness of these innovative practices was undermined by the contestations that emerged during the implementation of said practices. Therefore, although the innovation to RDP housing delivery aimed to be an effective technical solution for infrastructural and economic development in Alexandra, the resulting contestations around rental payment undermined the efficiency of the innovation through the politicisation of the implementation of this innovation. At the same time, the innovative practices emerged as a means of rendering technical socio-political contestations over RDP housing allocation. The innovation to RDP housing delivery also attempted to instate a mode of governance that would formalise Alexandra's largely-informal rental market. The above example demonstrates that Alexandra's heavily-contested socio-political dynamics render such attempts at formalisation difficult to implement.

LH discussed these contestations over informality between the state and citizens in the Silver Town transit camp adjacent to the S'swetla informal settlement in Alexandra. LH and other residents were moved to the transit camp after they were evicted from their dwellings in former warehouses in Marlboro. The dwellings in the transit camp are shacks which were intended to serve as temporary, and thus informal housing, following a protracted legal contestation with the displaced residents. At the time of my interview with LH (05 December 2017) the residents had lived in the transit camp for more than twelve years. However, LH discussed with me that there were contestations between the state and the residents over the residents' attempts to renovate their dwellings in the transit camp. She further explained that:

> "As you can see, I tried to renovate this place. If they dump rubble [along the Jukskei River], I will take a wheelbarrow and take some rubble to build something more durable. The housing department has gotten a court order forbidding us to build here- they said that we have no right to build here because we have been complaining for so many years. The zinc [used for the structure] is rotting. The structures have been getting flooded; water has been entering through the foundation because this area is a wetland." (Interview with LH, 05 December 2017)

LH's explanation above demonstrates that not all forms of informality are legitimised. The Silver Town residents' attempt to recreate the informal spaces the state has placed them in has been, at various times, prohibited by the state. Moreover, the contestations demonstrate the politicisation of the state's attempt at finding a technical (and temporary) solution to the displacement of residents from the Marlboro warehouses.

Another example of the ARP's attempt to frame a political issue as purely technical is how the ARP dealt with attempts to renew infrastructure in the old backyards of Alexandra. These attempts started whilst there were attempts by the state to redistribute property that was expropriated from property-owners by the apartheid state. The legal contestation between the ARP, Alpoa and other organisations representing Alexandra's property-owners has been discussed quite extensively in preceding chapters (7 and 8) of this dissertation. However, this saga

has not been framed as a contestation that was exacerbated by a political issue being rendered technical in nature. EE explained that the ARP tried to find a technical solution to the attempts for facilitating land restitution in Alexandra. However, contestations over the financial settlement reached with affected property-owners. He argued that the state believed that:

> "this story is now settled and government is now the owner of the land and they can start redeveloping [the land]. And that is what we thought was going to happen in 2001 but in 2004, one of the resident organisations, called the Alexandra Property Owners Association… said 'until this case of ours has been heard, we ask the Land Claims Court to interdict the government from redeveloping old Alex' and if you read the wording, it even says that we're not allowed to plan, redevelop, change the status of land until such time as their case has been settled and heard by the court." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

The land impasse in Alexandra serves as a pertinent example of how rendering technical the political may exacerbate already-existing socio-spatial contestations. However, as has been discussed in the previous discussion chapters of this dissertation, the technical aims of the urban professionals involved in the ARP were rendered complicated by the various contestations that emerged during the project's operations. These included contestations among the urban professionals themselves as well as contestations between the urban professionals (as a group) and other groups that constituted stakeholders interested in the ARP's operations, especially various types of state officials and multiple interest groups within Alexandra. Furthermore, there were contestations between other groupings external to the urban professionals that affected the ARP's operations. Therefore, although development practitioners may attempt to be wholly technical during their involvement with various developmental projects (such as the ARP), it is impossible to be apolitical as development is an inherently political endeavour.

9.4 Importance of Spatial Imaginaries

As has been discussed in the *Theoretical Framework* chapter of this dissertation, spatial imaginaries (i.e. collectively held ideas about spaces and places) have a mutually constitutive relationship with the production of space. Therefore, spatial imaginaries are important to consider when we are trying to understand spatial

planning approaches. Because spatial imaginaries (re) produce and change social perceptions about spaces and places, it is critical to consider them when we are critically evaluating various spatial planning approaches. Throughout my dissertation, I have highlighted Watkins' (2015) framing of spatial imaginaries as performative discourse. The performative discourse framing of spatial imaginaries puts forward the idea that spatial imaginaries both influence spatial practices, through language, and are also embodied by people's material practices within spaces.

Although my research participants did not overtly discuss the importance of spatial imaginaries in relation to spatial planning approaches, they did reflect upon how spatial imaginaries may have influenced the approaches adopted during their involvement within the ARP's operational structures. What I discovered is that various socio-politico-economic dynamics impacted upon my research participants' efforts at implementing the ARP's aims and objectives. AA, for example, argued that perceptions technocrats and politicians had of Alexandra resulted in their becoming complacent during the ARP's operations because:

> "when you're dealing with areas that have been so marginalised and so deprived for so long that there's a long list of needs that the planners and the politicians…have a set of assumptions around what those needs are and that, because there is such a long list of needs, anything you do can look like its useful." (Interview with AA, 04 October 2017)

According to AA, this resulted in the ARP's aims and objectives being implemented in ad-hoc ways that were not sustainable over the long-run. Combined with the socio-spatial contestations that preceded (and were exacerbated by) the ARP, the ARP's successes were going to be limited in terms of both their impact and sustainability. AA argued that a huge hindrance to the success of the ARP's operations was the tendency of politicians to make big promises to the citizenry. This resulted in technocrats having to work towards aims and objectives within over-ambitious time-frames.

These overly ambitious aims and objectives can also be linked back to the telescopic approach as framing a city as consisting of siloed neighbourhoods

makes ambitious aims and objectives for the neighbourhoods' renewal and governance seem realistic because that specific neighbourhood is perceived to be one discrete unit. On the other hand, framing neighbourhoods as being integrated within the greater cityscape makes it harder to adopt overly ambitious aims and objectives for a particular neighbourhood's renewal and governance as it is understood that a neighbourhood's socio-economic dynamics are, in addition to the socio-spatial factors unique to that neighbourhood, influenced by the socio-spatial dynamics that are present within the entire cityscape.

It is important to note that within the performative discursive framing of spatial imaginaries, actors are understood to be constrained by discourse but are also able to modify discourse through performing different spatial practices (Watkins 2015). Therefore, although the urban professionals I interviewed had to adhere to specific approaches to renewing Alexandra, they were able to bring to the fore new approaches to renewing Alexandra through their continued involvement in the ARP's structures. Both AT and OL argued that greater mixed-use development was required for a space like Alexandra. AT argued that:

> "given our history, I think that Alex is a good example for all of us of how we can or should or certainly attempt to integrate mixed-used living within an acceptable plan for workers and people or whatever." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

Both AT and OL had views to redeveloping Alexandra that were not initially adopted in the policy documents outlining the ARP's aims and objectives. However, as has been discussed in the *Policy Conceptualisation of Alexandra* chapter of this dissertation, the CoJ has begun to adopt a mixed-use approach to redeveloping parts of Alexandra. Although it would be inaccurate to claim that AT and OL- as individuals- influenced these changes in the spatial imaginaries that guide politicians and technocrats' material practices within spaces, it can be argued that the presence of individual technocrats holding these different views did have some influence on the mainstream views held by technocrats and politicians over the long-run. A more compelling argument, though, is that technocrats' spatial imaginaries were shaped by the lived spaces and residents'

spatial practices that these technocrats encountered throughout their involvement with the ARP.

Because material practices share a direct relationship with spatial imaginaries, the material practices adopted by the urban professionals I interviewed did have some influence on mainstream spatial imaginaries of Alexandra. HA explained that because of the ARP's spatial interventions:

> "I do think that in terms of infrastructure provision, the ARP had a very significant role and did transform Alex. The 'Dark City' without electricity [was no longer an accurate way of describing Alex]." (Interview with HA, 12 October 2017)

Although Alexandra is still largely pathologised as an overpopulated area filled with crime, grime and large rats, it is no longer regarded as 'The Dark City'. Therefore, despite the challenges that the ARP encountered during its operations, it did have some success (albeit minor) in changing mainstream discourses around Alexandra. This example demonstrates how spatial practices have some influence on spaces and places' spatial imaginaries. Thus, although the spatial planning approaches adopted for Alexandra may have been framed around negative imaginings of Alexandra's placing within greater Johannesburg, some of the material practices (through spatial interventions) adopted by the urban professionals involved in the ARP's operations did have some positive impact on discourses around Alexandra within Johannesburg's greater urban landscape.

9.5. The Relational Power of Development Experts and Brokers

James (2011) discusses the importance of anthropologising the intermediaries (i.e. the development practitioners and brokers) who are tasked with implementing the de-politicised development projects they are involved in. These intermediaries often work within an ideology framed by the "will to improve" whichever communities are the subjects of their developmental endeavours (Li, 2007). Although these intermediary actors work within such an ideological framework, it is important to consider the amount of power they wield within whichever contexts they are working in. This power has often become the catalyst for

contestations between themselves and other actors (e.g. the state and/or communities) who are either directly or indirectly involved with whichever project the intermediary actors are involved in.

9.5.1 Multiple Intermediaries, Multiple Positionalities

It is important to note that the intermediaries within the ARP's structures did not constitute a homogenous group. There were three different intermediary groupings that were involved in the ARP's operations. These include the urban professionals, the CLOs and the Alexandra-based community activists.

Community activists are critical actors whose intermediary roles may either complement or derail the successful implementation of a developmental project. For example, the community activist HE criticised the considerable influence yielded by a few individuals and groupings within the ARP's structures. However, he did not regard himself as being totally powerless in relation to these influential individuals and groupings. During our interview, he discussed how he and a few other individuals have formed a group whose main aim is to resolve the land impasse that has prohibited the ARP from implementing developmental projects in Alexandra. EE discussed the importance of the Alexandra Land Task Team in its attempts to resolve the land impasse that has halted development in old Alexandra. He explained that:

> "So, since 2009, we've been negotiating with the Alpoa, the later breakaway group called Apora, SANCO as the three main stakeholders representing the property owners on the one side and SANCO representing all of the tenants because the tenants have also got a voice- SANCO is their voice- to negotiate a sort of settlement which we were able to do on 25 June last year, in 2016…where we found a way of dealing with their concerns." (Interview with EE, 23 October 2017)

What the quote above demonstrates is the increasingly collaborative nature of the interactions between the various intermediary groupings involved in the ARP. Thus, greater collaboration between these intermediary groupings is critical in ensuring the continued success of the ARP's operations.

Professional Expectations

Both the CLOs and the urban professionals I interviewed understood that they held an intermediary role between the ARP and Alexandra's residents. The CLOs, particularly, knew that their intermediary role was critical in fostering greater understanding and collaboration between the ARP and Alexandra's community members. MA explained to me that his role as a CLO within the ARP's structures:

> "concentrated on [improving] communication with the community and [getting] buy-in from the community and because, when they selected individuals or they were hiring individuals [who would become community liaison officers], it was mainly people who live in Alexandra, who are well-known in Alexandra [and] who also participate in community organisations, whether they be environmental or…but developmental and political issues need to be apparent [in whichever organisations the person engages with within the community]." (Interview with MA, 17 November 2017)

Furthermore, MA emphasised that the CLOs were expected to act as professionals who did not take advantage of their intermediary role. Although James (2011) argues that brokers occupy a morally ambiguous intermediary actors who materially benefit from brokering access to resources for marginalised, this did not appear to be the case with the CLOs I interviewed as they seemed to be careful to (not ensure that they did not misuse or) not mention to me when they may have misused their relatively-privileged position as CLOs. Furthermore, both NA and MA were careful to not directly criticise the ARP's operations. This may be because of their occupying a relatively less privileged position within the ARP's structures. MA was open about the conflicts that emerged during the ARP's operations, but he seemed cognisant of the complex nature of these contestations as he remarked that:

> "our community have been enlightened and grown from different sectors of interest- they've grown to the extent that it's not just, they're not only taking what we're giving them. When you go there, you must be able to articulate (laughs), articulate your objectives to them and if they don't get you, they just tell you 'wait, wait. We've got our own needs'." (Interview with MA, 17 November 2017)

The urban professionals occupied a more privileged role compared to the other groups of intermediaries who were operating during the project's operations. However, it is important to understand that the professionals were not a homogenous group and that some individuals occupied dual positionalities that resulted in their going against the ARP's institutional guidelines. Some of the urban professionals, on the other hand, could be argued to fit closer with James' (2011) classification of brokers as morally ambiguous actors. The urban professionals, particularly the core consulting team that led the ARP's operations between 2001 and 2005, were the object of great resentment from the community activists I interviewed. HE, for example, claimed that "most of the project's money, it went to consultants and bogus consultants for that matter" (Interview with HE, 30 November 2017). HO also referred to the core consulting team's alleged corrupt practices by detailing examples of the consultants' mismanagement of project funds. However, all the members of the ARP's core consulting team regarded themselves as professionals who acted as intermediaries between the state and the Alexandra community (Blomley, 2005; Dowbar and Houtzager, 2014). Some of the urban professionals I interviewed explicitly mentioned how they used their role within the ARP's core consulting team to prioritise more progressive project aims. AT explained that:

> "the fact that there was a voice for social services was already - and it wasn't necessarily my voice- but I think that the fact that it was there was very good. Because I think that the rest of the team was very much technocratic in terms of [being] infrastructure technocrats but I think that [the social services team] sensitised them to the impact that they had on communities." (Interview with AT, 10 November 2017)

The attempt by some of the urban professionals to facilitate more progressive project aims led to their conflicting with some of their colleagues. Therefore, it is critical that we come to regard the urban professionals within the ARP's structures as 'double agents' who both benefit from and, sometimes, rebel against their professional standing (Anand, 2011; Moodie, 2009; Roy, 2010).

9.5.2 The "Will to Improve"

According to Li (2007), development experts adhere to the ideology of having the "will to improve" the subject of their developmental interventions. This adherence to the "will to improve" results in the experts occupying a trusteeship position wherein their expertise legitimises their "claim to know how others should live, to know what is best for them, to know what they need" (Li, 2007: 4). On the transnational scale, Goldman (2005: 11) argues that legitimacy that developmental expertise has is the result of "prior colonial and imperial architecture [working in] coordination with powerful postcolonial institutions of capital and state power". Both Li (2007) and Goldman (2005) bring forward compelling arguments critiquing the power that developmental holds within postcolonial contexts; however, the urban professionals' roles within the ARP's structures do not always confirm Li (2007) and Goldman's (2005) arguments.

Some of the urban professionals I interviewed reflected on their perceived roles as trustees within the ARP's structures. EA, for example, reflected on the importance of the ARP's heavily-criticised decision, in 2001, to move people from the banks of the Jukskei River to Bramfischerville and Diepsloot. He explained that:

> "you've got to use instruments of power where it's feasible and then remove these people and then we can improve the environment right…people don't like to move once their settled; irrespective of [whether] the conditions are bad or worse…If people are saying that I'm not working and then you relocate this person to Kaya Sands- or if you want Diepsloot- and it's outside the urban land, what's the point? Okay, you can't tell me that staying in Alex, it gives you a job when you don't have a job. If I relocate you and put you in a [new] environment, it can be a foreign environment for a while, but you will eventually acclimatise." (Interview with EA, 06 November 2017)

AT, on the other hand, argued that the removals were cruel and resulted in the social impoverishment of the people who were moved to Bramfischerville and Diepsloot. She criticised the trusteeship role adopted by her peers as it made them insensitive to the negative consequences of their technical decision-making. AT's acknowledgement of the autonomy of community members is important as it demonstrates that development is not an apolitical exercise as various socio-

spatial dynamics within communities render developmental exercises more complicated than they were initially planned out to be.

What the Alexandra Land Task Team demonstrates is that there may be a decrease in the trusteeship role adopted by the ARP and the urban professionals working within its structures. However, we cannot overestimate the role that progressive intermediaries have played in this gradual change in approach to renewing Alexandra. It could be argued that the ARP- and the urban professionals working within its structures- are adopting a critical pragmatic approach (Zack, 2008) to renewing Alexandra. Within this approach, developmental processes operate within and through hegemonic power relations; thus, developmental priorities are value-laden and mutable (Zack, 2008). The land-impasse, as a manifestation of the Lefebvrian lived spaces, has structured lived reality in Alexandra. These lived spaces rendered complex the ARP's attempts to make Alexandra a more orderly residential space. Thus, the ARP's various intermediary groupings have had to be pragmatic by collaborating to resolve this contestation so that they may continue with their planned operations in Alexandra.

9.6. Conclusion

My research participants' experiences of Alexandra had significant influence on their spatial imaginaries of Alexandra. In turn, their spatial imaginaries impacted upon what they perceived were the contributions that they made towards successfully renewing Alexandra. However, what I discovered was that spatial imaginaries do not share a linear or clear-cut relationship with material practices. Various socio-politico-economic dynamics impacted upon my research participants' efforts at implementing the ARP's aims and objectives. Therefore, the various contestations that my participants were confronted by frustrated the ability of their spatial imaginaries of Alexandra to shape their material practices during their involvement with the ARP. In turn, these contestations reshaped their spatial imaginaries of Alexandra. It is critical to consider the important role played by the various intermediary actors who were either directly or indirectly affected by the contestations that occurred within and without the ARP's

structures. The various intermediaries had to find ways of grappling with the politicisation of the ARP's technical conceptualisations. Because of the expectations of their groupings as well as their adherence to the "will to improve" Alexandra, the intermediaries had to find innovative ways of brokering the renewal of Alexandra.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION

The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) was one of many attempts at renewing Alexandra township. It is crucial to historicise the ARP as this provides insight into the spatial planning approaches adopted during the implementation of the project as well as the contestations that plagued the successful implementation of the project's aims and objectives. During the zenith of the ARP's operations, there was a lot of scholarly engagement with the project's implementation as well as different actors who were (directly and/or indirectly) involved with the various contestations that plagued the project.

Through my research project, I aimed to critically analyse the perspectives of the urban professionals and intermediaries who were involved with the ARP. Through my in-depth interviews with 15 key actors in who were directly involved with the ARP's operations, I sought to gauge whether their spatial imaginaries of Alexandra influenced their implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives. My analysis worked to provide insight into how the urban professionals' spatial imaginaries interacted with the spatial imaginaries of the other actors who were directly and indirectly involved with the ARP's operations. What emerged is that the connection between the urban professionals' spatial imaginaries and their implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives was not so clear-cut. Furthermore, the contestations the urban professionals encountered significantly impacted on their implementation of the project's aims and objectives. In this concluding chapter, I discuss the scholarly contribution of my research project, present the summary of my key arguments as well as further recommendations to both academics and scholars interested in the ARP.

10.1 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The study aimed to understand how the spatial imaginaries of urban professionals involved in the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) influenced the project and conflicted with and/or complimented both the broader aims of the ARP as articulated in the ARP policy documents. Furthermore, with this research, I aimed to analyse how urban professionals' spatial imaginaries conflicted both amongst themselves as a class and with the spatial imaginaries of other interested stakeholders within and without the ARP's structures.

In pursuit of this aim, the study had three objectives:

1. To consider how the ARP reflected the spatial imaginaries of the urban professionals involved in the ARP.
2. To investigate how the spatial imaginaries of the urban professionals involved in the ARP conflicted with/complimented the broader aims and objectives of the ARP.
3. To analyse how urban professionals' spatial imaginaries conflicted with/complimented the spatial imaginaries of other interested stakeholders who were directly and indirectly involved with the implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives throughout the project's lifespan.

10.2 Contribution of the Study

The research undertaken in my study focused on a group that had not been interrogated when researching the workings of the ARP: the urban professionals who were involved in the ARP as opposed to other studies which have focussed primarily on the perspectives of Alexandra's residents and state officials within the ARP's structures. This sample included the ARP's CLOs as well as community activists in Alexandra who were key intermediaries within and without the ARP's structures. With my research, I provide insight into how those groups' spatial imaginaries interacted with their implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives. Furthermore, I examined how my research participants' spatial imaginaries interacted with the ARP's aims and objectives. The importance of this research is the result of analysing the factors that influenced

my research participants' perceptions of their involvement with the project as well as their perceptions of Alexandra Township. Finally, I provided insight into how the contestations that were directly or indirectly related to the ARP's operations impacted on the interaction between my research participants' spatial imaginaries and their material practices during the ARP's operations.

10.3 Summary of Key Arguments

The Lefebvrian spatial triad is critical to our understanding the interactions between urban professionals' spatial imaginaries of Alexandra and the outcomes of their (direct and indirect) involvement with the ARP. Lefebvre (2009) argues that space is a social and political product. According to Lefebvre (2009), space is not an apolitical entity that exists outside of the socio-politico-economic dynamics that exist within it. Looking at the ARP within this lens makes it easier to understand the relationship between urban professionals' perceptions of Alexandra Township and their ability to fulfil the ARP's aims and objectives. Using the Lefebvrian spatial triad as the theoretical framework for analysing my research findings, I was able to better understand the often-contradictory findings I encountered during my data collection. Much like the different spaces that constitute the Lefebvrian spatial triad, the elements constituting my key arguments are not siloed units. My key arguments are interactive, both complementing and contradicting one another. I discuss this in more detail below.

10.3.1 Shifting Conceived Spaces from Telescopic to Concessionary Urbanisms

As has been discussed earlier in the dissertation, the conceived spaces element of the spatial triad is the space that has been conceptualised by urban professionals (i.e. urban planners, engineers, etc.). These are the technically conceptualised spaces that are drafted through master plans, policy documents, etc. The *Policy Conceptualisations of Alexandra* discussion chapter aimed to analyse the policy documents that were drafted during the ARP's operations in order to determine how Alexandra has been conceptualised over time. The documents analysed demonstrated contradicting and changing conceptualisations of Alexandra which shifted between telescopic and concessionary perceptions of Alexandra and its

place in the broader Johannesburg urban fabric. Initially, the documents conceptualised Alexandra as a siloed neighbourhood but there has been an increasing regional approach to Alexandra's development within Johannesburg's greater cityscape.

It is acknowledged that Alexandra is a marginalised space that requires socio-spatial interventions. Moreover, there is increasing acknowledgement of the socio-political dynamics within the township that render it difficult to apply conventional urban renewal approaches within Alexandra's space. The documents differ on what those interventions ought to be, at what level they ought to be implemented and who should implement them. These differences changed over time in response to the shifts in the lived and perceived spaces that occurred throughout the ARP's lifespan. The chapter's main argument is that although the ARP is no longer its own standalone project, the project had considerable influence on past, present and future policy conceptualisations of Alexandra. This is evident in various policy documents I analysed. Furthermore, this influence is evident in both my research participants' reflected spatial imaginaries as well as their recollections of the contestations they were directly and indirectly affected by during their involvement with the ARP.

10.3.2 Perceived Spaces: Interactions between Spatial Imaginaries and Material Practices

Perceived spaces are the spaces within which everyday life operate (Lefebvre, 2009). In my research project, I made the decision to connect perceived spaces with spatial imaginaries. What emerged in the *Spatial Imaginaries (Perceived Spaces)* discussion chapter was that my research participants (particularly the urban professionals I interviewed) had spatial imaginaries of Alexandra that existed prior to their involvement with the ARP. Most of my research participants held perceptions of Alexandra that were like those held by UA who mentioned that:

> "Alex is Alex because of its location. Okay, I can name a couple of places where they have really good location and its really worth investing in that location because it really looks at that the question of what the poor need

> good access to in the city…poor people need access to the city. So, I really think that in those contexts it is worth investing considerably to get those places- to remodel those places in order to give the poor access to the city." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

Furthermore, UA explained that he held Alexandra in high-regard because most of his most profound professional experiences were in Alexandra during his involvement with the ARP. OO, on the other hand, was pessimistic about Alexandra's potential. During our interview she mentioned a fatal robbery that occurred during her involvement with the ARP. What my interview with her demonstrated was that trauma may negatively impact upon how one perceives a place in its totality. Thus, my research participants' involvement with the ARP either positively or negatively impacted on their perceptions of Alexandra Township. Watkins (2015) argues that spatial imaginaries are socially-held ideas about spaces and places that share a direct relationship with material practices. In the *Spatial Imaginaries (Perceived Spaces)* chapter, I reflected on my research participants' spatial imaginaries of Alexandra and how these manifested themselves in their reflections of their direct and indirect involvement in the ARP. Using Watkins' (2015) framing of spatial imaginaries as performative discourse, I argue that my research participants' spatial imaginaries of Alexandra interacted with their material practices during their involvement with the ARP. However, this interaction was not straightforward as contestations directly and indirectly connected to the ARP rendered the project's operations more complex.

10.3.3 The Contestations that Shaped Alexandra's Lived Spaces

Alexandra has a strong political tradition that has enabled it to survive to become one of Johannesburg's few remaining black freehold townships. This strong political tradition has been accompanied by various contestations within the township before, during and after apartheid. The ARP was accompanied by various contestations that resulted from the different stakeholder interests that existed within and with-out the ARP's structures. These contestations included conflict amongst the ARP's core consulting team as well as conflicts between and among external stakeholders that included state officials and community-based

activists. The contestations, as a manifestation of the Lefebvrian lived spaces, structured lived reality in Alexandra through forging connections between people and spaces, perceptions and reality, and work and leisure (Merrifield, 2006). Furthermore, these lived spaces impacted on the conceived and perceived spaces that aimed to direct the implementation of the ARP's aims and objectives.

During our interviews, my research participants' reflections of the contestations that emerged during their involvement with the ARP formed a key part of what they shared with me. It could be argued that the various contestations enabled Alexandra to hold onto its identity instead of becoming a manifestation of what state officials and technocrats wanted the township to become. It is, however, crucial to not romanticise these contestations. Some of these contestations (e.g. the land impasse between Alpoa and the ARP) have halted any further development in parts of Alexandra; whilst other contestations have culminated in irreconcilable differences between state officials and urban professionals involved in the ARP. EE claimed that the contestation between Alpoa and the ARP resulted in the face of Alexandra not changing.

In some ways, this is an accurate way of describing the impact of these contestations on the ARP's implementation processes. The ARP has- despite and because of- these contestations been successful in changing the face of Alexandra in some ways. However, the contestations demonstrate how lived spaces do complicate any straightforward relationship that exists between conceived and perceived spaces. This complication is not all bad, though, as it enables spaces like Alexandra to retain their identity and vibrancy.

10.3.4 Intermediaries' Encounters with the Lefebvrian Spatial Triad Throughout the ARP's Lifespan

Most of the contestations that my research participants encountered have not been resolved and remain integral to the ARP's operations as well as its identity. These contestations were largely the result of the technical being rendered political as well as attempts to render technical the political. The politicisation of the

technical resulted in the exacerbation of the contestations within and without the ARP's structures. Within this heavily-contested setting, brokering has become a key component of mitigating these contestations. Various classes of brokers held differential levels of power within and without the ARP's structures. It is critical to note that the power dynamics normally inherent within interviewing vulnerable groups did not apply when I interviewed the urban professionals who were involved with the ARP. Because the urban professional held a higher level of power in comparison with the other classes of intermediaries whom I interviewed, I had to reflect upon how my positionality as a middle-class black woman may have helped or hindered my attempts to get the urban professionals to be open with me. This led to my considering what it meant to interview 'up', i.e. to interview the intermediary grouping that held considerable power within the ARP's structures. What I learnt was that the urban professionals did not constitute a homogenous grouping and that there were power dynamics within that intermediary grouping that affected how I related with individual members of that grouping.

Moreover, the brokers served as intermediaries who worked within the ideological framework of the "will to improve" Alexandra. However, the differential levels of power wielded by the various classes of intermediaries I interviewed resulted in there being contestations between them over how best to approach renewing Alexandra Township. It is important to note that within and outside of the classes of intermediaries whom I interviewed, the individuals sometimes occupied dual positionalities that resulted in their both benefitting from, as well as rebelling against, their group's standing. Therefore, intermediary groupings are not homogenous and are often constituted by contestations within each grouping some individuals regard themselves as trustees whilst others regard themselves as working in partnership with the communities in which the developmental projects are based.

10.4 Future research and recommendations

My research enabled me to encounter rich data which influenced my evaluation of both Alexandra Township and the ARP's operations. The stories of both the township and the project are complicated tales that demonstrate the importance of historicising the socio-spatial dynamics that exist within marginalised spaces like Alexandra. Moreover, evaluating the successes and failures of socio-spatial projects like the ARP require an astute understanding of the dynamics that render the successful implementation of the projects' aims and objectives more complex. My research project demonstrated that urban professionals have been reflexive in their practices during their involvement with the ARP. There is a need for greater consideration around the interaction between urban professionals' (i.e. technocrats) spatial imaginaries and their material practices during the operations of socio-spatial projects. In terms of scholarly engagement with the ARP, there needs to be more research around how various actors' involvement with the ARP may have led to both individual and communal trauma resulting from the various contestations that were directly and indirectly involved with the ARP's operations.

In terms of future urban policies related to the renewal of marginalised spaces like Alexandra Township, I would make the following recommendations:

- Greater engagement with the historical factors that have shaped the development of marginalised spaces like Alexandra Township.
- Developing more meaningful channels for community participation in the development and implementation of various socio-spatial interventions. An example of such a meaningful channel of community participation would be getting CLOs officers to organise and facilitate meetings between urban professionals and community members in order to allow effective communication between the two parties. CLOs need to lead this process as their intermediary status between renewal project structures and the community- at large lends them the legitimacy required to effectively lead such channels for more meaningful community participation. This

increased communication would enable greater levels of buy-in by community members.

- Fostering and encouraging urban professionals and other key technocrats to reflect on their spatial imaginaries (in the way that my research participants have been reflexive during my engagements with them) before the start of the operations of said renewal projects. Managers should then have honest conversations with their team-members to reflect on how their spatial imaginaries may hinder their implementation of the socio-spatial interventions' aims and objectives as well as what individual team-members may do to curtail that possible hindrance.

10.5 Coda: Learning from Alex

Through this research project, I have come to develop a greater appreciation for Alexandra. Alexandra is a historically significant place that has not been as venerated as Soweto in Johannesburg's post-apartheid imaginings of townships. Furthermore, Alexandra houses incredibly complex socio-political dynamics that have culminated in the low levels of social trust in the township. The ARP had significant successes and failures in its attempt to renew Alexandra. My research participants' reflections of the ARP gave me an extraordinary appreciation for the challenges that they encountered whilst they were involved with the project's operations. Moreover, visiting the township itself led to my gaining greater insight into the township and the potential that the ARP tried to build on.

Conducting this research project was incredibly challenging yet the process led to significant growth for me both individually and intellectually. UA's description of the profundity of his experiences when he played a key role within the ARP's structures really touched me. Reflecting on my experiences researching the ARP and the urban professionals and intermediaries who were involved in it, his description of his experiences in Alexandra increasingly came to the fore. I would like to conclude this dissertation by sharing his quote which really speaks to the

interactive nature of the relationship shared between spatial imaginaries and material practices:

> *"I spent my life in Alexandra- I was there day and night. You know, I was in the hostels at midnight negotiating all sorts of things with quite hectic people. I was there during all the times of starting of violence between foreigners and…I was there through all sorts of issues. I was there when schools were opened. I was there when foreigners were attacked. I was there through a whole range of different things. I have quite a personal- as a completely outsider- I was privileged to reach an incredible amount of site engagement through the organisation. And also, I worked with community liaison people who had a real feel for the place and this enabled me to really connect with ordinary people in the township. Yeah, so my perceptions of the place…I learnt a lot from Alex*." (Interview with UA, 21 November 2017)

REFERENCES

1. Africa Property News. 2016. *An Edgy History of Africa's Richest Square Mile has Become.* [Online] Available at: http://www.africapropertynews.com/southern-africa/3294-an-edgy-history-of-africa-richest-square-mile-has-become.html [Accessed 01 March 2017].
2. Aliber, M. et al., 2006. Overcoming Underdevelopment in South Africa's Second Economy. *Development Southern Africa*, 23(1), pp. 45-61.
3. Amin, A., 2013. Telescopic Urbanism and the Poor. *City,* 17(4), pp. 476-492.
4. Anand, N., 2011. Pressure: The PoliTechnics of Water Supply in Mumbai. *Cultural Anthropology,* 26(4), pp. 542-564.
5. ARP, 2001. Issue 1. *Alexandra Renewal Project Updates*, 01 November, pp. 1-10.
6. ARP, 2001. *Notes from the Alexandra Summit, 18-19 April 2001,* Johannesburg: s.n.
7. ARP, 2002. Issue 2. *Alexandra Renewal Project Updates*, 30 May, pp. 1-8.
8. ARP, 2002. Issue 3. *Alexandra Renewal Project Updates*, November, pp. 1-3.
9. Ballard, R., Forthcoming. *Imagining Gauteng: A Conceptual Framework*, Johannesburg: Gauteng City Region Observatory.
10. Beall, J., Parnell, S. & Albertyn, C., 2015. Elite Compacts in Africa: The Role of Area-Based Management in the New Governmentality of the Durban City-Region. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, pp. 390-406.
11. Bialasiewicz, L. et al., 2007. Performing Security: The Imaginative Geographies of Current US Strategy. *Political Geography,* Volume 26, pp. 405-422.
12. Biernack, P. & Waldorf, D., 1981. Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling. *Sociological Methods and Research* , 10(2), pp. 141-163.
13. Blomley, N., 2005. Professional Geographies. *Antipode,* pp. 619-622.
14. Blomley, N., 2017. Land Use, Planning, and "the Difficult Character of Property". *Planning Theory and Practice,* 18(3), pp. 351-364.
15. Board, M. D., 2013. *JHB Ward Shapefiles.* [Online] Available at: http://www.demarcation.org.za/index.php/downloads/boundary-data/gauteng-4/jhb-1/ward-shape-file-15/10964-jhb-shp-ward [Accessed 19 October 2018].
16. Bonner, P. & Nieftagodien, N., 2008. *Alexandra: A History.* 1st ed. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
17. Brenner, N., Marcuse, P. & Mayer, M., 2012. Cities for People, Not for Profit: An Introduction. In: 1st, ed. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 1-10.
18. Brikci, N. & Green, J., 2007. *A Guide to Using Qualitative Research Methodology.* London: Medecins Sans Frontiers.

19. Chen, M., Roever, S. & Skinner, C., 2016. Editorial: Urban Livelihoods: Reframing Theory and Policy. *Environment and Urbanization,* 28(2), pp. 1-12.
20. Clarno, A., 2017. *Neoliberal Apartheid.* 1st ed. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
21. Coffey, A. & Atkinson, P., 1996. *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies.* 1st ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
22. CoJ, 2006. *2006/07 Spatial Development Framework.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
23. CoJ, 2007. *Alexandra Renewal Project.* [Online] Available at: https://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=177&Itemid=120&limitstart=4 [Accessed 01 March 2017].
24. CoJ, 2010. *2010/11 Regional Spatial Development Framework: Region E.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
25. CoJ, 2012. *2012/16 Integrated Development Plan: 2013/14 Review.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
26. CoJ, 2012. *Alexandra Urban Design Framework & Implementation Master Plan.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
27. CoJ, 2013. *Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy.* Johannesburg : City of Johannesburg.
28. CoJ, 2014. *2012/16 Integrated Development Plan: 2013/14 Review.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
29. CoJ, 2015. *Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2030.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
30. CoJ, 2016. *Corridors of Freedom: Re-stitching our City to Create a New Future.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
31. CoJ, 2017. *Alexandra Urban Development Framework & NE Quadrant Progress Status Report,* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg .
32. CoJ, 2017. *Alexandra Urban Development Framework: Progress Report.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
33. CoJ, 2017. *City of Johannesburg Draft 2017/18 Integrated Development Plan.* Johannesburg: City of Johannesburg.
34. Cope, M., 2012. Coding Transcripts and Diaries. In: N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine, eds. *Key Methods in Geography.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications, pp. 440-452.
35. de Certeau, M., 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* 1st ed. Berkeley, London: The University of California Press.
36. Derek, G., 2004. *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq.* 1st ed. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing.
37. Dirsuweit, T. & Wafer, A., 2006. Scale, Governance and the Maintenance of Privileged Control: The Case of Road Closures in Johannesburg's Northern Suburbs. *Urban Forum,* 17(4), pp. 327-352.
38. Dixon, D. P., 2010. Analysing Meaning . In: B. Gomez & J. P. Jones, eds. *Research Methods in Geography.* West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing , pp. 392-408.

39. Donaldson, R. & Du Plessis, D., 2013. The Urban Renewal Programme as an Area-Based Approach to Renew Townships: The Experience from Khayelitsha's Central Business District, Cape Town. *Habitat International*, Volume 39, pp. 295-301.
40. Dowbor, M. & Houtzager, P. P., 2014. The Role of Professionals in Policy Reform: Cases from the City Level, São Paolo. *Latin American Politics and Society* , 56(3), pp. 141-162.
41. Driver, F., 2010. In Search of the Imperial Map: Walter Crane and the Image of Empire. *History Workshop Journal*, Volume 69, pp. 146-157.
42. Driver, F., 2013. Hidden Histories Made Visible? Reflections on a Geographical Exhibition. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Volume 38, pp. 420-435.
43. Driver & Felix, 2014. Imaginative Geographies. In: P. Cloke, P. Crang & M. Goodwin, eds. *Introducing Human Geographies.* New York: Routledge, pp. 234-248.
44. du Plessis, D., 2014. A Critical Reflection on Urban Spatial Planning Practices and Outcomes in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Urban Forum*, Volume 25, pp. 69-88.
45. Du Toit, A., 2004. 'Social Exclusion' Discourse and Chronic Poverty: A South African Case Study. *Development and Change*, 35(5), pp. 987-1010.
46. Dubow, S., 1989. *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919-36.* 1st ed. Oxford: Macmillan in Association with St Antony's College, Oxford.
47. Everatt, D., 2014. Poverty and Inequality in the Gauteng City-Region. In: P. Harrison, G. Gotz, A. Todes & C. Wray, eds. *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 63-82.
48. Ferguson, J., 1994. *The Anti-Politics: "Development",Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho.* 2nd ed. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
49. Flick, U., 1998. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research.* London: Sage Publications.
50. Ghertner, D. A., 2011. Rule by Aesthetics: World-Class City-Making in Delhi. In: A. Roy & A. Ong, eds. *Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global.* Malden, Oxford, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell Publishers, pp. 279-306.
51. Goldman, M., 2005. Tracing the Roots/Routes of World Bank Power. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 25(1/2), pp. 10-29.
52. Gotz, G., Wray, C. & Mubiwa, B., 2014. The 'Thin Oil of Urbanisation'? Spatial Change in Johannesburg and the Gauteng City-Region. In: P. Harrison, G. Gotz, A. Todes & C. Wray, eds. *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 42-62.
53. GovSA, n.d. *National Urban Renewal Programme: Implementation Framework.* Pretoria: Department: Provincial and Local Government.
54. Haferburg, C. & Huchzermeyer, M., 2014. An Introduction to the Governing of Post-Apartheid Cities. In: C. Haferburg & M. Huchzermeyer, eds. *Urban Governance in Post-Apartheid Cities: Modes of Engagement in South*

Africa's Metropoles. Stuttgart: Gebrüder Borntraeger Verlagsbuchhandlung, pp. 3-14.
55. Harrison, P. & Harrison, K., 2014. Soweto: A Study in Socio-Spatial Differentiation. In: P. Harrison, G. Gotz, A. Todes & C. Wray, eds. *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid.* Johannesburg: Wits Univerity Press, pp. 293-318.
56. Harrison, P., Masson, A. & Sinwell, L., 2014. Alexandra. In: P. Harrison, G. Gotz, A. Todes & C. Wray, eds. *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 342-369.
57. Harrison, P. & Todes, A., 2015. Spatial Transformations in a "Loosening State": South Africa in a Comparative Perspective. *Geoforum,* Volume 61, pp. 148-162.
58. Harrison, P., Todes, A. & Watson, V., 1997. Transforming South Africa's Cities: Prospects for the Economic Development of Urban Townships. *Development Southern Africa,* 14(1), pp. 43-60.
59. Harvey, D., 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development.* 1st ed. London, New York: Verso.
60. Harvey, D., 2012. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution.* 1st ed. London, New York: Verso .
61. Harvey, D. & Wachsmuth, D., 2012. What Is to Be Done? And Who the Hell is Going to Do It?. In: N. Brenner, P. Marcuse & M. Mayer, eds. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 264-273.
62. Hay, I., 2012. Ethical Practice in Geographical Research. In: N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine, eds. *Key Methods in Geography.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications, pp. 35-48.
63. Holston, J., 2008. *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil.* 1st ed. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.
64. Huchzermeyer, M., 2004. *Unlawful Occupation: Informal Settlements and Urban Policy in South Africa and Brazil.* 1st ed. Trenton: Africa World Press.
65. Huchzermeyer, M., 2011. *Cities with 'Slums': From Informal Settlement Eradication to a Right to the City in Africa.* 1st ed. Cape Town: UCT Press.
66. James, D., 2011. The Return of the Broker: Consensus, Hierarchy, and Choice in South African Land Reform. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* Volume 17, pp. 318-338.
67. Katz, C., 1994. Playing the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography. *Professional Geographer,* 46(1), pp. 67-72.
68. Kipfer, S., Goonewardena, K., Schmid, C. & Milgrom, R., 2008. On the Production of Henri Lefebvre. In: K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom & C. Schmid, eds. *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre.* New York and Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 1-24.
69. Kitchin, R. & Tate, N. J., 2000. *Conducting Research into Human Geography: Theory, Methodology and Practice.* Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
70. Kleinman, M., 1999. There Goes the Neighbourhood: Area Policies and Social Exclusion. *New Economy,* pp. 188-192.

71. Knevel, P., 2015. Sophiatown as Lieu de Mémoire. *African Studies,* 74(1), pp. 51-75.
72. Kobayashi, A., 2003. GPC Ten Years On: Is Self-Reflexivity Enough?. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography,* 10(4), pp. 345-349.
73. Koster, M. & van Leynseele, Y., 2018. Brokers as Assemblers: Studying Development Through the Lens of Brokerage. *Ethnos,* 75(1), pp. 1-10.
74. Kotze, N. & Mathole, A., 2012. Satisfaction Levels and the Community's Attitudes Towards Urban Renewal in Alexandra, Johannesburg. *Urban Forum,* Volume 23, pp. 245-256.
75. Kruger, L., 2013. *Imagining the Edgy City: Writing, Performing, and Building Johannesburg.* 1st ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
76. Küsel, A., 2009. *The South African Urban Renewal Programme (URP): Development of Rural/Urban Nodes in the Context of Migration.* s.l., GFA Consulting Group.
77. Lawson, V., 2010. Reshaping Economic Geography: Producing Spaces of Inclusive Development. *Economic Geography,* 86(4), pp. 351-360.
78. Le Marcis, F., 2008. The Suffering Body of the City. In: A. Mbembe & S. Nuttall, eds. *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis.* Durham, London: Duke University Press, pp. 170-194.
79. Lefebvre, H., 2005. *The Production of Space.* 3rd ed. Malden, Oxford, Victoria : Blackwell Publishing.
80. Lefebvre, H., 2009. *State, Space, World: Selected Essays.* 1st ed. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
81. Lipietz, B., 2008. Building a Vision for the Post-Apartheid City: What Role for Participation in Johannesburg's City Development Strategy?. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 32(1), pp. 135-163.
82. Liss, J., 2012. The Right to the City: From Theory to Grassroots Alliance. In: N. Brenner, P. Marcuse & M. Mayer, eds. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 250-263.
83. Li, T. M., 2007. *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics.* 1st ed. Durham, London: Duke University Press.
84. Longhurst, R., 2012. Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups. In: N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine, eds. *Key Methods in Geography.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications, pp. 103-115.
85. Lupton, R. & Turok, I., 2004. Anti-Poverty Policies in Britain: Area-Based and People-Based Approaches. In: U. J. Walther & K. Mensch, eds. *Armut und Ausgrenzing in der 'Sozialen Stadt'.* Darmstadt: Schader-Stiftung, pp. 188-208.
86. Lutz, C. A. & Collins, J. L., 1993. *Reading National Geographic.* 1st ed. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
87. Makhura, D., 2018. *Read in Full: Premier Makhura's Gauteng SOPA 2018.* [Online]
Available at: https://mg.co.za/article/2018-02-26-read-in-full-premier-makhuras-gauteng-sopa-2018
[Accessed 19 April 2018].

88. Makhura, D., 2018. *Read In Full: Premier Makhura's Gauteng SOPA 2018.* [Online]
Available at: https://mg.co.za/article/2018-02-26-read-in-full-premier-makhuras-gauteng-sopa-2018
[Accessed 30 May 2018].
89. Malterud, K., Siersma, V. D. & Guassora, A. D., 2016. Sample Size in Qualitative Interview Size: Guided by Information Power. *Qualitative Health Research*, 26(13), pp. 1753-1760.
90. Marcuse, P., 2012. Whose Right(s) to What City?. In: 1st, ed. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 24-41.
91. Marshall, C. & Rossman, G. B., 1995. *Designing Qualitative Research.* 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
92. Martin, L. & Simon, S., 2008. A Formula for Disaster: The Department of Homeland Security's Virtual Ontology. *Space and Polity,* 12(3), pp. 281-296.
93. Marx, C., 2011. Long-Term City Visioning and the Redistribution of Economic Infrastructure. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(5), pp. 1012-1025.
94. Massey, D., 1979. In What Sense a Regional Problem?. *Regional Studies,* 13(2), pp. 233-243.
95. Mayer, M., 2012. The "Right to the City" in Urban Social Movements. In: N. Brenner, P. Marcuse & M. Mayer, eds. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 63-85.
96. Mbembe, A. & Nuttall, S., 2004. Writing the World from an African Metropolis. *Public Culture,* 16(3), pp. 347-372.
97. Merrifield, A., 2006. *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction.* 1st ed. New York, Abingdon: Routledge.
98. Mitchell, D., 2003. *Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space.* 1st ed. New York: Guilford Press.
99. Mitchell, T., 2002. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity.* 1st ed. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
100. Moodie, T. D., 2009. Managing the 1987 Mine Workers' Strike. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 35(1), pp. 45-65.
101. Mosselson, A., 2017. 'Joburg Has Its Own Momentum': Toawrds a Vernacular Theorisation of Urban Change. *Urban Studies,* 54(5), pp. 1280-1296.
102. Murray, M. J., 2008. *Taming the Disorderly City: The Spatial Landscape of Johannesburg after Apartheid.* 2nd ed. New York: Cornell University Press.
103. Nagar, R., 2002. Footloose Researchers, 'Traveling' Theories and the Politics of Transnational Feminist Praxis. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography,* 9(2), pp. 179-186.
104. Nel, V., 2016. Spluma, Zoning and Effective Land Use Management in South Africa. *Urban Forum,* Volume 27, pp. 79-92.
105. Neuman, W. L., 1997. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* 3rd ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

106. News, A. P., 2016. *An Edgy History of Africa's Richest Square Mile has Become.* [Online] Available at: http://www.africapropertynews.com/southern-africa/3294-an-edgy-history-of-africa-richest-square-mile-has-become.html [Accessed 01 March 2017].
107. Nieftagodien, N., 2017. *Alexandra* [Interview] (09 June 2017).
108. Ogborn, M., 2012. Finding Historical Sources. In: N. Clifford, S. French & G. Valentine, eds. *Key Methods in Geography.* London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publishing , pp. 89-102.
109. OpenStreetMap, 2018. *Alexandra Township.* s.l.:QGIS.
110. Palinkas, L. A. et al., 2015. Purposeul sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, 42(5), pp. 533-544.
111. Parnell, S. & Robinson, J., 2006. Development and Urban Policy: Johannesburg's City Development Strategy. *Urban Studies,* 43(2), pp. 337-355.
112. Paulido, L. & Peña, D., 1998. Environmentalism and Positionality: The Early Pesticide Campaign of the United Farm Workers' Organising Committee, 1965-71. *Race, Gender and Class,* 6(1), pp. 33-50.
113. Perin, C., 1977. *Everything in its Place: Social Order and Land Use in America.* 1st ed. Princeton, Guildford: Princeton University Press.
114. Pilkey, B., 2013. LGBT Homemaking in London, UK: The Embodiment of Mobile Homemaking Imaginaries. *Geographical Research,* 51(2), pp. 159-165.
115. Poltorak, M., 2016. Anthropology, Brokerage, and Collaboration in the Development of a Tongan Public Psychiatry: Local Lessons for Global Mental Health. *Transcultural Psychiatry,* 53(6), pp. 743-765.
116. Puar, J. K., 2006. Mapping US Homonormativities. *Gender, Place, and Culture,* 13(1), pp. 67-88.
117. Purcell, M., 2014. Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. *Journal of Urban Affairs,* 36(1), pp. 141-154.
118. Rabe, C., McGaffin, R. & Crankshaw, O., 2015. A Diagnostic Approach to Intra-Metropolitan Spatial Targeting: Evidence from Cape Town, South Africa. *Development Southern Africa,* 32(6), pp. 726-744.
119. Ragin, C. C., 1994. *Constructing Social Research: The Unity and Diversity of Method.* Thousand Oaks, London, Delhi: Pine Forge Press.
120. Rakodi, C., 2002. A Livelihoods Approach- Conceptual Issues and Definitions. In: C. Rakodi & T. Lloyd-Jones, eds. *Urban Livelihoods: A People-Centred Approach to Reducing Poverty.* New York: Routledge, pp. 3-22.
121. Robinson, J., 1998. (Im)mobilizing Space- Dreaming of Change. In: I. Vladislavic & H. Judin, eds. *Blank--: Architecture, Apartheid and After.* Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, pp. 185-193.
122. Robinson, J., 2008. Developing Ordinary Cities: City Visioning Processes in Durban and Johannesburg. *Environment and Planning A,* Volume 40, pp. 74-87.

123. Roy, A., 2003. Paradigms of Propertied Citizenship: Transnational Techniques of Analysis. *Urban Affairs Review,* 38(4), pp. 463-491.
124. Roy, A., 2010. *Poverty Capital: Microfinance and the Making of Development.* 1st ed. London: Routledge.
125. Said, E. W., 1978. *Orientalism.* 1st ed. New York: Vintage Books.
126. Samson, M., 2007. When Public Works Programmes Create 'Second Economy' Conditions. *Africanus,* 37(2), pp. 244-256.
127. Sapire, H., 1990. *African Urbanisation and Struggles against Municipal Controls in Brakpan, 1920-1958.* PhD Thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
128. Schmid, C., 2008. Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic. In: K. Goonewardena, S. Kipfer, R. Milgrom & C. Schmid, eds. *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre.* New York and Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 27-45.
129. Schmid, C., 2012. Henri Lefebvre, the Right to the City, and the New Metropolitan Mainstream. In: 1st, ed. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 42-62.
130. Secor, A. J., 2010. Social Surveys, Interviews, and Focus Groups. In: B. Gomez & J. P. Jones, eds. *Research Methods in Geography.* West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 194-205.
131. Sihlongonyane, M. F., 2014. A Critical Overview of the Instruments of Urban Transformation in South Africa. In: C. Haferburg & M. Huchzermeyer, eds. *Urban Governance in Post-Apartheid Cities: Modes of Engagement in South Africa's Metropoles.* Stuttgart: Gebrüder Borntraeger Verlagsbuchhandlug, pp. 39-60.
132. Sinwell, L., 2009. *Participation as Popular Agency: The Limitations and Possibilities for Transforming Development in the Alexandra Renewal Project.* PhD Thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
133. Smith, D. M., 2010. The Politics and Ethics of Research. In: B. Gomez & J. P. Jones, eds. *Research Methods in Geography.* West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 411-423.
134. Sultana, F., 2007. Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fiedlwork Dilemmas in International Research. *ACME: An International E-Journals for Critical Geographies,* 6(3), pp. 374-385.
135. Talburt, S. & Matus, C., 2014. Confusing the Grid: Spatiotemporalities, Queer Imaginaries, and Movement. *Gender, Place, and Culture,* 21(6), pp. 785-801.
136. Todes, A., 2014. The Impact of Policy and Strategic Spatial Planning. In: P. Harrison, G. Gotz, A. Todes & C. Wray, eds. *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg After Apartheid.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 83-100.
137. Todes, A. & Turok, I., 2015. *The Role of Place-Based Policies in Economic Development.* Pretoria, Economies Region Learning Conference on Economies of Regions .
138. Todes, A. & Turok, I., 2017. Spatial Inequalities and Policies in South Africa: Place-Based or People-Centred?. *Progress in Planning,* pp. 1-31.

139. Wallace, M., 2001. A New Approach to Neighbourhood Renewal in England. *Urban Studies,* 38(12), pp. 2163-2166.
140. Watkins, J., 2015. Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions. *Geography Compass,* 9(9), pp. 508-522.
141. Wray, C. & Kutamba, S., 2017. *Ward Profile Viewer.* [Online] Available at: http://www.gcro.ac.za/research/project/detail/ward-profile-viewer/
[Accessed 13 April 2018].
142. Yiftachel, O., 2012. Critical Theory and "Gray Space": Mobilization of the Colonized. In: N. Brenner, P. Marcuse & M. Mayer, eds. *Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City.* Abingdon, New York: Routledge, pp. 150-170.
143. Zack, T., 2008. *Critical Pragmatism in Planning: The Case of the Kathorus Special Integrated Presidential Project in South Africa.* PhD Thesis. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
144. Zack, T., n.d. *Expert Advisory Assistance to Support Settlement Upgrading in Alexandra.* Proposal: s.n.

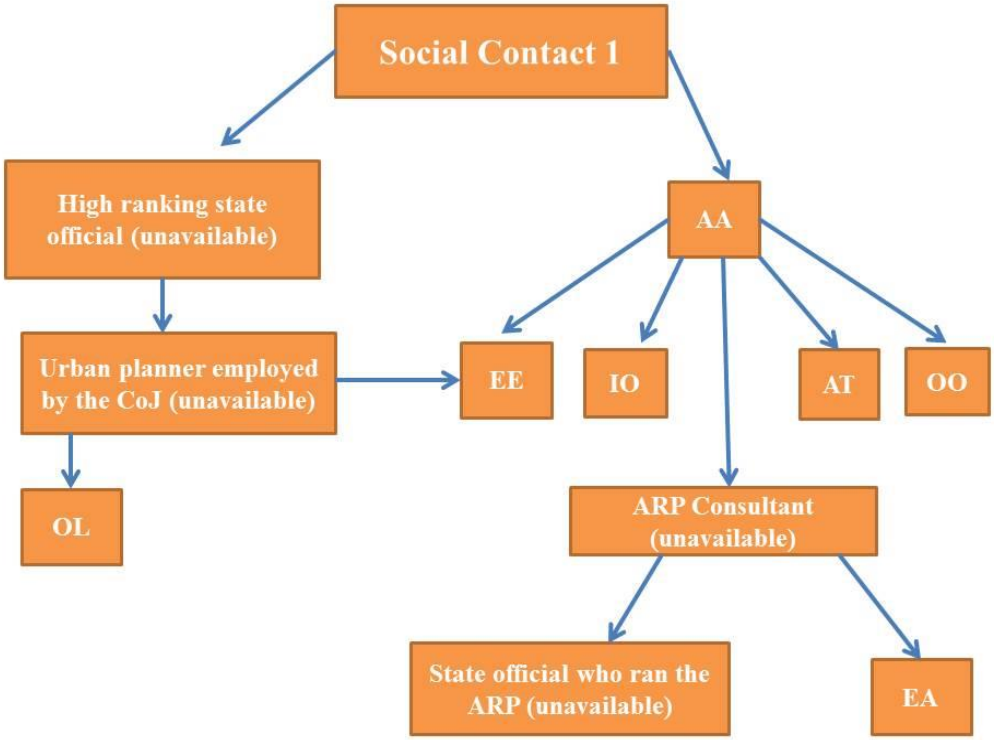
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A- LIST OF INTERVIEWS

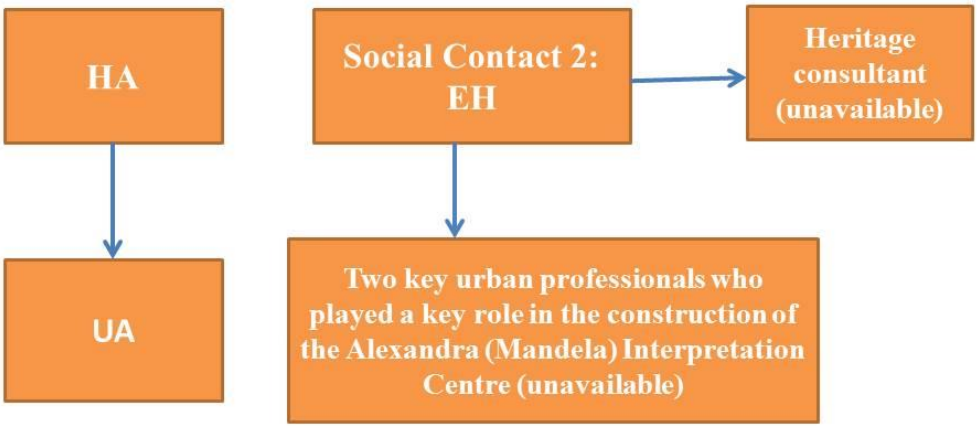
Interviewee	Position	Date Interviewed
AA	Development Consultant	04 October 2017
IO	Senior Consultant: ARP	11 October 2017
HA	Executive in the City of Johannesburg	12 October 2017
EE	Senior Manager: ARP	23 October 2017
OO	Development Consultant	25 October 2017
EA	Senior Consultant: ARP	06 November 2017
AT	Development Consultant	10 November 2017
EH	Structural Engineer: Alexandra Interpretation Centre (also known as Mandela Interpretation Centre)	14 November 2017
HO	Community Activist and Social Researcher	14 November 2017
UA	Senior Manager: ARP	21 November 2017
MA	Community Liaison Officer: ARP	24 November 2017
NA	Community Liaison Officer: ARP	24 November 2017
HE	Community Activist	30 November 2017
LH	Community Activist	05 December 2017
OL	Urban Designer	10 January 2018

APPENDIX B- SAMPLING PROCESS

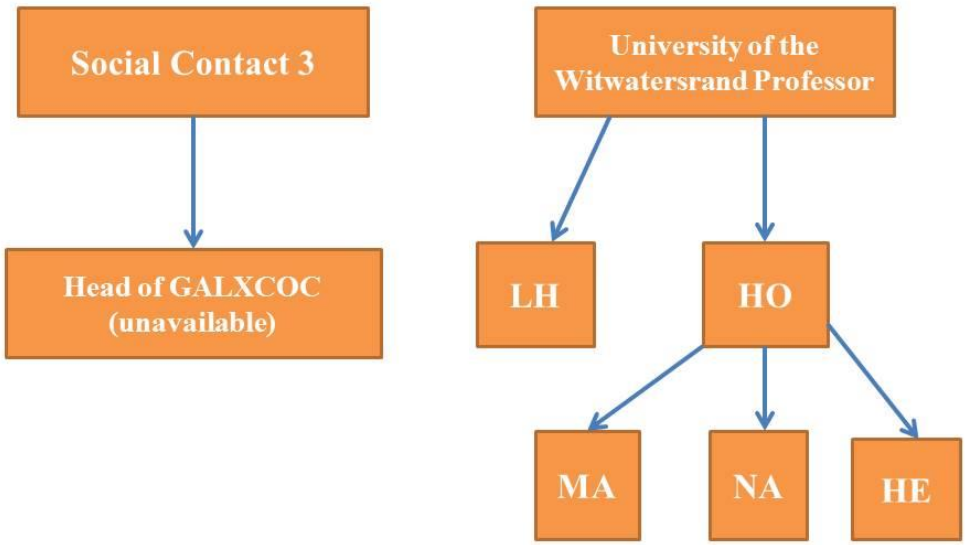
First Stage Sampling



Second Stage Sampling



Third Stage Sampling



APPENDIX C- INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1) What was the period of involvement with the ARP? When did you become involved with the ARP and when did it stop?
2) How did you come to be involved with the ARP?
3) What were your roles and responsibilities when working on the ARP?
    a. In practice what did your involvement with the ARP entail?
    b. How did your function change over time?
4) What do you feel that your personal contribution was to the ARP? In what ways did your involvement change Alex itself?
5) In broad terms what are your reflections on the ARP? Probes:
    a. What do you think were the main goals of the ARP?
    b. What were its successes and failures?
    c. What are your regrets in relation to the ARP?
    d. How do you think the ARP could have approached its task differently?
6) What were the major debates and points of contention within the ARP and between the ARP and other individual and groupings?
    a. To the extent that you are able to go into detail, what are your reflections on the causes, development, and resolution of these debates?
    b. Would you say that these debates were ultimately generative and productive or that they closed off possibilities and good will?
    c. How did these debates change your own perceptions of the ARP and of Alex?
7) What do you think of Alex both as a place, and its relationship to Johannesburg more broadly?
    a. Does Alex make you feel any particular feelings? (If they don't know how to answer - For example does it make you feel hopeful or frustrated or anxious? Why?)
    b. Do you think your perceptions of Alex are different now compared to before you became involved in the ARP?

8) What is the potential of Alex and how might that be realized in the future? If you were advising the government today what vision it should have for Alex, what would that look like?
    a. Based on your past experience, what are the most important/effective tools, instruments, points of leverage that government and other agencies have in bringing about this vision?
9) How do you now think about township renewal schemes more generally?

APPENDIX D- PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Participant Information Sheet for Urban Professionals

WITS UNIVERSITY

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: **GEOGRAPHY:** TEL: +27 11 717-6503 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Sandiswa Sondzaba and I am a Masters student in the Geography Department at the University of the Witwatersrand (hereafter referred to as Wits). As part of my studies I have to undertake a research project which will form the core of my final dissertation. In my research project, I am investigating how urban professionals' perceptions of Alexandra Township influenced their work on the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP). Furthermore, I will be investigating how urban professionals' relationships with each other and with other actors influenced their ability to fulfil objectives of the ARP. The aim of this research is to find out how urban professionals' perceptions of a particular location affected their involvement with the ARP. Another aim is to investigate urban professionals' perspective of their professional obligations influenced their ability to fulfil the objectives of urban/township renewal schemes of which the ARP was an example.

As someone who was involved in the ARP as an urban professional or who worked alongside urban professionals, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. The interview will involve my asking you about your role in the ARP; your perceptions of Alexandra township; your reflections on fulfilling the objectives of the ARP; and your perspective on township renewal schemes in general. The interview will take around 30-45 minutes in a venue of your choosing. With your permission, I would like to record the interview using a digital device.

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. If you experience any distress or discomfort, we will stop the interview or resume another time. The interview will be confidential as the information you give to me will be held securely on a password protected computer, and not disclosed to anyone else. I cannot guarantee anonymity of participants, given the ARP's public status and the limited number of stakeholders involved. However, if requested, I will not report your name in the final dissertation. The final dissertation will be available in the Wits library and online in the thesis repository. I would also like to share my findings at a conference or in an academic paper.

If you have any questions afterwards, feel free to contact me, my supervisor or the Wits Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). If you wish to receive a summary of this dissertation, I will be happy to send it to you.

Yours sincerely,

Sandiswa Sondzaba (Miss)
Researcher: Sandiswa Sondzaba, 723357@students.wits.ac.za, 0721305751
Supervisor: Dr. Sian Butcher, sian.butcher@wits.ac.za, 0117176573
Wits Ethics Committee (HREC [Non-Medical]): Shaun Schoeman, shaun.schoeman@wits.ac.za, 0117171408

Participant Information Sheet for State Officials

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: **GEOGRAPHY:** TEL: +27 11 717-6503 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Sandiswa Sondzaba and I am a Masters student in the Geography Department at the University of the Witwatersrand (hereafter referred to as Wits). As part of my studies I have to undertake a research project which will form the core of my final dissertation. In my research project, I am investigating how urban professionals' perceptions of Alexandra Township influenced their work on the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP). Furthermore, I will be investigating how urban professionals' relationships with each other and with other actors influenced their ability to fulfil objectives of the ARP. The aim of this research is to find out how urban professionals' perceptions of a particular location affected their involvement with the ARP. Another aim is to investigate urban professionals' perspective of their professional obligations influenced their ability to fulfil the objectives of urban/township renewal schemes of which the ARP was an example.

As someone who was involved in the ARP as a state official who interacted with urban professionals, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. The interview will involve my asking you about your role in the ARP; your perceptions of Alexandra township; your reflections on fulfilling the objectives of the ARP; and your perspective on township renewal schemes in general. The interview will take around 30-45 minutes in a venue of your choosing. With your permission, I would like to record the interview using a digital device.

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. If you experience any distress or discomfort, we will stop the interview or resume another time. The interview will be confidential as the information you give to me will be held securely on a password protected computer, and not disclosed to anyone else. I cannot guarantee anonymity of participants, given the ARP's public status and the limited number of stakeholders involved. However, if requested, I will not report your name in the final dissertation. The final dissertation will be available in the Wits library and online in the thesis repository. I would also like to share my findings at a conference or in an academic paper.

If you have any questions afterwards, feel free to contact me, my supervisor or the Wits Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). If you wish to receive a summary of this dissertation, I will be happy to send it to you.

Yours sincerely,

Sandiswa Sondzaba (Miss)
Researcher: Sandiswa Sondzaba, 723357@students.wits.ac.za, 0721305751
Supervisor: Dr. Sian Butcher, sian.butcher@wits.ac.za, 0117176573
Wits Ethics Committee (HREC [Non-Medical]): Shaun Schoeman, shaun.schoeman@wits.ac.za, 0117171408

Participant Information Sheet for Community Representatives

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: **GEOGRAPHY:** TEL: +27 11 717-6503 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Sandiswa Sondzaba and I am a Masters student in the Geography Department at the University of the Witwatersrand (hereafter referred to as Wits). As part of my studies I have to undertake a research project which will form the core of my final dissertation. In my research project, I am investigating how urban professionals' perceptions of Alexandra Township influenced their work on the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP). Furthermore, I will be investigating how urban professionals' relationships with each other and with other actors influenced their ability to fulfil objectives of the ARP. The aim of this research is to find out how urban professionals' perceptions of a particular location affected their involvement with the ARP. Another aim is to investigate urban professionals' perspective of their professional obligations influenced their ability to fulfil the objectives of urban/township renewal schemes of which the ARP was an example.

As someone who was involved in the ARP as a community representative who interacted with urban professionals, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. The interview will involve my asking you about your role in the ARP; your perceptions of Alexandra township; your reflections on fulfilling the objectives of the ARP; and your perspective on township renewal schemes in general. The interview will take around 30-45 minutes in a venue of your choosing. With your permission, I would like to record the interview using a digital device.

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this study, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. If you experience any distress or discomfort, we will stop the interview or resume another time. The interview will be confidential as the information you give to me will be held securely on a password protected computer, and not disclosed to anyone else. I cannot guarantee anonymity of participants, given the ARP's public status and the limited number of stakeholders involved. However, if requested, I will not report your name in the final dissertation. The final dissertation will be available in the Wits library and online in the thesis repository. I would also like to share my findings at a conference or in an academic paper.

If you have any questions afterwards, feel free to contact me, my supervisor or the Wits Ethics Committee (Non-Medical). If you wish to receive a summary of this dissertation, I will be happy to send it to you.

Yours sincerely,

Sandiswa Sondzaba (Miss)
Researcher: Sandiswa Sondzaba, 723357@students.wits.ac.za, 0721305751
Supervisor: Dr. Sian Butcher, sian.butcher@wits.ac.za, 0117176573
Wits Ethics Committee (HREC [Non-Medical]): Shaun Schoeman, shaun.schoeman@wits.ac.za, 0117171408

APPENDIX E- CONSENT FORM

School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa Enquiries: **GEOGRAPHY:** TEL: +27 11 717-6503 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
ARCHAEOLOGY: TEL: +27 11 717-6045 • FAX: +27 086 651 6366
http://www.wits.ac.za/geography/



I _____ am over the age of 18 and agree to be an interviewee in this research project. The researcher has clearly explained to me the purposes of this research. I am aware of the fact that my participation is voluntary; thus, I will not receive any payment for my participation and I will not be penalized for refusing to participating in some or the entirety of the interview. I am aware of the psycho-therapeutic services that are available in the event that participating in the interview causes me psychological distress. I am aware that my interview will be stored in a password-protected laptop and information I provide in the interview may be featured in the researcher's Masters' dissertation and any academic articles the researcher may write thereafter.

By signing the consent form:

I am willing to be a participant in the study.

□

I understand the aim of the study.

□

I understand that a pseudonym will be used, unless I agree to have my name used.

□

I agree to have my name used.

□

I understand that I may request for all or part of the interview to be deleted. □

I have received a copy of the signed consent form.

□

Name of participant:

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX F- WITS HREC ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

WITS UNIVERSITY

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL) R14/49 Sondzaba

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/08/33
PROJECT TITLE	Imagining Alexandra: Conceptualizing and Building Alexandra during the Alexandra renewal project (2001-2012)
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss S Sondzaba
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies
DATE CONSIDERED	18 August 2017
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	13 September 2020
DATE	14 September 2017

CHAIRPERSON

cc: Supervisor : Dr S Butcher

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature **Date**--'---.'---

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES