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RE-IMAGINING POST-APARTHEID YEOVILLE BELLEVUE; the journey and reflections of a resident activist/activist resident

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2013-12

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RE-IMAGINING POST-APARTHEID YEOVILLE BELLEVUE

The journey and reflections of a resident activist/activist resident

MAURICE SMITHERS



6

Report Series produced by the South African Research Chair in Development Planning and Modelling, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand.

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Alba Letts
Alf Karrim
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Unless otherwise indicated, photographs and graphics in this report are from one of the following sources:

Maurice Smithers:
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Material from my archives

The World Wide Web
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CONTENTS

6

RE-IMAGINING POST-APARTHEID YEOVILLE BELLEVUE
The journey and reflections of a resident activist/activist resident

DECEMBER 2013

MAURICE SMITHERS

ACRONYMS		3
FIGURES		4
CHAPTER 1	INTRODUCTION	6
CHAPTER 2	UNDERSTANDING THE PRESENT THROUGH A GLIMPSE OF THE PAST	10
CHAPTER 3	MY JOURNEY TO YEOVILLE BELLEVUE	20
CHAPTER 4	A WORD ON GOOD GOVERNANCE	23
CHAPTER 5	CHALLENGES OF THE NEW YEOVILLE BELLEVUE	28
CHAPTER 6	1997 TO TODAY: ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSES	69
CHAPTER 7	WHAT IS TO BE DONE?	111
NOTES		122
BIBLIOGRAPHY		127
APPENDICES		128

Dedication

This report is dedicated to the memory of Lunga Cenge, Johnson Zambi and the many other people who have fallen victim to the precarious reality that is Yeoville Bellevue. I wish they could have lived to see and experience a better, safer, more caring and prosperous Yeoville Bellevue.



Lunga Cenge



Johnson Zambi

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
COPE	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
EMLC	Eastern Metropolitan Local Council
GDS 2040	Growth and Development Strategy 2040
ICCF	Inner City Charter Forum
ICUDIP	Inner City Urban Design Implementation Plan
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JICCF	Johannesburg Inner City Community Forum
JICDF	Johannesburg Inner City Development Forum
JMPD	Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department
NDP	National Development Plan
RRMC	Rockey Raleigh Management Committee
SACC	South African Council of Churches
YBCDT	Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Trust
YBRA	Yeoville Bellevue Ratepayers Association
YCDF	Yeoville Community Development Forum
YCF	Yeoville Community Forum
YCPF	Yeoville Community Police Forum
YDF	Yeoville Development Forum
YS(L)F	Yeoville Stakeholders (Liaison) Forum (the 'Liaison' was dropped after the first year)

FIGURES

		Page
FIGURE 1:	The suburbs of the neighbourhood of 'Yeoville Bellevue'	10
FIGURE 2:	Stickers produced by Yeovillistas of the 80s and 90s.	14
FIGURE 3:	Streetmaps of Yeoville Bellevue showing the businesses and venues of the mid 90s before the mass exodus.	16, 17
FIGURE 4:	**A.** A Yeoville Public Pool 1985 (left) and **B.** 2008 (right).	18
FIGURE 5:	My first day of school in the big city.	20
FIGURE 6:	Do street traders want an unregulated environment or would they prefer a management solution that improves their ability to generate a reasonable income?	24
FIGURE 7:	JMPD and Red Ants take shopkeepers into custody. Law enforcement is very important, but it's not the whole picture.	25
FIGURE 8:	The bright blue areas indicate the location of business nodes in Yeoville Bellevue up until the late 1970s (the main business street going west to east is Raleigh Rockey St).	29
FIGURE 9:	Yeoville Bellevue in 2013. The bright blue areas are the 'traditional' business nodes, extended formally in the 1980s (eg. Raleigh St between Bedford and Cavendish – compare to Fig 2). The orange strips and dots indicate the dramatic increase in mainly informal economic activity in the area, particularly the extensive penetration into the residential areas. This economic activity includes spaza shops, hair salons, car repair and car wash areas, electronic businesses, carpentry and furniture workshops, shebeens and other liquor outlets, new-wave churches, creches, guest houses, restaurants and others. It does not quantify street trading which happens mainly in the main business street and on street corners in the residential areas (the latter are not stable). This representation is not 100% accurate. We are still processing the information gathered in our 2013 audit. It is likely that the number of orange dots will increase.	30
FIGURE 10:	An extract from the street trader guidelines booklet produced in the 1990s, but never effectively used.	32
FIGURE 11:	Yeoville Market: full of unrealised potential, but never able to absorb all the informal traders of the area.	33
FIGURE 12:	Street trading is no longer confined to the main business street, but is now in the residential areas as well, partly as a result of the failed October 2009 law enforcement exercise.	36
FIGURE 13:	This 2 000 m^2 piece of land, right in the middle of the main business street of Yeoville, would have been perfect for an additional market. But we could not get the CoJ or Telkom to support the idea.	40
FIGURE 14:	City officials stand and discuss a property that has had court cases pending since 2000. This gathering took place in late 2011. Now, at the end of 2013, no action has been taken (or at least no obvious, visible action) and the property still operates spazas without authorisation.	44
FIGURE 15:	Ekhaya is one of the better liquor outlets, serving full meals and trying to keep the tradition of jazz venues alive.	51
FIGURE 16:	This shebeen has been going for years and is regarded as a problem by the local community, the Community Police Forum and the SA Police Service. It has been shut down a number of times, but re-opened thanks to a clever lawyer and mistakes by the authorities. The owner will be allowed to apply for a shebeen license and, as the Regulations currently stand, the public will have no say in the matter.	51
FIGURE 17:	This church hall was created by breaking down all the internal walls of two semi-detached houses.	60

FIGURE 18:	The Yeoville Bellevue 'estate agency' wall – this picture was taken at the end of the month when the wall is at its fullest with adverts offering and asking for accommodation. The kind of space needed or available gives a clear indication of the need for more decent, affordable accommodation.	63
FIGURE 19:	A modest example of informal housing development in the back yard of a formal dwelling.	65
FIGURE 20:	The flats behind this house have been built in the backyard of the property. No permission to build was sought. There is no way of knowing how safe the building is. There was also no opportunity for neighbours to object to an application to build. A policy is needed if such entrepreneurial initiatives are to be encouraged within a mandatory framework.	65
FIGURE 21:	Yeoville Community Police Forum logo.	70
FIGURE 22:	A Yeoville Community Police Forum meeting in the Recreation Centre in 2011. Much progress was made in rebuilding the organisation and capacitating people, but then the sabotage started again.	73
FIGURE 23:	Breaking down and building up: we knocked down the wall at the corner and built our steps. A unique exercise.	76
FIGURE 24:	African National Congress (ANC) logo.	80
FIGURE 25:	2009: the Yeoville Recreation Centre in the process of being re-modelled. This is arguably the least successful of the JDA projects. There are some design problems and the quality of work is inconsistent and, in some cases, very poor. However, far worse is the state of the building today – only four years since the upgrade, it is in a shocking state. It is an indictment of the Department of Sport and Recreation that they have allowed a building in which millions was invested to deteriorate to the extent that it has.	83
FIGURE 26:	Ward 67 in 2006 before the current demarcation. The ward is shaded blue. The Yeoville Bellevue part of the ward is bounded by the black line.	87
FIGURE 27:	Yeoville Stakeholders (Liaison) Forum logo.	89
FIGURE 28:	African Diaspora Forum logo.	95
FIGURE 29:	One of the many anti-xenophobia posters circulating as part of the general campaign against all forms of discrimination.	96
FIGURE 30:	Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Trust logo.	96
FIGURE 31:	The front page of one of the issues of Yeovue News – a lack of funds means the paper hardly ever comes out anymore.	101
FIGURE 32:	George Lebone and I talking next to the new fence.	104
FIGURE 33:	Trevor Fowler, newly-appointed City Manager for Joburg, speaks at a Yeoville Studio exhibition in Yeoville Bellevue in 2011.	106
FIGURE 34:	As part of our advocacy work, we formed a (short-lived) structure called the Yeoville Bellevue Community Advocacy and Empowerment Committee (YBCAEC).	107
FIGURE 35:	The diagram shows that homeowners have a concern both for the value of their property and for their quality of life.	109
FIGURE 36:	Yeoville Bellevue is bounded by the solid black line. As can be seen, sections of four different wards make up the area. Ward 67 continues to the north, ward 64 to the west and the south, ward 66 to the east and the south, and ward 73 to the north.	115

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It has come to our attention that you want to rule this area disturbing our business is, wll not allow that, so we are going to make sure that u move out of this area, watch and see! we know where your wife works we know the car shes driving (blue polo) registration known, your son is driving fox and you are driving a volgsvagen kumbi, your son is@ randburg we know where he is studing, we know your office and people who are working for you, we are giving you a month to leave this area starting from today, this is the are black africans, u are left alone, people like you are staying at sandton, leave before you see the wrath of black people, we are warning you, mother fucker!

The above text was sent to me via SMS on 19 July 2012 at 5.01pm. Though concerned, I was not really surprised because, in working on socio-economic development in Yeoville Bellevue, I know I have upset a range of people. These include liquor operators, hijackers of properties, noise-makers, political parties, public urinators, traders of various sorts, drunks, people with xenophobic tendencies, litterers, police officers, criminals, council officials, ward councillors, landlords, fraudsters and others.

What is surprising is that working on development should result in so much hostility. After all, the upliftment of a community in decline is surely a good thing and to be supported?

I'd like to suggest that the conditions that allow for the emergence of such hostility are, to a large degree, a product of the actions (or lack of action) of the state. In telling the story of my involvement in neighbourhood development, I'll explain why I think that is the case.

I first began to work in Yeoville Bellevue in 1997/8. Fifteen years later, I'm reflecting in this research report on what I and my fellow Yeoville Bellevueites have managed to achieve, individually and collectively, in that time. It is my own personal account and I accept that others may have a different story to tell. I hope it's interesting and that we can all learn something from it. I hope even more fervently that it will, in some way, take the fight for a better Yeoville Bellevue (and a better inner city) forward.

Looking back in my archives, I found a table which I drafted in November of 1997[1], setting out matters that I thought needed attention. Amongst these were that:

- Yeoville Bellevue was in urgent need of a socio-economic development policy
- The Community Forum had collapsed and had not been replaced by a credible civic structure
- Parks in the area were unmanaged and in need of proper attention
- There were a number of illegalities and by-law infringements taking place

- There was a lack of communication encouraging civic responsibility
- There was no clarity on the situation of the informal sector
- The community had inadequate access to the municipality

These are still issues of concern. To this list, I'd add:

- Ineffective urban management
- Challenges around accommodation, including overcrowding, hijacking and unregulated commercialisation of the residential areas of Yeoville Bellevue
- Unemployment and poverty
- Economic stagnation
- Substance abuse
- General physical decline of the area
- Hostility by South Africans towards foreign nationals

I'm not a trained architect, city planner or spatial designer. I'm also not a property developer, urban manager or local government politician. I fell into this work in 1997 as a result of circumstance – I was between jobs and had the time to look at what was happening around me in my neighbourhood. I started, as the late left-wing Chilean musician Victor Jara wrote in one of his songs, 'working at the beginning of a story, without knowing the end'.[2]

I had no previous experience on which to draw (except for my work in the area of communication – and I think communication, or a lack thereof, is another of the key contributing factors to the socio-economic decline in our area).

Although I'd worked as a political activist in the years leading up to my involvement in Yeoville Bellevue, I'd never worked at local community level. This was largely because, during the apartheid years, neighbourhoods that were designated 'white' in terms of the Group Areas Act, 1950[3] (and subsequent) were generally very well managed. This was one of the benefits of apartheid for the white community – our needs were all largely taken care of, there was no need to do anything ourselves.

Things were very different in black, Indian and coloured areas. Municipal services didn't match those in white areas – in many cases, such services barely existed at all. So it was impossible for activists from those communities to separate the national struggle against apartheid from their daily lived experience of the consequences of apartheid. As a result, civic associations were formed, rent boycotts were held, service delivery protests were part and parcel of resistance. 'Alternative' structures such as street committees and various crisis committees were established which attempted to 'govern' in the absence of the state.

My approach to the challenges of Yeoville Bellevue was therefore not based on past experience as a 'community activist'. Nor was there an obvious and accessible history of civic activism in the Yeoville Bellevue area. While I uncovered evidence that there was a ratepayers association in the area in the early 1900s[4] and in 1943 (an intriguing story which needs further investigation)[5], there was no detail and no recent history, except for the belated establishment of a Yeoville Resident's Association in the late 1980s which faded away in the mid 1990s.

I had spent my adult life fighting apartheid. But more importantly, I had been fighting for the kind of world in which I myself wanted to live – one free of all forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination.

We are now rid of institutionalised apartheid and we have a constitution which appears to guarantee that oppression, exploitation and discrimination will no longer be tolerated.

But the reality on the ground is a little different. And Yeoville Bellevue is by no means the worst of it. In inner city areas, townships, informal settlements and rural areas around the country, millions of people were (and are) still waiting and hoping (and, in some cases, fighting) for something better than they are getting currently, for more dignity, for social justice.

So I decided that it was time for me to look local, to work at community level and to see if I could make a difference to the way in which my neighbourhood functioned.

In the post-apartheid period, there were three structures that had begun tackling local issues:

- The Yeoville Development Forum (YDF)
- The newly-formed Yeoville Community Police Forum (YCPF)
- The ANC branch which had established sub-committees to take on local issues

This was the space in which I found myself when I began, in September 1997, to look at the challenges facing the suburbs with which I had had an ongoing relationship for close on 40 years.

My brief, when I was asked to write this research report, was to give an ethnographic account of my experiences since then. The report comprises historical narrative, personal reflection and comment, anecdotal information, the wisdom of others, and a limited use of source material, academic or otherwise. And, although it is primarily my story, it is about me in relation to the community of the area.

I have referred above to two issues that I think are key to this reflection on Yeoville Bellevue – the role of the state and communication. More specifically:

- the role of the state and the extent to which it does or doesn't contribute to the creation of enabling conditions which encourage and facilitate active citizenry and civil society participation in shaping their own environment, and
- communication, or the lack thereof, and the impact it has on the capacity of people in the neighbourhood to understand and engage with the many challenges facing the area (the communication I'm referring to is, of course, both with and within the community of the area)

Linked to these two ideas is a third: that of empowerment (and its opposite, *dis*empowerment). My experience is that, despite the good intentions of many in the local authority[6] (and other relevant arms of the state, such as the Gauteng Liquor Board), their policies and practises generally do not make it easy for citizens to participate effectively in the formulation and implementation of policies impacting directly and indirectly on their lives. Woefully inadequate communication (awareness-raising, conscientisation, education) contributes to the problem (as recognised in the City of Johannesburg's (CoJ's) Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) 2040, drafted in 2011).[7]

The consequence of these shortcomings is that, in my view, we are by and large a disempowered community. And I think it is this disempowerment that contributes to the weakness or short-lived nature of organisation that I'll outline in Chapter 6. Although we are arguably more organised in Yeoville Bellevue than people are in many other areas, our structures generally have no longevity, no incremental growth and strength, no institutional memory, and therefore have little real impact on our environment.

This alienated, disempowered space – characterised by strong opposing views between community and state, South Africans and foreign nationals, the propertied and the homeless, the employed and the jobless,

market traders and street vendors, rich and impoverished, 'educated' and poorly-schooled, darker and paler, people of different political persuasions – is neither healthy nor productive. It discourages engagement by the community, even with the limited access to participatory processes that do exist. I do note in Chapter 2 that many people do not get involved because they are too busy with the demands of basic survival, but that's all the more reason for the state to pay attention to making it as easy as possible for people to participate meaningfully because there are some who would take advantage of the opportunity, as a determined few already do now, despite the constraints.

As an activist, then, concerned about urban decay, socio-economic challenges faced by the community, the poor quality of life experienced by many residents, social discord, especially manifestations of intolerance towards foreign nationals, and the general perception by people that there is little they can do to change anything, I decided I had to see if I could make a difference. I wanted to be part of engineering a solution for Yeoville Bellevue that would take into account the views and needs of all who live and work here, with the understanding that no-one can get everything they want because this would inevitably be at the expense of others. At the end of the day, I would consider my work a success if I were able to assist in developing a true community spirit in Yeoville Bellevue, one in which there was mutual respect for others and a willingness both to compromise and to contribute. I would also be satisfied if we, as a community, were able to establish a meaningful participatory relationship with the various organs of the state with a view to assisting them to develop and implement effective urban development strategies and to work on a development plan for the neighbourhood. That, I believe, would lay the foundation for a sustainable future for our area and for the empowerment of the people who live and work here, such that they would be able to have a material and determining impact on what happens in their neighbourhood. The very recent re-commitment by the city to implement true Community-Based Planning (CBP) gives some hope that there will be an opportunity for community members to actively and meaningfully contribute to the development process.

A final note: in writing this report, I could have included many more voices, of other activists as well as of ordinary Yeoville Bellevueites with whom I have come into contact over the period of my work in the neighbourhood. However, that would have involved a lot more work, taken a lot more time and resulted in a much longer report. There is a need to hear those voices (Yeoville Studio and Hotel Yeoville, about which I have written in Chapter 6, have done some useful work in this regard), but I think that must be the focus of another publication.

Chapter 2 of this report gives a brief overview of the history of Yeoville Bellevue and its transformation post-1990 into a pan-African neighbourhood. Chapter 3 is a very sketchy tracing of my own trajectory from the Eastern Cape where I was born to Yeoville Bellevue where I'm now rooted. In Chapter 4, I present a case for good governance and then, in Chapter 5, I look at some of the key challenges facing the people of our neighbourhood and the extent to which they are outcomes of poor governance. Chapter 6 gives a fairly detailed account of the various organisational responses to the Yeoville Bellevue condition since democracy. Chapter 7 makes a series of proposals for moving forward and offers some concluding remarks. There are also a number of appendices at the end of the report.



CHAPTER 2

UNDERSTANDING THE PRESENT THROUGH A GLIMPSE OF THE PAST



FIGURE 1: The suburbs of the neighbourhood of 'Yeoville Bellevue'.

What we know as Yeoville Bellevue today (or what most people call Yeoville) comprises six different suburbs – Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, the upper part of Lorentzville (which used to be known as Bellevue Central), and Highlands and Randview, two tiny south-facing outposts on the Yeoville ridge (Fig 1). They are amongst the earliest settled areas in Johannesburg, with Bellevue the oldest and only three years younger than the city. The neighbourhood has gone through many transformations over the years, the most dramatic taking place in the 1990s when these previously-white suburbs became not only non-racial, but pan-African.

For the purposes of this research report, I am going to focus on this latter period, which began just before the first-ever democratic elections in South Africa and continues until today. But let's look a little further back first, just to put more recent developments in context.

> *'In the late summer of 1886, the long veld grass, sun-baked, brown and tinder-dry, would have waved in the cool evening breezes much as it does today ……' . The area was demarcated into a series of contiguous farms, each 'located around a source of fresh water ….'. The 'farmers of the time' would have been 'ignorant' … 'of the fact' that their land was on a 'somewhat broken outcrop of quartzite that was approximately 3 000 million years old….' . They would also not have known that under the quartzite was 'a conglomerate of quartz and chert pebbles set in a fine matrix of silica' (Beavon, 2004: 18-20).*

This conglomerate contained gold and their farms were the land on which the future city of Johannesburg would be built.

Gold prospecting had been happening in the then-Transvaal Republic since the 1850s. The closest find to the main reef was in Wilgespruit to the north west in 1885. Then, in April 1886, George Harrison, an Australian gold prospector and mason who had earlier worked in the eastern Transvaal diggings (Lydenburg, Pilgrims Rest, de Kaap), made the first major discovery of gold in the main reef while on the farm Langlaagte where he had 'agreed to build a house ….. for the widow Oosthuizen'. By August 1886, there were already 600 prospectors in the 'hotch-potch village with no name' and 'battalions' more were expected (Beavon, 2004: 20-22). The history of Johannesburg had begun.

By 1889, Johannesburg and its economic base were seemingly sufficiently well-established for the Bellevue Township Syndicate to establish a new suburb on a small finger of land to the north east of the town. The new suburb was called Bellevue and was situated some 5kms from the town centre (van der Merwe, date unknown: 2).

Bellevue was almost still-born. By 1889, it had become clear that the deeper the mining activities went, the less effective and more costly was the amalgam process of extracting the gold with mercury. It seemed that the gold rush could be over and that the barely-established town would end up as 'just another clutter of discarded bits and pieces of mining equipment and shelters, as had been the plight of a long line of failed gold rushes worldwide' (Beavon, 2004: 28). 'Consequently, as people left Johannesburg in their hundreds, the chance of selling property in Bellevue, or anywhere else, must have looked pretty dismal' (Beavon, 2004: 55).

However, science came to the rescue. The MacArthur-Forrest method, using cyanide instead of mercury, proved to be an efficient and cost-effective way of working with the deeper-level gold. Suddenly gold mining in Johannesburg had a future after all. The impact of this new method was profound. Johannesburg went on, as we know, to become the richest city in the country. Not only was Bellevue saved, but things were looking so good that, in 1890, Thomas Yeo Sherwell, a township developer from Yeovil, England who had started his life in South Africa in Durban, established a new suburb on the western boundary of Bellevue. Named Yeoville after him and like his home town (Yeovil), the new suburb was 50 feet above Johannesburg and had clean air, his adverts in The Digger's News of 27 January 1890 boasted (van der Merwe, date unknown: 3).

It was promoted as an area for the rich who, he surmised, wanted a more genteel (and healthy) life than that offered by the boisterous, dirty, noisy town centre. Clearly Mr Sherwell felt confident that Johannesburg would continue to flourish, generating more and more wealth along the way.

> *Speculators and others, reserve your purchase of stands until the 20th February next, when Mr. Auctioneer Kincaid, who has been favoured with instructions by the Johannesburg Building Estate Syndicate, will offer for public competition, a portion of the new Township of Yeoville, about 500 stands.*
>
> *This township is situated on the rise, to the north-east of the hospital, and is bounded on the one side by the wire fence of the waterworks plantation, on the Pretoria Road, and commands a really magnificent view of the whole of Johannesburg and its suburbs on the one side, and the Magaliesburg Mountains with valleys and undulating ground on the other, and is beyond doubt the Sanitorium of the united city, where the elite of Johannesburg will have to purchase residential sites in the near future, to save doctor's expenses. The position is about 50 feet above the highest point in Johannesburg, and the air is fresh, bracing and healthy, and free from the odours which prevail in the city, hence its being the Sanitorium* (van der Merwe, date unknown: 3)

But the rich (and he was right – the revival of the gold rush did create a lot of wealthy people) went elsewhere.

It was definitely a place to aspire to, though, particularly for those resident in the east of the main town, in places like Doornfontein. For the largely Jewish community who lived there, Yeoville Bellevue represented a step up in the world, socially and economically. This was, for example, the case for the Slovo family.

Anti-apartheid struggle veteran Joe Slovo came with his family from Lithuania to South Africa when he was seven years old. They lived in Doornfontein, where his father first sold fruit from a barrow and later delivered bread for the Crystal Bakery and Delicatessen (Slovo, 1995) Thanks to careful management of the family finances by Joe's mother, the Slovos eventually made it up to Yeoville Bellevue, living in a semi-detached house in Rockey St, opposite the shop from which Joe's father now sold his fruit. Right next door, in the other half of the semis, was another Jewish family – the Levins. Esther Levin, whose surname would change when she married Hymie Barsel, went on to become a political comrade of Joe Slovo's in her adulthood. She also chose to continue living in Yeoville Bellevue almost until her passing in 2008 at the age of 83.

Unlike many other families who made the same journey from Doornfontein to Yeoville Bellevue, the Slovos eventually went back down the hill when their fortunes changed again, this time for the worse, after Joe's mother died. Joe himself never lived in the area again until his return from exile in 1990, though he was known to play poker in the 1950s at the Yeoville Bellevue houses of friends who did. Human Rights Lawyer George Bizos tells how Joe delighted in asking people what they thought was the height of *chutzpah* (*chutzpah* being the Yiddish word for cheekiness). Joe's own reply was: *those Jews who move from Doornfontein directly to Houghton, without first spending some time in Yeoville*.[8]

While the area did have many non-Jewish South Africans (mostly white[9]), including those of English and Dutch heritage and immigrants from Greece, Italy and Portugal, Yeoville Bellevue eventually took on a largely Jewish character, with delicatessens and bakeries selling Jewish fare, synagogues scattered across the suburbs, and orthodox Jews walking through the streets every Friday and Saturday as they observed the Sabbath.

Over a few generations, the immigrants that made up the population of Yeoville Bellevue eventually merged into a (white) South African community living in a generally peaceful urban village on the outskirts of the Central Business District of the now well-established and prosperous city of Johannesburg.

Joe Slovo was only one of the many well-known people who had an association with Yeoville Bellevue. Herman Charles Bosman lived briefly in Bellevue East, where he shot and killed his step-brother in 1926 and ended up on death row before being released and going on to become one of South Africa's best-known short story writers. UK-born Emily Hobhouse, famous for her support of Afrikaner women and children during the South African war of 1898 – 1902, and lawyer and politician Mahatma Gandhi, also had homes in the neighbourhood in the early years of the 20th century.

Well-known white left-wing activists such as Ronnie Kasrils, Hymie Barsel, Wolfie Kodesh, Norman Levy and others all lived in Yeoville Bellevue. Many were originally members of the Communist Party and, if not listed as communists or banned from political activity, would have moved to working in the Congress Alliance[10], often through the Congress of Democrats, after the 1950 banning of the Communist Party of South Africa.

Nelson Mandela hid out in journalist Wolfie Kodesh's flat at 52 Webb St, Yeoville in the early 60s (Sampson, 1999: 153-154)). It was in Kodesh's flat, too, that the iconic picture of a young Mandela dressed in Xhosa attire was taken by well-known photographer and activist, Eli Weinberg. The only authentic Xhosa item is the beadwork. For the picture, Kodesh's bedspread was used as a blanket and someone was dispatched to the local pet shop to buy a dog collar to use as an armband.[11]

Ali Bacher, cricketer, Sinclair Beiles, beat poet, Ivan May, businessman and philanthropist – they too were among the many well-known South Africans who lived and/or schooled in Yeoville Bellevue.

Historically, the entertainment hub of Johannesburg (for whites) was the Central Business District (CBD), Joubert Park and Hillbrow. In these areas were most of the cinemas, theatres, restaurants, night spots, brothels, underground gambling joints and illicit drug dens. There were some suburban cinemas scattered across the city – Yeoville and Bellevue each had one (the 'bughouse' and the Piccadilly respectively) – as well as restaurants and other places of entertainment, but these were few and far between.

Every night, and especially over the weekend, there was a migration of (white) people from all over the city into this long-established entertainment zone – joining the many thousands who lived in the area, mostly in high rise buildings in Hillbrow and Joubert Park, and in adjoining suburbs like Berea and Yeoville Bellevue.

Although these areas attracted whites of all classes, political persuasions and cultural tendencies (except for the most conservative who saw Hillbrow as a den of iniquity), the counter culture[12] had a strong presence in the area. Hillbrow in particular developed a bohemian sort of character with hippies, folk singers and the like living in or visiting the area and, in some instances, running 'alternative' businesses.

In the 60s, Johannesburg began to spread outwards. New suburbs were built on the outskirts of the town, where before there was open veld. When we first arrived in Johannesburg in 1961, for example, we lived in a flat in Berea. In 1965, my father bought a house in Wendywood, a newly-developed suburb on the road to Pretoria. There were ten houses in Wendywood at the time, dotted around along the streets of the newly laid-out suburb. There were no shops or schools or public facilities of any kind. The old Pretoria Rd, a simple two-lane strip linking Johannesburg with the country's administrative capital, ran along the eastern border of the suburb – the M1 motorway would only be built a few years later. There was a minimalist bus service which didn't operate at all at night or on the weekend.

But the stands were big, the houses were modern and prices were good. So more and more people moved into the area over time, as they were doing to similarly-new areas in other parts of the city, north and south (there was little room for expansion to the east and west of the city).

More significantly, Sandton City opened its doors in 1973. It wasn't the first mall in Johannesburg – Killarney Shopping Centre was built in 1961, followed by Hyde Park in 1969 and Rosebank shortly after Sandton in 1976 – but these were in already-established suburbs. At the time Sandton City was built, the area around it was newly-developed, with some parts still semi-rural, but the building of this particular mall signalled the end of the CBD's dominance as the economic and cultural centre of the city. The CBD, Joubert Park and Hillbrow began, slowly at first, but then more rapidly in the late 80s and early 90s, to go into a downward spiral of urban decay from which they have still not recovered.

Towards the end of the 1970s, Yeoville Bellevue also began to change, but in this instance, the spiral was up and not down. Music producer Patric van Blerk started the trend when he set up office in Rockey St and opened a small gay club called Casablanca. Although Raleigh St and Rockey St were one road stretching from then-Harrow Rd in the west to de la Rey St in the east, the business blocks were very different. Raleigh St between Fortesque and Bedford was the commercial strip in Yeoville. Most of the early buildings had been knocked down and replaced with modern structures. Not so Rockey St. Here the old buildings were still standing, some built in the early 1900s. The quaintness of the area caught the attention of those who visited Casablanca and soon a number of businesses from Hillbrow – such as the Black Sun (a theatre), Coffee Society (a coffee shop), Scandalos (a Greek restaurant) and Tandoor (a Tandoori chicken outlet) moved across, to be joined by a whole range of new enterprises that began to attract more and more outsiders to the area.

Within a very short time, what had been a quiet street primarily serving the local community became a cultural magnet for much of Johannesburg's *avant garde* (and eventually not so *avant garde*) cultural community. Over time, as the demand for space increased and shop rentals more than doubled, many of the traditional community businesses in the area, particularly in Rockey St, had closed down and been replaced by trendy outlets aimed at the mainly domestic tourists who crowded into the area night after night in search of the latest cultural experience (which included scoring dagga[13] – and perhaps other more exotic drugs – on the corner of Rockey and Raymond Sts from the mid-80s onward).

Yeoville Bellevue was suddenly all over the guide books, becoming *the* place to visit, so tourists from elsewhere in the world also began to arrive. In addition, the area became a very desirable place to live – for renters and owners of property. The urban village was quiet no more.

Meanwhile, another spatial shift was taking place in the inner city, one which would impact significantly on Yeoville Bellevue and which would lay the foundations for the dramatic demographic shifts which occurred in the 1990s.

In the late 1970s, a number of factors conspired to cause an unofficial relaxation of the Group Areas Act, a key piece of apartheid legislation which was enacted to enforce racially-determined spatial segregation.[14]

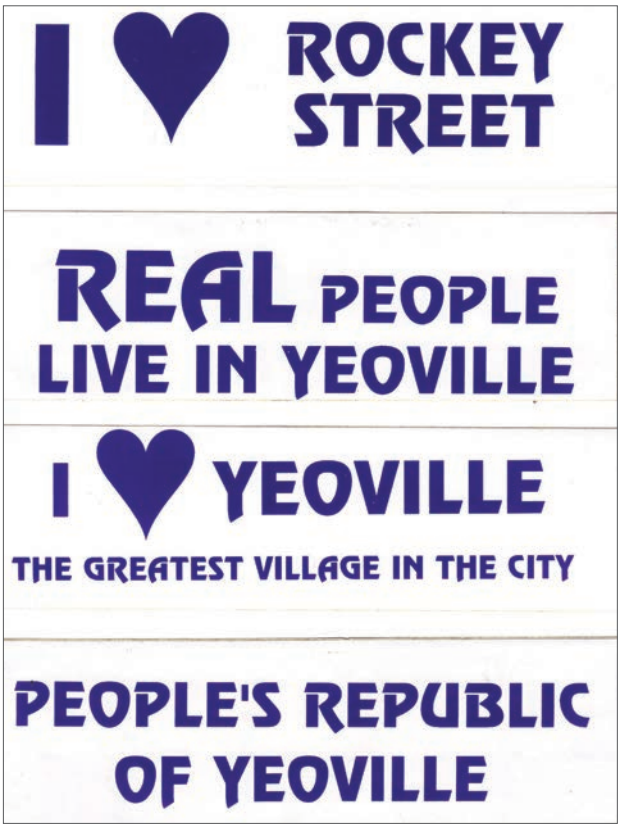


FIGURE 2: Stickers produced by Yeovillistas of the 80s and 90s.

According to Alan Morris, the 'grey areas' phenomenon of the 1970s and 1980s – the process through which the inner city gradually lost its almost lily-white character – happened because of three things:

- *'There was a surfeit of accommodation in certain white residential areas, especially the high-density neighbourhoods in the centre of Johannesburg.' Reasons for this included an exodus of white foreigners post the 1976 uprising, poorer white tenants sharing accommodation because of the recession, more white youngsters remaining with their parents longer, concern that the area was becoming dangerous, the impact of so many white males being out of circulation because they were serving in the military, and the drop in property prices allowing more people to buy homes in the suburbs.' (Morris, 1999: 16)*
- *'.....the government's increasing fiscal predicament was to have a direct bearing on its capacity to deliver housing to the sections of the population classified as Indian and coloured, and the housing crisis generated by this incapacity was to hasten the integration of Hillbrow.' (Morris, 1999: 17)*
- *'.....to increase parliamentary access beyond the section of the population classified as white ....', the apartheid government was intent on 'setting up ..... the tricameral parliament, in which those sections of the population classified as coloured and Indian were to be incorporated into the central parliament by way of separate houses – the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates ..... because the NP (National Party, the government then in power – my note) was trying to woo Indian and coloured moderates, the response of government to this inward movement was characterised by uncertainty and a degree of restraint ....' (Morris, 1999: 11-12).*

Because of these three factors, according to Morris, government turned a blind eye to the movement of coloureds and Indians into the inner city. Empty space was being filled, making landlords (relatively) happy, and coloured and Indian people were finding accommodation.

In the 1980s, the 'greying' of the inner city (ie Hillbrow and surrounding areas, including Yeoville Bellevue) accelerated and African people also began to move in. Government continued, by and large, to ignore this flouting of the regulations, except in instances where there was resistance from within the white community – right-wing political parties protested, some white (and maybe even some coloured and Indian?) tenants complained, and even landlords called for state intervention when they found that flats which had been leased by whites were actually occupied by blacks (this was the 'nominee' system, in terms of which whites would sign for flats on behalf of black tenants). Evictions followed, resulting in the formation of a support structure called Actstop which defended evictees on the ground and in the courts.

It was not only residential apartheid that was being challenged. Many other pieces of legislation responsible for what was known as 'petty apartheid'[15] were being flouted, especially in Yeoville Bellevue, which some people exaggeratedly called a 'liberated zone' because inter-racial socialising was happening on a scale seldom seen anywhere else.

With the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and other apartheid legislation in June 1991, the door was open, for the first time, for blacks, coloureds and Indians to live freely wherever they chose. In Johannesburg, the inner city was the most popular destination, partly because the 'grey areas' period had already deracialised the CBD, Joubert Park and Hillbrow to a large extent, and partly because of the proximity to transport networks and economic opportunities.

This tendency may have been reinforced by the decision of many returning exiles and ex-political prisoners to choose the inner city as their (temporary) homes in the early 1990s. They were joined by activists from all over the country who relocated to be closer to the negotiations for a new political dispensation which took place from 1990 – 1994. The free-standing houses, affordable flats, village atmosphere and vibrant night-life of Yeoville Bellevue attracted a significant percentage of this new wave of inner-city residents.

Most moved out after 1994. Some left because their new jobs in government – as political leaders or as public servants – meant they had to work in Pretoria or Cape Town. Others, perhaps, because they felt that the small properties and street culture of Yeoville Bellevue didn't match their new status in post-apartheid South Africa? The last remaining Yeoville Bellevue stalwarts of that particular grouping were Constitutional Court judge Albie Sachs who left in 2001 and Pallo Jordan whose re-appointment as a cabinet minister in 2006 made it impractical for him to continue to live in Johannesburg and work in Pretoria.

1990-1994 was possibly the most exciting period the area had experienced since its establishment at the end of the 19th century. However, it was very challenging for the established white community. Already shell-shocked by the announcement by then-President F W de Klerk on 2 February 1990 that previously-outlawed political organisations like the African National Congress (ANC), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Communist Party could once again operate freely, the whites of Yeoville Bellevue had to deal with the on-the-ground reality of the desegregation of the area after generations of racial separation.

Change in any community in any part of the world is difficult to accept, and the response to change in Yeoville Bellevue demonstrated that. In the early 90s, there were some people who left the area because they were nervous about the implications of the pending political change that was being negotiated or worried about the potential for plummeting property values or simply because they did not want to live in an area that was becoming increasingly black. Some left to go elsewhere in the city or to other parts of the country, some left for foreign lands.



FIGURE 3 (above and opposite)**:** Streetmaps of Yeoville Bellevue showing the businesses and venues of the mid 90s before the mass exodus.





But many whites seemed content to stay on, at least up until 1994. In 1993, Ruda Landman did a piece on Carte Blanche[16] about the 'Yeoville rapist'[17] and used the opportunity to profile Yeoville Bellevue as a vibrant, culturally-exciting, cosmopolitan suburb. Most people she interviewed remained positive about the area and the future. She spoke of the ongoing commitment of the Jewish community, pointing to the fact that they 'have been here for 50 years' and 'they are going nowhere'.[18] Funky maps produced by local business people showed a commercial street with most of the 80s businesses still operating. The majority of people in the voting queues on 27/28 April 1994 were still white.

However, Ruda Landman's optimism was misplaced. Within five years of her Carte Blanche insert, the bulk of the Jewish community had moved out of the area, as had many of the other whites who were not Jewish. The demography had been turned on its head. In 1991, the area was 79.4% white (StatsSA).[19] By 1998, it was over 84% black (Gnad, 1998).[20]

Initially, the new black residents comprised mainly South Africans migrating into the area from all over the region and all over the country. However, in the 2000s, the number of migrants from other African countries increased dramatically.

The initial process saw whites being *replaced* by blacks. But, in the case of foreign migrants, black South Africans have not been replaced – instead, their numbers have been *supplemented* by the influx of foreign nationals, causing an increase in the total population of the area and contributing to the problem of overcrowding.

According to the 2011 census figures, there were 38 965 people living in Yeoville Bellevue at the time of counting. The census figures also tell us that only 2% of the current Yeoville Bellevue population is white, while South Africans (of all races) comprise 48% of the residents in the area. The fluid nature of the community and the reluctance of some people to be counted means that we cannot rely absolutely on these figures. However, the *trend* that these figures reflect challenges the often-stated view that the area is overwhelmingly dominated by foreign nationals. This view can probably be explained by the higher 'visibility' of foreign nationals because of language and other differences, as well as their greater involvement in the business activities of the area, particularly in Rockey Raleigh St.



FIGURE 4 A: Yeoville Public Pool 1985 (left), photo by Gideon Mendel and **B:** 2008 (right).

The socio-economic profile of Yeoville Bellevue has also changed a great deal. The area was always multi-class, ranging in the apartheid era from lower to upper middle class with some white working class. However, the population today includes large numbers of people who are unemployed, underemployed or self-employed in the informal sector. According to the census, 71% of people with an income earn between R1 and R6 400 per month, while 47.5% get less than R3 200. 12.9 have no income at all. This has impacted dramatically on the spatial form of the area as more and more people use residential space for income-generating activities (see Chapter 4 for more detail) and the neighbourhood shows increasingly visible signs of neglect.

So Yeoville Bellevue has experienced significant change, particularly over the last twenty years. What was a white area is now essentially black, what was a broadly middle class neighbourhood has become much more working class with a significant proportion of unemployed people, and what was a reasonably well-managed spatial environment is now poorly managed and has experienced a high degree of urban decay.

In subsequent chapters, we will look at the issues arising out of that urban decay and at some of the attempts by community organisations (and, to an extent, the state) to address them. I will not be looking at the full gamut of responses to the socio-economic challenges in the neighbourhood. For example, there are many specific attempts to ameliorate the plight of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged through feeding schemes, orphanages, informal shelters, temporary employment projects, sports programmes, after-care homework support centres and other similar initiatives.

My main focus is on efforts that have been made to find ways of addressing the underlying reasons for the socio-economic decline in the area. I have also, because this is a report on my involvement in the neighbourhood over the past 15 years, focused on the initiatives in which I have been involved. These can, by and large, be narrowed down to two main thrusts – the first is a focus on urban management (understood in its broadest sense, ie not just by-law enforcement) as a necessary pre-condition for the implementation of the second, a comprehensive socio-economic development plan for the neighbourhood.

As I will attempt to show in the rest of the report, urban management and the plan are not ends in themselves. They are steps on the road to making Yeoville Bellevue into a neighbourhood that promises a decent quality of life for all, that provides income-generating opportunities, that has good educational and recreational facilities for the growth and development of our children, that has housing for all, that ensures that no-one goes hungry, that celebrates diversity while encouraging community, that is a healthy, safe and caring environment.

CHAPTER 3

MY JOURNEY TO YEOVILLE BELLEVUE

I am not a Yeoville Bellevueite – or even a Joburger[21] – by birth. I was born in Graaff Reinet in the Eastern Cape in 1951, a second generation South African of British origin. My parents were born in the Eastern Cape, my father in Engcobo, where his father – Major Edward Charles Smithers of the Cape Mounted Rifles – was stationed, and my mother, who was of 1820 settler stock, in Port Elizabeth. By the time I was ten, my father had exhausted his options of earning a living in Graaff Reinet and later George, to where we had moved in the late 50s. So, at the beginning of 1961, he came to Johannesburg as a 'migrant worker', seeking his fortune in the big city. We (my three sisters and I) were left in George in the care of his parents (my father and mother having separated in 1955).

In Johannesburg, my father moved into a (then whites-only) boarding house in Nugget St and started looking for work. He found a job in the Joburg Central Business District (CBD) as a sales assistant in a camera and radio outlet. After a few months, he had earned enough to be able to rent a two-bedroomed flat in Berea, so he took the train down to George to fetch us. We arrived in mid-1961 and I was enrolled at King Edwards Primary School and my sisters at Johannesburg Girls Preparatory School (also known as Barnato Park), both very good schools and, unlike today, very affordable even to families that were not well-off because of the level of government subsidation of white schools under apartheid.[22]



FIGURE 5: My first day of school in the big city.

In order to get to school, I had to catch either the number 19 bus in Tudhope Avenue which took me through the streets of Yeoville to a couple of blocks from the school or I could get the number 13 along Louis Botha Ave which took me virtually to the gate of the school. It was easier to take the number 19 one block away from the flat than to walk the five or so blocks to Louis Botha Ave. And so began my relationship with Yeoville Bellevue.

We were not well-off and we kids had no pocket money. But, every day, I was given six cents to get the bus, three cents each way. So I began to develop the habit of walking home in the afternoons, through the streets of Yeoville to Berea, using the three cents for the bus trip to buy sweets. Three cents went far in those days. For example, you could buy four Chappies[23] for 1 cent. Today it'll cost you 50c or more for one.

If I had no busfare and didn't feel like walking, I would wait at the entrance to the high school, hoping one of the older boys could subsidise me. During the holidays, I would also beg for cash outside the old (sadly demolished in the 60s) redbrick post office in Raleigh St, targeting mothers out doing their shopping.

Hillbrow had the closest commercial area to where we stayed in Berea, though most shopping back then was done 'in town', in the CBD. But Yeoville had an outdoor municipal swimming pool which we used, and we went to church just over Louis Botha from Yeoville, at the Berea (now Bethesda) Methodist Church (which wasn't in Berea). I also had one or two friends who lived in Yeoville Bellevue, so my links with the area were well-established.

We moved away in the mid-60s to Wendywood and then Honeydew after that (Wendywood was a move up as my father's fortunes improved – he had found a job doing what he knew best: commercial photography – and Honeydew a step down as he sold everything and moved the family into a caravan to raise enough money to start his own soon-to-fail photographic business), so my ties to Yeoville Bellevue were more slight, though I still went to King Edwards, completing high school in 1969.

After nine month's compulsory service in the military in 1970, I started a Bachelor of Arts (BA) at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg in 1971.

In 1972, I had my political blooding in a week of anti-government protests which ended with my being arrested three times, beaten up once, and charged (and acquitted) for 'riotous assembly'. Though I dropped out of university shortly after that, I continued to hang around on campus, mostly rehearsing with a non-racial theatre group, Half-Caste Theatre. It was at this time that I got involved in my first politically-motivated community work. I drove a campaign to support a group of coloured families in Newclare who had been evicted from their homes and were living, in the middle of winter, in tents supplied by the Red Cross. I collected money, blankets and food to assist them and, driving the Student Representative Council (SRC) microbus (which I had somehow managed to commandeer even though I wasn't a student and didn't have a driver's license), I delivered these items to the evictees and slept over some nights in solidarity with them.

In 1973, I moved to Lesotho to work as a volunteer teacher. I returned to South Africa later that year and, in early 1974, started working for the South African Council of Churches, running a shop selling crafts made at community development projects around the country.

Over the next few years, I renewed my connection with Yeoville Bellevue, living in or visiting communes of students and/or hippies who found the village-like atmosphere very attractive. They were continuing a long tradition of students, political activists and artists who had contributed to giving Yeoville Bellevue a low-key bohemian character. In the 1980s, of course, that 'bohemian' character became much more pronounced (see chapter 2).

After a two-year period out of Joburg, I moved back in December 1977 into a commune at 82 Hunter St, Yeoville. It was in that house – no longer there as it was demolished in 1999 to make way for the Yeoville Market – that I first saw the Freedom Charter[24]. A small, faded copy was defiantly pasted up on the wall next to the kitchen door.

I joined the African National Congress (ANC) underground in 1979. My political involvement then and in the 1980s in the United Democratic Front (UDF) meant that my life was not very stable and I moved around a lot, in and out of detention cells, into Crown Mines, Doornfontein and back to Yeoville Bellevue and then, for six months, to the United Kingdom. Finally, in 1988, I returned permanently to Yeoville Bellevue, putting down real roots by buying my first-ever fixed property there in 1992.

After 1990 and the unbanning of political organisations, the release of political prisoners, negotiations and the 1994 democratic elections, I joined government as a communication director. Two years later, I resigned and decided to try my hand at freelance communication.

Working from home meant that I was able to 're-discover' my neighbourhood. While employed in Pretoria, I'd spent little time in Yeoville Bellevue, leaving very early to get to work and coming back after dark. As a result, I had very little sense of what was happening in the community. (This helps me to understand why it is that so many people in the neighbourhood do not get involved in community activities – they are simply too preoccupied with the everyday challenges of work, family, life).

I was doing okay with jobs coming my way from government and from NGOs, and being a freelancer had its advantages – as a free agent, I could more easily juggle my time between work and community. The down-side was that I found myself spending more and more time on community matters and less and less on work, which obviously had financial implications for me. I remember calculating that I spent 80 hours in October 1998 on my organisational work – half the normal working month.

In March 1999, I was offered a full time post in the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG). I took the job with some reluctance, but also with a sense of relief, because it meant that I had a stable income, which was important at the time for the family. But, because I was now personally committed to working on Yeoville Bellevue issues, I had to find ways, sometimes at great personal cost, to juggle a full-time job and continue to play a role in the community.

It was only in July 2008 that I was able to begin working full-time on neighbourhood development. I established the Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Trust (YBCDT), a non-profit development NGO whose primary aim is to facilitate the compilation of a holistic neighbourhood development plan for Yeoville Bellevue. We produced a weekly knock-and-drop newspaper, delivered free to all households and businesses in the neighbourhood. We have worked with other organisations in the area and with the City of Johannesburg, promoting the development of the area and an improvement in urban management. We have tried to facilitate the empowerment of ordinary people in the area through providing them with access to information regarding their rights and responsibilities and through encouraging them to be 'active citizens'. We have partnered with different organisations to promote social cohesion and combat xenophobia.

Unfortunately, the YBCDT was not able to secure further funding and so, since July 2012, it has been operating in a more ad-hoc way, continuing to play a role, but limiting that role to limit costs.

Yeoville Bellevue has challenges, but it is by no means comparable to some of the worst areas in the country, even to the worst in Johannesburg. However, it offers an opportunity to create a neighbourhood which provides a decent quality of life to all who live and work here and which could be an example to other areas of what a new integrated (in all respects) South African suburb could look like. There is also a need to prevent it deteriorating any further and becoming what some people misguidedly think it already is – a slum.

That is why I choose to continue to work in the area. It is also why it is important for me to reflect on the 15–20 years of community activism in the area. I had a conversation in late 2012 with someone who has travelled much of this road with me – George Lebone – and he said that, if he were to start again, he wouldn't approach the challenges in quite the same way as we collectively and individually have done to date.[25] And that's really the sort of outcome we want from this research report – to have an idea of how to move forwards as a result of having looked backwards.

CHAPTER 4

A WORD ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

Before I proceed, I would like to make my position clear on the notions of law and order, urban management and governance. I think this is important because there will be those who might feel I'm too 'soft' on 'lawbreakers', while there will be others who might be of the opinion that I am pushing for the strict and unquestioned application of the law, regardless of other socio-economic imperatives. The truth is that I favour neither, but would opt for a rather more nuanced approach.

I find the following statement rather compelling: *'The poor find places where regulation has broken down and thrive .... however, this informal access to opportunity for the poor is short-lived because of the accompanying deterioration'*[26].

There is no doubt that an unregulated environment provides opportunities for those who are desperately in need of income, accommodation and other basic necessities of life. In such an environment, they are able to do things they would not be able to do elsewhere in more regulated and managed areas. However, as the quote says, this opportunity is often short-lived because the very lack of regulation (usually) leads to the physical and socio-economic decline of such areas, helped to an extent by the activities of those taking advantage of the situation. Such decline eventually leads to a reduction in opportunity to the detriment of those most in need of it and creates the space for the introduction of a myriad socio-economic problems.

We can't assume – as some people do – that those in search of opportunity actively *want* an unregulated environment, though they may well take advantage of it if it is there. Maybe, instead, they would prefer one that is *less* regulated or, perhaps better put, *differently* regulated, in a way that opens up possibilities instead of shutting them down. But, like everyone else, they also would like to live – and bring up their children – in a healthy, safe and caring environment, and not one which is in a state of deterioration.[27]

The point I am making is that it is not an either or situation. It's not that we should scrap regulation so as to free up maximum opportunity for people. Nor should we have regulation which ignores the very real socio-economic challenges we face in our communities. Good governance, in my view, understands that there is a dialectical relation between the two and that, therefore, both must be accommodated.[28]

I think it's also correct to say that law and order, urban management and good governance are not – or should not be – ends in themselves. They are tools to achieve something more important – that is, a safe, clean, caring, just, equitable, prosperous and well-functioning environment in which people respect each other and each other's rights, in which people take responsibility and act responsibly, in which the best in people can be nurtured and the worst robustly discouraged.



FIGURE 6: Do street traders want an unregulated environment or would they prefer a management solution that improves their ability to generate a reasonable income?

So let me be clear and say that I believe in and support the rule of law. The rule of law in a well-governed society is, simply put, a mediating mechanism that is there to protect the rights and interests of individuals and groups. Of course, the 'rule of law' is not the same thing everywhere. It varies greatly from country to country and within countries, where the size and nature and customs of particular human settlements might result in different ways of approaching the rule of law, eg small vs large settlements, traditional vs modern.

But let's consider the broad notion of regulation, particularly with respect to Yeoville Bellevue (or the inner-city of Johannesburg) where it is patchy or has broken down altogether. We'll start by looking at a small, well-established community, let's say a village of 2 000 people anywhere in the world – a place very unlike 21st century Yeoville Bellevue. In this village, social management is generally not a major problem. Anyone growing up here is made aware, from a very early age, of the norms, values, standards, rules and regulations governing the community. He or she will probably have been born into a family with generations of history in the village. He or she will learn from early on that any anti-social behaviour, any deviations from the norm, will quickly be dealt with.

Children grow up knowing that, should they act improperly, an adult observing them is likely to discipline them or report their behaviour to their parents. In Africa, this is perhaps best captured in the phrase: 'it takes a village to raise a child'. Every adult is a surrogate mother or father to every child. Adults who behave improperly know that they risked being ostracised by the rest of the community. Their chances of employment, of advancement, of getting married, of gaining status in the community, will all be limited. People quickly learn to conform.

I am not trying to suggest that such communities are idyllic. They are likely to be very conservative, to be narrow-minded and restrictive, and to be oppressive to people who do not 'fit in'. In some instances, oppressive practises towards women, for example, might be more pronounced. So, for more adventurous or creative types or those who value a little more personal freedom, such a community will become claustrophobic and they will try and find a way out as quickly as possible.

I am also aware that with the 'shrinking' of the world due to the incredible advances in communication technology, the above description is not as apposite in some regions and countries today as it might have been in the past. Socio-economic pressures have, in addition, led to ruptures to the norm in some communities, with many people seeking work elsewhere and returning with newly-acquired world-views which might be at odds with those of the community they left behind. Nevertheless, I would hold that my basic premise remains true, at least for the purposes of this discussion.

Contrast this with life in a big city, which is the likely destination of those escaping the shackles of their close-knit community or looking for economic opportunity. Cities are rightfully known as 'melting pots' comprising people from all over a region, country or the world. New arrivals find themselves in a more liberated, anonymous and sometimes alienated environment, one which many embrace because it means that they can do and be what they want without feeling that someone is watching their every move. The challenge of such an environment is that there is no longer a homogenous world-view shared by everyone. Even children

born in the city are confronted with a variety of value systems – some religious, some cultural, some political – from which they have to choose rather than being clear from an early age of the 'right way' of doing things.

Back in the village, rights and responsibilities are understood and accepted by all. There is little room for ambiguity. Generally speaking, everyone honours them (though with the *caveat*, once again, that I am not suggesting that each and every small community of this sort is idyllic or perfect). In a city, belief systems, traditions, values and behaviours compete with each other for dominance. No longer is there a single reference point for everyone. No longer does everyone more or less know everyone else. No longer are there even generally-accepted authority figures. Right and wrong no longer seem cast in stone.

People are competing with each other for opportunity. Bent on surviving in an alien, unforgiving environment, many will not feel restrained by 'society' because 'society' is no longer one thing, nor is there the capacity for individuals in that 'society' to play the same kind of restraining role as they might have done back in the village. Rights and responsibilities become moving targets. 'Rights' are what you claim, even if spuriously, in pursuance of your own interests. The rights of others become incidental. 'Responsibility' is minimally acknowledged, once again exercised only if it suits you.

This is not because city dwellers are 'bad' people. They are simply working for their survival and responding to their environment – and if that environment is poorly managed, they will take full advantage of it. If it is well-managed (or over-managed) they will adjust their actions accordingly.

Who must mediate this terrain? Who must take over the 'duty' of the village 'collective' and provide an appropriate set of parameters to guide the behaviour of the occupants of the city? In South Africa, in the current socio-political environment created by our constitution, that has to be the local authority, with the assistance of other public agencies and of organs of civil society. It is only through the establishment of an appropriate set of by-laws and regulations that it becomes possible to put in place a management system which protects the rights of all and communicates expectations of responsibilities to be honoured by all.



FIGURE 7: JMPD and Red Ants take shopkeepers into custody. Law enforcement is very important, but it's not the whole picture.

So what does this all mean for the notions of law and order, urban management and governance that I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. First, here's how I would understand the terms – and I am not attempting at all to be definitive, or scientifically or academically accurate. I am considering the concepts in relation to my experience of the Yeoville Bellevue milieu.

- Law and order' is an over-used, misused and frequently abused term. For many it conjures up a positive vision of a well-managed, peaceful and mutually-beneficial reality, for some it signifies repression and control. At its simplest and most neutral and for the purposes of this report, if 'there is law and order', it means that there is an environment in which people obey the law and behave appropriately and everything runs smoothly, according to rules adopted by common agreement and embodied in various statutes and regulations, adherence to which is backed up by law enforcement agencies (and, ideally, peer pressure from within communities).
- 'Urban management' is the methodology used by a city government, in part through using the same by-laws and regulations mentioned above, to ensure a clean, safe, well-run, caring and prosperous environment for all who live and work in a city. It literally means managing the urban space in the best way possible in the interests of all.
- 'Governance' is the way authority is exercised – in terms of a clear mandate set out in documents such as the South African Constitution – by those elected to exercise that authority. One form of governance is the implementation of effective urban management with the aim, amongst other things, of ensuring that there is law and order. As mentioned – and will continually be reiterated – good governance has a goal beyond itself and that is the major concern of this paper.

Do we have effective urban management in Yeoville Bellevue (and the rest of the inner city of Johannesburg)? I would suggest not. Do we have law and order? To a degree. Our society is certainly far from anarchic. But I would argue that there is a failure of good governance. I will give concrete examples of this in the next chapter.

Just as I was getting to the end of writing this report, I came across an article about the 2013 Annual General Conference of the Black Management Forum (BMF), the theme of which was: "Can good governance increase trust among government, civil society and business?" (SABC[29] News website, 25 October 2013). The focus of their discussion was the issue of corruption. However, I would like to suggest that there are other factors which contribute to 'good governance' and which will indeed contribute to 'increasing trust among government, civil society and business'.

For me, key contributing factors are communication and participation. If government communicates intensively and extensively and in a fully transparent manner on an ongoing basis, ensuring that everyone living and working in a neighbourhood, a city or a province is as fully informed on all matters relating to their rights and responsibilities as possible, this will empower people to play an active role in shaping their own environment. If government ensures that there is effective, meaningful participation of civil society (ie business, labour and community) in all matters affecting them, it is much more likely that a relationship of trust will develop than would happen were government to do things on its own without inviting the involvement of others.

A third element of 'good governance' for me is ensuring effective governance – ie having enough appropriately-trained people to do the work and having those people carrying out such work in a committed and efficient way. 'Good governance' is really the *minimum* that people of a city, province or country should expect of the government they have elected. The fact that, in most countries, 'good governance' is *not* the norm because of a lack of communication, participation, efficiency and honesty is a cause for general concern. The fact that 'good governance' is not a reality in our own neighbourhood is a cause for immediate concern.

Take, for example, the current crackdown on street trading, already referred to in in endnote 28, which has resulted in the removal of all street traders from the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg. Is this, and the City of Johannesburg's (CoJ's) general handling of street trading an example of 'good governance'? I would say not. There has been little or no effective communication on the matter. The Clean Sweep document which is being used as the basis for the crackdown was drafted in October 2012. Until October 2013, no-one seems to have heard of it. Decisions have been made by the CoJ without proper consultation with any of the stakeholders involved, even though the document calls for participation with all stakeholders, including civil society. There isn't an effective street trader management system in place. There aren't enough people to enforce by-laws and to give effect to what management system there is.

Is there trust between government, business and community on the street trading issue? No, there isn't. There's no basis for trust because, for a long time, there has been minimal communication, stakeholders have not participated in key decision-making processes, laws and regulations have been promulgated which do not take account of the interests of stakeholders, and 'management' veers between inaction and sporadic enforcement which itself is sometimes not implemented within the parameters of the law.

I believe that government must govern. I believe that laws have to be promulgated and that they must be enforced. I believe that all people resident or working in a neighbourhood, a city, a province or a country must be helped to understand that they have rights and responsibilities and that others around them have rights and responsibilities too. They should be persuaded to respect the rights of others and to take on the responsibilities expected of them. It should be made clear to them that, should they not honour those responsibilities – which includes obeying the law – they can *and will* face consequences.

But I also believe that people cannot be punished if they are not made aware of their rights and responsibilities. They should not be expected to subordinate themselves to laws and regulations that are unfair and unreasonable. Finally, they must be entitled to participate fully in decision-making around governance of their environment and, naturally, must take ownership of, and responsibility for, the outcome of such participatory decision-making. In the next chapter, I'll look in more detail at street trading and a number of other important challenges in Yeoville Bellevue and see if the way in which they are being addressed measures up to the criteria I have set out above.

CHAPTER 5

CHALLENGES OF THE NEW YEOVILLE BELLEVUE

In previous chapters, I referred to three key factors that I believe have impacted on (or even bedevilled) efforts to engage in a forward-looking development process for the area. These are:

- The role of the state
- Communication
- Disempowerment

As we make our way through Chapter 5, which outlines some of the most critical challenges confronting stakeholders with an interest in a reversal of the socio-economic decline of the area, these three themes will constantly arise. The question that needs answering (and this report will offer suggestions, not definitive answers) is how to most effectively confront them.

The issues I have selected to look at in depth are those whose resolution would have a major impact on the future of the area, including:

- The informalisation of the Yeoville Bellevue economy
- The history and current reality of street trading in Yeoville Bellevue
- Informal businesses (including *spaza* shops) operating from residential properties
- Liquor in Yeoville Bellevue: getting the balance right
- Guest houses: welcome or worrying?
- Churches in Yeoville Bellevue: praise the lord and damn the community
- The accommodation crisis in Yeoville Bellevue

Other concerns will be included in Appendix 2, with one or two lines about each, as well as possible ways of addressing them.

It's worth repeating here that urban management and neighbourhood planning, which are recurring themes in the different sections below, are not ends in themselves. If I continue to emphasise these two issues, it is because I believe that they are key to unlocking the potential of the neighbourhood to offer a better quality life for those living and working here. Two major obstacles to an improved living experience for the people of Yeoville Bellevue are the lack of income-generating opportunities and of accommodation. Until these are addressed, people will not only struggle to get by on a daily basis, but will continue to be subject to exploitation and indignity. Effective management of the area, together with a comprehensive development plan which

includes economic development strategies and a housing strategy covering issues such as social housing, densification and managed mixed land-use solutions, can create the necessary conditions for revitalisation.

A well-managed neighbourhood and a forward-looking development plan will not only have an impact on job creation and accommodation. There are many other issues that should – and would – be addressed if these two objectives were achieved: an improvement in health and social services, better educational and sports facilities, an opening-up of cultural expression and opportunities, a move away from xenophobia and other forms of discrimination and an embracing of diversity, a safer, healthier, cleaner environment – in short, the possibility of a decent, sustainable life for all.

THE INFORMALISATION OF THE YEOVILLE BELLEVUE ECONOMY

As in most white suburbs in Johannesburg (and South Africa) in the pre-democracy years, economic activities in Yeoville Bellevue were conducted in a very formal way. The informality that must have characterised trading in the very early days of the city was long gone.[30] One extreme instance of control was the ban, for religious reasons, on virtually all economic activity on Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Even corner cafes (the ubiquitous convenience stores which were open on weekends in virtually all white suburbs) had restricted operating hours and, until the 1960s at least, were not allowed to sell certain 'non-essential' products. You could buy a loaf of bread or a bottle of milk, but not a toilet roll or a bar of soap.[31]

In Yeoville Bellevue, economic activity was restricted to Raleigh St between Bedford Rd and Kenmere Rd and Rockey St, between Cavendish Rd and Bezuidenhout St – the 'business districts' of Yeoville and Bellevue respectively. Dotted around the area were smaller satellite business nodes – some just corner cafes – on the corners of Bedford and Louis Botha, Becker and Harrow (now called Joe Slovo Drive), Saunders and Old Harrow, Cavendish and Dunbar, Raymond and Dunbar, Bezuidenhout and Muller, Bezuidenhout and Becker, South and Isipingo, and Rockey and de la Rey. Most of these were islands of business activity in otherwise strictly residential parts of the neighbourhood. (Fig 2)



FIGURE 8: The bright blue areas indicate the location of business nodes in Yeoville Bellevue up until the late 1970s (the main business street going west to east is Raleigh Rockey St).

In the 1980s, some properties in Rockey Raleigh St and in Hunter St that had been zoned Residential 4[32] were rezoned for business use. This included free-standing houses and the ground floors of blocks of flats. In the case of Raleigh St between Bedford and Cavendish, houses were demolished and replaced by buildings designed for commercial activities.

Almost all of the new businesses operated more or less according to the rules and regulations governing the 'formal sector'. The little street market on Raleigh St between Bedford and Cavendish, and Rambling Rose, a ramshackle flower shop in the shadow of the railway carriage restaurant on Raleigh between Bedford and Kenmere, were among the few exceptions.

Pavements were completely clear for pedestrians, the only anomaly being newspaper sellers who, for as long as I can remember, have operated from street corners, oddly in contravention of the bylaw which forbids trading within 5m of an intersection![33] Businesses that might have operated from houses in the residential areas did so unobtrusively.

As the demographics of the area began to change in the late 80s and early 90s, so too did the way in which trading took place. Street traders began to appear at key points in the main business node, usually outside high-traffic formal businesses like supermarkets.

As whites moved out, especially after 1994, to be replaced by South African blacks from all over the country, other manifestations of informality began to appear – in particular, *spaza* shops and *shebeens* in residential areas.

By the turn of the millennium, informalisation had taken hold – street trading, *spaza* shops, home-based car repair yards, street hair salons, *shebeens*, clothing outlets, electronic and appliance repair services, car washes, restaurants, guest houses, unregistered creches and schools and more were operating across the neighbourhood, not unobtrusively as home businesses did in the past, but boldly, garishly and noisily proclaiming their presence. Figure 3 gives some indication of the dramatic changes to the Yeoville Bellevue landscape of this informalisation process.



FIGURE 9: Yeoville Bellevue in 2013. The bright blue areas are the 'traditional' business nodes, extended formally in the 1980s (eg Raleigh St between Bedford and Cavendish – compare to Fig 2). The orange strips and dots indicate the dramatic increase in mainly informal economic activity in the area, particularly the extensive penetration into the residential areas. This economic activity includes spaza shops, hair salons, car repair and car wash areas, electronic businesses, carpentry and furniture workshops, shebeens and other liquor outlets, new-wave churches, creches, guest houses, restaurants and others. It does not quantify street trading which happens mainly in the main business street and on street corners in the residential areas (the latter are not stable). This representation is not 100% accurate. We are still processing the information gathered in our 2013 audit. It is likely that the number of orange dots will increase.

Most of these activities are technically illegal, as they fall foul of one or other law or by-law. However, one needs to bear in mind that people engaged in them are often displaying a resilience, ingenuity and determination that would otherwise be regarded as admirable. It's how we – all the stakeholders – respond to these entrepreneurial initiatives that will determine whether they continue to be a problem or become part of a solution, particularly with respect to economic growth and job creation.

In the following sections, I report first on two very different responses (and the commonalities between them) – the arguably unilateral ban in 1999 on street trading, and the state's inability to enforce it, and the negotiated solution to the *spaza* saga in 2004, and the state's inability to enforce it. The other case studies – liquor, guest houses, churches and accommodation – have also been bedevilled by the ineffectiveness of state action, one of the key issues that this research report would like to highlight.

THE HISTORY AND CURRENT REALITY OF STREET TRADING IN YEOVILLE BELLEVUE

Street trading and market trading, both examples of informal trade in Yeoville Bellevue, are two sides of the same coin. They are historically linked, though currently in a state of tension with each other. This tension nearly boiled over into violent confrontation at the end of 2010, signalling an urgent need for a workable solution.

As indicated in the previous section, street trading is a relatively new phenomenon in Yeoville Bellevue and other previously-white neighbourhoods. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the target market for street traders in such areas would generally have been middle class whites. The merchandise – African art, books, clothing, trinkets, incense, music, jewellery – would have reflected this. Traders would have been both white and black.

Initially, traders were tolerated, probably because they were few in number and generally operated in a socially responsible way (fear of law enforcement was more of a deterrent then).

Post-1994 saw a dramatic increase in street trading and a change in what was on sale as the demographics of the inner city changed. African art all but disappeared, as did trendy bohemian goods. They were replaced by, for example, fruit, vegetables, loose cigarettes and Chappies[34], shoes and handbags, rat poison and face cloths, pirate CDs and DVDs, ID covers and Bibles.

Street trading was largely unregulated and the Johannesburg Inner City Development Forum (JICDF), established in 2006 comprising provincial and local government, business, labour and the community, saw the accommodation of street trading as one of the key challenges facing the post-apartheid city.[35]

As did the Yeoville Community Forum (YCF)[36], which had begun to look at development issues in Yeoville Bellevue in the mid-90s. In the YCF Development Plan of 1996, they said the following:

To alleviate the congestion in the lower Raleigh Street area, the Forum proposes the establishment of a market area in the area of Hunter, Cavendish and Rockey Streets opposite the Piccadilly Complex. This would serve as an area for casual traders to operate during the day and as a parking area during the night.

In some areas of the city, Yeoville Bellevue included, stalls were erected to accommodate street traders as the authorities continued to explore ways of managing the street economy. In the second half of the 1990s, the city produced a little booklet of guidelines to street traders, illustrated by a well-known cartoonist (Len Sak, creator of the famous Jojo[37]) and printed in different languages. It was a failed attempt to popularise control measures for street trading.



Your trading area must not cover an area greater than 6 square metres, calculated with a maximum length of 3 metres, and a maximum depth of 2 metres on the sidewalk.

You must not spill fat, grease, oil or waste water on the sidewalk. Neither may you allow noise, smoke or smells to become a nuisance.

Indawo yakho yokuhwebela akufanele yenabele andaweni eyeqile emamitheni ayisikwele angu 6, nesibalwe kanye nobude obungeqile emamitheni angu 3, kanye nokujula okungeqile kumamitha angu 2 onqenqemeni lomgwaqo.

Akufanele uchithe amafutha, amafutha ezimoto, u-oyela, noma amanzi angcolile kunqenqema lomgwaqo. Akekho noyedwa ongavumela umsindo, intuthu, noma amaphunga abe yinkathazo. ·

Sebaka sa hao sa ho kganna kgwebo ha se a tshwanela ho nka sebaka se fetang dikweremetara (square metres) tse 6 tse entsweng ka boholo ba bolelele ba square metre tse 3, le boholo ba botebo ba 2 metres tseleng ya maoto e ka thoko ho mmila.

Ha o a tshwanela ho tsholla mafura, kirisi, oli kapa metsi a ditshila tseleng ya maoto e ka thoko ho mmila. Hape ha o tshwanela ho dumella lerata, mosi kapa menko e mebe e tshwenyang.

FIGURE 10: An extract from the street trader guidelines booklet produced in the 1990s, but never effectively used.

In 1998, the late Norman Reynolds, an economist who had lived and worked in India and Zimbabwe and was then resident in South Africa, approached the inner city office of Johannesburg and sold them his idea of re-introducing markets into the South African economic landscape. He argued that periodic markets[38], once prevalent in Africa, had been eliminated by colonialism and that such markets could and should be brought back. He believed that communities would respond positively to the idea, especially as it would provide economic opportunities for people in townships, informal settlements and rural areas.

The city bought into the idea of establishing markets (not specifically periodic markets), seeing them as possible solutions to the street trading 'problem' and so the first one was earmarked for Yeoville Bellevue. A process of consultation followed.

It's hard to say how successful this was as an example of community participation. There was tension in the meetings, with people walking out in protest over what was being planned or, more correctly, over how the process was being managed. Some traders felt they were being railroaded into accepting the new idea, even though they were not wholly convinced of its merits. Others were more blunt, making it clear that they saw the planned market as a threat. They said it wouldn't accommodate everyone, they were nervous about the

rentals, and more critically, they were worried that they would lose business. They argued that customers wouldn't come to the market, because they were used to the convenience of buying from traders right outside the busiest shops in the business street.

However, the city had decided that a market was the way to go and were convinced that enough traders supported the idea. They needed a solution to the challenges posed by street trading and the market seemed the most viable option.

The market was duly built. An audit had been done of traders in preparation for allocating spaces in the new building. According to traders, this should have rung alarm bells for the council because there were already more traders on the streets than spaces in the new facility. Planning should also have allowed for expansion, given that the transformation of the city is an ongoing process, Yeoville Bellevue could not be said to have 'settled down' yet following its change from a white to a black area, and the relentless flood of people into Johannesburg from all over South Africa and Africa was unlikely to stop. The demand for access to space was therefore bound to increase.

There was a plan to have a public launch of the market over a weekend. According to a friend of mine who worked in the marketing and communications department of the council at the time, they had drawn up a proposal for an event which would include musicians, refreshments and the participation of a well-known radio station. However, at the last minute, the city decided not to go that route. Instead, there was a 'private' launch in the empty market on a weekday, attended by city officials and 'invited' guests, of which I was one. Whether the city was concerned about the cost and logistics of a public launch or perhaps worried that opponents of the market might disrupt the proceedings, I can't say. All I remember is a small knot of people inside the market, subjected to a very uninspiring 'launch', with guards posted outside to prevent 'uninvited' people from coming in. An acquaintance of mine, someone concerned for the future of the neighbourhood, was walking his dog past the market and wanted to come in and view the proceedings, but was told that the event was 'not for the public'.

I have dwelt on the planning for, and the launch of, the Yeoville Market because I believe these set the scene for what was to come and for what still bedevils the market today – that is, that the community of Yeoville Bellevue has not 'taken ownership' of the market. It is just there, like Shoprite or SupaSaver (privately-owned supermarkets). It's a commercial enterprise with which they have no special relationship. There is, for most people, no sense of pride in the fact that we have a unique space in our midst, one which is different to all other such markets in the city, including those built by the city in Hillbrow, the CBD and other parts of Johannesburg.



FIGURE 11: Yeoville Market: full of unrealised potential, but never able to absorb all the informal traders of the area.

Of course, this isn't the only reason that the market is not what it could be. There has been a lack of vision from the city-owned Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) with respect to the potential of the Yeoville Market as a community space, as a node that attracts people, as a cultural centre, as a symbol of African diversity and unity, as a vibrant and developmental entrepreneurial hub, as an exciting tourist attraction. In fact, there is not a market in Johannesburg started by the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) which has managed to establish itself as a significant tourist attraction,

as markets so often do in other countries around the world (the markets in Johannesburg which most successfully attract tourists are privately run).[39] In addition, the MTC seems to have ongoing battles with traders in the different markets over rentals, management, maintenance and other issues.

The other decision that the city took at the time was to ban street trading in the whole of Yeoville Bellevue once the market was opened. They reasoned that current traders would move into the market and so there was no need to allow for street trading in the future. However, the city did not have a proper management plan in place for dealing with the inevitable consequences of this major change to the dynamics of the streets and the economy of Yeoville Bellevue.

With no fanfare to launch the new market and no 'marketing' of the new facility to the general community, the people of Yeoville Bellevue were slow to use it. Traders in the market realised that this was going to be a problem. So they joined those who had not been allocated space and those who took advantage of the emptied pavements to set themselves up to replace those who had moved into the market. Of course, this wasn't easy to do in the first month because, in an attempt to enforce the new ban, the city had officials in the area to ensure that the pavements remained clear of traders.

However, these officials knocked off at 4pm. So at 4.05pm every day, the pavements began to fill up with traders, some from the market itself, in order to catch the late afternoon/evening shopping traffic. Over the weekend, it was a free-for-all because the officials were not on duty at all.

This game went on until the city withdrew the officials, possibly because they believed that they had established the new regime successfully. However, with the withdrawal of the officials, people simply moved back onto the streets and continued as before. This caused inevitable tension with the traders in the market who had to pay rent and had to operate from a fixed place for fixed hours. They had to watch helplessly as people took their old profitable sites outside the supermarkets, paid no rent and operated without any form of regulation (though, as I pointed out above, some traders in the market continued to have satellite stalls operating on the streets as well, enjoying the benefits of both).

This tension, as well as management and service delivery problems, prompted traders in the market to refuse to pay rent for some time. While that dispute was settled, the street trader situation in Yeoville Bellevue has never been resolved. And so it is, that 14 years later, there are still traders in the main street.

There's a tense stand-off with the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) who, in accordance with the ban on street trading, occasionally sweep through the area with a truck and, where possible, seize the goods of people trading in the street and impound them, issuing fines for illegal trading on occasion as well. The traders have, however, acclimatised themselves to the situation and have devised ways of dealing with it.

As soon as the JMPD are spotted, word travels quickly down the street and the traders gather up their goods in a smooth, practiced manner and disappear, only to return once the JMPD have gone. It is an absurd situation and benefits no-one.

The JMPD are ineffectual – they are not taken seriously and are regarded more as an irritant than anything else. They must be as frustrated as anyone else.

The traders are in a state of constant tension, wondering whether they will be raided and have their goods confiscated. One consequence of this is that most traders stick to low value goods because they don't want to risk losing high value goods. This has the effect of hindering their entrepreneurial progress and, instead of being able to advance beyond being street traders, seem doomed to remain there forever.

The situation also has the effect of disempowering street traders and making it difficult for them to self-regulate. There are, for example, street traders who are not happy with those who sell illegal goods, like pirated CDs and DVDs, dagga and contraband cigarettes. However, the lack of a management framework backed up by the CoJ, the JMPD and the South African Police Service (SAPS), means that they cannot prevent such people setting up stalls near them. They are told that they have no right to tell others what to do, they don't own the pavement, they themselves are illegal.[40]

Formal businesses have given up on trying to influence what goes on in the streets, even though the way in which trade happens has a negative impact on their businesses and on the economy of Yeoville Bellevue in general. Owners and managers have stated clearly to me that their jurisdiction (and interest) stops at their doors and they will not consider ways of interacting with other interest groups to work for a proper management solution. Many of these formal businesses are not hostile to street traders – some even store the goods belonging to some of the traders in their shops overnight. They recognise that street traders add to the vibrancy of the street and can attract business to them.[41] However, they are not happy at the lack of control over the way in which street trading happens.

Property owners in the main street and in other parts of the Yeoville Bellevue neighbourhood, including in the residential areas, are also not happy as they see their environment deteriorating and their property values going down. But they too, like other stakeholders, feel helpless to do anything about it.

Community members (the street traders' customers) have also been unhappy. In 2009, there was a spate of muggings and other illegalities which they blamed on street traders who were said to be assisting criminals. They were also unhappy about the congestion on the pavements which they said caused them discomfort and increased the risk of their being mugged or robbed. These issues were raised in a number of forums, including the public meetings chaired by the-then Ward Councillor for Ward 67. Some of those complaining said that all street traders should go and she decided that this was the appropriate solution. She therefore called on the Johannesburg Metro Police (JMPD) to take action.

At a public meeting in August 2009, an Inspector from the JMPD confirmed that they were going to take 'decisive action' against the traders and explained that their plan was to occupy the streets for the month of October and ensure that the ban on street trading was enforced.

I do not support the basic premise that there should be a complete ban on street trading. I think street trading, properly managed, can be a fantastic asset in a neighbourhood such as ours. However, I felt it incumbent on me to point out to the Inspector and the meeting at large that their planned action would be a waste of time and money unless the JMPD committed itself to continuing their operation beyond the end of October 2009 and that, in fact, that they would need to ensure a permanent presence in the area. History has shown that, because of the numbers of people coming into the area and the levels of unemployment and poverty, there will always be those who will turn to street trading as a means of making a living. If there wasn't a permanent deterrent in the form of consistent, visible by-law enforcement, traders would continue to occupy the pavements.

The Inspector rejected what I had to say, asking 'where in the world do you have police on the streets all the time?' As I had been to Mexico in 2001, I was able to cite that country as a place where there was very visible policing 'all the time'. In fact, I said, I noticed that there were four of five different 'types' of police there, each with different duties, one specifically for the protection of tourists, for example. I also added that I didn't believe a ban was the solution anyway, that an effective and sustainable management option should rather be found.

My input was ignored. The planned exercise commenced – and failed. Firstly, the officers did not operate into the night, although they initially claimed they would. So, as soon they left, the traders re-emerged, in a replay of 1999 when the market opened and the ban was first imposed. The JMPD were also not there every day. It seemed that they also had to attend meetings and to go for training on some days, meaning that traders simply continued to operate.

The consequence was that, like the sporadic JMPD raids of the past, the exercise was a mere irritant for most traders – they came back to the streets every evening and on weekends and then permanently once October was over. Of course, while most managed to return after the end of October, there were traders who found themselves without enough income to keep going and may have lost their accommodation or not been able to pay school fees or for other necessities as a result.

There was another long-term consequence of this doomed exercise. Up until October 2009, the number of street traders in residential areas was minimal. When the JMPD action started, some traders decided to relocate to the residential areas because the JMPD were not enforcing the ban there. And they remained there. As a result, there has been an increase in the number of street corner traders in the residential areas until the present, with some of them also selling contraband goods such as loose cigarettes (banned in terms of national legislation), contraband cigarettes, pirated goods and, in some instances, dagga. They are also raided very occasionally, but, like their counterparts in Rockey Raleigh St, they shrug their shoulders and continue once the JMPD have left.

Four years later, we are no closer to a solution, despite the fact that, a year later, another opportunity arose to address the issue once and for all.

In December 2010, an urgent meeting was called by the Economic Development official in the CoJ responsible for informal trading. There was apparently a very real threat that the market traders were going to take independent action to deal with their grievances and go out and force street traders to stop operating. How they were to do this and whether they would be able to sustain their action was not clear. Nevertheless, it was enough to concern the CoJ and so the official called the meeting in the Yeoville Recreation Centre. I was invited to attend.



FIGURE 12: Street trading is no longer confined to the main business street, but is now in the residential areas as well, partly as a result of the failed October 2009 law enforcement exercise.

Before the meeting started, I told the official that I had a proposal which might offer a workable solution to this ongoing – seemingly intractable – problem. He agreed that I could address the meeting which was attended by market traders, street traders and community members.

My proposal was simple. I suggested that the only way of finding a lasting, sustainable, enforceable solution, was for all stakeholders to be involved in the work of identifying and agreeing on that solution. These stakeholders included market traders, street traders, 'formal' businesses, property owners, the CoJ, the JMPD, the SAPS, councillors, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs) representing the general community. Each had their own interests, some with interests that appeared to be directly opposed to those of others. However, there were basic interests common to all, such as the

elimination of crime, the revival of the economy, the cleaning of the streets and the shared usage of the pavements. I believed that, if all stakeholders focused on the areas of commonality, a solution could and would be found that everyone would support, even if they had to make some compromises to reach that solution.

I also suggested that such a solution would be enforceable precisely *because* everyone had been part of the process and had committed themselves to its implementation. Such a solution would, I thought, have included decisions on the following:

- Should street trading remain part of the urban landscape of Yeoville Bellevue?
- If not, how would it be sustainably eliminated?
- If it were to remain, how should it be managed?
- Should there be demarcated sites (possibly with stands) and, if so, what would be the criteria for deciding where they should or should not be?
- How would such sites be allocated?
- What would be the rentals to be paid for the sites. Many street traders have said they would be happy to pay a rental amount if it meant they could have some security and not have to live in fear of being chased away by the JMPD. Should rental costs in high traffic street trading areas be higher than market rentals? Would traders be licensed?
- What sort of restrictions, if any, should there be on the type of goods sold by street traders – in relation to formal businesses nearby and in relation to what is being sold in the market?
- What rules would govern the way in which street trading takes place?
- How would disputes be settled (disputes between street traders, between street traders and market traders, between street traders and 'formal' businesses?)
- What sort of locally-run management/monitoring structure would be needed to ensure compliance with the agreement?
- How could the market be enlarged and upgraded, made more pleasant for the traders and more attractive to the buying public?
- What sites in the area could be used to develop additional markets?
- What business and management training networks could be used to assist in the development of street traders and market traders (the CoJ had, to its credit, organised business training courses for street traders with University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in the past)?
- What support structures needed to be put in place to support traders, eg cleaning and recycling services to assist traders to keep clean the area where they sell?
- Could the market and street trading be used to revive the economy of Yeoville Bellevue and, if so, how?

There are presumably other questions that could also have been decided on by whatever team was set up to work on finding a solution.

The meeting enthusiastically endorsed my proposal and a further, smaller meeting was arranged. The CoJ official thanked me for my input and said that I had *'rescued the meeting and the CoJ'* because conflict between the market traders and the street traders had been averted.

It seemed as though we finally had a mechanism through which we could properly and sustainably address the challenges posed by street trading in Yeoville Bellevue. However, as with so much in life, things don't always work out as planned.

The first meeting of the 'task team' was less than satisfactory. There was no consultation over participation and so, when I arrived, I found only city officials and traders. There were no other community members, no 'formal' businesses and no property owners. I was asked to present my proposal and there was a plan for another meeting. The two trader groups – the market traders and the street traders – were asked to present their respective positions at the next gathering.

Students from Wits University's Yeoville Studio[42] programme had already been working with street traders during their studies in the area, so they decided to assist the street traders to formulate their position. Meanwhile the market traders prepared a document which set out their position. This wasn't a bad process approach. It could be expected that the two would have different views, but at least their position papers would give the task team the basis on which to take discussions forward. Meantime, however, 'formal' businesses and property owners had still not been brought into the mix.

I chaired the meeting on 22 March 2011 at which these positions were presented (the CoJ wasn't there). The meeting was reasonably productive – I had a sense that there was a genuine attempt by the parties present to listen to each other.

In their presentation, the market traders echoed a proposal that I had made that there could possibly be additional markets to accommodate some of the street traders. However, while I had suggested new markets in the high street, they decided that these additional facilities should be as far as possible from the current market. This was completely understandable – they did not want direct competition. And there was a useful logic to their argument – if one could set up a market somewhere in the south of Yeoville Bellevue and one in the north, this would create opportunities for traders **and** offer a service to people from those areas who would not need to travel to the centre of Yeoville Bellevue to buy their goods. These ideas were at least something to begin to discuss.

The street traders offered what they called a 'temporary solution' which could be implemented while a more permanent arrangement was negotiated. This included the following:

- Immediate moratorium on Metro Police action against street traders in Rockey-Raleigh Street.
- Demarcation of sites where existing street traders will be allowed to trade. For that, we would need:
    - A database of all existing traders
    - Identification of non-obstructing trading sites
    - Demarcation of sites (cheap paint)
    - Payment of fees by street traders
    - Employment of street monitors and cleaners (paid with that fee)
    - Product diversification (that will be easy as soon as street traders are not harassed by the police).[43]

This position was bound to antagonise the market traders because, apart from the street traders having to pay rent under such a scheme, they couldn't see what new was being put on the table – what they wanted was an end to what they saw as unfair competition from the street traders. In fact, they wanted no street traders at all in the main business street and proposed instead that stalls be demarcated in streets crossing the main street one and two blocks away from the market (Kenmere Rd and Fortesque Rd).

So, at the subsequent meeting on 6 April, which took place after delegates had had an opportunity to reflect on what had been presented in the 22 March meeting, it was clear that battle lines had once again been drawn. Some came to the next discussion with very fixed views and a hostile attitude. The market traders, in particular, were angry with the Wits students, who they felt had schooled the street traders into what to say.

The city representative who was chairing the meeting used his position to reject proposals from the various stakeholders, insisting that solutions had to be consistent with current CoJ policy. A trade union representative argued that no-one should be making 'categoric statements' in a meeting that is supposed to be looking for solutions. A CoJ representative, also concerned at how her colleague was chairing the meeting, suggested that someone else take over as chair to allow him to *'defend the policies and programmes of the city'*. A community member agreed and suggested that I chair. However, these proposals were ignored, though the chair did acknowledge that perhaps we needed to define the Terms of Reference of the Task Team as there did not seem to be agreement on this.[44] The meeting ended very unsatisfactorily.

I spoke to the chair over the telephone and said we needed to start the process again. He asked me to come and see him. I went to his office for a meeting, but was kept waiting for nearly 40 minutes while he continued with another meeting. I decided to leave and was halfway out of the door when he abruptly ended his other meeting and chased after me, persuading me to stay. We discussed and agreed to restart the process, involving all relevant stakeholders.

Apart from a subsequent evening meeting between myself and him, during which we measured the width of pavements, nothing happened for a couple of months. Eventually, I walked past the market one day and was told by a triumphant market representative that the task team had been dissolved, the *'debate'* was over, and the market traders had been told by the CoJ that they were the only *'legitimate trader representatives'* in the area. He told me that he took this to mean that any further negotiations around the future of street trading in Yeoville Bellevue would be led by the market traders – he seemed to think that they would even be able to *'represent the interests'* of the street traders, despite the fact that the two groups did not see eye-to-eye.

Much water has passed under the bridge since then. At a small meeting of an informal coalition representing concerned community members and traders, it was agreed that the YBCDT should convene a meeting of all stakeholders at which there would be a fresh attempt to find a long-term solution. Part of the preparatory work for such a meeting would be to compile a database of all street traders and, at the same time, encourage them to organise themselves into a coherent structure representing and controlled by Yeoville Bellevue street traders themselves.

The YBCDT agreed to undertake the database process. We created a membership form whose distribution was coordinated by one of the more active street traders. We also convened a meeting at which we wanted to discuss the benefits of getting organised locally and affiliating to regional and national informal sector structures rather than traders being members of a national structure directly. The meeting was poorly attended and the process stalled. Street traders remain unorganised and there has been no further progress, partly because the YBCDT ran out of funds and has not been able to operate properly since July 2012.

The terrible thing about the history of our efforts to address such challenges is the waste of opportunities. A further example of this is what happened with the old Telkom property, which was one of the sites that I'd earmarked for a possible additional market.

Telkom, the state-owned business entity responsible for telecommunications services, inherited 2 000m² of prime land bounded by Raleigh St and Hunter St, between Bedford Rd and Kenmere Rd, from the old Department of Posts and Telecommunications which, in the apartheid years, was responsible for both postal and telecommunications services in the country. The original Yeoville Post Office was on the Raleigh St end of the site, but was demolished in the 1960s. Until 2010, the property housed a large telephone exchange building. A narrow strip along Raleigh St had a much-loved old railway carriage which had been placed there to house a restaurant in the 1980s.

In January 2010, an underground gas explosion caused extensive damage to the exchange building and a new, more compact one was installed on public property a block to the east in Hunter St. We heard through



FIGURE 13: This 2 000 m² piece of land, right in the middle of the main business street of Yeoville, would have been perfect for an additional market. But we could not get the CoJ or Telkom to support the idea.

the grapevine that the old property was going to be sold and therefore proposed that it be acquired as an additional market. It is around 50m to the west of the Yeoville Market and we believed it would be a perfect place to establish an African Market with small factory spaces on the first floor for the production and storage of craft, clothing and other items which could be sold in the market below.

It would not compete directly with the original Market because it would have a different product mix. Even so, the market traders were critical of the idea as they felt additional markets should be well-removed from where they were. Street traders, on the other hand, liked the idea very much.

However, much as we tried to interest officials in the CoJ, especially those working with the informal sector, to engage with Telkom to get the land, nothing was done. I arranged a meeting with Executive Mayor Parks Tau to discuss it. The consultation happened with one of his advisors (the Mayor was apparently not available) who made it clear to me that it was unlikely the CoJ would pursue this option – I don't know if our meeting and the issues raised in it were ever reported to the Mayor.

We spoke to senior people in Telkom in an effort to persuade them to donate the land to the community or to the CoJ for use as a market or at least to sell it at a favourable rate – they flatly refused, saying the property was to be sold and, if the CoJ wanted it, they would have to submit a market-related offer. I used every political and social connection I had with people who would possibly have the resources to purchase the land – no-one was interested except for a successful young black property owner with a passion for the inner city of Joburg who was willing to make an offer for it, but could not match the R2m plus that Telkom wanted.

The land was eventually sold, reportedly, for over R4m to a private buyer who has yet to do anything with it. Even the old railway carriage, which would have been a unique iconic part of the entrance to a market, has been cut up and sold for scrap. An incredible opportunity to impact on the area in multiple ways was lost.

Street traders continue to be harassed by the JMPD, despite efforts to prevent this. The unmanaged environment means that all the negative aspects associated with street trading continue to bedevil the area. The streets are dirty, there are no demarcated stands, the pavements are congested, people selling pirated goods operate freely, criminals continue to use the environment for their own ends.

A meeting initiated by a street trader representative to try and call a halt to punitive action by the JMPD while a solution was found was rendered ineffective when the very person who had asked for the meeting left with his lawyers because the presence of the legal team was challenged by the CoJ. The fact that most traders stayed on after he and the lawyers left illustrates the depth of disunity and disorganisation amongst street traders.

I have heard that, since then, some consultations with traders across the city have taken place, but there is no indication that a solution is imminent. As I write, the CoJ has embarked on a 'Clean Sweep' of the inner city, so far involving mainly the removal of street traders. By strange coincidence, implementation of Operation Clean Sweep was launched on 1 October 2013, exactly four years to the day since the unsuccessful

attempt in 2009 to get rid of street traders in Yeoville Bellevue![45] Street trader organisations, together with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the African Diaspora Forum (ADF) have been holding urgent meetings with the CoJ to address the issue, given that over 6 000 traders have reportedly been removed and can no longer make a living. An agreement was hammered out on 2 November 2013 – the COSATU/ADF/street trader coalition issued a press statement on the matter which is attached to the report as Appendix 3. It is worth quoting one line from the statement for purposes of this paper. Under the heading *'Lessons to be learnt'*, it is noted that *'Direct engagement between local government politicians and traders produces positive outcomes that reduce friction levels'*.[46]

THE ROLE OF THE STATE The response of the state to this issue has not been helpful. Not only did they make what, certainly in retrospect, can be seen as a short-sighted decision to ban street trading in Yeoville Bellevue, they have also not succeeded in enforcing the ban. In addition, they have to date not managed or promoted the market optimally. They are also not willing to negotiate a different solution.

COMMUNICATION Communication has been poor, from the time of the launch of the market to the present-day failed attempts to find a solution to the challenges posed by street trading. The participation of stakeholders has not been encouraged or respected.

DISEMPOWERMENT All stakeholders are frustrated and helpless, the CoJ included. A strategy that would open up the process and empower stakeholders to play a meaningful part in finding sustainable solutions is vitally necessary.

INFORMAL BUSINESSES (INCLUDING *SPAZA* SHOPS) OPERATING FROM RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

During the apartheid years, economic policy for historically black areas was designed to discourage economic activity so as to force residents both to work for and purchase from white-owned businesses in white areas. It was also intended to encourage black business people to embark on economic ventures in the so-called 'homelands'.

This was clearly an unsustainable policy and, given the neglect of the black areas – which included poor law enforcement – people began to establish informal outlets called *spaza shops* in their homes, either in existing rooms, garages or lean-to structures built on their properties. Typical *spaza* shops would provide people with basic items, similar in type to those provided by 'corner cafes' in white areas – bread, milk, eggs, sweets, cigarettes and other such 'essentials'.

Spazas, like *shebeens*, became so much part of the township landscape that they began to be seen as part of the 'cultural narrative' of these areas. For some, they were a symbol of resistance to apartheid restrictions, for others they were a critical means of supplementing income (or providing primary income) and, in so many personal stories, providing the means of putting children through school and university.

No-one is certain of the origins of the word '*spaza*' or when it first emerged. In his reasonably exhaustive study, Andrew Spiegel explored this question. Many people he came across – well-known poet and ex-Sophiatown gangster Don Mattera included – suggested that the word was simply street language or *tsotsitaal*[47] for something that is fake (Spiegel, 2003: 215). For example, one respondent spoke about *spaza* shoes

– shoes that were copies of the real thing. This is perhaps similar to the current (derogatory) term in South Africa for counterfeit goods – *fong kong* – because it is believed that most such goods emanate from China.

Others have suggested that the word derives from the isiZulu word *isiphazamisa*.

> *Various respondents explained that, when small house-shops began to operate from people's homes in African townships (probably, they said, in the late 1970s), they were supported in part because they offered a way to purchase one's daily essentials without patronising formal white-owned shops. By engaging in such transactions, I was told, both the house-shop proprietors and their customers were said to be disturbing and hindering the operation of formal enterprises. Such shops thus constituted an* isiphazamisa *(Zulu: 'clipped' to* spaza*;* isiphazamiso *in Xhosa), in other words a hindrance, impediment and disturbance to formal sector stores and implicitly to the whole formal economy (and political economic system) that they were understood to represent. The element of resistance that* spaza *shops represented was thus constituted immediately in the original word used to describe them* (Spiegel, 2003: 213-214).

Spiegel also came across at least three periods in which the word *spaza* might have emerged. The 1890s at the time of a gang of migrant outlaws called the Regiment of the Hills (he references historian of early Johannesburg Charles von Onselen for this information) (Spiegel, 2003: 217), the 1960s based on information given to him by some of his respondents (Spiegel, 2003: 214-217), and the 1970s with the renewal of resistance to apartheid (Spiegel, 2003: 213).

Whatever their origin, there is no doubt that *spazas* were an 'imitation' of the formal and were seen by many as a form of resistance to the restrictions placed on township dwellers. Like *shebeens*¸ *spazas*¸ have, despite their link to apartheid (or perhaps because of it) become associated with township life, so much so that tour guides make a point of drawing the attention of tourists to them.

With the ending of apartheid and the scrapping of restrictive laws such as the Group Areas Act, job reservation laws and limitations on economic activities in black areas, as well as the introduction of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies, the need for *spaza* shops might seem logically to have fallen away. It could even be argued that people would *want* to do away with the idea of *spaza* shops, given that, far from being part of African 'culture', they are products of apartheid and symbols of economic and racial oppression and exclusion.

However, the current reality is that, for millions of black South Africans, slow growth and high unemployment mean that *spaza* shops remain a viable – and sometimes only – way of making a living. Migrants from other parts of Africa and Asia have also turned to *spazas* as a means of survival or as a first stepping stone on the way to economic stability. The lack of affordable housing has added to the pressure, with the result that residential premises are seen not just as a place to live, but also as a potential source of income through using the space for economic activities.

In Yeoville Bellevue, as with other parts of the inner city, *spaza* shops started to become a feature of the residential landscape in the immediate post-*apartheid* period. The municipality was slow to act, just as it had been with street trading. Part of the reason for this was the tension between the need to enforce land use policies and the recognition that *spaza* shops were playing an important economic role. In fact, many people in the municipality were uncomfortable with enforcing by-laws as they felt they would be denying people the right to make a living and anyway, some argued, the by-laws were a hangover from apartheid. Even the first Executive Mayor of Johannesburg, councillor Amos Masondo, was told this by his officials when he asked why action was not being taken against someone trading from a caravan illegally parked on a pavement in a suburb through which the Mayor had driven.[48]

However, despite the view held by many that laws disallowing *spaza* shops were outdated and a hangover from *apartheid*, even the new Consolidated Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme (2011: 27-28) – not yet adopted – still only allows the *conditional* right of a person to build or run a *spaza* shop or house shop.

Spazas continued to be built in Yeoville Bellevue and so, in the early 2000s, the CoJ decided to crack down. However, after some outlets had been closed, there was a reaction from the community. There were many different voices, some at odds with each other, but there was a general feeling that the CoJ was acting in a repressive manner and that a more humane approach was needed. Some argued for the positive economic role *spazas* played, others for the convenience of having an outlet near to where they lived. One earnest young white activist argued strongly for allowing both *spaza* shops and *shebeens* to operate freely – if they are allowed in the townships, he argued, then why not in the previously white areas of the city which had now become increasingly non-racial? In the meeting, on the other hand, were people who had moved out of the townships to get away from the *spazas* and *shebeens* and general disorder that they saw as the legacies of apartheid.

After a number of sometimes heated meetings chaired by councillor Sol Cowan, the-then Member of the Mayoral Committee[49] for the Inner City, an agreement was reached. *Spaza* shops – or house shops – would be allowed in Yeoville (it is not clear if this really meant only the suburb of Yeoville or if the CoJ made the same mistake as most people and saw the entire neighbourhood – including Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Randview, Highlands and part of Lorentzville – as being 'Yeoville'). The precedent for this was an agreement reached in 1999 and promulgated in 2000 by the-then Southern Metropolitan Local Council, in terms of which 'house shops' were allowed in designated areas in the south of Johannesburg.[50]

A variation of this agreement was signed off by the City of Johannesburg in 2005 and would *'include Yeoville as part of the suburbs to which house shops may be permitted by the consent of the council'*. As with the areas in the south, there were certain requirements that would need to be met before such consent was given. These included the following:

- *The floor area of the shop shall not exceed 35m².*
- *The number of employees employed in the shop shall not exceed two.*
- *The sale or consumption of liquor shall not be permitted in the shop.*
- *The residential character of the site shall be maintained to the satisfaction of the City Council and the predominant land use shall remain residential.*
- *The shop shall not cause an interference with the amenities of the neighbourhood.*
- *The exhibition of any notice or sign other than a notice or sign ordinarily exhibited on a dwelling unit to indicate the name of the occupier shall be prohibited.*
- *The storing or keeping on the site of such dwelling unit of anything whatsoever which, in the opinion of the City council, is unsightly or undesirable because of its effects upon the amenities of the neighbourhoods shall be prohibited. No amusement machines any kind shall be permitted on the premises.*
- *The provisions of Clauses 7 and 8 shall apply mutatis mutandis.*

The reference above to clauses 7 and 8 is very important. These clauses are from the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme 1979, as amended, and require someone applying for consent to have a 'house' shop to publicise their intentions so that the community around the premises in which the 'house' shop is to be established can comment on the application and object to it, if they so choose.[51]

This means that people who live in the community, especially those that live in the vicinity of the premises for which consent is being sought (indeed, this applies to consent for a number of uses, not just the

establishment of a *spaza* shop) have the right to be heard by the CoJ with respect to whether they would like that consent to be granted or not. Of course, if the person opening the *spaza* shop does not apply formally, then that right is unfairly taken away from the community.

So the agreement of 2005 appeared to be a win-win situation for all concerned. People who wanted to apply for the establishment of a *spaza* shop now had a clear procedure through which to do this. People who felt disempowered by the rapid changes to their residential neighbourhood now had a channel through which they could influence the establishment or otherwise of *spaza* shops, as well as the manner in which those *spaza* shops would be run. The CoJ now had a mechanism through which they could balance the needs of those who saw *spaza* shops as a means of generating income and those who were concerned about the over-commercialisation of the residential areas and the anti-social manner in which some *spazas* were run.

Three or four years later, an official of the CoJ who had been intimately involved in getting the agreement processed and passed by the Mayoral Committee told me that, since the sign-off of the agreement in early 2005, they had had perhaps five applications for consent.[52] Meanwhile, the number of *spaza* shops has increased dramatically. It has therefore become clear that the agreement is seen as a license for people to continue establishing *spaza* shops without seeking consent – and this impression has been reinforced by the CoJ doing little to prevent the mushrooming of *spaza* shops. To the extent that they have attempted to intervene, they claim to be hamstrung by legal requirements which make it difficult to take meaningful action to stop the *spaza* shops being set up.

Not only have most *spazas* not applied for consent to operate, most of them are in contravention of one or other of the conditions contained in the Regulations of 2005. In addition to that, many are noisy, contribute to litter and dumping, or are associated with other illegalities. They are also seen as a problem by the local SAPS because some stay open till late at night and are vulnerable to criminals, though this is not in itself a reason for them to close early or not be there – the onus should be on the SAPS to work with the *spaza* shops and the community at large to eliminate crime so that (legal) *spazas* can trade without fear and community members can visit them even into the night without feeling threatened.



FIGURE 14: City officials stand and discuss a property that has had court cases pending since 2000. This gathering took place in late 2011. Now, at the end of 2013, no action has been taken (or at least no obvious, visible action) and the property still operates spazas without authorisation.

Notices have, in some cases, been issued by inspectors to those who have not followed the required process for establishing *spaza* shops. However, if the notices are ignored, the only thing the CoJ can do is to go to court to seek an eviction order. This can take up to two years. Once such a court order is obtained, it must be executed with the assistance of the Sheriff of the Court, the SAPS or JMPD, and the Red Ants, a private company used by Sheriffs to assist with evictions and demolitions.

The cost to the CoJ of these processes is prohibitive. This means that, even when a court order is obtained, it is often not executed because of the cost of doing so. Just getting the order costs the CoJ a hefty sum and the cost of execution takes the overall financial exposure of the CoJ even higher. In a conversation I had with a legal official from the CoJ in 2011, I was told that the CoJ had at one time acquired a court order allowing them to demolish 13 *spazas* in Berea (just west of Yeoville Bellevue). The cost of doing so

(excluding the cost involved in securing the court orders) was R500 000. He explained that it was unlikely the court orders would ever be executed because of the financial implications.[53] Similar arguments have been offered in relation to *spazas* in Yeoville Bellevue. We were told in 2012 that over 60 cases were being investigated by the legal people of the CoJ – however, there have only been three instances in the past few years in which court orders have been finalised and action taken against unauthorised *spazas*. Such sporadic enforcement does little to send a signal to existing and potential *spaza* owners that they need to ensure that they have approval to operate if they want to avoid being closed down.

Perhaps had those members of the community attending the discussions in 2003/4 which led to this agreement realised that there would be no enforcement, they may not have assented to it at the time. It is this lack of opportunity to have some influence over what is happening around them that has led some community members to demand that all *spaza* shops be done away with or, more ominously, that foreign nationals be denied the right to open even a legal *spaza*. At one of the meetings to discuss a response to the SMS threat made against me in July 2012, a South African home-owner said that we *'should lobby government to ban foreign nationals from opening* spazas – spazas *are for* us *to make a living for ourselves, not for foreigners'*. The majority of people in the meeting appeared to agree with him.

This agreement of 2005 was the result of a successful participatory process. The CoJ had attempted to act unilaterally by clamping down on *spaza* shops. The community – including *spaza* shop owners and other members of the community who felt the CoJ was being unreasonable – reacted and the CoJ, to its credit, responded by agreeing to discuss a way of resolving the issue that would be broadly acceptable.

But there was no follow-through. The first big mistake was that the CoJ did not go to the existing *spaza* shops and make sure that each and every one of them apply after the fact and comply with the new agreement. They were supposed to do this, according to the motivation for adoption of the agreement.[54] The second thing is that the CoJ didn't embark on an effective communication and awareness-raising process to ensure that the process and the agreement were general knowledge and that everyone would know how to approach the opening of *spaza* shops in the future. This important exercise would not only have advised those who might be thinking of opening a *spaza* shop – it would also have empowered the rest of the community who would know what their rights were if they saw someone attempting to open a *spaza* shop next door to them. The third problem was that systems were not put in place to monitor the situation going forward and ensure that, if someone tried to open a *spaza* shop without having gone through the proper process, they would immediately be served notice to stop and to follow the proper process or risk being fined or taken to court.

Because none of these things happened, life continued as it had before the participatory process. And every new *spaza* shop that opened simply encouraged the opening of others because, as one JMPD officer said, 'people do what they see'. One day, when I was walking with the then-chair of the Policing Forum, we stopped to talk to the owner of a series of home shops – a *spaza*, a salon and a Nollywood[55] DVD outlet, all crammed together into one small space in a residential street. The problem we had was that, during the day when the shops were open, the *spaza* owner would open a heavy steel door across the pavement – on the door were steel baskets containing fruit and vegetables. We explained to them that the pavement belonged to the public and they had no right to block the pavement. In fact, we said, 'we know that you haven't got official approval for any of these businesses and, if you insist on operating in a way which is disrespectful to the public, we will arrange for the CoJ to come around and visit and they could then take action against you'. The response was to ask us – and it was very logical – why we were targeting them because 'up the road there is another *spaza* shop which was there before we came and nobody is doing anything to close them down'.

In a conversation I had with a couple of university academics in mid 2013, it was suggested to me that the 2005 agreement was an example of a participatory process which allowed the community to regulate their own environment. However, while I would agree that it was a process that allowed the community to *influence* policy, it did not give the community the capacity to ensure that the policy was *enforced*.

Firstly, there was no discussion on how the agreement would be monitored. It seems as though it was assumed by all parties that everyone would comply with the agreement and apply for consent before opening any new *spaza* shops. This was wishful thinking.

Secondly, although there were a number of key stakeholders involved in the discussions, there was no person or organisation in the community at the time that had the legitimacy or the capacity to take on the role of monitoring the agreement on behalf of the people of Yeoville Bellevue. There was a Community Police Forum (CPF) and a Ward Committee, but the former was focused on crime prevention and the latter was not very functional. The Yeoville Stakeholders Forum was not in place in early 2004 and, even when it was, there was much contestation over whether it could speak on behalf of the community at large.

Thirdly, the CoJ itself did not put in place an official mechanism to monitor the agreement. They presumably felt that existing by-law enforcement measures were in place and sufficient. They had inspectors dealing with land-use management and building control infringements and it was probably assumed they would include the new agreement in their range of responsibilities.

It is these factors – as well as the political contestation taking place at the time, particularly between the Ward Councillor and various community formations and individuals – that make it naive to think that the 'community' could have – on its own – taken responsibility for monitoring of the agreement. The only way this could have happened, in my view, is if a task team had been established and widely publicised within the community as having the blessing of the CoJ to monitor and report on developments around *spaza* shops, thereby assisting the CoJ itself to keep tabs on what was happening. The publicity would have introduced such a task team to the community, but it would also have spread the news about the agreement more widely.

Finally, although the participatory process was a satisfactorily successful one, the truth is that the vast majority of people in the area knew nothing about it. They didn't even know that council had intended closing all illegal *spazas*, they didn't know a negotiation process had taken place, and they didn't know that an agreement had been reached. In fact, it is likely that most of the people who attended the series of meetings which discussed the issue never had sight of the actual final agreement and so didn't have knowledge of what had finally been signed off by the Mayoral Committee.

Raising awareness around the issue more broadly might have been possible had our community newspaper, Yeovue News, been published at that time, but it would be another three years before the first issue was produced. In March 2009, the *spaza* issue *was* covered in Yeovue News, but it was not sufficient to turn the tide.[56] Without a system of ongoing management of the situation and visible by-law enforcement action against those who did not comply with the agreement, it was unlikely that aspirant *spaza* owners would be influenced by a single once-off article in Yeovue News.

As of October 2013, we appear to have around 450 'house shops' in the residential areas of Yeoville Bellevue – these include:

Spaza shops	Hair and beauty salons	Vehicle-related enterprises	Liquor outlets	Guest houses	Other including live chicken outlets, furniture makers and upholsterers, sellers of second-hand goods, clothing boutiques, recycling businesses, electronic goods, appliance repairers, restaurants	Total
210	35	40	20	30	110	445

These are preliminary figures, based on a street audit done by the Yeoville Bellevue Ratepayers Association. The figure is likely to be higher. We are still processing the data and information is based only on what can be seen from the street. There are likely to be activities in houses and block of flats which cannot easily be seen.

There are around 2 340 stands in Yeoville Bellevue. This means that between 15% and 20% of those stands have some form of economic activity taking place on them (once the database is finalised, the figure will be more accurate as we will know how many sites have more than one activity – eg a *spaza* and a salon – on the same stand).

Judging by the comments of the official from the CoJ, the vast majority are not authorised. Given the costs associated with taking legal action against these outlets, it is unlikely that the CoJ is going to shut them down any time soon. And the lack of a plan for preventing the unauthorised opening of new outlets means the numbers will continue to increase. For those living in the area who are not happy with the uncontrolled mushrooming of commercial enterprises in their residential space and the challenges associated with them, there is no relief in sight.

It would be useful to do an in-depth economic study of *spazas*, to determine the profit margins of each, to estimate the financial viability of outlets that compete with two or three others in the same block (ie in a 100m stretch). It would be interesting to find out whether (as suspected) the low profit margins lead some *spaza* owners to diversify, sometimes into selling illicit goods in order to make ends meet. One of the questions that was asked during the negotiations in 2003/4 – and never answered – was: how many *spazas* were too many and what were the criteria for deciding?

The situation of informal traders and of businesses in residential areas across the city, not just in Yeoville Bellevue, needs serious attention. At the Metropolis 2013 conference, a delegate from Barcelona suggested that property zoning was 'very 20th century' and that there was perhaps a need to come up with a new approach in the new millennium. Given the 'organic' changes taking place in Yeoville Bellevue as the area settles into its post-apartheid persona, there is need for a debate about the applicability of existing zoning policy and whether a more flexible approach would make it easier to achieve a number of goals such as densification, housing provision and job creation.

As with street trading, there are a number of stakeholders whose views will need to be canvassed before introducing changes to zoning policy. There are some who would welcome an approach which allows for more mixed use properties while others will see this as part of the continuing degradation of their residential space. However, what is even more important is to ensure that whatever is agreed to is implementable and implemented – the debacle over the 2004/5 regulations is testimony to that.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE The response of the state to this issue has been mixed. On the one hand, they responded well to the concerns of people of Yeoville Bellevue and, after a reasonably effective community participation process, approved regulations which seemed to satisfy all stakeholders, themselves included. On the other hand, they failed completely to implement the agreement, resulting in an even greater set of challenges than before.

COMMUNICATION Communication has been poor. Little has been done over the past eight years to make people aware of the need to stick to the negotiated agreement and apply for consent to have a spaza shop. Ongoing awareness-raising is particularly necessary in an area like Yeoville Bellevue which has a constant influx of new people.

DISEMPOWERMENT As is the case with the street trading situation, there is a deep sense of frustration amongst all stakeholders in respect of spazas. As it stands, no-one is happy. Spaza owners know that the future of their businesses is tenuous as long as the laws remain the same. Home-owners feel powerless to act when they see a new spaza suddenly opening up next door to them. The authorities find themselves unable to prevent the opening of such businesses, but having to take costly action against them once they are there. It's a no-win situation.

LIQUOR IN YEOVILLE BELLEVUE: GETTING THE BALANCE RIGHT

The battle over the control of access to alcohol in Johannesburg is as old as the city itself. As with all emerging mining towns, the early population of Joburg was predominantly male and so the main money spinners in the town were the bars (canteens) and brothels (Beavon, 2004: 27).

As early as 1888 (two years after the founding of Johannesburg), there were 147 (licensed) liquor outlets in the new town. By 1892, this figure had jumped to 552 and 'at the zenith of the liquor trade in 1895, between 750 and 1 000 canteens could be found in the area between Krugersdorp to the west and Nigel in the east' (van Onselen, 2001: 61).

At that time, there were few restrictions on the sale of 'white' liquor to black Africans (licenses were easy to get and, while black African customers had to produce 'permits' from their employers to buy such liquor, many retailers sold to black Africans who could not produce such permits). The Kruger government had an interest in the liquor industry (Oom Paul[57] had friends in the business and production of alcohol provided a market for his political constituency – white farmers growing grain and potatoes which were used in the distilling process) and was very happy for as much alcohol consumption to take place as possible. Mine-owners also initially promoted the sale of alcohol to black Africans as it kept them working in the mines – they would spend longer hours underground to make up the money they had wasted on alcohol (and, presumably, women). The more money the mineworkers spent on liquor, the less they saved; and the less they saved, the longer they worked before returning to the peasant economies of their rural homelands (van Onselen, 2001: 55). Inevitably, some mine owners also had a financial interest in the alcohol industry (van Onselen, 2001: 65).

However, over time, the mine owners began to realise that productivity was being affected by the growing dependency of their work force on alcohol and so they began, in July 1896, to lobby for a complete ban on the sale of 'white' liquor to black Africans, something for which other sectors of the white community had been pushing for the previous five years (van Onselen, 2001: 73). They were eventually successful with the passing of Act 17 of 1896 which contained a 'total prohibition' clause preventing the sale of 'white' liquor to black Africans. Although there were many battles fought over this act and the total prohibition clause, the ban remained in place.

Needless to say, the ban was not welcomed by either the white suppliers or black African consumers of liquor. The result (long before the gangsterism that developed in response to prohibition in the USA between 1920 and 1933) was the emergence of a Jewish 'mafia' which ran operations selling to black Africans illegally. The challenge of dealing with this 'mafia' was not made any easier by the fact that the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek Politie (ZARP) were understaffed, underpaid and corrupt (van Onselen, 2001: 66-67).

It was in this period that the use in Johannesburg of the term '*shebeen*' probably first began. The word is of Irish origin (Irish *síbín,* meaning 'illicit whiskey') and refers to an unlicensed or illegally operated drinking establishment.[58]

The next major piece of legislation to impact on the sale of alcohol to black Africans was the Liquor Act of 1928. This legislation continued the ban on the sale of 'white' alcohol to blacks and also contained such apartheid-style absurdities as the following:

> *A magistrate might, however, issue to a Black applicant (ie a Coloured, Asian or African person) an annually-renewable letter of exemption, entitling him to buy stated quantities of liquor within the district concerned for his personal use only ..... magistrates were required to satisfy themselves that applicants were living in accordance with White standards and had adequate incomes* (Horrell, 1978: 134).

The ban on the sale of alcohol to black Africans continued until 1962. Until then, Africans were only legally permitted to drink traditional beer (*umqombothi,* also known as *kaffir*[59] beer and *Bantu*[60] beer) which was either brewed domestically or by state-run beerhalls.

Of course, while the 'mafia' syndicates supplying liquor to black Africans in contravention of the prohibition had been smashed by the British authorities and the mining houses (van Onselen, 2001: 108), this did not stop black Africans from drinking 'white' liquor completely. There would always be ways and means of circumventing the regulations, most notably in places like Sophiatown, the multi-racial slum which housed and produced so many of the cultural and political heavyweights of the 1950s.

By 1960, it became clear that the prohibition was not sustainable. The Malan Commission of Inquiry into the General Distribution and Selling Prices of Alcoholic Liquor stated in its report that, although they ran the risk of being arrested, black people could obtain as much liquor as they wanted to through illicit channels. But, because the trade was illegal, they had to pay high prices, and the liquor often reached them in an adulterated form. *'The application of the Liquor Act is a question of impossibility in our present era'*, the Commission concluded. It made numerous recommendations for changes in the law (Horrell, 1978: 136).

The Liquor Amendment Act, 72 of 1961, effectively lifted the prohibition on the sale of 'white' liquor to blacks. However, this did not mean that blacks now had the same rights as whites. Blacks could buy from bottle stores (though they had to use separate entrances to whites), but these outlets were all located in the white areas. There was no provision for blacks to own licensed premises in the townships. Liquor licenses in townships were awarded almost exclusively to the local authorities concerned (Horrell, 1978: 65). The municipal beerhalls were now able to sell 'white' liquor in addition to the traditional beer that had been their stock-in-trade.[61]

The background information above serves to set the scene for the approach to liquor licensing post-1994. It was clear that blacks, especially Africans, had been discriminated against in terms of access to liquor and of the opportunity to take part in the liquor trade. Post-apartheid liquor policy would have to take this into account and, as with so many other outcomes of apartheid, put steps in place to redress past imbalances.

So, for example, clause 2 of the National Liquor Act, 2003 lists the objectives of the Act as being:

- to reduce the socio-economic and other costs of alcohol abuse by-
  - setting essential national norms and standards in the liquor industry;
  - regulating the manufacture and wholesale distribution of liquor;
  - setting essential national norms and standards for the regulation of the retail sale and micro- manufacture of liquor; and
  - providing for public participation in the consideration of applications for registration; and
- to promote the development of a responsible and sustainable liquor industry in a manner that facilitates-
  - **the entry of new participants into the industry;**
  - **diversity of ownership in the industry; and**
  - an ethos of social responsibility in the industry.[55]

The Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) promulgated its own liquor laws in 2003 as well. These were intended to be broadly in line with the national Act.

In 2011, a new draft policy document was released by the GPG. The document acknowledged the challenges that had arisen over the years since the 2003 Act was passed. It said:

> *The promulgation of the Gauteng Liquor Act in 2003 and subsequent Regulations have gone some way to assist the Gauteng Provincial Government to address the historical consequences and social and economic challenges of liquor trade and consumption prior to democracy and to regulate the liquor industry. However, the Province still faces some challenges in regulating liquor.*
>
> *The Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) recognises that the production, distribution and sale of liquor contribute to the economy of the Province by amongst other things creating employment and generating revenue. However, the harm caused by liquor consumption has significant economic and social costs, including:*
>
> - the public health measures required to reduce the harm;
> - the reduction of productivity levels in the workplace due to absenteeism as a result of the consumption of alcohol; and
> - the policing and monitoring of alcohol-related crimes. (Draft Gauteng Liquor Policy, 2011)

Yeoville Bellevue entered the post-apartheid period with a particular challenge. From the late 1970s, the area had transformed from a quiet urban village with a business street serving the local community into an internationally-known nightspot where alcohol (and drugs to a lesser extent) was a key attraction for those living in and visiting the area. This continued into the 1990s when Yeoville Bellevue became home to many returning exiles and freed political prisoners. As the area transformed from a predominantly white to majority black area, the idea remained that Rockey St (and increasingly Raleigh St and the neighbourhood in general) was an entertainment zone and would continue to be one.

This was understandable, but not logical. The shift from backwater neighbourhood to trendy crowd-puller had happened at a specific historical moment and there was no particular social or economic reason for the area to continue to attract people.

In the history of Yeoville Bellevue in Chapter 2, I described how Yeoville Bellevue became an alternative destination to the traditional entertainment belt comprising the CBD, Joubert Park and Hillbrow. I mentioned the relaxed atmosphere, where whites and blacks were able to mingle reasonably freely. But what also made Yeoville Bellevue so popular at the time was that there were no other alternative places offering significant competition.

By the mid-1990s, things were changing. Apartheid was all but dead. The Group Areas Act and other restrictive legislation had been repealed, meaning people could live and party wherever they chose. Melville was beginning to develop as an alternative destination to Yeoville Bellevue. There was an exodus of whites and white businesses from Yeoville Bellevue as, for them, the area began to lose its charm. Most of the political figures who had moved into the area post-1990 moved out post-1994. The class base of the area changed as middle class residents moved out and a greater class mix moved in, including a large number of economically-challenged individuals and families from all over the province and the country, later to be supplemented by equally-challenged migrants from other countries.

Also in Chapter 2, I noted the development of malls and the displacement of the CBD as the city's economic centre. Most long-standing entertainment moved out of the CBD, Joubert Park and Hillbrow (and Yeoville Bellevue) and into the malls and newly-developed nightspot areas such as Melville, Queens St in Kensington, Norwood, Melrose Arch, Rosebank, Bruma, the Randburg Waterfront, 44 Stanley Avenue, Edenvale and others. The inner city went into serious decline and was – and is still – seen as a no-go area for many. Even the

black intelligentsia, famous for sitting in Ekhaya and Times Square and planning ways to 'restore Yeoville Bellevue to its former glory', eventually moved on to places like Melville and Rosebank.

Nevertheless, night life in Yeoville Bellevue continued, though it now had a much harder edge to it, with an increase in crime and violence. The neighbourhood began to develop a negative profile, most obviously seen in tourist guides which in the past has advised that 'if you haven't been to Rockey St, you haven't seen South Africa'. Now they suggested that people either avoid the area or visit only with people familiar with the neighbourhood.

Yet despite these irreversible developments which profoundly impacted on Yeoville Bellevue and its capacity to attract outsiders to the area, the idea remained that the neighbourhood was a culturally significant place and that its place as a trendy night spot was secure. And part of that idea was alcohol. In fact, alcohol became the dominant attraction of the area with the decline in other drawcards such as jazz clubs and restaurants.



FIGURE 15: Ekhaya is one of the better liquor outlets, serving full meals and trying to keep the tradition of jazz venues alive.

Over the years, many liquor outlets in the main business area have operated without a license, while others have not observed the conditions of operation attached to the particular type of license they were awarded. The SAPS are directly responsible for closing down illegal liquor outlets, while the Liquor Board is supposed to monitor licensed premises and ensure that they comply. Neither is very effective.

In addition to this continued focus on alcohol in the main business area, there was, in time, the emergence of licensed and unlicensed premises selling alcohol in the residential areas. *Shebeens* opened in houses and flats as people did what they had done under apartheid – turned to the illicit selling of alcohol as a means of making a living.

The authorities were not sure how to handle the situation because of their new policy of facilitating penetration into the liquor industry by previously-disadvantaged people. Many people also see *shebeens* as part of black 'culture' and don't see why, now that people can live wherever they want, *shebeens* cannot be 'imported' into areas to which they were previously denied access. Corruption and/or inefficiency in the SAPS and the Liquor Board – as well as poor enforcement of liquor laws – have also played a role in preventing effective action being taken against unlicensed premises. Finally, as with so many of the socio-economic challenges facing our community, communication regarding the rights and responsibilities of citizens in respect of the sale of alcohol has been very poor.



FIGURE 16: This shebeen has been going for years and is regarded as a problem by the local community, the Community Police Forum and the SA Police Service. It has been shut down a number of times, but re-opened thanks to a clever lawyer and mistakes by the authorities. The owner will be allowed to apply for a shebeen license and, as the Regulations currently stand, the public will have no say in the matter.

The Shebeen Permit system, which was introduced in Gauteng in 2004, presumably to bring *shebeens* 'into the system' (Gauteng Liquor Regulations, 2004), made the situation even worse. It made no provision for residents anywhere in the province to object to an application for a *shebeen* permit. While it is difficult for community members to get information about applications for other types of liquor licenses, the Gauteng Liquor Act (2003)[62] at least makes it possible for them to object to such applications should they get to know about them.

Nine years after the granting of *shebeen* permits, the Gauteng Department of Economic Development (DED) issued Shebeen License Regulations (2013), which again deny the public the right to comment on or object to applications for *shebeen* licenses. There are over 5 000 *shebeen* permit holders in Gauteng – as it stands, the new Regulations will allow all of them to get licenses without any input from the public.

Shebeens are not the only source of liquor in residential areas. Guest houses have become a major new reality in Yeoville Bellevue. Some of these are genuine establishments offering accommodation as their main business. However, some have developed into fully-fledged bars and night clubs bearing little resemblance to normal guest houses.

There are also restaurants operating in houses which sell alcohol, usually without a license.

More generally, the SAPS have indicated that around 85% of contact crimes (assault, assault with the intention to cause grievous bodily harm, attempted murder, murder and rape) can be directly linked to the consumption of alcohol. The youth of the area are seriously affected by the easy access to alcohol, including those younger than 18, the age a person needs to be to drink legally in South Africa.

To illustrate some of the socio-economic implications of this, I want to refer to a table which appeared in a study that was included in the Gauteng Draft Liquor Policy in 2011. Background information to this table can be found in Appendix 6.

The table compares Region B of the City of Johannesburg, a previously white middle-to-upperclass area which is still largely white and well-off, with Region D, which comprises Soweto and surrounds, still a largely black and working class to middle class area. The variables are population, number of *shebeens*, number of licensed outlets, population per liquor outlet and population per recreational facility and library.

I extended the table to include Yeoville Bellevue and I also included the number of unlicensed outlets, which in Yeoville Bellevue comprised almost half of the outlets in the area at the time of the study.

	Region D	Region B	Yeoville Bellevue
Population	1 058 978	198 000	38 064
Number of *shebeens*	2 438	16	20
Number of licensed outlets	123	302	40
Number of unlicensed outlets*			40
Population per liquor outlet	414	623	380
Population per recreational facility	31 146	9 900	38 000
Population per library	66 186	14 143	38 000

* The Yeoville Bellevue figures were contained in a database drawn up by the YBCDT and the Community Police Forum in 2011/12, in the absence of accurate figures from the SAPS and the Gauteng Liquor Board.

The above figures indicate that, although Yeoville Bellevue was, until 1990, officially a white area, today it has the same socio-economic challenges pertaining to alcohol as the historically black areas in Region D. In both areas, it is easier for people to get access to alcohol than it is to get a book to read or to participate in some form of healthy recreational activity. What this means is that the population of Soweto and environs and the predominantly (98%, according to the 2011 census) black community in Yeoville Bellevue have poorer educational, health and economic prospects than the largely white and wealthy community of Region B because of the skewed access to alcohol in the neighbourhood in relation to socially-beneficial facilities. This is a structural problem that will have to be addressed, both through more effective management of alcohol and through an increase in educational and recreational facilities, otherwise the inequalities of the past will simply be replicated in the future.

There are many people in the neighbourhood who are aware of these problems. They are the same people who raise their concerns in public meetings, who object to liquor license applications (when they hear about them) – and who eventually move out of the area because they feel unable to impact on the situation.

It is very hard for community members to know when someone has applied for a liquor license. Applicants have to publish their intentions in the Government Gazette (to which very few people have access) or in the Smalls section of a newspaper (which most people don't look at, if they read newspapers at all). The YBCDT and Yeovue News played a key role in making this information available to the community. A notice is also supposed to be affixed to the premises for which the license has been applied (such notices are often not put up or are so obscure that people don't generally notice them). To lodge an objection, a person has to hand-deliver a letter to the offices of the Liquor Board in the centre of Johannesburg. After that, there is supposed to be a hearing, though we have had cases of applications being granted without a hearing even when objections have been lodged.

What's more, although the Liquor Board has made many promises to work constructively with the Yeoville Bellevue community on liquor issues, they have let us down on two fronts: they have not provided us with information that we have requested, and they have not given us a report-back on the comprehensive database that we submitted to them, detailing all the liquor outlets in the area.

Government and civil society are finally taking baby steps towards addressing the challenges associated with alcohol abuse, with plans to ban alcohol advertising and possibly to change the age at which a young person can legally drink from 18 to 21. However, as long as we have an understaffed Liquor Board and SAPS, as long as we have corrupt practices by the liquor industry and the authorities, as long as alcohol is glamourised and promoted by society in general (through, for example, communication in the media about concepts such as Phuza Thursday and Woza Weekend[63]), and as long as there are not sufficient recreational alternatives to drinking available to people, especially the youth, not much will change.

In Yeoville Bellevue, more needs to be done to:

- empower community members to have more say over the availability of alcohol in the neighbourhood
- promote responsible drinking, both to discourage excessive drinking and the various socio-economic problems arising therefrom and to change Yeoville Bellevue's image as a dangerous, hard-drinking area
- encourage the establishment of projects and programmes which will encourage community members, especially the youth, to engage in more productive activities than drinking
- push for better compliance monitoring by the Liquor Board and law enforcement by the SAPS, as well as an end to corrupt activities by both the authorities and the liquor sellers in the neighbourhood

It is perhaps important to mention that there is a Yeoville Bellevue Liquor Traders Association. It seems to have been started through an intervention by the SAPS at the height of the ungovernability of liquor outlets, some of which were staying open till dawn. The SAPS called the liquor traders together and reached an agreement in terms of which all outlets would close by 2am. There was a chairperson of the Association, but the driving force behind it seemed to be the SAPS. When I was in the Yeoville CPF in the 2010-2012 period, I encouraged the Association to adopt a constitution, appoint a more formal structure, and work towards operating independently of the SAPS. The Association would still need to meet regularly with the SAPS, but it should be a case of them inviting the SAPS to their meeting rather than the SAPS taking responsibility for such meetings.

I also suggested that they should work more closely with the community and the SAPS to ensure that illegal liquor outlets were shut down (arguing it was in their financial interests to do so) and to ensure that legal outlets complied with the terms of their licenses and with the law. In fact, I argued, it would be better, if a liquor outlet was, for example, making too much noise, for the community to call the Association rather than the SAPS. The Association should then call their member and encourage them to behave responsibly or face expulsion from the Association. In order to make this threat of expulsion work, the Association should develop incentives, financial and otherwise, for traders to belong to it. Slow progress is being made in this regard.

I also discussed with them the current arrangement in Yeoville Bellevue in terms of which all liquor outlets, at the 'request' of the SAPS, close at 6pm on New Year's Eve. While I have no problem with this happening, I pointed out to members of the Association that this reflected very badly on their outlets and the Association – the fact that, on New Year's Eve, as liquor outlets across the city, the country and the world stayed open until their patrons saw the new year in, Yeoville Bellevue had to shut down. This meant that there was a lot of work to be done by the Association (and others) to promote responsible trading and responsible drinking, and that this should be one of the priorities of the Association going forward.

The Yeoville Bellevue Ratepayers Association (YBRA) took a decision in late 2013 to source the *pro bono* services of a lawyer to look into taking the Gauteng Department of Economic Development (DED) and the Gauteng Liquor Board (GLB) to court, first to stop the implementation of the Shebeen License Regulations until the right of the public to comment on or object to an application for a *shebeen* license has been included in the Regulations, and later to force the GLB to respond to submissions by the YBRA and others that were tabled over a year ago.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE The state's handling of the liquor challenges in South Africa leaves much to be desired. The consequences are devastating for individuals and communities. A great deal has to be done to do away with illegal liquor outlets, to ensure compliance with liquor legislation, and to encourage responsible drinking. Liquor-related corruption must be ruthlessly dealt with, especially in the SAPS and the Liquor Board. The continued lack of response to our submissions is totally unacceptable.

COMMUNICATION There are many ways in which communication related to liquor issues should be improved. Most people are not aware of the provisions of liquor legislation and their rights and responsibilities with respect to liquor. People's access to information must be improved, especially with respect to applications for licenses and their right and opportunity to object. Does the state listen when citizens make submissions to legislative processes? Sometimes it seems not.

DISEMPOWERMENT There is a very real sense in communities that there is little they can do about the problems associated with liquor. At a liquor hearing in 2012 in Alexandra, a shebeen owner said to us that 'community members should not have the right to get involved in liquor-related issues because, if they did, then 80% of us would have to shut down'. The potential power of the community to influence policy is recognised

by this shebeen owner, but the system makes it very difficult for people to exercise that power effectively. Given the devastating impact on human lives of alcohol abuse, this is one of the most critical issues on which the public should be properly empowered to act.

GUEST HOUSES: WELCOME OR WORRYING?

Another new phenomenon in Yeoville Bellevue is that of guest houses and I include them here, right after liquor, because there are some connections between the two.

The initial motivation for guest houses must have been honourable (and, for some owners, has remained so). People come into the city from all over Africa (I think at this stage that the primary market is Africa and not visitors in general) on business and for other reasons and might need an affordable place to stay while here. Yeoville Bellevue, being 'Little Africa' with reputedly more than 30 African countries represented, would provide a 'sense of home'. In addition, it is very central in that it is close to the airport, the CBD and Rosebank and is within easy striking distance of Sandton. At the current rate of around R200 per night in well-appointed rooms, visitors are getting a good deal.

Except that it seems that, in some of the guest houses, they might be getting a good deal more as well. It is commonly held in the community – it has been expressly stated in a number of public gatherings by residents in the neighbourhood – that some guest houses are fronts for sex work and that there are some which peddle drugs as well. As with churches below, one would have to conduct a more in-depth study to verify these allegations.

What I have direct knowledge of is at least two instances in which, with or without the complicity of the owners, people have used guest houses in the area as places from which to plan and engage in criminal activities.

The Sunday Times reported in March 2009 that a young South African woman, Tessa Beetge, had, in 2008, been arrested in Peru for drug smuggling. Beetge implicated Cheryl Cwele, the wife of a senior South African politician, and Frank Nabolisa, Beetge's Nigerian handler. In the one report, she stated that she had travelled to Johannesburg from Kwazulu Natal, under the instructions of Cwele, to meet Nabolisa. While in Johannesburg, she stayed in a Yeoville Bellevue guest house owned by another Nigerian (an apparently devout Christian who I have met) who, she claimed, was a 'friend' of Nabolisa's.[64] Cwele and Nabolisa have both subsequently been found guilty and sentenced to long terms in prison. The guest house 'friend' does not appear to have featured in the court case.

On another occasion, at around 8am one morning, a man fleeing from a guest house jumped over the back wall of the property into the neighbour's yard. As he ran through the garden, he grabbed the jacket of a builder who was doing work on the neighbour's house. This was to cover his t-shirt and try to throw off the police helicopter that was chasing him.

He leapt over the wall into the next property and then out into the street from there. He crossed to the opposite house, ran through their garden and over into the back of the next property. From there he went over the wall into the driveway of a friend of mine who came out to see the police wrestling the man to the ground.

I later heard from the SAPS that the man led them to another guest house in the area where they found up to 10 stolen cars stored in the back. The whole saga had started when the SAPS arrested a group of hijackers attempting to steal a car in the neighbouring suburb of Observatory. They led the police to the first guest house and the saga unfolded from there.

According to the SAPS, the men involved were a syndicate of South Africans working between Kwazulu-Natal and Johannesburg, hijacking cars for export into the rest of Africa. The reason they were in the guest house was (apparently) because they had girlfriends who checked into the guest house and then brought them in. We never heard anything more about the case and whether the guest house owners were implicated.

Whether guest owners are involved or not, it does appear that they are not doing enough to check the credentials of their guests and screen them, perhaps because, if they did so, they might lose business. It is, therefore, possible that some guest houses in Yeoville Bellevue, like motels in the United States (if movies are anything to go by), are regarded as safe, anonymous places to go if you don't want to attract too much attention to yourself and what you are doing.

There are at least three guest houses in the area which operate more as pubs and clubs than guest houses. One informant told me of a visit to one of these in the company of drug dealers who appeared to have a very good relationship with the owner. She also went to another of them with a friend and, after spending around five hours there, realised that there was a much brisker trade in drugs than in liquor.

In both of these, sex work appears to be part of the business operations and there are concerns within the community that under-age school girls are encouraged to provide services to clients in at least one of them. And they are not the only ones. We were told by a rather desperate German man who came to our door one evening looking for financial help that two guest houses in the north east part of Yeoville Bellevue 'imported' young women from Kwazulu-Natal for purposes of sex work – he apparently had direct experience of some of these young sex workers himself.

It is probably this commonly-held (but over-generalised) belief that 'all' guest houses are glorified brothels that led to a man booking a room at a legitimate backpackers' lodge claiming to want to 'sleep and freshen up for a couple of hours'. However, he arrived with a woman companion in tow and clearly had no intention of sleeping. The lodge turned him away. It is suspected that most guest houses take the cash and look the other way.

Some guest houses sell alcohol without authorisation. Others apply for licenses, claiming that they intend only to serve alcohol to their guests, but then sell to the general public as if they were a pub.[65]

Some guest houses have made dramatic changes to their properties, some in contravention of heritage regulations, others building extensive additional structures without CoJ authorisation.

The underlying concern reflected in the above paragraphs doesn't mean that I think a) that we should not have guest houses in Yeoville Bellevue, nor b) that all of those that are currently operational are necessarily engaged in anti-social or illegal activities. Quite the opposite, in fact.

Guest houses can play a critical role in our efforts to promote Yeoville Bellevue as a pan-African destination for domestic and international tourists. They also create jobs for local residents. However, because there is currently no effort to regularise the way in which guest houses operate and no attempt to counter the negative perceptions many Yeoville Bellevueites have of them, they all get tarred with the same brush.

It is for this reason that I have tried to engage with some of the guest house owners and encourage them to form a guest house association which could, like the Liquor Traders Association, have a constitution and a set of standards to which all members will be expected to adhere. They could register with tourism authorities and, over time, work with others to ensure that the image of Yeoville Bellevue improves and that more people are willing to come and stay in the area. I understand that there have been some meetings between them and the SAPS, but once again, the purpose seems to be to try and get agreements around narrow crime issues and not to address the broader challenges facing guest houses.

It is also important to do some research into the economic viability of guest houses in the area. As is the case with *spaza* shops, the market can obviously comfortably support only a limited number of guest houses. There are currently more than 25 in the neighbourhood. Are they all making a decent living? Is it true that some are engaged in unlawful activities and, if so, could this be a survival strategy? How many such establishments could a better-managed, safer, cleaner, more prosperous Yeoville Bellevue support? Would a well-promoted pan-African destination attract a lot more people to the area, creating more business for guest houses and other businesses in the area?

THE ROLE OF THE STATE There is very little evidence that any agencies of the state are taking the issue of guest houses seriously. The SAPS don't seem to be very successful in ensuring that guest houses are not operating illegally in some way or another (and, inevitably, there are allegations that some officers are in corrupt relationships with some of the guest houses). The City of Johannesburg does not seem to be doing anything to deal with guest houses which might be contravening some or other by-law or building control regulation. The Liquor Board awards licenses to guest houses which allow them to sell liquor until 4am in residential areas.

COMMUNICATION There is very little clarity about the rules and regulations governing the establishment of guest houses. The City of Johannesburg has, to my knowledge, made no effort at all to assist the public to understand legislation governing the building and operating of guest houses.

DISEMPOWERMENT As is the case with *shebeens* and *spaza* shops, most members of the public know nothing about the power they might have over decisions regarding the establishment and operations of guest houses. The lack of information and the apparently hands-off approach of the CoJ to guest houses means that the public can only watch in frustration as they see a guest house appearing in their immediate vicinity, not knowing whether it has approval or not and having no control or influence over how it operates.

CHURCHES IN YEOVILLE BELLEVUE: PRAISE THE LORD AND DAMN THE COMMUNITY

Another new feature of post-apartheid Yeoville Bellevue (and elsewhere) is the increase in the number of churches. It may seem odd to include churches in this section, but there is logic to it. Firstly, some of these have been established on residential properties and, as such, are subject to basically the same land use restrictions as *spaza* shops and other businesses. Consent must be applied for and certain requirements met.[66]

Secondly, there is a view that the primary motivation for starting some of the new churches in the area is financial rather than spiritual. A deeper study of this phenomenon would have to be done to assess the extent to which this might be true. If it is, then churches can be included in what is broadly called the informal economy, especially because so many of these institutions ignore the rules and regulations which should govern their operations. This includes churches which are operating from buildings designated for use by faith-based institutions. Most of the old synagogues – abandoned when the bulk of the Jewish community decamped to the safety (and whiteness) of the north – have been bought or are being rented by the new-wave churches. In one, there are also economic outlets operating – it is rumoured that there was even a *shebeen* there at one point.

It is also true that some of the churches are operating from what were business premises. While this is less of a problem from a land-use point of view than is the case with those in residential areas, they are also guilty of anti-social practises that impact on residents nearby.

It therefore makes sense to include in this section some comment on the rise in the numbers and the impact of the new churches in Yeoville Bellevue. If anyone is wondering why the focus is on Christianity-based churches, it is because there are virtually no non-Christian institutions in Yeoville Bellevue.

There is one remaining Jewish establishment – the Torah Centre on the corner of Muller and Fortesque Streets which operates from a house and has a tiny congregation. A temporary mosque has been opened in a business complex on the corner of Dunbar and Cavendish for people of the Islamic faith (from Africa and elsewhere) who live in the area. Apart from minor parking congestion which occurs at certain prayer times, this mosque has no material impact on the surrounding environment. It is rumoured that a residential property in Rockey St is being converted into a mosque. While that section of Rockey St is still residential, it is gradually becoming commercialised and there is plenty of on-street parking.

The only other faith-based movement of significance in the area is the Rastafarians (which technically is Christian-based). They have a 'Rasta House' on the corner of Hunter and Bezuidenhout Streets where it is possible to smoke dagga/ganja though not without the occasional raids by the SAPS. They often hold cultural events at the house. Generally, they don't seem to operate in an anti-social manner (unless it is believed that smoking dagga is anti-social – there are concerns amongst some that the weed is made available to under-age people). However, they seem not to be aware or concerned that some of their members or visitors park illegally on the pavements, blocking the way for pedestrians and forcing them to walk in the road. I have tried to persuade one or two people associated with the Rasta House to get them to negotiate with the owner of an empty plot right across the road which could be turned into a useful parking area. However, I have not been successful in this as yet.

Further west along Hunter St is a house taken over by squatters (I wouldn't call this particular house 'hijacked', although the owner, who was out of the country for ten years, cannot regain control of it). The front rooms of the house have been turned into a makeshift Rasta 'church'. It is possible that there are more such informal Rasta establishments in the area.

Yeoville Bellevue has a number of established churches, three of which are over 100 years old – the Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian churches. There is also a Congregational church with a fairly long history, a small Seventh Day Adventist hall and one or two other smaller denominations.

There was, until recently, a Greek Orthodox Seminary which moved to Brixton to, in the words of one of the administrators, 'get the initiates away from the temptations of Yeoville'.[67]

Most of these faith-based institutions, including those that have been in existence for over a century, are in residential areas, as is the case in most suburbs – churches are not normally in commercial or industrial areas. So why should there be an issue about the new churches which are appearing in residential streets across the neighbourhood? Even the use of residential houses for prayer is not new. Some of the older established faith-based institutions in Yeoville Bellevue are still in large residential premises which have been adapted for services. On the other hand, the four big congregations meet in purpose-built churches and halls. But it wasn't always like that.

St Aidan's, the impressive stone-built Anglican Church on Regent St, has been around for over 100 years. In a history of the church from 1908 to 1990 compiled by parishioner Ursula Morton, we find that even this pillar of conventional religion in Yeoville first began in a house. According to her:

> *At the close of the last century* (ie end of the 19th century – my note), *the most prominent Anglican Church in Johannesburg was, of course, St Mary's (now the Cathedral). The township of Yeoville was in those days very sparsely settled, but after the signing of the Peace Treaty in 1902, Yeoville and its adjacent suburbs suddenly gained popularity as residential areas. These were all deemed to be within the Parish*

of St Augustine's, Doornfontein, and the Church Council of St Augustine's appointed a special committee to deal with Yeoville matters.

In the Golden Jubilee Brochure of 1958, a letter is quoted from a Mrs Edington, then aged 88 and living in London, informing that in 1902 she lived at 46 Regent St, where meetings were held occasionally until 1904, when services were conducted by Rev Edward Meyler in Mrs Wilkes schoolroom in Muller St.

The schoolroom only held 40 people and soon two services per Sunday became necessary. But with the increasing population it was obvious that larger accommodation must soon be provided.[62] (Morton, 1991)

Thus began the process that led to the building of the church in Regent St and the establishment of St Aidan's as a parish in its own right.

I tell this story because it shows that the idea of a church starting in a house is not a new one peculiar to our current reality. However, there are some key differences between what happened with St Aidan's and what is happening in Yeoville Bellevue today.

I sent an email to the CoJ asking a series of questions related to the opening of a church in Yeoville Bellevue – I submitted the questions as though I was myself wanting to open a church and needed to know the rules. I have included the answers (the questions are implied in the answers) in Appendix 7 at the end of the report.

What is clear is that there are rules relating to the starting of churches in residential properties. However, it is very likely that research will show that most of the new churches currently in Yeoville Bellevue are in breach of those rules.

But why is this important? Why have I included churches at all?

It's because many of the challenges associated with unauthorised *spaza* shops and *shebeens* are also issues with churches. These include noise, unapproved building operations, parking problems and disruption of residential life. And, according to the SAPS (and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)), there are allegations that some churches are being used as fronts for money-laundering and drug dealing.[68]

If a church were to start in a house, as happened with the original Anglican worshippers, and church meetings took place with no impact at all on the surrounding community, I doubt that anyone would have a problem with its presence in the neighbourhood. However, the churches in Yeoville Bellevue are anything but unobtrusive, noise being the major concern. For some reason, they feel the need to use powerful sound systems (often not powerful enough, though, which means that when they are turned up loud, the sound is very distorted). This is despite the fact that they are operating in a very small space which doesn't actually need a sound system at all!

As they grow bigger, many do not – as did the Anglican church in the early 1900s – plan to build a church. They simply continue to operate in the same space, in some instances creating the potential for a disaster by knocking down internal structural walls to create a larger gathering space inside the house.

Parking becomes a problem as the congregation competes for space with the residents of the street, often parking on pavements and across private driveways.

In at least one instance, there is a church which, apart from creating problems with noise and parking, has built a two-storey structure in the back garden of the property from which the church operates. The church owners were reportedly served by the CoJ with a notice to stop building because they did not have approved plans, but they ignored the notice and carried on.

The pastor of the church in question – and some of his followers – have adopted a number of strategies for dealing with complaints:

- outright belligerence and hostility towards anyone who questions their right to be there and to do what they are doing
- bribery in at least one case when they attempted (unsuccessfully, we are told) to pay off a Ward Councillor
- claiming a God-given right to do what they do no matter what human-made laws might say to the contrary, and finally
- attempting to appeal to the 'spiritual' side of their critics, wondering aloud to them why they would want to question their devotional activities if they themselves are believers.

Of course, when one starts to make comparisons between established churches which, though today overwhelmingly black in Yeoville Bellevue, have their roots in Western Europe, and the new evangelical churches springing up in the area which are shaped more by the style and practise of African Americans and continental Africans, questions will be asked about whether this is not just a clash of cultures. Is it not just that whites (and churches of European origin) are quiet and reserved, whereas Africans are boisterous and vocal in their praise of God?

That could have been – and probably was – used an argument 15 years ago in Yeoville Bellevue when there was still a substantial population of whites in the area. However, the 2011 census set the white population in Yeoville Bellevue at 2%. It is not this 2% that forms the bulk of those complaining about noise and other challenges associated with the new churches.

Furthermore, because many of the churches are run by foreign nationals, criticism could be dismissed as another manifestation of xenophobia. But it's not just black South Africans that are complaining – many frustrated residents are themselves foreign nationals. One of my Congolese colleagues moved out of my street in sheer desperation after trying in vain to get a Nigerian church to reduce the noise of its services.

Just as there is a need to take account of and adapt to other manifestations of the 'informal economy', the new church phenomena (which is not unique to South Africa and certainly not unique to Yeoville Bellevue) needs to be understood and to be assisted to operate within the parameters of enlightened legislation.[69] However, the responsibility for ensuring that people who wish to pray have the right to do so without trampling on the rights of others around them rests fairly and squarely with the authorities. Without their effective intervention to ensure that churches, like any other institution, comply with by-laws and other legislation, the churches will operate as they choose, regardless of whether they are being unfair to others (which seems ironic in light of Christ's injunction to 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'). Perhaps an even more apt quote from the Bible is that of Romans 13 which says the following:



FIGURE 17: This church hall was created by breaking down all the internal walls of two semi-detached houses.

Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. [2] Consequently, whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgment on

themselves. [3] For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and you will be commended. [4] For the one in authority is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for rulers do not bear the sword for no reason. They are God's servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer. [5] Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also as a matter of conscience.

This is, of course, also a debatable argument, otherwise it would have been illegitimate to oppose apartheid! But it does point to the need, particularly in a secular state, for all to accept the right of a government to govern and the responsibility of the public to work within the ambit of (reasonable and fair) laws. It is certainly not acceptable for churches to claim the divine right to do whatever they want. To close this section, I will include a note from a community member on the issue of our new churches:

Let me say that the proliferation of churches with their con-artist pastors is one of the major problems facing Yeoville. It seems anybody can start a church wherever they want, make as much noise as they wish, collect money through stopping people on pavements and by knocking, uninvited, on their doors, dirty the pavements after their meals and prayer sessions and then expect taxpaying citizens to keep the council going so that non-taxpayers like profit-seeking churches can enjoy free services. Most of them are a disgrace – money-makers hiding behind God – and should be exposed for what they are.

About four years ago we had a church start a business in a house opposite Morris Heights, where I live in Kenmere Road (on the corner of Regent Street). Covenant Prayer Ministries would start its Thursday night service at 11pm and continue through to 2am and beyond. They beat drums, blasted horns, played musical instruments at full volume and sang and chanted for hours on end, with no regard whatever for the residents of the adjacent Caledonian Heights and Morris Heights opposite. I confronted the pastor and told him his flock were selfish and inconsiderate, and he remarked that at least they were better than when the house was a shebeen. I begged to differ: the boozers were far better behaved.

I and a few others warned the pastor that we would ensure he was removed from our area, even if we had to disrupt his noisy services with a vuvuzela orchestra of our own and a squad of cars honking their horns. He got the idea (quite an achievement for a pastor) and left our street. For that, some of us praised the lord.

Some two months ago an almighty noise erupted from a flat in our building at around 10.30pm. I ran upstairs to the third floor where the noise was coming from, as did a second-floor tenant clad in a vest and pyjama shorts. The people making the noise were new Ethiopian tenants holding a foot-stomping service and later claiming they had a cultural right to worship as they saw fit. I told them they had no right to disturb others and that for years none of our residents of all faiths ever saw fit to hold a noisy late-night service. I and another trustee told them it was not to happen again, but that they were free to worship in their flat as long as they did not disturb others.

*Sadly, one needs to constantly keep a check on Christian churches and worshippers, or they will take advantage of one's kindness and understanding and totally ruin your home and ne*ighbourhood.[65]

THE ROLE OF THE STATE The City of Johannesburg has made it very clear in their reply to my questions that churches are not free to operate as they wish, especially if it is outside the ambit of the law. However, attempts by members of the public to get the CoJ, the Metro Police, the SAPS, the noise pollution inspectors and the building control inspectors to act against churches are often unsuccessful. We need the state to take a firm stand and make it clear that there is the freedom to worship, but not if, in worshipping, churches are negatively impacting the rights of others.

COMMUNICATION Very few people know that there are regulations governing the establishment and operation of churches. If no-one is informing the public on a regular basis of these regulations, it is completely understandable that people motivated by a religious calling should feel that they have the right to worship as and where they see fit.

DISEMPOWERMENT My Congolese colleague who moved out of frustration at not being able to influence the church across the road to be more respectful of the neighbours was fortunate. He did not own his home and he had very few possessions. Many others who are also subject to the anti-social behaviour of some churches are not so lucky. Lacking an effective channel through which to lodge a complaint, in the reasonable expectation that it will be acted on, means they have to devise other means of escaping the noise and discomfort such as, for example, going elsewhere for the period during which the disturbance is taking place. Eventually they will sell and move out, unable to act effectively to protect their rights.

THE ACCOMMODATION CRISIS IN YEOVILLE BELLEVUE

I have included accommodation because it is one of the most critical challenges facing our neighbourhood and needs urgent attention. Furthermore, in Yeoville Bellevue as in other parts of the inner city (and the rest of the city), the provision of housing has also become part of the informal economy.

There are around 2 300 stands in Yeoville Bellevue. Of these, many are free-standing houses. There are also a number of semi-detached houses and small blocks of flats (four- and six-unit blocks). Less common, but there, are flat blocks of a larger size, though they generally do not go above six floors. Yeoville Bellevue does not have the high-rise blocks more commonly seen in Berea and Hillbrow.

According to the census of 2011, there are around 11 790 dwelling units in the neighbourhood (StatsSA, 2011). That includes all types of houses (so, for example, there are two 'dwelling units' in the case of semi-detached houses), as well as individual units in apartment blocks (flats).

The census of 1980 said there were around 10 000 people in Yeoville (Gnad, 1998). If we double that, we can say that for the Yeoville Bellevue area, the total population was around 20 000. This total dropped to around 16 400 by 1991 (Gnad, 1998). The most likely explanation for this reduction in population is that many family units moved out to newly-developed suburbs, as described in Chapter 2, and were replaced by young, single people who came into the area, attracted by the streetlife and nightlife of the 1980s/90s. Another (later) factor would have been the start of the out-migration of whites after the 2 February 1990 announcement by then-President de Klerk that liberation struggle organisations were to be unbanned.

The 2011 figure is 38 965 (StatsSA, 2011). This is probably conservative – the Yeoville Bellevue area comprises people who, for a variety of reasons, would have been only too happy to avoid being counted in the census.

There is chronic overcrowding, the extent of which is not fully known. However, there are a number of houses and flats in which entire families are living in one room, sharing bathroom and kitchen facilities with families in other rooms.

Every possible space is colonised as a sleeping area, including linen cupboards and pantries, in which it is possible to place one mattress and little else. In some houses, kitchens have been gutted of all fittings and converted into bedrooms, with cooking done on gas, paraffin or two-plate electric stoves in the room of each tenant.

Balconies of flats are enclosed, creating rooms which are reached by the tenant having to move through the room of another tenant. In some instances, rooms are divided by a curtain down the middle with one set of tenants living on one side and a second set living on the other side.

There are also instances of shared beds – a person doing day shift work sleeps on it at night and a night shift worker uses it during the day. The 'estate agency' on the wall of Shoprite along Bedford Rd has ads calling for a 'woman tenant to share a bed with a woman'. Is it a day/night arrangement or do the two women share one double bed together?

I have been into a derelict squatted house in which 10 men were sleeping in rows on the floor, mattresses pushed up against each other.

There are no state subsidies for rental accommodation; in Yeoville Bellevue, there is no social housing, no affordable housing and no emergency or shelter facility (when the previous councillor tried to get a shelter for the area, she was told that there were enough shelters in Hillbrow and Berea and that having one in Yeoville Bellevue would just attract more homeless to the area). And it does not seem likely that any of these will become available any time soon. There is, in short, a crisis in accommodation in the Yeoville Bellevue area, with a range of socio-economic consequences for the neighbourhood and its people.

Because of the lack of a plan by the state (or anyone else) for addressing this crisis, private enterprise – sometimes at its most crudely creative – has stepped in and is providing accommodation at market rates that take no account of the dire socio-economic circumstances of many of the people living in the area. Tenants have very little control over what rents they pay and the conditions under which they live. There are seldom leases signed, agreements are not committed to paper.

Friends of mine, a family of five, moved out of a flat on the promise of getting the hallway and lounge of a house for which they would pay a total of R2 000 per month.

When they arrived at the house and unloaded all of their goods onto the pavement, the owner of the house said: 'May I have the first month's rent of R2 500 before you move in?' They questioned this, saying: 'But you said R2 000!'

'No, I didn't', he replied. 'I said R2 500'. They had no choice but to pay the R2 500 (then and monthly after that) with nowhere else to go and all of their possessions stacked on the pavement.

Many tenants find themselves living under unacceptable conditions but cannot question their landlords for fear of being told to leave because ' there are many other people out there who would be happy to have this place'.



FIGURE 18: The Yeoville Bellevue 'estate agency' wall – this picture was taken at the end of the month when the wall is at its fullest with adverts offering and asking for accommodation. The kind of space needed or available gives a clear indication of the need for more decent, affordable accommodation.

Of the 11 790 dwelling units in Yeoville Bellevue, StatsSA says only 558 are owned by people who have paid off their bonds, with another 578 owners not having cleared their debts to the bank (StatsSA, 2011). The rest of the dwellings are either rented or squatted. This means that 1 136 properties are occupied by people who own the properties they live in. This is less than 10% of the total number of dwelling units, meaning that 90% of people are renting or living for free.

We have conducted many snap surveys in public meetings and workshops, asking people the following question: 'If you were to win the Lotto tomorrow and you were able to buy your own home, would you buy in Yeoville Bellevue?' Almost invariably the answer is no.

I asked the question most recently when I was giving a talk at a school assembly in Yeoville Bellevue at the request of the school principal. There were around 400 high school learners in the assembly, from Grades 8 through to 12. Before I spoke, some learners gave inputs on the topic of 'taking responsibility'. I kept to the same theme, linking the notion of responsibility more concretely to their immediate environment, ie Yeoville Bellevue.

As I was speaking, I got the sense that many of the learners didn't appear to think that taking responsibility in Yeoville Bellevue was that important. Even taking into account the fact that some learners don't live in the area which might make their disinterest understandable, this was disturbing. So I asked a similar question to the one we had asked in community meetings: 'How many of you will choose to stay on in Yeoville Bellevue once you have completed your schooling and are doing further studies or working?' Not one learner raised his or her hand.[71]

There is, therefore, little chance that someone putting their house or flat on the market will sell it to someone who plans to live in it. It is more likely to be bought by someone who intends to rent it out. Nothing wrong with that. There is a reasonably strong rental market in the country and there are many people who are happy to rent for extended periods, perhaps never to buy their own properties.

The problem is that, in Yeoville Bellevue, there is far more money to be made from renting a flat or house out room by room than as a single unit. And the demand for such space is there. So the overcrowding increases by day, with the new owners doing little to maintain their properties, being more interested in short-term financial returns. None of them is thinking about the infrastructure in the area (water supply, electricity, sewerage, roads) and how much increased pressure it can accommodate.

Properties are also bought for their potential use for other money-making enterprises, some of which we have already mentioned – *spaza* shops, salons, guest houses, liquor outlets, brothels and churches. What this does is take more and more dwelling units out of circulation in an environment which already has a shortage of adequate accommodation. The extent of economic penetration into the residential area can be seen in the map on page 30.

Of course, some of the entrepreneurial purchasers of property realise that they can get a much better return on their new acquisition if they increase the rentable space. While this initially took the form of crude back-yard shacks, the more likely scenario today is the building of a small block of flats, two to three stories high, behind an existing house. Even the cheapest of such structures represents a significant investment on the part of the owner and an entrepreneurial willingness to play a part in meeting the ever-increasing need for living space in the neighbourhood.

The problem with these developments, though, is that like so much that happens in Yeoville Bellevue, there are many that are not compliant with CoJ by-laws. All new building work (and some alterations and extensions) requires building approval from the CoJ. One reason for this is to ensure that the new structure is allowed in terms of land use policy for the area and for that particular property. Another more critical one is to ensure that the structure is built to acceptable standards and will not pose a health or disaster risk to tenants and to the surrounding community. Neighbours in surrounding properties are also supposed to have a right to comment on the plans and to object if they feel that they will in some way be negatively impacted by the development.

When unauthorised building operations are brought to the attention of the authorities, we (and they) experience the same problems as occur with other instances of non-compliance with by-laws. They issue notice to

the property owner to stop building immediately and to rectify the situation. In almost all cases, the property owner ignores the notice and continues. A further notice might be issued and then the matter is handed over to lawyers to initiate court action. This basically puts on hold any further action by the CoJ until the case reaches court which could take two or three years. Meanwhile, the property owner continues regardless, completes construction and begins to rent out the space.

This has now created an additional problem. Once people actually occupy the new property, it is very difficult to get them out. Court action is needed not just to deal with infringements of land use and building control regulations – it has now become necessary to secure an eviction order as well. The MMC for Planning told us in mid-2013 that the key is to stop the building from getting a roof on it. Once it has a roof, it can be occupied – and that leads to the need for an eviction order before action can be taken to deal with the building itself.[72] As with *spaza* shops, dealing with such a situation after the fact has major financial implications for the CoJ (see the section on *spaza* shops).

Hijacking of property (as opposed to squatting which normally doesn't involve an exchange of payment, making it more difficult to remove people), is a very lucrative example of the informal economy in housing. At times extremely organised and bold syndicates take over properties in broad daylight, breaking down doors, evicting people, replacing them with others, collecting rentals and enforcing their authority with weapons. On one occasion which ended in the murder of the lawful owner of a building, very possibly by the hijackers, those who took over the building brazenly handed a business card, with an address, to the person (a priest) who had been asked to watch over the property by the owner who was away for an extended period. They even took him to their offices in Braamfontein where they tried to persuade him to come into the 'business' with them.

Other forms of 'hijacking' are more sophisticated. One crooked businessperson would go to auctions and buy properties, making the necessary down-payment of perhaps 10% to secure the property. He would then proceed to collect money for rent and services from the tenants (and not pay over the money for services to the municipality), while defaulting on the payment of the balance owing for the original purchase. Before action could be taken against him, he would walk away, having made a handsome profit, and leave behind a lot of problems for others to sort out. The same person was director of a company which was sequestrated – there are still properties registered in the name of this company. Theoretically they have been forfeited to the state (to the national Department of Public Works). But the department has so many other challenges across the country with their own existing properties that a few additional houses and flats in Yeoville



FIGURE 19: A modest example of informal housing development in the back yard of a formal dwelling.



FIGURE 20: The flats behind this house have been built in the backyard of the property. No permission to build was sought. There is no way of knowing how safe the building is. There was also no opportunity for neighbours to object to an application to build. A policy is needed if such entrepreneurial initiatives are to be encouraged within a mandatory framework.

Bellevue are not of sufficient importance to attract their attention. This situation of limbo means that the buildings in question become ripe for hijacking by others or for squatters to move in, often with very problematic consequences for people living in the vicinity of such a property.

Attempts so far to deal with hijacked and squatted properties in the inner city of Johannesburg have focused mainly on high-rise buildings in Hillbrow, Berea, Joubert Park and the CBD. There appears to be no strategy or intention to deal with such problems in Yeoville Bellevue at the moment, probably because they are mainly small properties and do not pose as great a social and health problem as the high-rises.

The overcrowding and competition for accommodation also leads to xenophobic tensions. Many South Africans are convinced that the housing crisis is caused only by the presence of foreign nationals and blame government for not restricting the flow of people into the country. While there is an element of logic to this contention, it does not take into account that the pressure of galloping urbanisation that is challenging the capacity of Gauteng is as much a result of domestic migration as it is the influx of people from outside our borders. In other words, even in the exceedingly unlikely event that all foreign migrants were to be removed, the demand for accommodation would remain critical and the departing foreign nationals would quickly be replaced by internal migrants seeking their fortune in the big city.

What are the solutions to this accommodation crisis, to the overcrowding and the associated social and health problems? Should there, as some people would have it, be a crackdown on all land use and building control violations in an effort to return Yeoville Bellevue to the one-family per dwelling unit situation that existed in the pre-1994 period (give or take a student commune here and there?) Does it mean we want to preserve the infrastructure of the area unchanged and therefore work towards a dramatic reduction in the number of people who live in the area? Do we want to engineer things so that the number of home-owners increases to over 50% as it was in the past? Do we want the area to be 'gentrified', bringing in people who have the money to buy property and maintain it, even if this means that thousands of poorer people will be displaced as a result?

I don't think so. There is a new reality in Yeoville Bellevue which cannot be wished away. Gauteng is a magnet for people from all over the country, Africa and the world. This tiny province of South Africa reportedly has the fifth largest economy on the continent after South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt and Algeria.[73] In other words, this one little region has a bigger economy than 49 countries on the African continent (and a number of other countries in the rest of the world too). Is it any wonder that so many people from so many parts of the country and the continent converge on the place? The population of the province is increasing at a remarkable rate. In the 1996 census, there were 7 348 423 people counted in Gauteng. This grew to 9 388 885 by 2001 and 12 272 263 by 2011 (Gauteng City Region Observatory, 2012). This means that the population has almost doubled over 15 years. 2011 was the first census in which Gauteng overtook Kwazulu-Natal as the most populous province in the country. Although it is the third smallest province in South Africa, Kwazulu-Natal is still five times the size of Gauteng.

And that's not all. In a newspaper report on 19 August 2013, the Gauteng Department of Transport, which unveiled an ambitious plan to transform public transport in the province over the next 25 years, said that the population of Gauteng is expected to be 18,7m by then.[74]

If we do not accept this reality – in Gauteng, in Johannesburg and in Yeoville Bellevue – we will never find appropriate ways of addressing the challenges we face currently and will increasingly face in the future.

The CoJ has acknowledged the broader situation in its Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) 2040. It has therefore adopted a policy of densification, requiring innovative ways of creating more living space for more people per square kilometre within the existing boundaries of Johannesburg and not spreading out further and creating transport and other logistical problems. The Corridors of Freedom project – creating efficient

new transport corridors to link areas historically (and currently) separated as a result of apartheid policies – includes plans for densification along these improved transport routes. This will impact on the northern boundary of Yeoville Bellevue along which the Louis Botha stretch of the Rea Vaya rapid bus system will run, linking the CBD and Alexandra.

But the Rea Vaya developments will not be enough to address the challenges facing Yeoville Bellevue. The area needs its own housing plan which should include densification, the provision of affordable and social housing, new, more flexible, enforceable and enforced land use and building control policies to encourage but manage entrepreneurial private sector initiatives to provide more accommodation, and effective mechanisms to protect tenants from landlords and landlords from tenants – and, of course, creative ways to fast-track a resolution to the current problems of hijacking, squatting and property neglect and abandonment. Such a housing plan must be developed within a broader socio-economic plan for the neighbourhood and comprise bold new initiatives, including perhaps a managed move away from the current strict zoning approach which separates the commercial sector from the residential sector towards a mixed-use approach for some or all of the area, *subject to the findings of a full participatory process involving all stakeholders in Yeoville Bellevue*.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE The CoJ has come up with many ideas for addressing the housing challenges of the inner city – the Bad Buildings Project, the Better Buildings Project, the Inner City Property Scheme (the very latest is a planned 'Problem Properties' bylaw which is currently being debated.). None of these has made a significant impact. Even if there have been some successes, they have not been in Yeoville Bellevue because, as I noted above, there is no housing plan for the area. There are no solutions offered to residents who find themselves living next door to an abandoned, squatted or hijacked property. Very often, as is the case with most issues, we are told that the CoJ is unable to act for a variety of reasons, including legal complications or a lack of resources. Even privately-run social housing companies complain about the frustration of city systems putting obstacles in their way.

COMMUNICATION There is a critical lack of information and communication on housing rights and responsibilities. To bridge this gap, the Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment Studies (CUBES) at Wits University's School of Architecture and Planning, together with human rights organisation Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI), have compiled three booklets on housing – one on renting property, the other on owning property, and the third on the challenges associated with sectional title schemes. But there is also an urgent need for communication between different stakeholders on the challenges around housing and the need for solutions. As with so many other issues, the state is not saying anything about the housing challenges in Yeoville Bellevue and is not creating the space for a dialogue which could result in a breakthrough.

DISEMPOWERMENT There is very little that ordinary citizens can do about the plethora of problems around housing in Yeoville Bellevue. There have been attempts by individuals and organisations to address the issue, but none has evolved into anything approaching a solution. The levels of frustration are such that people grab at straws that are offered to them, even if it means that they might be breaking the law. This makes some of them vulnerable to opportunists who are only too willing to make money out of the misery of others.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has focussed on some of the key challenges facing the Yeoville Bellevue community. And the core message that comes through all of them is that, in relation to these and other challenges, the people of Yeoville Bellevue (I cannot speak directly for other areas, but I think it is fair to say this might be true

for them, too) feel alienated and disempowered. They are not happy with the conditions under which they live, but they don't feel able to change them. They are concerned about the impact of anti-social activities in the neighbourhood, but they don't feel their concerns are being heard by those who have the authority and power to do something to stop those activities. They are worried about the future of the area, about the unmanaged changes that are taking place, but they feel they have no control over the shape and form of that future.

Our democracy is founded on a wide range of principles and policies which, if properly implemented, should, in fact, ensure that people *can* change things, *will* be heard and *do* have some control over their immediate environment. But the way in which the State operates is crucial to the realisation of these possibilities. We need a state that really is committed to creating an enabling environment for its citizens (as it says it is), an environment which makes it possible for those citizens to have a real say over decisions that are taken and processes that are undertaken that are going to directly or indirectly impact on their lives and livelihoods.

In Chapter 6, I will look at some of the ways in which we, through both 'invited' and 'invented' spaces[75], have tried to take on the challenge of shaping our own environment and whether we have been successful or not in our endeavours.

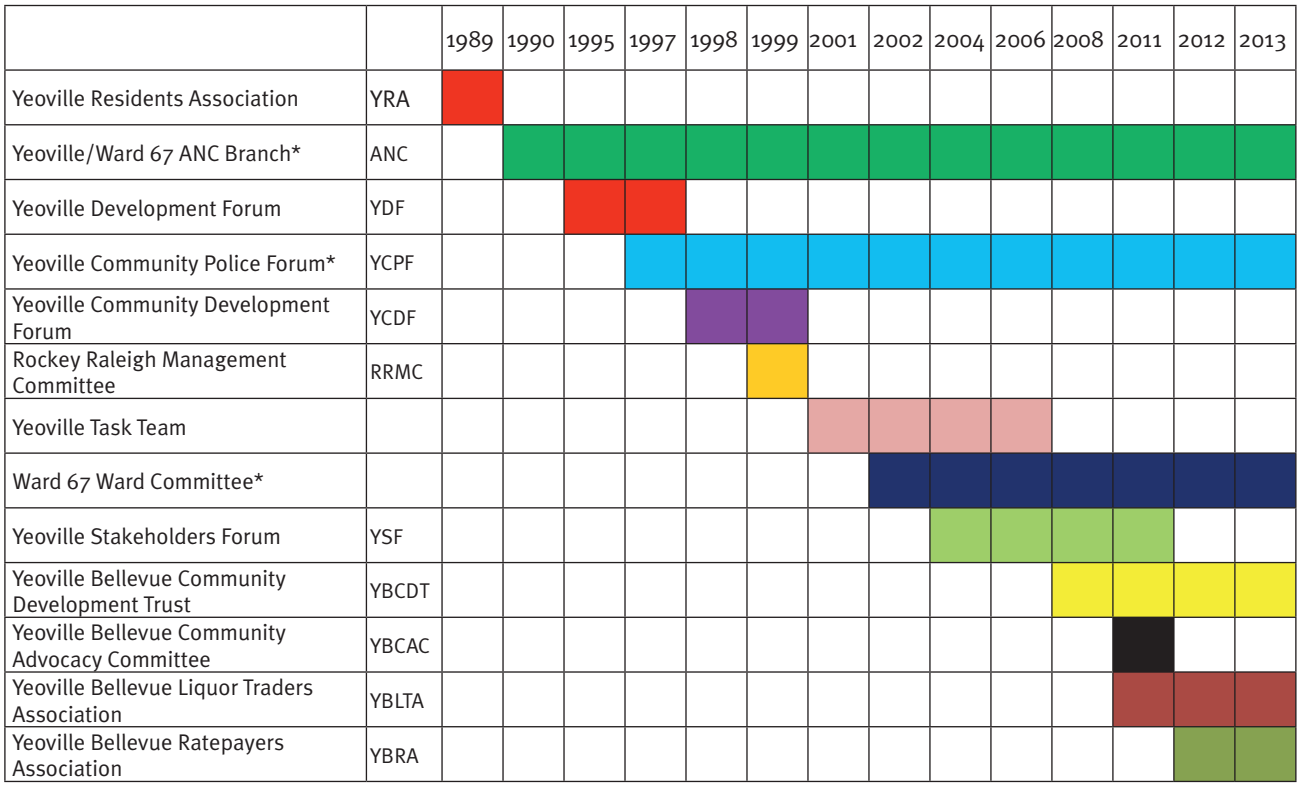
CHAPTER 6

1997 TO TODAY: ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSES

Yeoville Bellevue has not been short of organisational responses to the many challenges facing the neighbourhood. These responses have been varied, both in form and in effectiveness. Some have been initiated by people in the community ('invented spaces'[76]), some are creations of the state ('invited spaces'[77]). This chapter looks at these responses and how sustained and effective they have been.

We will be covering the period 1995 – 2013. Some organisations have emerged, disappeared and re-emerged over this time. Others have risen and fallen, never to rise again. The following timeline tracks the paths of the organisations that are included in this chapter. It does not include every formation in the neighbourhood. This is because the main focus is on organisations in which I have had some involvement.

Readers who have some knowledge of organisation in Yeoville Bellevue will forgive me if am not 100% accurate. My aim here is to reflect tendencies rather than give a detailed history.



The three organisations which have had the greatest longevity (marked with asterisks) are, unsurprisingly, 'invited spaces', one being a structure of the ruling party, the other two initiated by the state.[78] However, none have had unbroken periods of existence. The ANC branch had at least one period in which it was 'not in good standing' and had to be re-launched. The Police Forum and Ward Committee have had to be re-constituted a number of times, usually without a handover from the previous leadership, which means that there is no institutional memory.

Telling the story of each of the organisations posed a problem, viz. that there wasn't a neat chronological beginning and end of one organisation before another one started. I could tell a fully chronological story, interspersing accounts of developments in different organisations as I moved from year to year. Alternatively, I could tell the full story of one organisation from beginning to present, knowing that I might have to go back in time to begin the story of the next organisation.

In the end, I decided to go with the latter option. If it gets confusing, referring to the timeline at the beginning of this chapter should help.

YEOVILLE COMMUNITY POLICE FORUM: 1995 - PRESENT



FIGURE 21: Yeoville Community Police Forum logo.

Community Police Forums (CPFs) are statutory structures, established in terms of the Police Act (1995), which promote community participation in policing and community oversight over the newly-named South African Police Services (SAPS). CPFs have operated across the country since the mid-1990s with varying degrees of success.

In Yeoville Bellevue, unfortunately, the CPF has never consolidated itself into a strong, consistent organisation. Since late 1997, the CPF has been more a site of struggle for power by individuals and political entities than a constructive mechanism for the involvement of the community in the promotion of effective policing. Of course, this is not to deny that successive CPFs have managed, despite these problems, to do some good work.

In 1997, Yeoville had a CPF which seemed to have established itself fairly successfully and was in a cooperative working relationship with the Yeoville Police Station. This seemed a good place to start inserting myself into Yeoville Bellevue community issues and so I started attending CPF meetings.

At the end of year, however, the local ANC branch, which had begun flexing its political muscle within the community in the post-1994 period, decided it needed to have more influence over the CPF and attended the 1997 Annual General Meeting (AGM) with the intention of taking the organisation over. There was a belief held by some that, because the ANC was the majority party at all levels of government, representation on community structures should also be dominated by the party.

This makes sense insofar as any political party is interested in extending their hegemony – playing a leadership role in community structures, statutory or otherwise, seems a good way of doing this. However, embarking on a strategy of taking over existing structures was not necessarily the best approach, according to a provincial leader of the ANC who came to address the branch around that time. She argued that it was far more effective for the party to strategically deploy people to work in such structures (not necessarily at a leadership level even), and to influence policy and practise from within, partly just through working hard to achieve the aims and objectives of such structures.

In addition, while the Police Act of 1995 does not give details of how a CPF should or shouldn't work, the Interim Regulations (2001) are more explicit. Clause 6(4) says the following:

(4) A community police forum, sub-forum or board is a non-political entity and no member of such a forum or board may -

(a) wear any insignia or identification mark in respect of any political party, organisation, movement or body while attending a meeting of a community police forum, sub-forum or board; or

(b) utilize his or her membership of a community police forum, sub-forum or board to further or prejudice party-political interests.

In 1999, I was an additional member of the Executive of the CPF. It had survived the challenges of 1997/8 and had new office bearers. However, it was struggling to find direction and beset by internal squabbles as well as by changes in the management of the Yeoville Police Station. It eventually fell apart and had to be restarted from scratch in late 2000. I was involved in the interim committee which worked to re-establish the CPF at the initiative of the new station commander. It took some time for the organisation to rebuild its capacity, during which time I withdrew because of other demands on my time. A fresh executive was elected in 2002 and set about developing new programmes for the organisation, including the production and distribution of a community newsletter.

Unfortunately, this particular CPF Executive found itself in conflict with the station commander and with officials from the Department of Community Safety. An appeal for the Gauteng Member of the Executive Committee (MEC)[79] for Community Safety to intervene was made, but too late to rescue the situation. As a consequence of these difficulties, the entire Executive – probably one of the best Executives the CPF had had – resigned. I personally tried to persuade some of them to remain to guarantee continuity, but they had had too much and refused to reconsider their position.

A completely new Executive was elected in 2005 and set about (once again) rebuilding the CPF virtually from scratch. Within a year the chairperson had resigned. After a period of hiatus, the station commander approached a charismatic and articulate pastor running a church in the area and persuaded him to assume the position of chairperson.

His presence helped to stabilise the CPF and, because he had a good relationship with the Ward Councillor and the station commander, the organisation went through a productive period, although it did seem sometimes to be a one-person operation. This created a crisis for the CPF in the second half of 2009 when the chairperson resigned after being vilified in a public meeting hosted by the Ward Councillor.

Like the previous Executive, he was not open to those of us who pleaded with him to stay in his post until the next AGM which was taking place later in 2009. At that gathering, the ANC Youth League swamped the meeting with supporters and elected their own Executive. Some of the old Executive were retained as additional members, but once again, there was no handover, so the new Executive had to start at the beginning again.

In early 2010, the YBCDT worked closely with members of the YCPF on security arrangements for the Africa Week Festival. In late 2010, I was co-opted onto the Executive and asked by the chairperson to take the position of treasurer.

I agreed to work with the CPF because of the important role that it should play in supporting and monitoring the SAPS in the execution of their crime-fighting duties. Socio-economic development is much more difficult in a community beset by crime and so I believed that the YBCDT should play a role in strengthening the YCPF. The young people who had been 'elected' via the Youth League in 2009 had taken on their responsibilities with an unexpected level of seriousness and, in fact, seemed to have shifted away from being an overt arm of the Youth League (something that appeared not to please some members of the League).

It was clear to me that the CPF needed help and the first thing I did was to offer them office space so that they could function more efficiently. Up until then, they had shared space with the SAPS in a very over-crowded station. I also worked to familiarise the other members with all of the enabling legislation and regulations relevant to CPFs – they were very uninformed about some key issues which made them vulnerable to those in the SAPS and in other quarters who wanted to shape the CPF to serve their particular interests. There was even a fight about whether the CPF should have moved out of the police station. I was able, quoting the Interim Regulations (2001), to show that a Station Commander is, in fact, under no obligation to provide premises to CPFs and should only do so if there is enough space in the station and if the CPF has nowhere else to go, and then only on a temporary basis.

Gradually, the team began to gain more confidence, both in their interaction with the SAPS and in their relationships with others in the community. I also encouraged my colleagues in the Executive to take the moral high ground and deal decisively with people in the CPF and related structures who were acting in ways which were bringing the CPF into disrepute and undermining its work.

My work in the CPF also exposed me to the challenges facing the Victim Empowerment Centre (VEC). The VEC is located in the grounds of the Yeoville Police Station and provides support to people who come to the police station to open cases of domestic violence, child abuse, rape and other such crimes. VECs are a programme of the Gauteng Department of Social Development and are also supposed to be supported by the SAPS. However, the Yeoville VEC had been struggling and so welcomed support from the CPF, especially with funding and other resources.

After what I thought was a productive two years, during which the YCPF and the YBCDT worked closely around liquor issues, hijacking and general illegalities, the YCPF imploded, largely as a result of renewed interference in the organisation, a failure by the Executive Committee to provide effective, principled leadership, and a lack of consistent support from the SAPS and the Department of Community Safety. My concern about the endemic lack of ethics in the organisation came to a head when I was confronted by one too many examples of the failure of members of the Executive to act in a principled and honest manner. The issues that concerned me were:

- An Executive member was accused of whipping two young schoolgirls in the Victim Empowerment Centre with a sjambok. Other Executive members were initially unwilling to act against her.
- There were a number of Street Patrollers (community members who patrol to establish a visible presence in an area and discourage crime) who were accused of illegal acts and the Executive did not think it important to take them through a disciplinary process.
- The CPF has Sector Forums for the different parts of the policing precinct. A Sector Forum head was accused of beating a young woman unconscious in a *shebeen*. Key Executive members saw it happen and did not think to report it to the rest of the Executive in order for a decision to be made on how to deal with the issue.
- An allegation of fraud was made against a key member of the CPF Executive. Senior members of the Executive had known about the allegations for more than six months and not brought it to the attention of the rest of the Executive for a decision on how to deal with the issue.

What became clear to me was that, when it came to a choice between acting according to principle and making decisions based on friendships and social or political connections, principle always took second place. This was unacceptable to me in an organisation that was supposed to working in the interests of a safe, crime-free community and so I resigned. I was invited to stay on as an advisor, but resigned in that capacity as well when members of the leadership failed to support me in meetings where the CPF came under attack from hostile elements in the community because of my continued involvement.

The Executive was by now non-functional and so I proposed that a Task Team be formed comprising representatives from each of the three sectors, as well as the Cluster CPF chairperson, the Gauteng Department of Community Safety representative and the Station Commander. The Task Team was itself not as effective or consistent as it might have been. I myself withdrew from it in renewed frustration, but not before I had drafted an analysis of why I believed the organisation had never managed to establish itself properly and kept on having to be re-invented every few years.



FIGURE 22: A Yeoville Community Police Forum meeting in the Recreation Centre in 2011. Much progress was made in rebuilding the organisation and capacitating people, but then the sabotage started again.

Despite the challenges, the Task Team managed to pull off a credible election and 2014 might see a significant renewal of the organisation, depending on the resilience of the best of those who have been elected onto the new Executive. However, despite the fact that I have the best repository of minutes and other documents relating to the previous CPF Executive and the one before that, I have not been approached to provide these to the new Committee. So they too have started from the beginning again. I now attend sector meetings as an ordinary member.

YEOVILLE DEVELOPMENT FORUM: 1995 - 1997

When I began to work on Yeoville Bellevue matters, the only community-based structure I knew about was the Yeoville Development Forum (YDF) which was started in 1995 in the wake of a vigorous campaign, led by local IT company and internet cafe owner Bruce Gillespie, to prevent a section of the Yeoville Park being fenced off for the benefit of nervous white pensioners who wanted a place to park their cars 'safely'. This successful 'people's campaign' to keep the park open for everyone led to discussions about the future of our rapidly-changing suburbs so the YDF produced a draft development plan for the area in 1996.

I was not involved in this process. In interviews with some of those involved, many of whom were white ANC members or supporters, I learned that there was concern that some politicians and officials in the new democratic local government structures appeared to dismiss the initiative as a last-ditch attempt by whites to hold onto the past and prevent change in previously-white areas. There is no doubt that there were many whites still in the area at the time who would have preferred the area to remain unchanged, but this cannot be said of most of those in the Development Forum, who produced a Yeoville Development Plan Framework (1996) for consideration by the community and the-then municipal authority. It is useful to read the preamble to the document:

> *Yeoville, Bellevue and Bellevue East have been seen as beacons of non-racialism in the new South Africa. The area is currently undergoing a series of demographic changes at the racial, ethnic and class levels. Historically, Yeoville was a predominantly white, but largely cosmopolitan area consisting of a large Orthodox Jewish population, a community of artists, writers, journalists and musicians, a large student population and a significant number of domestic workers. Given its alternative and racially more accommodating image, Yeoville increasingly became a 'grey' area during the 1980s, which state intervention failed to reverse. This laid the basis for the vibrant non-racial community which Yeoville has become during the 1990s. This non-racial community is now threatened by the spread of inner city decay.*
>
> *The Yeoville Development Forum is a community-based organisation formally established in April 1995, in line with RDP[80] principles, in order to facilitate popular participation in community-based development*

initiatives. The forum has grappled with the challenge of arresting the spread of inner city decay. Several issues have been identified by concerned residents in a series of public meetings held since the forum was launched. A clear need has arisen for an initiative which, with community participation, evolves into a comprehensive approach to development in the area. It is in this context that the forum proposes the following framework for a Development Plan in Yeoville.

It must be stated that the Forum is constitutionally committed to a participatory and democratic process in developing and realising any such plan. Therefore, we see this document as an initial step in this process.

It should be clear from the above that those involved in the drafting of the proposal were not at all interested in preserving Yeoville Bellevue as a white area. Furthermore, the preamble makes it clear that the Forum did not consider that the *'spread of inner city decay'* was because of the area becoming non-racial. It says, instead, that the now *'non-racial community'* was, in fact, *'threatened by inner city decay'* (my emphasis).

In addition, the proposal itself contained a number of suggestions which took account of the new reality in the area, including the needs of less-advantaged members of the community, most of whom would have been black. These included addressing the issue of homelessness and the need to provide for managed street trading as a way of creating income-generating opportunities for unemployed people.

In the plan, which was drafted in February 1996, the writers refer to the 'inert' nature of the pre-democracy municipal council and looked to the new local authority and councillors to support their proposals. However, it seems that a lack of interest in the plan by the new council (and the afore-mentioned suspicion of the Forum by some in council) resulted in the plan being still-born and may have contributed to the dissolution of the Yeoville Development Forum which had its last meeting in April 1997.

YEOVILLE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FORUM: 1998 - 1999

Having established that the old Forum no longer met, I began to look at ways of re-establishing interest in the structure or in a new, but similar organisation. In working with the CPF, I had met with other concerned residents who also wanted to see renewed efforts to deal with the challenges of urban decay in Yeoville Bellevue. In addition, I had decided to use the local knock-and-drop newspaper – the North Eastern Tribune – to highlight some of the issues in our community and to encourage more people to get involved in development issues. Very soon, it was possible to have a meeting of interested people and to establish a steering committee of which I was elected the chair. The aim of the steering committee was to draft a constitution, attract more members and, at some point in the future, have an AGM and elect an Executive. In the meantime, the steering committee also worked on specific projects, such as working with council to improve the play equipment in parks.

An interesting situation then developed. The ANC branch, which had in late 1997 attempted to take over the CPF, seemed to have decided that they also wanted to influence and possibly control what was happening with the Development Forum. It became clear to me after a short while that there were people in the branch, of which I was a paid-up member, who were concerned that I was not working directly under the direction of the ANC on the re-building of the Forum. Eventually matters came to a head when I was more or less 'instructed' by the branch to hold elections as soon as possible. I was told that the Steering Committee was not a 'legitimate' structure and as such it needed to be replaced by an Executive elected at a public meeting.

While I and other members of the Executive agreed in principle with this, we also felt that it was premature, that the organisation needed to consolidate itself first and gain some credibility. In addition, I was concerned that, because of my already high profile, I would automatically be elected chairperson. I was happy to serve

as chair, but I thought it would be better for others in the organisation to develop a profile through working in the organisation and thus allow for a more open election at an AGM.

I explained this to the ANC branch, suggesting that the proposed elective AGM be held much later in the year. This would have been even more possible had the branch agreed to support a proposal I had made to use the offices of the Yeoville Swimming Pool for the months of April to August, when the pool was closed for the winter. The offices were on the main street of the suburb, very visible and very accessible. Through doing this, I also wanted to test a theory I had been developing – that a community structure such as the YCDF would never be successful if it didn't have an office and other resources and ideally at least one full-time staff member. If the use of the swimming pool offices was successful in boosting the profile and popularity of the YCDF, then we would find a way to rent space at the end of the winter period when the pool would once again be operational.

The branch responded in a long email, implying that there was something sinister in our wanting to have a period in which people could become better known to the community. I got the impression that they might have been suggesting that it was *I* that wanted to develop greater popularity before having an election[81]. And they went further.

After I had asked for ANC support for our application to use the swimming pool offices (the swimming pool is a council facility and I knew that an endorsement by the ANC branch would carry weight with the ANC-led council), they suggested that I write a formal letter to the council asking for permission to use the offices. I did so.

Within a couple of days, I received a reply. It said basically that it had come to the council's attention that the YCDF was not a legitimate structure as it did not have an elected leadership and therefore it was not seen as representing the community and therefore we could not use the swimming pool offices until we had had an election. The letter was signed by an official in the Eastern Metropolitan Local Council (EMLC), who also happened to be a member of the Executive of the Yeoville ANC branch!

With this, I realised that we were not going to make progress if we did not have an election. So, despite my misgivings, I discussed the matter with the Steering Committee and we agreed to have the elective AGM in the middle of that year.

At the AGM, I was unsurprisingly elected as chairperson. Apart from the person who was elected as deputy chairperson, but failed to attend any meetings and had to be replaced, we had a team of dedicated Yeoville Bellevueites with a good race and gender mix, who went on to work hard for a safer, cleaner, more caring neighbourhood.

The ANC had no further grounds to challenge the existence or legitimacy of the YCDF and we developed a good working relationship with the branch over the next months – I continued to be a card-carrying member of the organisation myself, though I always made it clear that the YCDF needed to remain non-aligned politically if it was to attract the support of all sectors of the community (this requirement was enshrined in the YCDF constitution).

We never did get the swimming pool offices, but we continued working, lobbying the authorities on a number of issues, working on various projects and ensuring that we continued to get coverage in the local newspaper. We were so successful at this that the editor eventually decided, at our suggestion, to establish a regular column for community development voices in the paper. However, Caxton, the company producing most of the knock-and-drop (free) newspapers in the city, decided to stop distributing the paper in Yeoville Bellevue a couple of years later, largely because of the demographic changes in the area – we were told that Yeoville Bellevue no longer 'fitted the profile' of the paper's target audience.

We were told there was another reason too – the papers would be delivered by truck to the area and dumped in large wrapped bundles on various street corners. The people delivering the papers door-to-door would then collect them from there and distribute them. It seemed, however, that some entrepreneurial spirits were helping themselves to the bundles and selling them to a paper recycling company.

We had a good working relationship with the then-Ward Councillor, Sisa Njikelana, and we also developed a constructive relationship with some of the officials in the council. There are a few projects that came out of this collaboration that are worth mentioning.

The people's stairway into the park: Access to the park was through only two entrances, with the rest of it fenced off. We wanted to make the park more user-friendly, to invite people into it, to build on the idea that it was a people's park, by taking down the retaining wall on the corner and building some new steps into the park.



FIGURE 23: Breaking down and building up: we knocked down the wall at the corner and built our steps. A unique exercise.

We got permission from council to do the work ourselves as long as we paid for it. Bruce Gillespie, owner of the first internet cafe in Johannesburg and the main force behind the 1995 fight against fencing of the park for parking, was willing to put up some money. The steps were completed and really did open up the park. They were curved steps, not very symmetrical and with wavy edges. But they were bold and robust and inviting – thus achieving their purpose. Someone even painted extravagant designs on them – a kind of African animal chic.

For years they remained in place until the JDA came and revamped the park. There are new steps there today, in fact there are many access points into the park now – too many, some people argue. There is an unfortunate tendency, in council and in some quarters of the community, to believe that, if there is a problem of security or of misuse of a facility, the answer is to put a wall or a fence around it and restrict access. I believe rather that the solution really lies in effective maintenance and management and with promoting a sense of popular ownership and pride in such a place, not with keeping people out.

Yeoville Village environmental project: When the national Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) offered to contribute a significant sum of money to Alexandra[82] and to an inner city community for the establishment of environmental programmes, I was asked to work with DEAT and the City Council on getting the inner city project going.

I suggested that the project take place in Yeoville Bellevue because we were already an active community, we had access to some land that could be used for such a project, and we had a ready-made plan called Yeoville Village (1998) which had been presented for consideration to the YCDF shortly before that. It included

recycling, gardening and raising environmental awareness. It was agreed that it would form the basis for the planned environmental project in Yeoville Bellevue and a launch was arranged in 1998, attended by then-Premier Mathole Motshekga and then-deputy minister of DEAT, the late Peter Mokaba.

The manager of the project (the young man who had drafted the original Yeoville Village proposal) set up a Trust to oversee the work of the programme. Unfortunately, he overloaded the Trust with people from one political party and missed the opportunity to draw in other non-political role-players in the community, eg a school teacher, a priest, a business person etc.

Conflict within the organisation led to the dismissal of the manager and the programme gradually collapsed, partly because the original vision was lost, and there were also rumours that some of the people who took it over saw it mainly as an opportunity to enrich themselves.

The problems the programme would have addressed are still there: low environmental awareness (and dirty streets), unemployment, poverty and a lack of food security. Recycling happens in the area, but informally through individual 'entrepreneurs' who load trolleys with recyclable material and take it to receiving depots in Doornfontein and Jeppe.

Rockey Raleigh Management Committee Development Plan: The third project was a proposal to update and extend the development plan first put forward by the Yeoville Community Forum in 2006, though the focus would be on Rockey Raleigh St as the economic hub of the neighbourhood. Together with Ward Councillor Sisa Njikelana, we had established the Rockey Raleigh Management Committee (RRMC), based loosely on the concept of the Business (or City) Improvement Districts that were beginning to be established in Johannesburg.

The RRMC was granted R50 000 by the-then council which was used partly to commission an architect to work on the plan and partly to pay the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) to assist us to set up a City Improvement District (CID)[83] in Rockey Raleigh St.

We were not very successful with the CID. Most property owners refused to get involved because they said they were already paying tax for the council to do the work and they couldn't see why they should now pay extra for it to be done privately.

The development plan was finalised in 1999 and presented to council. It didn't bring anything remarkably new to the table. Many of its conclusions were the same as those of the 1996 plan, as were the solutions it proposed. But it consolidated those conclusions and solutions and I added one important component: the suggestion that the future economy and development of Yeoville Bellevue lay in promoting the unique pan-African diversity of the area by developing Yeoville Bellevue as an 'African destination' for domestic and international tourists wanting an authentic African experience (food, music, art, ethnic clothing, books).

We didn't even get a response from council. This could have been because of the dramatic structural changes which were happening within the council. A national decision had been taken to consolidate major urban areas into metropolitan structures with a single administration, usually under an executive mayor (previously, mayors were ceremonial figures). The four Metropolitan Substructures of which Soweto, Johannesburg, Randburg, Sandton and other major areas were a part (the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Metropolitan Substructures) were to be dissolved and the City of Johannesburg Metro created.

After the municipal elections of 2000, the Ward Councillor for the newly-created Ward 67 – which included most of Yeoville Bellevue – asked me to submit the plan to the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) process of the City of Johannesburg as a planning proposal for Yeoville Bellevue. We did so two or three years in a row. However, the first time we got a sense that our proposals might have been considered was with the drafting

in 2009 of the Inner City Urban Design Implementation Plan (ICUDIP) which endorsed our view that the area should be developed as an African destination.

National Heritage Day Festival: The other big thing that happened in 1998, which wasn't directly linked to council, was the YCDF's hosting of a festival in Yeoville Bellevue for National Heritage Day (24 September). A cultural subcommittee of the YCDF pulled together a very successful event, which included Yeoville Bellevue's first radio station. We only had a 10-day license, but the aim was to use the station as an integral part of the event and also to test out the idea of establishing a permanent community radio station to serve the area.

REFLECTIONS ON THE YCDF

The YCDF was a good little structure and it worked well in a number of respects. However, it suffered from a number of weaknesses, the same weaknesses which posed a challenge to other similar organisations before and after the YCDF. These include a lack of resources, not having a permanent base, not having enough active members to share the considerable load, governmental inertia and resistance, and political interference. There was also a major institutional flaw.

The YCDF was a community-based organisation (CBO). For most people, it seemed to make sense to have a public meeting to which everyone in the area was invited. Those attending the meeting would decide on the aims and objectives of the organisation, they would agree on a constitution, they would elect office-bearers and play a role in some of the sub-committees which were being established.

But it is an ultimately undemocratic, or perhaps more correctly, anti-democratic system. And this is, I believe, what led to its demise.

Our experience of the YCDF at that time was that it had a shifting support base. Each meeting would have a different group of people, some of whom had been at the previous meeting and some who had not. This meant that there was no consistency.

It meant that those who happened to come to a particular AGM would elect an Executive. Some of the people who came to subsequent meetings would not have elected that Executive and might not even know them. It's hard to see how an Executive can be held properly accountable under such circumstances.

It also meant that the work of the organisation was held back as issues had to be revisited all the time for the benefit of those who were coming for the first time or who had missed a few meetings. It sometimes meant that decisions taken by one group in one meeting could get rescinded by a different configuration of people in a subsequent meeting.

Another challenge was holding individuals accountable for their actions and behaviour. If there was someone in the meeting who was behaving in a destructive manner, it was difficult to deal properly with them, especially if they were to call on their 'democratic right' to speak or act as they please. This meant that many meetings descended into chaos, paralysed by people who were more interested in pursuing their own agenda than in helping to build the organisation and take forward its work.

In 1999, the YCDF had a flawed AGM. The outcome was contested by some members. At the same time, there was a strong lobby for changing the structure of the organisation, the main change to be that membership would be organisational and not individual. The new Executive (I had stood down as chair at the AGM) was suspended and work started on revising the constitution to address the structural problems. However, there was so much bad blood as a result of the botched AGM and the suspension of the Executive that the YCDF

faded away and was never resuscitated. After the 2000 municipal elections, the new councillor kept asking me to re-establish the YCDF, but I told her that I was not in a position to do so, especially because of work pressures. I also pointed out that the new constitution was in place and that anyone in the community was free to take the initiative – I said that I would be happy to assist if someone did so. However, this did not happen.

Later on, in 2003, as I mention in my account later of my experiences with the Ward Committee structure, I made a proposal that we should form an inclusive development forum for the area and, in 2005, this came to fruition with the launch of the Yeoville Stakeholders (Liaison) Forum (YS(L)F). The work on the constitution of the YCDF was not wasted as it formed the basis for the founding document of the new structure.

NOMINATION AS WARD COUNCILLOR: 1998/2006

In 1998, the then Ward Councillor – Sisa Njikelana – was offered a job in the office of the Premier of the Eastern Cape and decided to resign. Out of the blue, I was approached by none other than the very ANC branch executive member who had signed the letter from the EMLC refusing to let the YCDF use the swimming pool offices! He said that he was speaking on behalf of a grouping of people in the ANC branch who wanted me to stand as councillor in the by-election. I was somewhat surpised, given what had happened earlier in the year, but I agreed to stand because I thought it may provide a great opportunity for me to have a significant influence on development in the area. However, I was going into the situation with no illusions.

Firstly, I was quite certain that I did not have the support of the whole branch. There were definitely members of the Executive who were still hostile to me. Secondly, I had read the Code of Conduct for councillors and it seemed to me that councillors actually had limited power to really influence things, especially with respect to development planning and service delivery. Nevertheless, I went ahead.

My nomination was indeed contested by some within the ANC branch. There were two other nominees, both black women which put me at something of a disadvantage as an aging white male. I thought, however, that my chances of success were reasonably good because of my long-standing involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle and my work in Yeoville Bellevue over the previous twelve months.

But it was not to be. There were, as I suspected, still people within the organisation who were very hostile to me. And they decided to use the race card to discredit me. Caucus groups were held at which people were asked to consider whether they really thought that ‘a white man could represent them’. My past record in the anti-apartheid struggle and in Yeoville Bellevue was of no significance to them.

However, I don’t want to overstate the race issue. My experience is that my race is generally not seen as a problem by most people in Yeoville Bellevue – I feel accepted and at home. It is only when it becomes expedient, politically or otherwise, to do so that people use my race as a weapon against me.

On the day of the nomination process within the branch, one of the other nominees – Caron Kgomo – stood down. She was deputy chair of the YCDF. She said that she was withdrawing from the contest and throwing her support behind my nomination. She tried to persuade the other candidate to withdraw in my favour as well, but she refused. When the nomination process finally took place, I lost.

Not happy with these developments, Caron Kgomo decided to seek re-nomination through a different Alliance structure (at the time, the ward was divided across ANC branches, so more than one ANC branch could nominate candidates - and other structures in the Congress Alliance like the SACP were also allowed to put forward candidates). She eventually became the councillor and, perhaps because we had worked

together in the YCDF, we continued to enjoy the same collegial relationship that I had had with the previous councillor, Sisa Njikelana.

I was nominated as a councillor once again in 2006. Though I was not a member of the Ward 66 branch (next door in Observatory/Kensington), I was asked to stand there because it was believed that I had a good chance of winning the ward away from the Democratic Alliance (DA). In this case, I thought my race might be an advantage, given the demographics of Ward 66.

In the end, the ANC chose someone else and the ward was once again lost. In retrospect, I doubt whether I would have won it – looking at the numbers in previous elections, it was clear it was going to be difficult to dislodge the DA. Even in 2011, after a ward boundary change which saw one of Ward 67's voting stations going to Ward 66, thereby increasing the number of people likely to vote ANC, the DA won – this despite the ANC having a white candidate with a very credible record who had worked for more than ten years in the City of Johannesburg.

WORKING IN THE ANC: 1999 - 2008

FIGURE 24: African National Congress (ANC) logo.

In late 1999, I was elected to the Branch Executive Committee (BEC) of the ANC. This was not the first time I had been part of the ANC leadership in the area. In 1990, after the unbanning of South Africa's resistance movements and the beginnings of the end of apartheid, an ANC branch was established in Yeoville Bellevue. Its boundaries stretched down through Doornfontein (just south of Yeoville Bellevue) to Joubert Park next to the Central Business District (CBD) of Johannesburg. I was on the first executive, responsible for media and communication. I continued to work with the branch up until the time I went to work full-time in the Department of Land Affairs in Pretoria, remaining an ordinary member after that.

I decided to accept nomination in 1999 because I was always interested in helping to make the branch a useful structure, especially in terms of dealing with community issues. I have always believed that, apart from their party political importance as the most grassroots organs of the ANC, branches should be primarily interested in making a real difference in the lives of the people living in their constituency area. I wanted to be part of promoting that idea within the organisation.

However, my job was becoming more and more demanding (I had by this time been appointed full-time to a position in the Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) and I was having personal challenges in my family, so I decided to resign in early 2000. However, this provided only a brief respite.

In May 2000, I was called by Thenjiwe Mtintso, the then-deputy secretary general of the ANC and told that the National Executive Committee (NEC) had decided to appoint me to the Gauteng Interim Leadership Corps (GILC) which had been created to take the place temporarily of the Gauteng Provincial Executive Committee (PEC). The PEC had been disbanded on grounds of dysfunctionality and an interim structure was necessary both to carry on the work of the PEC and to prepare for a provincial AGM. The province also had to prepare the organisation for the upcoming municipal elections.

It was difficult to refuse. It was, without a doubt, an honour to have been selected by the NEC of the ANC to be part of the GILC. So, even though it seemed illogical to accept this more demanding deployment when I had just resigned from the ANC branch, I decided to do it. My decision had very negative consequences for my personal life and put a huge strain on my daily job as I had to commute to the West Rand almost every day after work as part of my duties. However, it was a very interesting period as I came face-to-face with some of the extraordinary challenges that the ANC was facing within its branches, not just in the West Rand, but everywhere.

It was at this time that the ANC released its 'Eye of the Needle' document, a comprehensive analysis of some of the challenges of leadership within the organisation. The document set out what the organisation believed to be characteristics of good leaders, intending that the ideas it contained would influence branch choices of candidates for the upcoming municipal elections. The ANC also wanted to ensure that the same high standards of leadership would characterise nominations for branch executive committees, given the prevailing problems with ANC branches at the time.

Unfortunately, many of those problems still persist today, as ANC general secretary Gwede Mantashe reminded the Mangaung conference in December 2012 when he presented his Organisational Report. *'There are pockets of excellence where branches are really active and take up issues affecting society. These good branches are very few and far apart,'* he said. *'In the main, the most serious problem is the fact that, in the majority of branches, there is little or no political life. Branches get revived when we are heading for conferences and elections. Basically our branches are driven by the need to either nominate delegates or candidates for local government elections in the main. This is at the centre of a membership that is not politically conscious and therefore susceptible to manipulation. These branches have no capacity to lead campaigns in their respective wards, creating space for other formations to lead these campaigns that end up being violent protests that reinforce the theme that nothing is happening. This has killed the culture of activism at branch level, making the ANC almost absent in community activities.'*

Although I resigned from the GILC after six months, largely because of the impact on my work in the GPG, the experience was very important in reinforcing my own concerns about ANC branches (indeed, branches of political parties in general), their preoccupation with internal, municipal and national electoral processes to the detriment of their involvement in community issues within their wards, and the challenges in finding dedicated councillors whose priorities are primarily focused on community needs and not their own.

I was elected to the Executive of the ANC branch one more time, in 2008. I thought it might be useful to be working in the Executive as it would provide me with the opportunity of talking to other Executive members about the work I was then doing in the YBCDT and to get their support. However, I realised that it would compromise the independence of the YBCDT if I was on the Executive of a political party, so I asked to step down.

YEOVILLE TASK TEAM: 2001 - 2006

After the municipal elections of 2000, the structure of the municipality changed. A political decision had been taken to create large metropolitan local government structures in key cities, headed by an Executive Mayor. The Joburg Metro went south to include areas like Soweto, Orange Farm, Lenasia and Eldorado Park, west to the boundary between Roodepoort and Krugersdorp, north to include Midrand, and east to Bedfordview, abutting the new Ekurhuleni Metro.

Councillor Amos Masondo, the new Mayor, had a 'cabinet' called a Mayoral Committee and he decided that the inner city of Johannesburg needed special attention. Region 8 of the new Joburg Metro included the CBD and its immediate surrounds, including Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville Bellevue – and it was clear that the entire area was facing major challenges. PR[84] Councillor Sol Cowan was appointed Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) responsible for the inner city and he set about trying to address its many challenges.

One of the things the new MMC agreed to do, after community members from Yeoville Bellevue had met with him, was to establish a Task Team, chaired by him, which would meet every quarter to discuss challenges and progress in the neighbourhood. These meetings were supposed to be attended by a wide range of stakeholders, including community members, councillors, the SAPS and Metro Police, and all the relevant departments and Municipal-Owned Entities (MOEs).[85]

The Task Team had some minor successes. However, it was hampered by the fact that it met too seldom and that, when it did meet, councillors, MOEs and CoJ departments didn't attend or, if they did, they did not prepare proper reports. As a result, it was very difficult to develop a sustained programme of renewal for our area. We did not feel we were full partners in the process and often left the meetings frustrated with the lack of progress and with not having the power to really influence what was happening.

In 2006, the Mayoral Committee was restructured and the post of MMC for the Inner City was scrapped. This means the end of the Yeoville Task Team as well.

JDA IN YEOVILLE BELLEVUE: 2002 - 2010

I continued to believe that there were two crucial things necessary for Yeoville Bellevue to reverse the economic downturn and urban decline in the area:

- A community organisation with resources (an office, a computer, a telephone and a full-time employee; and
- A holistic development plan for the area, premised on a future for Yeoville Bellevue (ideally) as an 'African destination'

Neither seemed to be immediate prospects back in 2002. But I was still trying to push things forward wherever and however I could. In November 2002, I approached the then-titled Economic Development Unit (EDU) in the City of Johannesburg. I suggested to them that the redevelopment of our business node – Rockey Raleigh St – was critical for the survival of Yeoville Bellevue. The negative image of the area and the reluctance of people to invest economically or to buy homes in the area seemed linked to this ongoing decline of the business district – the RRMC had had the same view back in 1999/2000. I asked whether it would be possible to work with them on a holistic development plan for the street.

I got a very positive response. The EDU, I was told, had been considering for some time the idea of reviving 'main streets' across Johannesburg and Yeoville Bellevue could perhaps be a 'pilot' in this particular programme (this was not the first time, and definitely not the last, that our area was punted as a 'pilot' for one or other programme – though most proposals have never been fully realised).

The EDU was a policy unit, not an implementing agency. They therefore requested the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) to come up with a plan. The JDA is an entity, wholly-owned by the City of Johannesburg, that was established after the 2000 local government elections to *'to stimulate and support area-based economic development initiatives throughout the Johannesburg metropolitan area in support of Joburg 2030 - Johannesburg's economic development strategy for the next three decades. As development manager of these initiatives, the JDA co-ordinates and manages capital investment and other programmes involving both public and private sector stakeholders'*.[86] It therefore seemed appropriate for the JDA to take on this challenge.

In August 2004, the JDA presented a R73m plan for Rockey Raleigh St to the Mayoral Committee. The plan was the product of research (economic, spatial, mobility etc) and a degree of community consultation (the main respondents were the Ward Councillor, the Ward Committee, the Yeoville CPF, people at public meetings, and various active individuals, including myself).

Although JDA's primary mandate is the implementation of capital projects, they were also looking at broader issues. After the adoption of the plan in 2004, they employed consultants to identify the main urban management challenges in the street and to propose solutions. Recommendations to address these challenges were set out in a report by the consultants, but implementation was limited to trying to revive the idea of a

City Improvement District. The JDA even sponsored the employment of cleaners and security personnel for a year as a way of demonstrating to property owners the benefits of having a CID. Once again, though, the attempt to establish a permanent CID failed.

Capital work undertaken by the JDA included upgrading of the Yeoville Park, renovation of the municipal swimming pool, the building of a new library and the redevelopment of the Recreation Centre. In the build-up to the 2010 Soccer World Cup, there was a separate public space upgrade which included new paving and lighting for Yeoville Bellevue and adjacent suburbs Berea and Hillbrow.

The JDA process had its problems. There were challenges with the implementation of the capital projects themselves. Appointed contractors took longer than expected to complete their work, the standard was erratic (the best work was done on the new library), there were stoppages due to management problems within the contracting firms and threats from some locals dissatisfied with how jobs were allocated.

The other thing is that JDA is not responsible for ongoing maintenance of the projects they implement. Their job is to manage the building or upgrading project and then to hand it over to the relevant CoJ department or Municipal-Owned Entity (MOE) responsible for ongoing management and maintenance of such facilities. In each and every case, we have seen a steady deterioration of the work done by the JDA, such that is it difficult to imagine that over R70m was spent in the area. The most successful of the projects is the Yeoville Library – it has deteriorated the least. But the Yeoville Park and the Recreation Centre are so poorly managed (and some of the work on the Recreation Centre was done so badly) that they are, in some ways, in a worse state than before they were upgraded.

The biggest disappointment for me of the JDA project was that it did not do what I had originally asked for when I approached the EDU in 2002 – that is, to 'sort out' Rockey Raleigh St. This meant, for me, to propose and implement a development plan which would have *changed the way in which the street worked*. There were elements of this in the plan. For example, it included proposals for the promotion of nodes to deliver different services and facilities to the Yeoville Bellevue community. But this was never implemented. For example, the area they designated a 'family node' next to the main Yeoville Park – the Time Square area – now has some of the worst problems of alcohol and drug abuse, crime and violence in the neighbourhood.

This is not a criticism of the JDA itself – it carried out its mandate which is primarily to manage capital projects on behalf of the City of Johannesburg. But what I had hoped for was that the CoJ would come up with a holistic plan which it would implement *in partnership with* the stakeholders of Yeoville Bellevue – the residents, the business community (formal and informal), the property owners – to ensure that the street functioned in a way that would encourage investment and offer a safe, clean and vibrant social and economic environment. This, I believed, would help to change the image of the area and encourage more people to see Yeoville Bellevue as the type of place in which they could invest in a home and raise their children.

The reason this did not happen is, I believe, because the CoJ does not have the necessary institutional



FIGURE 25: 2009: the Yeoville Recreation Centre in the process of being re-modelled. This is arguably the least successful of the JDA projects. There are some design problems and the quality of work is inconsistent and, in some cases, very poor. However, far worse is the state of the building today – only four years since the upgrade, it is in a shocking state. It is an indictment of the Department of Sport and Recreation that they have allowed a building in which millions was invested to deteriorate to the extent that it has.

mechanisms to effectively develop and implement such a plan and, more importantly, sustain it successfully. JDA came in, built and left (over a five year period), with some attempt to promote and support a CID. But what was (and still is) needed was to put in place a process, with the ongoing support of the various stakeholders in the area, which would have continued with the upgrading in a holistic way until a change so fundamental had taken place that it would be self-sustaining. This is the way in which effective urban upliftment programmes have happened elsewhere in the world and this, I strongly believe, is the only way we will achieve success in Yeoville Bellevue.

WARD 67 WARD COMMITTEE: 2003/2006

In early 2003, I was approached by the then Ward 67 Ward Councillor and asked to serve on the Ward Committee. Those were early days for Ward Committees and many were struggling to find their feet.

At the time she approached me, a number of people originally on the Ward Committee had resigned or absconded and so she was seeking to replace them. I agreed to become a member and to take on the NGO/CBO portfolio. Meetings were usually held at the home of an upper Houghton resident on a property with a fabulous view of northern Johannesburg.

Ward committees are established in terms of the Municipal Structures Act[87] and comprise eleven members, ten from the community and the Ward Councillor who must also, in terms of the Act, be the chairperson.

According to the Act:

> *74. A Ward Committee -*
>
> *(a) may make recommendations on any matter affecting its ward*
>
> *(i) to the Ward Councillor; or*
>
> *(ii) through the Ward Councillor, to the metro or local council. the executive committee, the executive mayor or the relevant metropolitan subcouncil:*
>
> *and*
>
> *(b) has such duties and powers as the metro or local council may delegate to it in terms of section 32.*

The Act also says that women and other interest groups must be represented on the Ward Committee. So the original Ward Committees had members representing different sectors in the community (women, youth, people with disabilities, sports people, cultural people etc). After some years, this changed – at least in the CoJ – so that, today, the Ward Committee is aligned with the Mayoral Committee, with members responsible for matters falling under one of the ten portfolios in the Mayoral Committee.[88]

I have three sets of minutes from the time. The first reflects the state of the Ward Committee – new people, no real direction. At that meeting I proposed two things: the first was that we should meet on the same day every month which would make it easier to plan our diaries. The second was that each person should come to the next meeting with a plan for how he or she was going to take his or her portfolio forward.

At the second meeting, which did take place on the first Friday of April, those present did put forward their plans. There were lots of exciting suggestions and a clear sense of purpose. The third meeting took place three weeks later on the last Friday of the month. It seems that this was not treated as a normal meeting – the main focus was the work being done by the JDA on the development plan for Rockey Raleigh St, the process that emanated from my visit to the Economic Development Unit in late 2002 (see above).

The one particular problem I recall from that time – and this is perhaps why there are no more minutes – is that the councillor would often postpone or cancel a Ward Committee meeting at short notice. Given that there was only one meeting a month (although in reality this meant 11 meetings per year, because there were rarely meetings in December), this meant that each time a meeting was cancelled, the effectiveness of the committee was reduced, making it no more than a talk shop of good ideas.

I suggested to the councillor that a way around this was to agree on a deputy chairperson so that if she couldn't make it, at least the meeting could continue and the committee could be more productive. She said this was not possible because the regulations did not allow for a deputy chair. Although I argued that the appointment of a deputy was merely a facilitating mechanism which would allow the committee to work more effectively and that it should be possible to make an internal decision to action this, she was adamant that it could not be done and, furthermore, that the Ward Committee could not meet without the presence of the councillor.

Making local government work: an activist's guide (2011) says, however, that *'if the Ward Councillor does not attend the meeting, the Ward Committee may set the agenda itself'*. This clearly indicates that a Ward Committee *can* meet without the councillor and such a meeting *can* be chaired by someone other than the councillor.

It is not surprising, then, to note that none of the plans outlined in the April meeting came to fruition (except that the formation of the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum (YSF) in 2004 could be seen as the realisation of a proposal by me in that meeting to form a Yeoville Development Forum with NGOs and CBOs in the area).[89]

There are no more minutes from that period to which I can refer. The next document I have is an advert for a public meeting, to take place in February 2004. I seem to have written a blurb to go with it for the councillor. It reads, in part, that 'the City Council is currently engaged in two important processes that could have some impact on the future of the Yeoville Bellevue area'. These were the JDA development plan for Rockey Raleigh St and the discussions around the future of spaza shops (the leaflet called them 'tuck shops').

I have no recollection of why I have no further minutes and what happened between the May meeting and the public meeting in February 2004 (both of which referred to the JDA process). I was certainly not involved. My guess is that, like so many structures, the Ward Committee dwindled into obscurity, bolstered perhaps by more co-optees, but having no real impact. It certainly existed in some form or another by the time we formed the YSF – we discussed the Ward Committee relationship with the new umbrella structure when we were drafting our constitution.

The formation of the YSF itself caused some tension. Even though the councillor agreed that the Ward Committee should be a member of the YSF and even though we tried to work cooperatively with the Committee, there were members who from the outset questioned the 'legitimacy' of the YSF and asking why it had been established when there was a Ward Committee. When the YSF had a housing workshop (which the Ward Committee member for housing attended), questions were raised as to why the YSF was 'doing Ward Committee work'.

In 2006, I decided to give it a second go. This time, I was nominated at a public meeting and I decided that, if people wanted me there, I would serve and see what I could do to help to make the Ward Committee more effective.

This experience was infinitely worse.

There were two incidents that caused me to resign, partly because they happened, and partly because the councillor, as chair, showed absolutely no leadership and did not protect me from what was, frankly, abuse from members of the committee who were hostile to me.

The first such incident came when I offered to write regular reports on the work of the Ward Committee and attempt to get the reports published in the local knock-and-drop newspaper, the North Eastern Tribune, which was always willing to carry community stories from Yeoville Bellevue, even though it was no longer delivered door-to-door in our neighbourhood, as explained above in the section on the YCDF.

I explained that the majority of people in the area didn't even know the Ward Committee existed, let alone what its purpose was and who its members were (the councillor's public meetings, at which the Ward Committee was 'elected', attracted perhaps 50 people out of a population of over 30 000). Publicity would help to correct this and keep people up-to-date with the work of the Ward Committee. I said I would write something each time, give it to the councillor to read and comment on, and then once she was happy, I would submit it to the newspaper under her name.

I was not ready for the vitriolic response to this suggestion, the essence of which was that I intended to 'use' this opportunity to promote myself, despite the fact that the articles were going to appear under the councillor's name and not mine, and despite the fact that I said I wouldn't publish anything without running it by the councillor first.

The second was even more bizarre. Ward committees are intended to be politically non-partisan. Ideally an election should take place and the people elected should represent a cross-section of the community. The Ward Committee, no matter how it is composed politically, should be able to work constructively with the Ward Councillor, no matter which party he or she represents.

However, as with most things in life, the ideal is shoved aside by the real. In Ward 67, which in 2006 encompassed a total area more than three times the size of the Yeoville Bellevue section of the ward, most political and community organisational activity happened in the Yeoville Bellevue area. There was little attempt then by the Ward Councillor or the Ward Committee to fully engage with the rest of the ward (I am no longer in Ward 67, so I'm not sure what the situation is now, though I doubt it has changed much). The result is that people from the rest of the ward (Houghton, Killarney, Parktown) are not informed of meetings or elections for the Ward Committee or of projects and programmes being run in the ward – which is a pity, because the people in the rest of the ward are much more resourced than those who live in our neighbourhood and should be persuaded to give financial and skills support to development processes taking place here.

So when elections for the Ward Committee took place in the public meeting, it was inevitable that almost all of those elected would be from the Yeoville Bellevue area – there was one person representing Parktown.

The second thing that was clear was that all members of the Ward Committee were ANC supporters. This too was fairly inevitable for a couple of reasons. The one is that other political parties in the area seem only to be visible around election time and then only to boost their proportional representation numbers because Ward 67 has always been an ANC ward and is likely to remain so unless there is a major political sea change in the city and the province. The other is that the bulk of people who attend the public meetings called by the councillor tend to be ANC supporters. This is again because the ANC is more politically active in the area, because communication is strongest amongst the members and supporters of the ANC, and because public meetings tend to have the appearance of being ANC gatherings, which in the end makes non-ANC supporters feel out of place.

It was my awareness of the skewed representation on the Ward Committee that led me to suggest that it was a pity that there were not more people from the rest of the ward on the committee and that it would also be preferable to have more of a political balance. My reasoning was that a non-partisan, inclusive Ward Committee was more likely to attract greater support from across the ward and make the work of the committee easier and more effective.

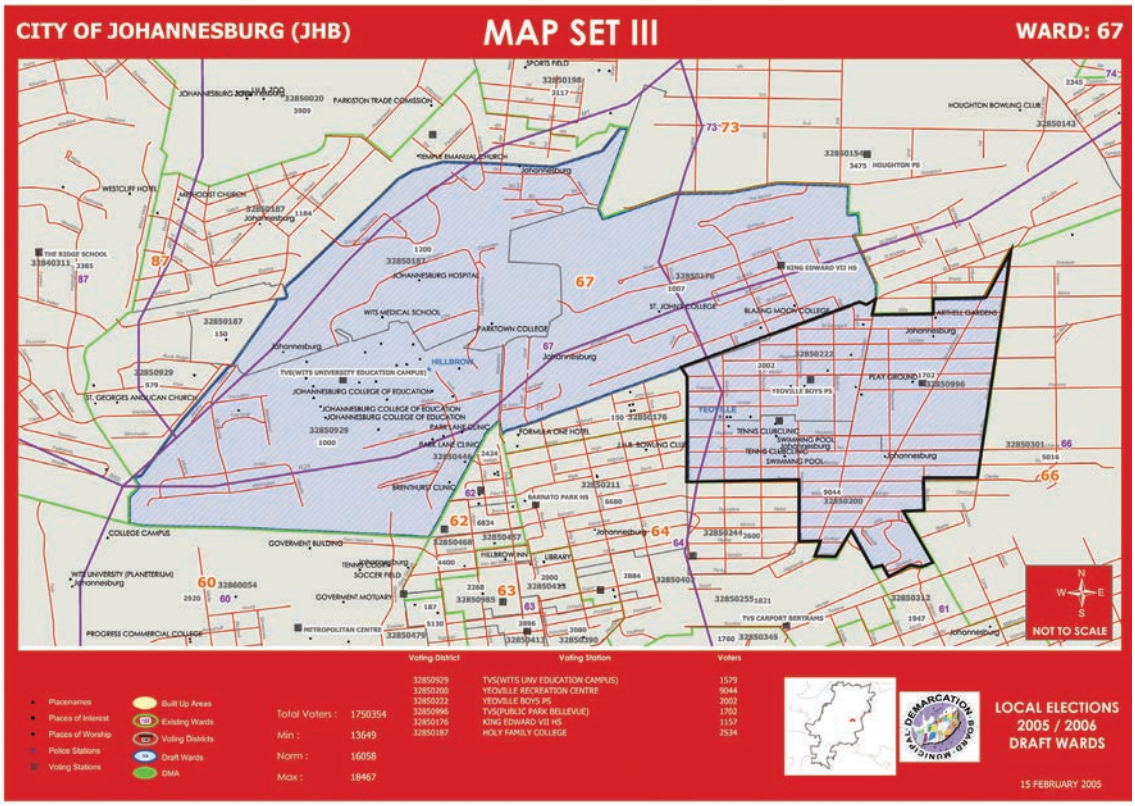


FIGURE 26: Ward 67 in 2006 before the current demarcation. The ward is shaded blue. The Yeoville Bellevue part of the ward is bounded by the black line.

The reaction to my idea of promoting the Ward Committee through the local newspaper was tame compared to the verbal assault that resulted from my comments about the composition of the committee. In short, I was told that I 'should apologise to the rest of the committee for suggesting that the DA should be represented' and I should withdraw what I had said. Furthermore, it was suggested that 'because I was not getting support from my ANC comrades on suggestions that I was making, I wanted DA people there because I would have their support'. I was completely taken aback, not just by the ferocity of the attack, but by the fact that the councillor, as chair, did nothing to protect me. In so doing, she implicitly endorsed the sentiment of the members attacking me – which was basically that the Ward Committee had perforce to be an ANC committee.

A further cause of contention between me and some members of the Ward Committee (others chose to remain silent, though afterwards they claimed to support my position) was the suggestion that we in the Ward Committee must 'always speak with one voice', which basically meant that we could never disagree with each other or with the councillor, especially in public, regardless of whether we disagreed in principle with an issue or not. I pointed out that belonging to a Ward Committee is not the same as belonging to a political party – people were coming together to work for the benefit of the community and it was inevitable (and possibly even desirable) that there should be contestation of ideas before reaching a conclusion on the best way forward.

I left the meeting that night having decided to resign. I wrote two letters explaining the reason for my decision – one addressed to the councillor, the other to the ANC branch and the Speaker's Office in the CoJ. I didn't send them, partly because I kept rewriting them to get them 'right', partly because I was torn between wanting to make public my unhappiness and wanting to find a way to make peace with the councillor in the interests of the common good, and partly because I was so busy with other things.

Did anyone care that I had resigned? It appears not. The councillor in particular never called me to ask why I was not attending or to talk about what happened (I had made my unhappiness with what happened clear in the meeting), and I heard through the grapevine that the other members of the committee were glad that I was no longer there. This last I could understand. Two of the people had a 'history' with me – one had been on the Ward Committee on which I first served, the other was the person who questioned the YSF's 'right' to get involved in housing issues. This particular person seizes every possible opportunity to undermine me in private (to others, not to me) and in public with a level of hostility that I have never understood – and then had the *chutzpah* to gatecrash a New Year's Eve event for friends and colleagues at our house, challenging me for not inviting her, and staying on until 3am when most other people had left!

Since those days, the mechanism for electing Ward Committees has changed. Elections no longer take place in public meetings, but through a process similar to that used in elections for local, provincial and national government. The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was called in to manage the process, training local government officials in correct electoral procedures. There is an election day – usually a Saturday – and all registered voters in the area are invited to come and vote for their preferred candidates.

I am sure that the intentions behind the changes were good and the new system may well have been designed to address flaws in the old system, including the potential for political manipulation, vote-rigging, packing a meeting with non-residents (credentials were not checked in the past) and so on.

However, it has created new problems. Firstly, by only allowing registered voters to participate, the system excludes the 50% of foreign nationals who live in our area, most of whom are not naturalised South Africans and therefore cannot vote. But they are still part of the community and directly affected (and implicated) in what is happening in the area and their exclusion means that the possibility of addressing the challenges of the area is dramatically reduced.

Secondly, there are very few resources allocated to the process. The result is that there is very little advertising of the election, of the nomination process, of the candidates, and of the election day. I recall attending a Ratepayers meeting one Thursday evening in 2012 and, when I came out of the meeting, I found a leaflet on my windscreen encouraging me to go and vote in the Ward 67 Ward Committee elections which were taking place two days later. I was no longer in Ward 67 as a result of a re-demarcation of the area. However, as an activist in the area and the publisher of a local newsletter, I should have known about it, but didn't. When I spoke to people from within Ward 67, they also indicated that they did not know about it and had no idea who the candidates were.

The election took place and attracted around 100 of the more than 15 000 registered voters in the ward. It is unlikely that any of the voters came from the non-Yeoville Bellevue part of the ward. In addition, a voter told me that when he went to vote, there was a group of people standing at the entrance to the recreation centre where the vote was taking place, brandishing a list and telling him who he should be voting for (IEC regulations forbid campaigning on election day and also do not allow party political activity within a specified distance of a polling station).

Reports indicate that this particular election in Ward 67 was declared null and void because a nominee complained that there had been behind-the-scenes discussions that resulted in him being irregularly excluded from the list of candidates. There was another election, as badly advertised and prepared for, with around the same number of people voting. The disgruntled candidate was on the list this time around, but still didn't make it onto the committee.

These challenges were not peculiar to Ward 67 or to predominantly ANC areas. In Ward 66 where I am now registered as a voter as a result of the demarcation changes and where traditionally the DA wins local elections, the same situation prevailed. Participation there was extremely low and I doubt that anyone from the

Yeoville Bellevue voting district made the journey down to the polling station in Bez Valley (unlike elections for local, provincial and national government, during which people vote in their own voting district in the ward – there are usually four or five in a ward – elections for Ward Committees happen at one central place in the ward).

It's hard to see how these committees can claim to represent the whole ward with so few registered voters participating in the election of the members (and with so many people in areas like ours not being eligible to vote because they are not South Africans). What's more, the existence of the Ward Committees is used, in some areas, as a platform from which to challenge the existence and legitimacy of other, non-statutory civil society structures, when ideally the Ward Committees should be working with those civil society structures in pursuance of their shared objectives. In addition, as I indicated, the work of the Ward Committee, such as it is, generally goes unnoticed by the bulk of the population of the area, many of whom do not even know that such a committee exists or who is on it – a situation that could easily be corrected through implementation of a vigorous media and communication strategy.

This is not to say that 'invited spaces' such as Ward Committees are irredeemably bad. The concept offers a great opportunity for harnessing community participation in local government, but a lot needs to be done to make them more representative and more functional. Lawrence Piper and Lubna Navdi (2009) cite Gaventa (2007: 2) who 'points out that international experience shows that a functioning participatory sphere or meaningful public participation in local governance requires three things: good institutional design, political will to make it happen and a strong civil society'.

It seems that all three requirements are lacking in the case of Ward Committees. The design needs working on, the political will to put in place the mechanisms and resources necessary to make them truly representative and effective is not sufficient, and civil society (in Yeoville Bellevue at least) is not sufficiently strong to demand that the process of electing and running the Ward Committees is more transparent, inclusive and democratic and less open to political manipulation. The response of most people is to either withdraw from active participation in local government issues or to dismiss the Ward Committee as irrelevant and to pursue other forms of organisation. Neither of these responses is helpful, understandable though they may be. It would be much better for civil society to assert itself and to 'take back their Ward Committee and make it a true voice of the community' (Section 27, 2011). However, it is difficult to do so when the other two requirements (good institutional design and political will) are also not in place.

There is a final point on 'institutional design' that I'd like to make in respect of Ward Committees. This concerns the issue of who should chair the structure. I suspect we might have more effective Ward Committees (and perhaps more effective Ward Councillors!) if Ward Committees were chaired by community members, rather than by Ward Councillors. It seems to me that Ward Committees should, as do Community Police Forums with respect to the SAPS, have the responsibility of monitoring the performance of Ward Councillors on behalf of the community. While many Ward Committees do play this role and sometimes have very hostile relationships with their councillors as a result, having the Ward Councillor as the chair means that he or she can control meetings and prevent them from becoming a forum for accountability. In such instances, Ward Committees are seen simply as bodies which advise and assist councillors.

YEOVILLE STAKEHOLDERS (LIAISON) FORUM: 2005 - 2011

In 2004, as the JDA was preparing to implement their upgrading plans, it became clear that the community consultation process had been less than adequate. This was not the JDA's fault. It was because community organisation in Yeoville Bellevue was fractured and uncoordinated. This, and the need for the JDA to have a representative structure with which to communicate during the coming years of their work in Yeoville Bellevue, led us to agree that we should form just such a structure. It was time to



FIGURE 27: Yeoville Stakeholders (Liaison) Forum logo.

see if we could bring the people of the area into a functioning organisation that could represent the interests of the community in engagements with the JDA.

However, from the beginning, we agreed that the organisation would not be established only to talk to the JDA. Nor would it restrict its area of operation only to Rockey Raleigh St, which was where the JDA would be doing its work. We pulled together a team of people and I proposed that we use the revised constitution of the YCDF as the basis for a founding document for the new structure. Everyone, including the councillor who we had involved in the process from the outset, agreed.

Before the demise of the YCDF, we had reworked the constitution to say that only organisations could become members of the structure and that office-bearers and people attending meetings could only do so as representatives of those organisations. We felt that this would ensure more accountability within the Forum and also that the Forum would be more representative as it would speak on behalf not of the individuals that attended the meetings, but of all members of the different organisations that had joined the structure. In other words, it would speak with a much louder voice. It made sense to use the same principles for the new organisation.

The new structure would be called the Yeoville Stakeholders Liaison Forum (although we later dropped the Liaison bit because we said our work would be more than just liaison – we wanted to be more action-oriented). It was a forum because it would be a space where different organisations could come together and discuss issues of common interest.

With minor adjustments, including a very clear statement that we were not just there to talk to the JDA and that our area of operation would be the whole of Yeoville Bellevue, not just Rockey Raleigh St, the new constitution was completed within a few weeks. The only sticking point for the councillor was that we had suggested that the Ward Committee (a state-initiated community structure) should only have *ex-officio* status, ie it would have no voting powers. However, she argued that Ward Committee members were community members serving on the committee as volunteers and so should be allowed to participate fully. We agreed (the same applied to the YCPF, another state-initiated structure), but the councillor herself, as an elected political office-bearer, would be *ex-officio*. All agreed to that.

We had our first elections and I was elected chairperson. As an inclusive gesture, we asked the councillor and the Station Commander in charge of Yeoville Police Station to run the elections for us. In so doing, we also wanted to ensure the election process was transparent and free of manipulation.

George Lebone, who would later replace me as chair, was elected as secretary.

The YSF started off with around 19 member organisations. This included 'invited structures' such as the Ward Committee and Yeoville Community Police Forum, political parties (initially just the ANC – later COPE and the DA attended as well), 'invented' spaces' such as the Ivorian Community and Congo Heart of Africa, and institutions such as the Yeoville Community School and St Aidan's Anglican Church.

The relationship with the JDA was reasonably good, though we often felt – as is our experience generally with government – that we were being consulted, but not involved in a fully participatory process. The message, it seemed, was that the agencies of government valued the contact with us and would talk to us and consult with us, but that ultimately the CoJ would take its own decisions. Besides, it often happened that something would be brought to us for comment, but we would be told that it was 'really urgent' and if we took too long to respond, we would 'slow the process down'. This didn't make it easy for to engage in a proper participatory process with our member organisations.

I recall an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) meeting which took place, perhaps in 2000 or 2001. The facilitator of the meeting, someone from Planning, told us from the start that 'we will listen to you, but we are not obliged to act on your suggestions'. I raised my hand and asked, in all seriousness, what we were doing there if that was the case? There was no meaningful reply. On a number of occasions after that, similar things happened – in connection with law enforcement, informal trading, housing issues. Of course, I am not implying that government officials must simply do everything that communities tell them to do. That would be nice, but absurd and irresponsible. We understand that, at the end of the day, someone has to take the final decision and in these instances it has to be the State as the responsible public agency. I think communities would just like to feel that their views and suggestions are taken more seriously than seems to be the case at the moment.

The other problem we had was that, although we had done whatever we could to engage with the main Ward Councillor of the area (four wards cover the neighbourhood we know as Yeoville Bellevue, but at that time Ward 67 covered the bulk of the area), she was never comfortable with our existence.

She had pushed me in the past to re-establish a community forum, we had all agreed in the Ward Committee in 2003 that this was a good idea, and we had involved her in the original decision to start the YSF, taking her input on the YSF constitution seriously. We had also asked her to officiate at the election of the office-bearers. In addition, we wanted her to attend our meetings so that we could work together in trying to address the challenges of our neighbourhood. But she remained suspicious and seemingly resentful of the YSF, especially with respect to our relationship with the JDA. She was not happy when the JDA consulted with us and told them so. To us she would say that we had been 'established by the JDA and that when the JDA moves out of Yeoville Bellevue, you must disband', this despite the fact that the constitution that she herself helped draft made it very clear that the YSF was an independent structure, concerned with development issues covering the whole of Yeoville Bellevue.

This reluctance to work with an autonomous 'invented' community structure was strange given that the Code of Conduct for Councillors (1998) states clearly that councillors *'must be accountable to local communities'*. One of the easiest ways to do this – and to enlist the support of the community in fulfilling his or own work – is for a councillor to work with organisations started and run by communities themselves.

It is puzzling to see that councillors, struggling with little power and few resources with which to make an impact in challenged communities, are reluctant to work with voluntary community structures who are only too willing to assist them to achieve their goals. I recall a discussion I had with the previous Ward 67 councillor after one of her public meetings. The community had challenged her on the fact that the Skills Centre behind the Recreation Centre was not being used – it had training rooms for information technology, for cooking and for sewing. Each room had the appropriate equipment, but the centre was standing idle.

The councillor responded to the community by saying that she could not get the necessary funds from the CoJ to run the planned classes. As we were leaving, I suggested that we meet and have a discussion about possibilities – I said that it was, in some instances, easier for us as community members to raise funds or get support from the community and from the corporate sector. I said that we all wanted to see the centre working and that I was very willing to work with her on it. She muttered something like 'we'll talk about it', but nothing ever came of my suggestion. Ironically, when I spoke to officials from the relevant department in the CoJ, they said that *they* were actually responsible for running the Skills Centre, not the councillor. However, they seemed nervous about asserting control over the Centre, fearing a political backlash from the councillor if they did. As I pointed out in a CoJ meeting on the future of the inner city in late 2012, councillors often seem to act as gatekeepers rather than facilitators and, worse still, often appear to believe that community members are accountable to them and not they to the community.

I am of the view that the obstructionist approach of the previous councillor (and many of her political allies in the area) played a pivotal part in hampering the resolution of the many challenges we faced in our area and prevented much-needed development from taking place.

The councillor's hostility to the YSF sharpened dramatically in 2008. We had our elective AGM in June that year, some weeks after the horrific xenophobic attacks on African migrants which started in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, and spread across the country, stopping only after 63 people had been killed (22 reportedly South Africans who were killed 'in error' by the rampaging mobs). There were no direct attacks or deaths in Yeoville Bellevue, though the area was tense.

At the AGM, in which we once again acknowledged the councillor by asking her to officiate in the election process, two things happened which contributed to the tension. The one, the detail of which I will go into later, was my announcement to the meeting that I would be beginning to work full-time in Yeoville Bellevue from 1 July 2008, thanks to a generous offer by the JDA. The second was a request by a delegate for a moment of silence to acknowledge the deaths resulting from the xenophobic attacks a month before.

The councillor chose to respond to this intervention by complaining about the fact that she had made efforts to work with migrants in the area, but that they were not responsive, they did not attend meetings, they didn't seem to care about the area.

There is no doubt that her concerns needed to be raised and discussed. There is, for a variety of complex reasons, a challenge involving migrants in general organisational work in Yeoville Bellevue. However, what she did not seem to notice was that there were a number of migrants present in that very meeting. From the outset, the YSF had made a point of ensuring that migrant organisations were members of the forum and it was through this reaching out to migrant organisations by the YSF when it started in 2005 that I was appointed to the first executive of the African Diaspora Forum (ADF) which was established in 2008 in the immediate aftermath of the xenophobic attacks.

However, this was not the right moment to raise her concerns. What was needed was a general acknowledgment of the tragedy and an understanding of the need for all right-minded people to work to prevent such attacks in the future. Organisational challenges could be discussed at a later stage (and at such a discussion, I would have suggested that she think about *why* it was that she was not able to develop good working relationships with migrants when we had no problem doing so).

Her comments caused a reaction from the South African woman who had asked for the moment's silence (this particular woman had worked extensively on support work for migrants in the wake of the attacks), members of the migrant community who were there, and others in the YSF who were upset by what she had said. Without directly attacking the councillor, the woman who had asked for the moment's silence expressed her concern at the councillor's comments.

The councillor left the meeting angry and, to my recollection, never attended any more YSF meetings after that (though she did occasionally acknowledge the YSF by allowing the forum to give a report at her public meetings). She complained about the incident to the BEC of the ANC who 'summoned' the executive of the YSF to a meeting to discuss the issue. It was a very one-sided meeting with the YSF feeling distinctly under attack by the BEC who appeared unwilling to hear the concerns of the YSF executive – Marc Gbaffou, the deputy chair of the YSF who was also head of the Ivorian community organisation in the area was treated with particular disrespect by the chair of the meeting. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the newly-elected chairperson of the YSF, George Lebone, was also a member of the BEC (he was in the YSF representing the ANC) and he was not able to defend the YSF in his capacity as chair due to his obligations to the BEC. Shortly after this, the ANC decided to recall George and offered to send someone else to replace

him. The replacement delegate didn't actually ever attend any meetings, while George remained in the YSF as a representative of a different organisation.

I had been appointed as secretary of the YSF at the AGM. I decided not to stand as chair (I had served two terms) and felt I could do more for the forum as secretary. However, a couple of months later, I decided to resign as secretary and to request that the YSF allow me to attend meetings in an *ex-officio* capacity. I had announced at the AGM that I was going to be working full-time on development issues in Yeoville Bellevue, thanks to a decision by the JDA to pay my salary for a year, and I felt that that had put me into a different structural category to the rest of the YSF and that it would be better if I attended *ex-officio* to avoid any conflicts of interest that might arise because of my new position. However, because I remained one of the more resourced people in Yeoville Bellevue, I continued to assist with administrative work in the YSF, assisting the chair and the secretary wherever I could.

Because the fate of the YSF after that was so connected to the formation of the YBCDT, which I have not yet introduced properly in this report, I will postpone further discussion of the organisation until later.

INNER CITY CHARTER FORUM: 2006 - 2012

In 2006, after the municipal elections, the Mayor of Johannesburg restructured the Mayoral Committee. One of the critical outcomes of this decision was the scrapping of the Inner City portfolio on the Mayoral Committee. This mean that the inner city would no longer receive special attention and that matters pertaining to the inner city would be dealt with through normal channels in Region F (Region 8 and Region 9 had been joined together and were now called Region F which covered the whole of the inner city) and in the CoJ as a whole.

However, the Mayor was aware that this would raise concerns that the authorities were no longer treating the challenges faced by the inner city as a priority. He therefore proposed the establishment of a structure which would ensure appropriate attention to the ongoing development of the inner city and provide a platform for engagement between the CoJ and stakeholders in the inner city.

Following an extensive process of consultation called for by the Executive Mayor, an Inner City Summit was held on 5 May 2007. The Inner City Regeneration Charter (which emerged as a result of this call) reflected the work of the stakeholder working groups, which held workshops with stakeholders and interested parties in the run-up to the summit, and was divided into six clusters:

- Urban management, safety and security;
- Public spaces, arts, culture and heritage;
- Economic development;
- Community development;
- Transportation; and
- Residential development.

(With this Charter) the City of Johannesburg recommitted to and re-elevated inner city initiatives and publicly made a specific "ring-fenced" budget available for the plans::

- R2-billion capital budget commitment towards regeneration over the next five years (R300-million in 2007-08); and
- R100-million was ring-fenced from various operating budgets for urban management in the inner city.

The Charter was formally approved by the Mayoral Committee on 19 July 2007 and the Inner City Partnership Forum was launched on 7 November 2007.[90]

The YSF was intimately involved in the processes leading up to the adoption of the Charter and I spoke at the launch of the Charter as a 'representative of the community'. As I had done so many times in the past and as I would continue to do in the future, I emphasised the importance of good communication between the CoJ and the people of Johannesburg. The YSF continued to attend meetings of the Charter Forum throughout its life, as did the YBCDT after it was established.

The Charter provided all stakeholders with a mechanism to continue addressing the challenges of the inner city, even though there was no longer a Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) for the inner city area. However, the Forum faced many of the same challenges we had faced when meeting as the Yeoville Task Team with the MMC in the period 2000–2006. The most troubling was the lack of participation of some of the key roleplayers in the CoJ and its MOEs.

Every quarter (more or less), there would be working group meetings for each of the above categories. Then there would be a Forum meeting chaired by the Mayor. The working group meetings were mainly to check if there had been any progress with Charter objectives and to suggest any possible changes to the objectives, but they were usually very poorly attended. The Forum meeting was usually made up of presentations, an address by the Charter manager and the Mayor, and an opportunity for inputs from stakeholders.

Many of the meetings (working group and Forum meetings) saw outpourings of frustration by stakeholders with the absence of key roleplayers and the slow pace of progress. I for one used every Forum meeting to plead for improved communication by the CoJ – my experience was that most Joburgers did not know what the CoJ was doing, what their own rights and responsibilities were, how to deal with problems or how to contact the right people to deal with a particular problem. The result, I worried, is that the CoJ has consistently failed to get the cooperation and support of the vast majority of its own citizens. This has grave consequences in areas like the inner city where anti-social behaviour patterns are contributing to – contributing to, note, not causing! – ongoing urban decline.

The Inner City Charter which was launched in November 2007 has come to an end. There has been an assessment of the Charter and a proposal for another five-year programme which, it seems, will be called the Inner City Roadmap. It is possible that the Roadmap will notch up more successes than the Charter, if only because the city and its stakeholders have learnt from the Charter and because the CoJ has been restructured to allow for more effective urban management, a very necessary development given the poor record of urban management over the past 10-15 years. In addition, the inner city office, which was really only an inner city manager plus an assistant in the past, is to be upgraded and given more capacity. Whether this will be enough to ensure more commitment by city departments and MOEs is yet to be seen.

In a detailed response to the Inner City Roadmap, the YBCDT proposed that issues be identified and registered on a neighbourhood basis and then allocated to the various departments and MOEs responsible for attending to them rather than going about things the other way around. The Inner City Charter process had identified a list of goals for each department in the various areas across the inner city, most often not taking into account the work being done or needing to be done by other departments in the same areas. We suggested this different approach because we believe that, in order for real change to happen, all challenges in a particular neighbourhood need to be identified and dealt with in a holistic manner.

This is not to say that we expect that all problems in a particular neighbourhood can be solved at the same time. It's more that, with an overall understanding of the extent of the challenges and, importantly, the inter-relationships between them, it will be more possible to deal with them effectively than if they are dealt with in isolation.

AFRICAN DIASPORA FORUM: 2008 - PRESENT



FIGURE 28: African Diaspora Forum logo.

Although the African Diaspora Forum (ADF) is not an exclusively Yeoville Bellevue structure, it is important to mention its formation and significance to the neighbourhood.

As I indicated in Chapter 2, Yeoville Bellevue has, from the late 1990s, become home (albeit temporarily for many) to people from all over Africa. With this new wave of migration into the neighbourhood – mirroring to an extent what happened in the early part of the 20th century when white migrants from around the world settled in the area – came inevitable challenges.

It was the emergence of these challenges that prompted us to warn, in our 1999/2000 proposal for Rockey Raleigh St, that we were seeing *'the emergence of a xenophobic rejection of black Africans, resulting in an uneasy co-existence between South Africans and Africans from elsewhere'*. We suggested that this could be countered by taking *'the pan-African character – and turn(ing) ..... (it) ..... to the advantage of the area. This can be done through developing the area as an 'African experience'* (RRMC, 1999/2000).

It was logical then, when we established the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum (YSF) in 2005, to ensure that we included organisations representing the African diaspora in Yeoville Bellevue. If, as we believed, foreign nationals represented an increasing proportion of the population and if, as we logically accepted, many were here to stay, it made no sense to create a structure representing the community of Yeoville Bellevue which did not have the involvement of foreign nationals from the outset.

The first membership list of the YSF included, therefore, the Ivorian Community, Christians for Peace in Africa, Self-Help Christian Refugee Association and Women Refugees Care in Africa (WORECA). Over time, membership increased to include representatives from the Nigerian community, Malawi, the burgeoning African Muslim community, the Burundian Cultural Community and others. While one or two South Africans in the YSF remained uncomfortable about the involvement of foreign nationals, the bulk of organisations welcomed their participation, understanding that, without them, it was not possible for the YSF to truly claim to represent a broad cross-section of the community.

It is through this earlier contact with the foreign national community that I was asked, in May 2008, to serve on the first Executive of the African Diaspora Forum (ADF), which was established as a response to the xenophobic attacks in Alexandra and elsewhere earlier that month.

Although the founding meeting of the ADF took place in St Francis Catholic Church in Yeoville Bellevue, the organisation was not intended to be restricted to the one neighbourhood. In fact, it quickly developed a national profile, even establishing a temporary outpost in Cape Town. For some time, the organisation had offices in The Star building in the CBD. The Star, Johannesburg's oldest newspaper, wanted to reach out to the African diaspora and therefore gave its support to the ADF, even briefly publishing a supplement to The Star called The Migrant in collaboration with the ADF.

The ADF became a member of the YSF and worked closely with that organisation and the YBCDT on a number of projects in the Yeoville Bellevue area, including the Africa Week Festival, Hotel Yeoville and Yeoville Studio. The offices of the ADF moved from The Star to Yeoville Bellevue, increasing the involvement of the organisation in the neighbourhood, though its mandate continues to be to work in all areas of Johannesburg, Gauteng and South Africa, capacity and resources permitting. I am still very much part of the ADF, serving in the capacity of advisor and providing some administrative back-up.

Xenophobic tensions still pervade the atmosphere of Yeoville Bellevue and will continue to do so as long as the socio-economic conditions in the neighbourhood impact negatively on the people who live and work

here, especially with respect to homelessness, unemployment and crime. The challenge that I see for organisation in Yeoville Bellevue is for:

- more foreign nationals to attend broad-based community meetings and join broad-based community structures and activities, sending the signal that they see themselves as fully part of the community and are willing to be part of addressing the challenges of the area
- organisations such as the Community Police Forum to remove restrictions on the involvement of foreign nationals
- organisations (both 'invited' and 'invented') that are predominantly South African at the moment to operate in a way that is more inviting to foreign nationals through, for example:
  - the way in which they invite people to attend their meetings
  - the language used to communicate in their meetings
  - the leadership of those organisations and the people chairing their meetings ensuring that they set a good example in the way in which they speak about foreign nationals and ensuring that they deal firmly with anyone who attempts to introduce xenophobic discourse into their meetings and the work of their organisations



FIGURE 29: One of the many anti-xenophobia posters circulating as part of the general campaign against all forms of discrimination.

Xenophobia (or Afrophobia or simple prejudice against foreign nationals) will not be easy to eradicate. However, I believe that, over time, perhaps one or two generations, tolerance and acceptance will develop, as it did within the polyglot white community that comprised the people of Yeoville Bellevue in the first eight decades of the 20th century. We know there was resistance to the arrival of migrants from other parts of the world by the original settlers of British and Dutch heritage – it is said that Jews from Eastern Europe were 'considered unassimilable into European South African society' and 'paralleled with blacks, Indians, and coloreds'[91] and George Bizos recalls that when he and his father came to South Africa from Greece in 1943, 'the train from Durban did not stop at Johannesburg station in order to avoid a possible demonstration by 'Nazi sympathisers … who accused Prime Minister Jan Smuts of bringing the vuilgoed [filth] of Europe into *their* country'.[92] But eventually people learned to live together and to appreciate the diversity that migration brought to the country – and I believe this will happen in the case of African migration too, especially if we work collectively to make it happen..

YEOVILLE BELLEVUE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRUST: 2008 - PRESENT

FIGURE 30: Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Trust logo.

I have referred above to the decision in 2008 by the JDA to give financial support to the work I wanted to do in Yeoville Bellevue. This was a pivotal moment for me in many ways. As I have said elsewhere (and will continue to say – it is my mantra and nothing has happened since 1998 to make me feel the need to change it), we will only see true development in Yeoville Bellevue if the following conditions are met:

- A broad-based community organisation with resources (an office, a computer, a telephone and at least one full-time employee; and
- A holistic neighbourhood development plan for the area, premised (ideally) on a future for Yeoville Bellevue as an 'African destination'

This is the same thing I said to the JDA in 2008 and so they decided to give me an income for a year, during which period I would explore the mechanisms of getting a development plan process going. This was a wonderful opportunity and a recognition by the JDA that something different had to be done. They were still

working in Yeoville Bellevue – they were busy completing the new Yeoville Library – but it must have been clear to them that, while their projects were important, they were not necessarily going to change the way the area 'worked'.

The JDA offer was a big challenge for me. I was working for the Gauteng Provincial Government in a Director position. I was earning a very good salary and I was building up a pension (I was about to complete 10 years in government – had I stayed on for another five years, I would have had a better pension and medical aid contributions by the state for the rest of my life). As I had spent most of life working in NGOs, I had not accumulated savings, investments, properties etc. So leaving government for a one year contract which might not go anywhere was risky. I discussed it at length with my family, friends and colleagues in Yeoville Bellevue.

In the end, it was clear that I had no choice. I had worked on Yeoville Bellevue for ten years. It was what occupied my mind most of the time. It took up what little spare time I had. It was, if not an obsession, at least an uncompromising commitment. To give up this opportunity, however tenuous, didn't seem to make any sense. I continued to believe in the possibilities of Yeoville Bellevue and that belief extended to being convinced that, if I was able to work at it full-time, I would be able to persuade funders to support us, the CoJ to listen to us, more people in the community to join us.

One or two people with whom I consulted urged caution, but the rest encouraged me to go ahead. Most supportive were my family – my then-15 year-old son, Oliver, saying *'Go for it – it's what you want. We know it might not work out and then you won't have money and that will affect us, but you have to do it'*. I knew he was speaking for his sister and his mother as well. My partner, who would be most directly affected by a possible cut in income in the household down the line, made it clear that she was also fully behind me. I took the plunge.

On 1 July 2008, I began to work full-time on what I tentatively called the Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Initiative (YBCDI). All I had was a salary. I worked from home, absorbing many of the costs into my domestic expenses. My income for the year would match what I had been earning at the department and, as I noted above, it was very generous (while I was in government, I was always acutely aware of the fact that I was among the top 5 – 10% earners in the country, with an income significantly higher than that of virtually all of my fellow residents in Yeoville Bellevue) and so I had no problem in using some of my own money to cover sundry costs associated with the work I was doing.

Relationship with the Ward Councillor: The first challenge I faced was to get the councillor's support. But this was not forthcoming. She was still angry at what had happened at the YSF AGM in May 2008. I only learned much later in the year that she was upset about something else, too.

On the face of it, she seemed willing to work with me. At the AGM, I had told her of my plans before I announced them publicly – I didn't want it to come as a complete surprise to her (I hadn't briefed her before then because I was waiting for confirmation from the JDA Board of Directors).

When I told her about it at the AGM, I said that I thought it would be useful for us to set up a weekly meeting so that we could share information and work together in the common interests of the broader community. She said I should contact her to arrange the first meeting. From 1 July until sometime in October, I tried to organise that meeting. Every time I called her, she said she wasn't in the office or she didn't have her diary or she wasn't able to confirm a date. She always promised to get back to me or suggested I call her another time. Time dragged on.

Later that year, the ANC in Ward 67 held an elective AGM. I was nominated to the Branch Executive Committee. I was reluctant to get directly involved in party politics again, but decided that it might be a way of building

relations between the branch and the work I was doing. So I accepted and became an additional member without portfolio.

Because I was on the BEC, I had occasion to attend a zonal meeting together with other BEC members. The councillor, who was the branch treasurer, was at the meeting. I sat in front of her and, at some point, turned around to chat to her. I asked her if we were ever going to have our long-overdue meeting.

She then told me something that I had suspected all along – that she had been deliberately *avoiding* meeting with me because she was aggrieved that she had not been told that I was going to be working full-time in Yeoville Bellevue on a JDA contract. Somewhat surprised, I pointed out that I had told her about it before I had made a public announcement at the YSF AGM. Her issue, though, was that she had not been informed - *through official channels* – by the CoJ of the new arrangement. It seemed strange to me that she had not raised her concern from day one because it could have been easily resolved with an apology and briefing from the Executive Director (ED) of Development Planning and Urban Management (DPUM) to whom I would be reporting over the period of the contract. I undertook to speak to the ED and to arrange with him to meet her as soon as possible.

She rejected this offer, saying that she did not want to be informed by an official, but rather by a political representative as she was an elected political representative herself. I then agreed that I would arrange a meeting for her with the Member of the Mayoral Committee (MMC) for DPUM.

I understood her concern and agreed that the situation could have been handled better, not because we had to seek her approval, but more as a matter of common courtesy as she was the main elected official for the area. I arranged for a meeting with the MMC. The first meeting was postponed at the councillor's own request. She did not arrive at the second meeting and so we could not go ahead. I have no idea of whether she ever did discuss the issue with the MMC. After that, we did meet once for a one-on-one discussion and we interacted in public meetings. I got the sense that she acknowledged my presence and my work and I know that she did see the value of the community newspaper that I began to produce towards the end of 2008. But we never did manage to overcome our differences – which I believe was to the detriment of the community we were both attempting to serve.

I recall that, even at the one meeting that we did have – which was quite amicable – she demonstrated clearly that she still saw our relationship as competitive rather than cooperative. I informed her that I had approached the CoJ for approval to use the old library as a community information office and an office for the YBCDT. She told me that she also had plans for the building. Rather than suggest that we use the building together in the interests of the broader community, which I certainly would have been prepared to do, she said: *'Okay, we'll see who wins!'*

Our combined energies could, in my view, have contributed greatly to a constructive change process in Yeoville Bellevue. However, this was not to be and so I had to continue my work in the knowledge that I could not expect any meaningful support from her.

Relationship with the YSF: In retrospect, I realise I didn't communicate what was happening properly to my colleagues in the YSF. People were confused about what exactly I was doing. I thought I had explained it – there are minutes of meetings in which it is clear that I tried to do so – but it seems that there was some misunderstanding and I must take responsibility for that.

Since 1998, I had argued that community-based organisations (such as the YCDF then and the YSF later) had no future without resources and capacity. I had argued for a community newspaper. I had suggested that we needed to have an office where the community could seek information. I had always pushed the view that we needed a community plan. So when the JDA said they would fund me for a year to explore options, it seemed

as if this could all come about. And I assumed that the people who had travelled the YSF road with me (and the YCDF road before that) all agreed in principle with these ideas – so when the opportunity came to put it into practise, I explained it and assumed that we all had a common understanding.

This wasn't the case. This really struck home when, through the YBCDT, I raised a substantial amount of funding, some of which I thought could best be used to capacitate the YSF.

During the period in which I was being funded by the JDA, I had contacted various people that I knew who were connected with the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). Jay Naidoo was the chair of the DBSA at the time and, when he got my email, he asked the CEO to see if the work I was doing fitted into any of their programmes. As a result, the DBSA decided to give the YBCDT a development grant of R998 000. They said I was to divide this money into various programmes.

The eventual split went four ways:

- R390 000 for the running of the YBCDT
- R300 000 for Yeovue News
- R130 000 for the YSF
- R180 000 for research

The YSF money was to be used for an office, a full-time employee, a computer with internet access and a telephone. This was for a year and I hoped to help them to raise further funds for the future.

It was an opportunity for the YSF to increase its capacity and its potential, to develop a different and more professional image which I hoped would result in useful support from whoever understood what we were all trying to do for our neighbourhood.

What some people in the YSF 'heard', however, was that I had raised money and I wanted to use the money to control the YSF. Others felt the YSF was too weak and ineffective an organisation to get anything useful done and so were worried that the money would be wasted. Still others were concerned that the YSF would survive on that year's funding and then would be stranded with no funds to continue at the end of that period.

A strong (and independent) YSF was important to the YBCDT for two reasons:

- I wanted to see my theory about community organisation in action – I was convinced the YSF would become a more useful, more effective organisation with some resources to support its work.
- It was important for the YBCDT to have a credible, functioning community structure to which to relate.

I had first come across this approach in Alexandra. The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) is a presidential lead project to upgrade 'Dark City', as Alex was historically-known. There was definitely a need for such a project because the area had been neglected during the apartheid years, the people of Alex threatened for decades with removal to places like Soweto.

The ARP was providing resources to the Greater Alex Development Forum (GADF), a coalition of over 100 Alex-based community organisations – the rationale being that the ARP needed such a structure through which to engage with the broader community of the area. The GADF was not without controversy. They were considered to be sell-outs by organisations which chose not to join, but rather to work from outside of the GADF to try and influence the direction of the ARP. But I wasn't particularly concerned with the effectiveness

or otherwise of the GADF itself – I was more interested in the principle behind resourcing the structure, which was to help it to become more functional and therefore useful – and this is why I suggested that the YSF receive some support funding through the YBCDT.

As it happened, the YSF never did take the money – which is to their credit and I respect them for it, even though I think they should have taken advantage of the opportunity to strengthen the structure. Many organisations and individuals would have put their misgivings aside and taken the money, even if they had no particular strategy for using it well. This is so especially in areas such as ours, where organisations are not resourced and there is so much unemployment.

Because the YSF did not take the money, we were able to motivate to the DBSA for a reallocation of the funds which helped to keep the YBCDT going a little longer. Sadly, though, the YSF went into decline and no longer exists. The decline began in 2011 at the time of the municipal elections – key people in the YSF decided that YSF activities could (or should) be suspended in the build-up to the elections, partly because they themselves were involved in electioneering. Others felt this was a mistake and that the organisation should continue and not allow its work to be suspended just because some people were involved in electioneering work. I myself would have supported the latter view.

I would argue, though, that the demise of the YSF was directly linked to their decision not to take funding. I remain convinced that no CBO in Yeoville Bellevue that is working for the redevelopment of the area has a chance of surviving, let alone doing anything effective, if it does not have the resources and capacity to function in a reasonably professional way. This means having an office where the community can find the organisation easily, where documentation can be kept properly, where there is a telephone and computer to maximise administration and communication, and where there can be a part-time or full-time employee (and volunteers) who are responsible for keeping the day-to-day operations of the organisation going. It is the lack of such resources and capacity that leads to organisations, both 'invited' and 'invented', going through cycles of collapse and regeneration, in the process losing institutional memory and diminishing their effectiveness.

In late 2011, the YBCDT employed someone on contract to update the database of all organisations and institutions operating in Yeoville Bellevue. We wanted to see if it would be possible to revive the YSF as we believed it was still important for an NGO like the YBCDT to have a credible, broadly-representative reference group in the area with which we could engage on an ongoing basis. Our initial discussions with organisations indicated that they wanted the YSF to be resuscitated. However, the challenges of keeping the YBCDT itself going meant that we were not able to pursue this and so today we do not have an organisation that can claim to represent the broad community of Yeoville Bellevue. This is a challenge that will still have to be addressed if we are ever to embark properly on a development process for the area. What I have done is to begin discussions with a number of people in the neighbourhood on the possibility of establishing a Yeoville Bellevue Neighbourhood Development Forum (YBNDF). I will go into more detail on this in a later section of the report.

Funding: One of the key things I had to do in that first period was to put together a proposal which could attract more funding for the YBCDI. I circulated the proposal to as many funding sources as I could, hoping that one of them would see its merit and give us some support. I discovered that it wasn't going to be easy. There were a number of reasons for this which emerged over time.

- Internationally, the global financial crisis of 2008 was impacting on funding everywhere
- Yeoville Bellevue was, in many people's eyes, a 'white' area and therefore not in need of assistance
- Funding priorities seemed to be for everything but community-driven urban renewal – the focus was on rural development, education, informal settlements, townships, HIV AIDs.

We had some success with the DBSA. They expressed interest in working with us on an ongoing basis with Yeoville Bellevue becoming a project in their Sustainable Development programme. We were, naturally, very excited about this, especially because we expected that the relationship with the DBSA would not just bring funding, but also expertise.

It was not to be. For a number of reasons – including the fact that they already had a project in Johannesburg (Diepsloot, an informal settlement) and (again) the global financial crisis, which meant the bank was not giving out as many loans as usual and therefore had diminished financial returns – they said they did not have the resources to commit to Yeoville Bellevue.

Yeovue News: Towards the end of the first year, I began to produce a community newspaper. As indicated above, the commercial knock-and-drop newspaper that served us so well in the late 1990s was no longer distributed in our neighbourhood. The lack of communication in the area meant that most people were ignorant about what was going in their own backyard. Knowledge that would have helped people to influence what was happening around them was not easily available.

For example, people who applied for liquor licenses generally had no problem getting them because most community members were not aware that licenses had been applied for, nor did they even know that they had the right to object to a liquor license application.

The paper was a great success, at least insofar as the public was concerned. It was delivered door-to-door throughout the Yeoville Bellevue area and reports from those doing the deliveries were that people were responding very positively and were upset if we missed a week, which we did from time to time for financial reasons. The most common comment was that the paper helped people to know more about what was going on their own area – 'it's about us'.


What will YOU be doing for your community for 67 minutes on Mandela Day 18 July?

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14 July 2011 Volume 4 No 26

Empower yourself!

Earlier this year, we reported on a committee which was set up in April to help people understand their rights and responsibilities. This week, SIMPHIWE NAKI, interim chairperson, talks about how and why the committee was started and some plans for the future.

On Saturday night, in three separate incidents, a young boy, a drunk teenager under the age of 18 and a drunken man were all knocked down by cars.

Two of the accidents were hit-and-run - the drivers did not stop to help the people they had knocked down.

Also on Saturday, a mugger allegedly tried to rob two men. They resisted and, in the fight that followed, are said to have cut off his ear.

Elsewhere in the paper today, Yeovue News reports on problems with water. There is also a notice for two new liquor license applications.

The principal of Yeoville Boys School has reported that thieves have stolen the goalpost from the school's sports ground.

Yeovue News has received a number of complaints about noise from members of the community in the last week as well.

These few stories show that the people of Yeoville Bellevue face a number of challenges every day as they live here and go about their business.

But do they know what to do about these challenges? Do they even think they can do anything or do they believe they must just accept that such things are part of life?

It is always possible to do something to improve conditions in communities. We therefore formed a committee to find ways of addressing the everyday challenges we face in our community.

When we started, we thought the committee would only work on the problem of alcohol abuse and illegal selling of alcohol. Letting people know when applications were made, talking to the SAPS and the Liquor Board about enforcement, meeting with the Liquor Traders' Association in Yeoville Bellevue.

But the acting executive of the committee could see that there were other issues that also needed attention and so it was agreed that the committee would also deal with things like applications for the rezoning of properties, gambling applications and noise pollution.

The main aim of the committee is to promote the idea that something can be done to improve life in Yeoville Bellevue. Members of the Committee (who are all members of the Yeoville Bellevue community) discuss how to deal with challenges so that conditions in Yeoville Bellevue can become more acceptable to the people living here. The committee was therefore called the Community Advocacy Committee, because advocacy means suggesting, or proposing or promoting an idea or a way of doing things.

Perhaps, though, we should change the name from Advocacy Committee to Empowerment Committee. This is because the work of the committee is really about empowering people to do something. It is about giving people the strength and courage to stand up for what they believe.

Many people say that they cannot do anything to change the situation in Yeoville Bellevue. Many people say they are scared to tell people that they shouldn't litter or urinate in the street. They say they cannot complain if someone is making a lot of noise because they might get assaulted. They would rather move out than try to change things.

This means that people feel they have no power. So the committee wants to show people that they do have power and they can use that power to change things.

Power comes from knowledge. So we as the Yeoville Bellevue Community Empowerment Committee will work with Yeovue News, community organisations like the CPF and YSF, ward councillors and municipal officials and anyone else to help people to get the information they need about the law and about their rights. We want to help people in the community to understand that they can do something, that they have the power to change things, and that, together, the people of Yeoville Bellevue can make the area a safe, law-abiding and caring place.

Logo of the Yeoville Bellevue Community Empowerment Committee. It shows the people of Yeoville Bellevue standing together and holding hands in a circle around the Yeoville water tower - working together to make Yeoville Bellevue a safe, law-abiding and caring place.

Simphiwe Naki, acting chairperson of the Yeoville Bellevue Community Empowerment Committee

Contact details: Simphiwe Naki (chair) 0710491493 Yeovue News office: 24 Rockey St, 011 4673389, yeovue.news@yeoville.org.za We invite you to join the Empowerment Committee and work with us for a better Yeoville Bellevue for all.

Page 1

FIGURE 31: The front page of one of the issues of Yeovue News – a lack of funds means the paper hardly ever comes out anymore.

Very soon into the life of the paper, we introduced a 'community directory' which provided people with the names and contact details of important government bodies, NGOs and CBOs in the area. This was, according to reports, one of the most valued sections of the paper because it meant that people now had knowledge of and access to people and organisations that could make a difference to their lives.

We were not very successful when it came to getting advertising and in persuading roleplayers like the CoJ to see the value of the paper as a means of reaching the community. I made it clear a number of times that we would not charge the CoJ if they wanted us to publish information that they wanted to share with the public. But they still did not take advantage of the presence of the paper.

The Ward Councillor did, surprisingly, publicly acknowledge the usefulness of the paper, though she too failed to take advantage of an offer I made to her to have a (free) regular column through which she could communicate with her constituency.

The paper was not without its detractors. There were those (inevitably) who questioned its agenda. One political party sent us the names of two people that they were 'offering' to serve on an editorial board – the party believed we were not accountable and that this needed to be 'corrected'. The worst attack on the paper took place when we published information about a political party which had been set up by people who had broken away from the ruling party. We were accused of 'supporting' the new political party and the people

distributing the paper were physically attacked. We responded in the next issue by reminding readers that we had always made clear the non-partisan nature of the paper and that we had previously given exposure to the ruling party and that this article was part of the same series of sharing information about organisations with the people of the neighbourhood.

Despite these challenges, the paper continued and the positive reaction from the community convinced us that it was a worthwhile project and should continue. However, we realised that this would probably only be possible with a financial injection from a funder such as the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA).[93] This would enable us to employ people to work fulltime on the paper, to produce a larger format paper in colour which would be more attractive to advertisers (and readers, who often asked why the paper was so small and only in black and white), and to institute a more aggressive drive to get advertising. The paper, which had a print-run of 10 000 per week, was delivered to every household in the area, was left in strategic high-traffic locations in the business street, and was emailed to over 500 people. It therefore reached close on 40 000 people who live in an area of significant economic activity. There is definitely a strong case for persuading people to advertise – and success in getting advertising will ensure the success of the paper.

Today we are only producing the paper sporadically – when we have the money to do so. We have also tried just producing an online version as there are no costs associated with this (except for my time for which I don't charge). The problem is that this does not reach enough people and we have to take into account also that many people access email through their cellphones, so a large file publication can be a challenge.

Direct political intervention: In 2009, we continued with our fund-raising efforts, with the newspaper, with networking with other organisations and with the CoJ, and with pushing for the idea of a development plan for the neighbourhood. The work was slow and not helped by the antagonism from the councillor which was matched by inexplicable hostility from others in the ANC network – this despite the fact that I was still a member in good standing of the organisation.

This hostility was made manifest when I received a call from the City of Johannesburg telling me that a delegation from the Ward 67 Branch Executive Committee (BEC) of the ANC had held a meeting with the Mayor of Johannesburg, clr Amos Masondo, in which they questioned my working full-time in Yeoville Bellevue. I was told I should prepare a response to the proposal that they had made.

It appears that the BEC proposed that the JDA change my terms of reference and deploy me to work across the inner city as a whole and spend only about 20% of my time in Yeoville Bellevue. They said they were not happy with me working full-time in Yeoville Bellevue, that I was 'making the councillor look bad'.

The issue dragged on for a while, with the CoJ trying to find an amicable solution and then it became a non-issue because I was no longer being paid by the JDA. (It was because I was being paid by the JDA that they believed they could demand that the CoJ act against me – they allegedly argued that the council was an ANC council and that the ward was an ANC ward and therefore the branch had the right to have an influence over what was done in the area.)

The irony of the whole saga is that, had there not been an agenda to get rid of me for questionable reasons, I might have considered seriously their proposal that my brief should be extended to cover the whole of the inner city. I have long been frustrated with my image as a 'dedicated', 'passionate' Yeoville Bellevueite with a single-minded determination to 'save' the area – a sort of latter-day missionary.

I was not born in Yeoville Bellevue and so, in many ways, I have less of an emotional attachment to the area than those whose families were here for two or three generations. It is true that I have a strong relationship with the neighbourhood that began with our arrival in Johannesburg in 1961 when we lived in Berea and I went to school in Houghton across the road from Yeoville Bellevue.

But the reasons for my interest in the development of Yeoville Bellevue are that:

- I live here – and I would get involved in similar efforts no matter where I lived, because I'm that kind of person
- my political activism is premised on my desire to live in a society free of all forms of oppression, exploitation and discrimination and my belief that it is my duty to be part of trying to create such a society – the best place to start to do that is at home.
- Yeoville Bellevue has the potential to be a shining example of a New South African neighbourhood where people of different backgrounds (race, nationality, religion, economic status) could be living side-by-side in harmony, all enjoying a reasonable quality of life in a safe, healthy environment. I believe in that potential and therefore feel compelled to work for it.
- I am uncomfortable that, because of the very poor urban management of the area, Yeoville Bellevue has provided prejudiced people with the opportunity to point fingers and say that it is an example of why apartheid was good – because, in their minds, it is evidence of what happens to an area 'when blacks move in'. The only way of combating this crude, racist analysis is to demonstrate that the issue is not race and that, with good management by the local authority (similar to that which whites enjoyed back in the days of apartheid), the area can be safe, clean, caring and economically vibrant.

I still hope to be able, through my involvement with the CoJ (and through studying), to play a broader role in the development of the inner city as a whole (and, indeed, similarly-challenged areas across the country), perhaps just through showing that it can be done by doing it in Yeoville Bellevue, perhaps by working more broadly across the inner city.

What a pity, then, that the July 2009 intervention of the ANC branch was so crudely and narrowly political. A more constructive approach (for starters, they could have approached me directly instead of going behind my back to the Mayor!) might have satisfied both them and me.

YBCDT: SOME PROJECTS IN THE COMMUNITY

This list includes activities that YBCDT has undertaken in collaboration with other structures in the neighbourhood and with people who have come into the area from outside to carry out specific projects.

Yeoville sportsground: The sportsground in question is the property of the Gauteng Provincial Government and is nominally under the jurisdiction of Yeoville Boys School. Part of the property is the site of the original co-educational[94] Yeoville School which was established in the early 20th century and was replaced across Bedford Rd in the 1960s by a new building for a now-exclusively boys school. Shortly after that, the old site was extended by closing off a portion of Frances St, thereby joining it up with part of another city block, and converted into a sportsfield.

The ground was surrounded by a 4m diamond mesh fence which had probably been standing for a good few decades. In the early 2000s, it was in a state of disrepair and had been breached in so many places that it was no longer secure enough for the school to use it. It became a thoroughfare, a dumping ground, a home for the homeless, and a place of crime. The YSF, the Ward Councillor and others were trying to get funds to put up a new fence.

After the YBCDT was formed, I renewed efforts to get the fence replaced. Eventually the JDA agreed to assist us and we were able to replace the old diamond mesh fence with a sturdy 2m palisade one in July 2009.



FIGURE 32: George Lebone and I talking next to the new fence.

The schools were delighted, the community was happy and community soccer teams were ecstatic. The councillor's response, on the other hand, was baffling. 'Why are Maurice and George (Lebone) doing my work?' she is reputed to have asked. Instead of welcoming the fact that at least one of the many initiatives to fence the field had been successful, she took it as a personal slight that it was the YBCDT and YSF that had managed to make it happen.

That aside, the project was a success and work continues to get further funding to turn the field into a fully-fledged sports facility that can be shared by Yeoville Community School and the community. A plan has been drafted which proposes the closing of the section of Muller St that separates the ground from the Yeoville Community School, making it safer for the children who use it at break times and for afternoon sports activities.

The YBCDT has been given responsibility for managing the use of the field and has enlisted the support of Shoprite (which has a branch in the area) to assist us with maintaining the fence so that it does not gradually get broken down again.

Africa Week: Towards the end of 2009, a very exciting project began to take shape. Back in 2000, when the RRMC presented its development plan to the municipality, I wrote a preface which predicted a rise in xenophobia as more and more migrants moved into the area. I also suggested then that Yeoville Bellevue's economic future lay in promoting the area as a pan-African cultural destination for domestic and international tourists. This would build on the one major asset in the neighbourhood – its people – and it could play a role in promoting tolerance and a celebration of the cultural diversity of the area. I also suggested that Africa Day – the day on which, on 25 May 1963, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was launched – could be used as an occasion on which to have a festival to celebrate Africa and bring visitors to the area.

The same idea was raised in 2009 in a strategy session of the African Diaspora Forum, of which I was an executive member. With this new incentive to make the idea a reality, I managed to persuade the City of Johannesburg Arts and Culture Directorate to support the holding of an Africa Day Festival in Yeoville Bellevue in May 2010. Partly because this would be a month before the 2010 Soccer World Cup and the Festival could be part of the build-up to the soccer fest, the CoJ agreed and gave us a grant of just over R500 000.

The YBCDT, the ADF and the YSF formed the core of the organising team. Against all odds, including the fact that we had never done anything of the kind before, we pulled off a very successful festival – we closed off the main business street to traffic for the day and positioned six stages across the area, activities (music, poetry, dance, theatre) happening across all of them simultaneously.

The most successful aspect of the event was that we were able to give over 200 participating performers R500 each and over 200 community members R100 each for providing parking, security and other logistical services.

The intention is to establish the festival as an annual event and develop it into something similar to other festivals around the world, such as the Notting Hill Festival in London. However, we have not managed to raise adequate funds in subsequent years.

In 2011, there was a scaled-down event in the Yeoville Recreation Centre, mostly funded by the YBCDT. In 2012, we did not have an event. In 2013, again against all odds and with the help of the Foundation for

Human Rights (FHR), we succeeded in having a Festival similar to 2010, this time celebrating the 50th anniversary of Africa Day. One thing we have learnt from all this is that we need to start our lobbying for support earlier and so we began working for the 2014 Festival in August 2013.

Hotel Yeoville: The 2010 Africa Week Festival in Yeoville Bellevue coincided with the launch of Hotel Yeoville, a public art project aimed at getting people to tell their stories and then make them available online in written, audio or visual format.

Hotel Yeoville set up operation in the new Yeoville Library and invited members of the public to come in and interact with the project.

> *'People who came in to Hotel Yeoville could take photos to upload to Flickr in the Photo Booth, make videos to upload to YouTube in the Video Booth, tell stories in the Story Booth; map their roots and journeys across Africa and beyond in the Journeys Booth, and in the Directory Booth they could find a new home, a new lounge suite, a bicycle ..... or advertise their business and skills through an online business directory and more ...'.*[88] *A website was established to house information generated by the project and is still in existence as an online archive.*[89]

The launch was a strange affair. It happened, as indicated above, in the new Yeoville Library on the day of the Africa Week Festival. The peculiar thing was that the attendees at the launch were mostly white and not from the area. Outside in the street, the Festival was happening. The majority of the people who had come to the Festival were from the area and therefore almost all black.

When it came time to launch the Festival from one of the stages, I introduced the keynote speaker from the City of Johannesburg, clr Bafana Sithole. While doing so, I took the opportunity to encourage members of the audience to visit the Hotel Yeoville installation. Inexplicably, however, not one speaker at the launch of Hotel Yeoville even mentioned the Festival happening in the streets outside.

Apart from the fact that it seemed logical and appropriate to invite people who had come for the Hotel Yeoville launch to also go out and enjoy the Festival – that was, after all, why I had suggested to the Hotel Yeoville developers that they have their launch on the same day - there was, in my view, a direct link between the aims of the Festival – to celebrate the diversity of cultures in Yeoville Bellevue as a means of combating xenophobia – and those of Hotel Yeoville which was giving people, especially migrants, a chance to tell their stories – their journeys, their loves, their dreams – thereby 'humanising' them and challenging the tendency of South Africans to dismiss them as 'makwerekwere'.[97]

Unfortunately, the people who started Hotel Yeoville were unable to find someone to continue running the project (the YBCDT was asked, but we didn't have the capacity or the finances to take it on) and the Yeoville Library where it was housed seemed unable to provide the necessary support to keep it going. The project was eventually dismantled and the computers given to the YBCDT for community work.

For some of the participants in Yeoville Bellevue, it may well have been the first time in their lives that anyone had shown interest in their stories, in their lives, in their thoughts and feelings. It is a pity that it didn't continue. I think we, the people and organisations of Yeoville Bellevue, failed to engage fully with the project and to ensure its relevance and longevity. Perhaps it just happened at the wrong time.

Yeoville Studio: Over the years of my involvement, I have engaged with and assisted a steady stream of domestic and international academics from a range of disciplines who find Yeoville Bellevue an interesting and challenging place and worthy of study and so have produced a very useful body of work for those that come after them.

It would be useful if officials and politicians in the city who are responsible for the maintenance and development of the area were to take advantage of this rich source of intellectual work as they grapple with the prevailing challenges faced by Yeoville Bellevue and the rest of the inner city of Joburg. I think it is fair to say that community activists would also do well to read the material – there is no doubt that there is much in it that would assist them to strategise their projects and programmes, and their engagements with city authorities.

It would also be good if students themselves were to see the importance of producing work which contains findings that have the potential of influencing policy and practise in our neighbourhoods – all too often (and this is not necessarily the fault of the students themselves), their theses end up in an archive, only getting pulled out as reference works by later generations.



FIGURE 33: Trevor Fowler, newly-appointed City Manager for Joburg, speaks at a Yeoville Studio exhibition in Yeoville Bellevue in 2011.

So it was very exciting when, in 2009, the Architecture and Planning Department at Wits University decided to send students through to Yeoville Bellevue over a two-year period to carry out research for their degrees, honours and masters courses. Their main partners in Yeoville Bellevue were the YSF and the YBCDT. The initiative was called Yeoville Studio, an intensive and extensive programme taking place from 2010-2011 (see Appendix 8 for more details).

Yeoville Studio did some excellent work – as a community we haven't even begun to take advantage of the rich body of material that was produced by students during their years here. The archive of work has also been supplemented by theses and articles that predated 2010 – these were generously given to us by Yeoville Studio who, at the beginning of the project, did a document search on Yeoville Bellevue at Wits. This collection of academic material is evidence of the abiding interest in the area and its multi-layered history.

We not only have not taken advantage as yet of the material produced – I think we, as a community, failed to take sufficient advantage of the presence of the students (and the lecturers) in the area while the project was underway. This is particularly true of the YBCDT which has always promoted the importance of research for the preparation of a holistic development plan for the neighbourhood. Perhaps it was because we had not yet consolidated the organisation into a coherent structure and so we did not have the time or capacity to engage properly with the Wits programme.

Perhaps too it was because we were fighting too many battles within the community that prevented us from fully appreciating and taking advantage of the benefit of having Yeoville Studio in the area. In discussions after the end of the project with Dr Claire Benit-Gbaffou, the driving force behind Yeoville Studio, I realised that we as the community – especially the YSF and the YBCDT – could have played a much greater role in influencing the kind of work the students were doing – we could, in fact, have used the students to take on work that we ourselves wanted to do, but couldn't because we lacked the capacity and the resources.

I like to think that all is not lost in this regard. The material is there and available for anyone who wants to access it. In addition, Wits have not cut ties with the area completely. We have had discussions relating to two critical areas – housing and the informal sector – on which Wits is still interested in working, either with us or with others. They have just finished working on a series of informational booklets on housing issues and they are keen to assist in finding realistic solutions to the challenges facing the informal sector. I know

that people from Yeoville Studio will take a keen interest in this report and offer their own insights into the issues about which I have written. I look forward to hearing what they have to say.

Windsor East: assisting with organisational development: When working with the YCPF in the 2010-2012 period, I realised that the YBCDT could play a role in capacitating community organisations and that this was perhaps an area of work we should explore further. So we responded positively when a call came from a community member in Windsor East, a suburb about 16 kms north east of Yeoville Bellevue.

Windsor East offered the possibility of relatively cheap accommodation near a good transport network and so it became a preferred destination for some of the many people coming to Johannesburg to seek work. Many of the same social problems were manifesting themselves – overcrowding, joblessness, substance abuse and crime. I attended a meeting of concerned community residents and related our experiences – our successes and failures – and discussed with them possible options for addressing the challenges they faced. It was gratifying to realise that the work we have done over the years might be of some value to people in other areas.

The YBCDT has also made some, so far unsuccessful, attempts to revive the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum and to encourage the establishment of a Property Owners Association and Business Forum. Our most recent efforts in this regard have been to give support to street committees, to the Yeoville Bellevue Ratepayers Association (which represents homeowners in the neighbourhood) and to the Yeoville Bellevue Liquor Traders Association which is trying to professionalise its operations and improve the image of liquor outlets in the area.

Advocacy work: One of the things that became clear quite early on is that, for the average citizen, there is a chronic lack of easy access to critical information on matters that affect or can affect his or her life. This lack of information leads to the effective disempowerment of people with the result that they often find themselves having to deal with challenges that they could have prevented had they but had more information about them. This problem relates to information on basic rights and responsibilities, as well as knowledge of statutory applications to bodies like the City of Johannesburg, the Liquor Board and the Gambling Board.

The YBCDT attempted to address this problem by making general information on by-laws and other regulations available to the community through Yeovue News and through the YBCDT office. It also took steps to ensure that, whenever possible, information relating to applications for liquor licenses, gambling licenses, rezoning applications and consent use applications would be communicated to affected people to allow them to exercise their right to comment on or object to a particular application.

We have also used our increasing knowledge of these issues to comment and make proposals to the authorities on future legislation and operational processes.

We have made many enemies through doing this work. People who could operate with impunity before suddenly found that they could no longer do so. Threats were issued. Promises were made and broken. Allegations were levelled against us. But the importance of this initiative is reaffirmed almost daily by the regular phone calls we get from people in the community because they read in Yeovue News about what we are doing or they have heard from someone else that we helped them. Even the authorities direct people to us, knowing that it will save time for people to come to the community for approval from the beginning.

I don't believe we have done nearly enough to empower people to exercise their right to influence what goes on around them on a consistent and sustained basis.



FIGURE 34: As part of our advocacy work, we formed a (short-lived) structure called the Yeoville Bellevue Community Advocacy and Empowerment Committee (YBCAEC).

What we have done it to prove the need for that empowerment process to happen, otherwise people will continue to be victims rather than shapers of their environment.

Two specific areas of focus – accommodation and economic development: In Chapter 5, we looked in some detail at housing and the economy of our neighbourhood. The challenges of providing people with decent homes and of creating employment opportunities continue to frustrate the community (and the authorities). The ongoing failure to address these issues in a meaningful and sustainable way is also creating conditions for conflict between individuals and groups in the area as everyone jostles for access to a way out of their own insecure conditions. Xenophobia is one of the ugliest manifestations of this conflict which, though it has not yet broken out into direct, violent confrontation, has the potential to do so if something is not done to address these issues urgently.

The YBCDT has attempted to make interventions in these two areas, though without much success to date. We are working on some proposals which we hope might offer solutions, but these will require the sustained support of the local authorities, something that is not guaranteed at the moment. The support that is needed is a willingness on the part of local government to take risks, to try new and creative ways of doing things, and to welcome and actively support initiatives from civil society organisations and individuals who are themselves working on solutions to these challenges.

The current situation: Since the beginning of 2012, things have been very difficult. Funding dried up almost completely early in the year. This meant that the YBCDT had to reconsider what the project could and couldn't do. It meant that we could not produce the newspaper (although we did publish a few issues online and we managed to print a few issues as well with the support of sponsors). But the organisation still exists and we continue to look for partnerships and support. There are promising signs that there is renewed interest in supporting community-driven urban development initiatives and we plan to take advantage of that

YEOVILLE BELLEVUE RATEPAYERS ASSOCIATION: 2012 - PRESENT

I am now secretary of the Yeoville Bellevue Ratepayers Association (YBRA), a new organisation established in 2012. The YBRA has a narrow membership target – homeowners in the neighbourhood. This is because, for a long time, some people have complained that the problems of the area are caused by 'transient' people, people who are moving through Yeoville Bellevue on their way to somewhere else, renting accommodation while here and showing little interest in broader community issues.

Like all generalisations, this one is flawed. There is compelling evidence internationally that people don't have to be homeowners to feel responsible for, and committed to, the area in which they live. In fact, some people stay on in a neighbourhood for decades on a rental basis, not particular interested in owning their own home and not motivated to move anywhere else.

Even here in our neighbourhood, there are tenants who have joined street committees, concerned about the state of their immediate environment. Equally, there are homeowners who might have pride in their own personal space, but shun any attempt to get them to work cooperatively with others on shared concerns in the community.

Nevertheless, it is possible to argue that homeowners might have a greater tendency to worry about the future of their neighbourhood, given that they have made both a financial and a lifestyle commitment to the area. Homeowners who see the value of their property stagnating or decreasing because the socio-economic conditions in their area are deteriorating are bound to be concerned, not just about the risk to their investment but also because those deteriorating socio-economic conditions will impact on their quality of life.

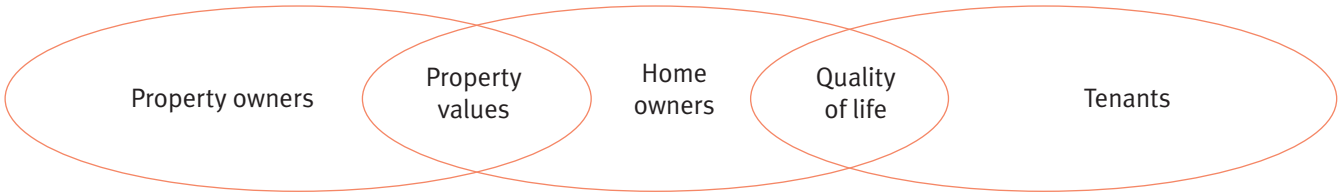


FIGURE 35: The diagram shows that homeowners have a concern both for the value of their property and for their quality of life.

For tenants, the quality of life issue is their sole concern. For property owners who do not live in the area, the decline in property values (and in the return on their investment) will be most troubling. The above chart offers a visual representation of these differences in priority.

The YBRA therefore presents an interesting new organisational opportunity for Yeoville Bellevue. According to StatsSA (2011), around ten percent of properties (flat units and houses) are occupied by homeowners. That's over 1 000 potential members of the YBRA, all with shared interests. If the YBRA can strengthen to the point where it represents even half that number, it will still be stronger than most other structures in the past or present of Yeoville Bellevue. It doesn't have to work in isolation either. It can work with structures like the Community Police Forum and the four Ward Committees. It can form liaisons with other structures in the area and even outside the area. It already has contact with the Orange Grove Ratepayers Association.

There are risks. Some would argue that homeowners are likely to be more conservative than others, seeing only their own interests and unwilling to consider the rights of others and the possibility of managed change to accommodate the broader interests of the community. This has already begun to manifest itself. There are members who are adamant that all the problems of the neighbourhood are caused by foreign nationals. Others believe that there should be no commercial activity whatsoever in residential areas.

On the other hand, there are also members who believe, as I do, that the challenges of the area have nothing to do with the nationality of a person and that innovative ways are needed to tackle them, even if that means that everyone has to compromise a little. More and more people are also realising that the future of Yeoville Bellevue is intricately connected to how the CoJ and other authorities respond to these challenges.

This is why the rumblings of discontent are making people more militant and more determined to hold the state accountable, even if this means that the CoJ and other authorities must be confronted head-on – through the holding of marches similar to the one that happened after I received the SMS threat of July 2012 and possibly even through exploring legal channels through which the state can be forced to do its work. This discontent is fuelled by the fact that homeowners make concerted efforts to bring issues to the attention of the authorities on the assumption that they will act once they have the information. But this doesn't happen and people respond either by getting disillusioned or by getting more angry.

THE END ..... OR ANOTHER BEGINNING?

In July, the only other full-time person in the YBCDT was (fortunately) offered a three-year contract post at Wits University, relieving the organisation of the challenge of trying to continue employing her with no funds. I myself was offered an opportunity to write this account of my experiences in Yeoville Bellevue over the past fifteen years – an ethnographic account of my work as a 'Yeoville (Bellevue) patriot' (Malan, 2009).

As I write, I am 'gainlessly employed'. This is because, although I am not earning a salary, I am continuing the work I have been doing over the past 15 years, still convinced that it is possible to make a breakthrough and for Yeoville Bellevue to begin to (consciously) re-invent itself and become a safe, healthy, caring, sustainable area, serving the needs of those who live and work here and giving fulfilment to the commitments of the Freedom Charter and the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

This is the end of one phase and perhaps the beginning of another. There are many positive developments which may or may not translate into meaningful interventions and open-minded solution-seeking. In the City of Johannesburg, the new Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) 2040, with its goal of making Joburg a 'liveable, sustainable' city, is being rolled out. Also in the CoJ, a report has been tabled on the outcomes of the first five years of the Inner City Charter and its many commitments. Consultants have mooted a new 'Inner City Roadmap' which, if approved, will be backed up by a more-resourced inner city office and a renewed determination (at least on paper) to address urban decay effectively.

There are many parts of Johannesburg whose racial spatial separation from each other as a result of apartheid ideology lingers on. The CoJ has adopted an ambitious 'Corridors of Freedom' programme which aims to link the communities in these areas by extending the Rea Vaya rapid bus system and embarking on massive infrastructural projects along the new bus routes, using the opportunity to increase densification as a means of providing more accommodation within the city rather than in far-flung settlements on the periphery. One of these routes will be running along the northern boundary of Yeoville Bellevue and may prove to be one of the catalysts which will help propel the neighbourhood to a new future.

The National Development Plan (NDP) has been adopted and is now official government policy. There is much in the NDP that offers hope to areas like Yeoville Bellevue and we will attempt to take advantage of its proposals and undertakings. We are already in discussions with the CoJ and others on the possibility of using our neighbourhood as a pilot (again) for the NDP's Chapter 8 proposals on undertaking participatory spatial planning processes, using their 'social compact' approach as a facilitating mechanism.

CHAPTER 7

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The main aim of this research report has been to give an overview of my work in Yeoville Bellevue, to talk about some of the issues that I and others have had to confront, to suggest what needs to happen in order to move forward, and to venture some final conclusions.

What follow here are some ideas for what needs to be done to make a decisive shift in the right direction.

GOVERNMENT MUST GOVERN

On 4 February 2013, the extract below appeared in an article in The Star:

City member of the mayoral committee responsible for development planning and urban infrastructure, Ros Greeff, admitted at the end of January 2013 that procedures were slow and were not working and were leading to the rapid decay of many areas across the city.

"The by-laws are not tough enough and the city has not been proactive enough. Even when we are alerted immediately at the start of building operations, and we issue stop orders, we are ignored, and once they have put a roof on the structure... we can no longer evict as the high court has ruled that we then have to find the occupants alternative accommodation," she said.[91]

On 18 June, MMC Greeff attended a meeting of the Yeoville Bellevue Ratepayers Association too and said much the same thing. While her honesty is welcome, it is cold comfort to communities under siege because of the failure of the CoJ's procedures. It is also worrying that, as I write in November 2013, we are attempting to get the CoJ to act against a number of illegal building operations – and they still lack the effective power (and the will?) to do so.

In our interactions with the CoJ, we are often told of the challenges the city faces in carrying out its mandate. We are asked to understand that a lack of resources, a shortage of personnel, slow legislative processes and other problems are preventing service delivery – but we don't see the CoJ doing anything to improve the situation.

It is the job of government to govern effectively – with courage and with confidence – and, if there are obstacles in the way which prevent them from doing so, then they need to do something to remove those obstacles. It is not correct that ordinary citizens should have to bear the consequences of the inability of the CoJ (and other authorities) to get their house in order.

If the obstacle is legislation, then the legislation must be changed or scrapped. If there are not enough inspectors, more must be employed. If a policy is not working, it must be corrected.

The most important thing is to work pro-actively, preventing problems before they start, saving time and money and showing citizens that the CoJ is willing to act to protect their rights and their quality of life.

URBAN MANAGEMENT

Urban management or a lack thereof, already introduced in Chapter 4 as one of the key challenges facing the Yeoville Bellevue area, demands urgent attention. Ineffective urban management is probably the biggest contributor to urban decay and illegality in our neighbourhood (and the rest of the inner city). For the past 15 years, nothing that the council has tried has offered a sustainable solution. I am suggesting the following as alternatives that they *haven't* tried, but that I think would work.

Neighbourhood office: Since 1998, I have suggested that a way to deal effectively with the urban management challenges of the area is for the CoJ to have a neighbourhood office in Yeoville Bellevue. It is very difficult to manage an area like this by remote control from an office somewhere else or through the occasional visit. Having an office in the area means that those working in that office will be in touch with the reality of the area on a day-to-day basis. Not only will they have a better understanding of the dynamics of the area, they will also be able to deal pro-actively with issues as they arise, not long after the fact as is the case now. The presence of the CoJ in the area will send two clear signals: that the city cares about the area and is serious about dealing with its problems, and that it will not be easy for people to get away with breaking by-laws and other transgressions because there are people on the ground monitoring what is happening.

In August 2013, I met a senior official from the City of Buenos Aires who heads up the Habitat and Inclusion Department. She told me that she agreed to take this job – which was offered to her by the newly-appointed Mayor – on condition that three criteria were met:

- That the department would have a 'territorial presence' in the communities in which they worked – ie they would have an operational centre to work from in the community itself
- That they would have a programme of 'social urbanism' whose aim is to build a sense of citizenship in the community
- That they operate on an 'inclusionary' basis through which they would encourage a culture of community

What's more, the officials working for her in a particular community would not spend their time in their 'operational base' waiting for the public to come to them – their job is to get out into the streets, to engage with the people and to agree through proper participatory processes on issues to be dealt with and projects to be undertaken.

This, I believe, would be the correct approach for tackling the challenges of a place like Yeoville Bellevue (and of other socio-economically vulnerable neighbourhoods across the city).[99]

Three-legged pot concept: Simply put, this is a method of promoting behaviour-change. It is not a new or unique concept. I developed it in 2006 when I was working at the then-Gauteng Department of Agriculture, Conservation and Environment. In doing so, I drew on the experiences of litter-free projects from all over the world. The concept does not only apply to litter, though. Former Minister of Transport Sbu Ndebele cited a similar idea when he proposed a way of cutting down on road accidents.

The basic principle is that, just as a three-legged pot will fall over if one leg is removed, the concept will not work if one element is removed. The three elements are Education, Enablement and Enforcement – for example, in the case of cutting down road accidents, Ndebele said that there must be a focus on *raising awareness, having a well-maintained road network,* and *effective law enforcement*. People need to be educated around an idea if they are to understand it and the reason for it. They need to be enabled to comply with that idea. And there needs to be the weapon of enforcement, should people decide not to comply.

Properly applied, this will lead to behaviour change. What's more, it will lead to a fourth idea – Empowerment – meaning that, once people have embraced the idea and changed their behaviour, they will be empowered to encourage others to do so too.

I believe that this concept could be a powerful way of addressing the problem of anti-social behaviour and it can therefore contribute to the implementation of effective urban management. I have already discussed this strategy with councillor Ros Greeff, MMC for Development Planning, and included it in a strategy document that I assisted her office to draft.

You can find a full explanation of the concept in Appendix 4

Block prefects: Another way of approaching the urban management/communication issue is through the appointment of Block Prefects. This concept was piloted reasonably successfully in 2006 with money from the national Department of Science and Technology. Unfortunately it was stopped and replaced with an Urban Inspector system which has not had much impact. The Block Prefects were recruited from within the community and spent their days identifying problems and engaging with community members, encouraging them not to engage in anti-social behaviour.

The YBCDT submitted a detailed proposal to the Presidential Jobs Fund, suggesting the roll-out of a Block Prefect programme across the whole of Yeoville Bellevue, two Prefects per block, whose duties would be:

- To get to know everyone in the block and be known by everyone in the block
- To monitor the behaviour of people in the block and to advise them of when they are behaving in an anti-social manner or doing something unauthorised. Furthermore, they would have to advise people of the correct way to do things and the appropriate place to seek approval for what they wanted to do
- To report to council on anyone who insisted on continuing with unauthorised activities despite being advised not to do so, so that the council could then take the appropriate action

The Jobs Fund liked the concept, but said that, even though the project would give 250 people employment and training for three years, making them more employable than they were when the project started, it wasn't giving them permanent jobs and that was one of the criteria for getting funding from the Jobs Fund.

I still believe that this project has the potential to change the face of Yeoville Bellevue by:

- promoting positive behaviour change
- empowering people with information
- helping to build a sense of community with people understanding their rights and responsibilities and respecting the rights of others.

However, the challenge we face is in getting the required funding.

Ongoing urban management issues: A list of issues which need to be addressed through an effective urban management strategy is attached as Appendix 2.

Communication

Ever since I have been working on Yeoville Bellevue matters, I have raised the issue of communication. The CoJ is simply not good at communicating with its citizens. This is one of the things that disempowers people and renders them unable to take action around things that impact directly on their own lives. It undermines people's relationship with the CoJ, making it very difficult for them to work cooperatively with their own city.

Item 2.6.6 of GDS 2040 includes this sentence: *Recognising that communication is critical for deepening participation, the City will transform the manner in which (it) communicates with citizens and stakeholders.*

We have yet to see that transformation take place, two years since the drafting of the GDS. Communication still seems to be a 'nice-to-have', 'an add-on', instead of being a central, essential and adequately-budgeted part of the CoJ's overall strategy.

The CoJ also has to become more responsive. Everyone keeps on and on about 'active citizenry', but there is no sign that the authorities really value active citizens. We are in an age of easy communication, but we find that many officials and politicians simply refuse to engage, ignoring questions and suggestions and leaving citizens frustrated and disillusioned (I have literally hundreds of emails on my computer which I have sent to local, provincial and national government that have simply gone unanswered). Having said that, I must reiterate that there are those officials and politicians who *are* responsive, who *do* engage, who *do* appreciate active citizenry – but it's interesting to note that they also tend to be those who would like to do more, but are themselves frustrated by bureaucracy, a lack of resources, political lethargy and their own colleagues. A culture of embracing the effective participation of civil society must become part of the DNA of local and other government officials and must manifest itself through responsiveness and meaningful engagement, not merely tokenistic statutory consultation.

A motivation for neighbourhood-based rather than ward-based development

Municipalities tend, by and large, to use wards as their most basic management unit. This means that planning and allocation of resources is done on a ward-by-ward basis, with Ward Councillors the key reference point. But ward boundaries are artificial constructs. They are the product of a complicated exercise undertaken by the Demarcation Board to divide the city up into more or less equivalent units. Inevitably, many of these boundaries will not coincide with the more organic pre-existing neighbourhood boundaries which have developed over decades.

The most important – possibly primary – function of wards is to designate voting areas. Issues to take into account when designating ward boundaries are the number of voters in each ward (around 13 000 to 17 000 in Johannesburg), linking rich and poor areas so that apartheid-style racial and economic divisions are not reinforced, and trying 'to avoid as far as possible the fragmentation of communities'.[100]

As I understand it, the policy of the Demarcation Board is to, where possible, ensure that wards straddle advantaged and disadvantaged areas so that the poorer parts of the ward can benefit from their relationship with those that are better off. It seems a good idea, but I wonder how successfully it is implemented. There is certainly no benefit to Yeoville Bellevue – there is little or no relationship between our neighbourhood and the other sections of each of the wards that intersect in the area.[101]

One of the challenges this creates is that of putting together coherent development strategies for different parts of the city. The area of Yeoville Bellevue is around 1,6km^2. It comprises six different suburbs. But it is a neighbourhood. There is a homogeneity across Yeoville Bellevue which contrasts with the richer areas of Houghton to the north and Observatory to the east and with the high-rise flatlands of Berea to the west (to the south is a natural boundary defined by the Yeoville ridge). When people say they live in Yeoville, they mean they live in Yeoville or Bellevue or Bellevue East or Randview or Highlands or the top part of Lorentzville

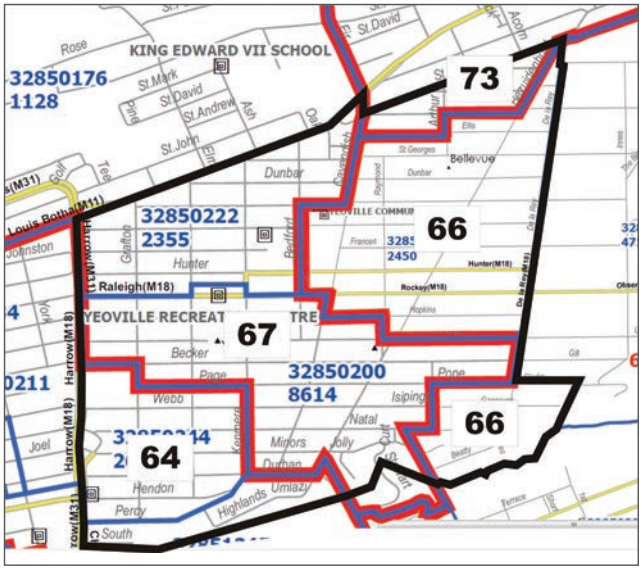


FIGURE 36: Yeoville Bellevue is bounded by the solid black line. As can be seen, sections of four different wards make up the area. Ward 67 continues to the north, ward 64 to the west and the south, ward 66 to the east and the south, and ward 73 to the north.

(some don't even know the name of the specific suburb they live in). Even the CoJ defines Yeoville Bellevue as one space, unexcitingly called Sub-Area 6.

But there are four wards in the area – Wards 64, 66, 67 and 73.

In the graphic above, the thick black line is the boundary of Yeoville Bellevue, the red/blue lines demarcate the different wards. The large black numerals are the ward numbers.

How do you use ward-based planning in an area where there are four wards? The business street of Yeoville Bellevue is shared between two wards. How will ward-based planning work here? You can't have a different economic development strategy for two halves of the same street,

In 2012, the CoJ launched a new approach to deploying Metro Police officers by allocating 10 to each ward. It would be far more effective to have ten Metro Police officers assigned to Yeoville Bellevue than to try and co-ordinate the efforts of 40 officers across four wards who have to somehow attend to the needs of the small sections of each ward that intersect in Yeoville Bellevue while also trying to look after the extensive area covered by the rest of each ward.

More recently, the Social Development department invited NGOs to bid for poverty work in distressed parts of the city, defined by ward. Wards 66 and 67 are not included in the list of areas in which people are living in vulnerable conditions. This is probably because the larger part of each of these wards doesn't comply with the criteria. However, if you were to ask if the whole of Yeoville Bellevue could be classified as 'vulnerable', the answer would be 'yes'.

It seems to me that each of these programmes – development planning, the deployment of Metro Police and the identification of economically-vulnerable people – would be better done on a neighbourhood rather than ward basis.

Consider the availability of services. The Yeoville Clinic happens to be based in Ward 67. However, it serves people from every corner of Yeoville Bellevue, not just those that live in Ward 67. There are churches and NGOs offering support – they too don't ask people which ward they come from – they work with anyone in the neighbourhood who needs help.

During a telephone discussion I had in 2010 with a commissioner on the Demarcation Board, I was told that the Board itself had been encouraging government to move away from a ward-based development approach. According to the commissioner, ward boundaries were always open to adjustment in response to changes in demographics and socio-economic conditions. While the Board did try to ensure that communities were not fragmented, this was sometimes inevitable. It made sense, therefore, to plan and make decisions based on more enduring spatial entities, such as neighbourhoods – and Yeoville Bellevue is a particularly good example of such an entity. (In this regard, I was happy to hear at a November 2013 public meeting that the newly-invigorated Community-Based Planning process seems to have embraced the notion of area-based or neighbourhood-based planning rather than ward-based planning.)

From a community mobilisation point of view, it is also easier to motivate people who share a common reality. This is partly why there has never really been any connection between the people of Yeoville Bellevue and the rest of Ward 67. This is true of the various bits of other wards in Yeoville Bellevue – people in the Ward 66 voting district in Yeoville Bellevue have very little to do with their 'neighbours' in Observatory just across de la Rey St, let alone those who live in Kensington. The same applies in Ward 64, which straddles Joe Slovo Drive and encompasses the bulk of Berea, where there is a far higher degree of socio-economic homogeneity with the people of Yeoville Bellevue. Those of Ward 64 who are on the east of Joe Slovo Drive see themselves as part of the broader Yeoville Bellevue community and have no meaningful connection with their fellow voters (and non-voters) in Berea.

Neighbourhood Development Plan

Since 1995, it has been clear that Yeoville Bellevue needs a plan. The Yeoville Development Forum (YDF) drafted one in 1996. The Rockey Raleigh Management Committee (RRMC) commissioned one in 1999, albeit just for Rockey Raleigh St. The JDA produced a comprehensive plan, again just for Rockey Raleigh St, in 2004.

When the YBCDT was established, one of its primary purposes was to work on a holistic plan for the neighbourhood. We failed to achieve this goal although we did do some groundwork, viz. the drafting of a social contract and the collection of data on all properties in the Yeoville Bellevue area. Another project, which we did with the CPF, was to build up a comprehensive picture of the distribution of liquor across the neighbourhood. We also developed a useful repository of historical and current information that would have contributed to the planning process.

Our mistake was to try to be all things to all people. Amongst other things, we ran something of an advice office, produced a weekly newspaper, operated an informal call centre, managed a sportsground, ran an Africa Week Festival and provided capacity and support to organisations like the CPF. We were stretched too thin and, more importantly, didn't focus on the main project – that of doing whatever needed to be done to ensure the successful drafting of a development plan.

This is still the most critical thing to do and I think it's important for the YBCDT to go back to the drawing board and put all the necessary building blocks in place for this to happen. We have already begun considering ways of motivating for Yeoville Bellevue to pilot the spatial planning proposals contained in Chapter 8 of the National Development Plan.

The YBCDT is still in place – even though it has no funds – and remains an appropriate vehicle for driving a planning process. To action this requires funding and getting such funds would be the first priority. There is also a need to establish a community reference group, a Neighbourhood Development Forum (NDF), especially now that the Yeoville Stakeholders Forum (YSF) is no longer operating.

CBO office

Another of the early conclusions I reached when I started this work – I did refer to it in Chapter 6 in the section on the YSF – is that, in order to be effective, a representative community-based organisation (CBO) needs to have basic resources such as an office, a computer, a telephone and a warm body in the office taking care of the day-to-day business of the organisation. It is naive to think that the challenges confronting the Yeoville Bellevue community – and they are many and varied – can be tackled by a voluntary body with no capacity to operate beyond its members, most of whom will have other commitments and therefore not be able to devote time to the structure.

Despite the challenges with the YSF in this respect – as outlined in Chapter 6 – I believe that any future representative body must be resourced to be useful.

Tourism – Yeoville Bellevue as a 'pan-African' destination

In the Rockey Raleigh Management Committee (RRMC) Development Plan of 1999, we proposed the promotion of Yeoville Bellevue as an 'ethnic destination', a place to which domestic and international tourists could come and experience the diverse pan-African culture of the area.

This idea was picked up in the JDA plan of 2004 (pp 3-4):

> *Regeneration of the precinct will further achieve the following objectives ..... an environment that promotes and takes advantage of the new African demographic make-up of the area as its unique character and strength for social and economic regeneration objectives*

and in the Inner City Urban Design Implementation Plan (ICUDIP) of 2009:

> *the strong cosmopolitan and pan-African character should be supported where people from various nationalities are welcomed and their cultural activities could contribute to the ambience of the area.*

This, in my opinion, remains the best economic option for Yeoville Bellevue, given that the greatest strength of the area is its people. There is no other pan-African area in Johannesburg where visitors can find authentic African cuisine, clothing, art and craft and music in one place. Yeoville Bellevue can be that place and can be added to the list of 'ethnic destinations' that Joburg already boasts – (new) Chinatown in Cyrildene and Little India in Fordsburg.

Although the CoJ has suggested in the JDA and UCUDIP documents that this pan-African destination concept should be supported, they have done nothing thus far to contribute to making it happen. They did support the Africa Week Festival in 2010, but that was more because of the 2010 World Cup than the desire to help develop the area as a pan-African destination. Ongoing support by the CoJ for having the Festival on an annual basis will assist, as will their committing to actively promoting and facilitating the pan-African destination concept.

Of course, the idea will never work unless there is a concerted effort to address the other issues raised in this report, particularly that of urban management. Tourists are not going to come to an area that is dirty, dangerous and badly-run. The YBCDT is committed to making this happen and has worked with Wits University and some restaurants in the area to begin the process. I am currently running occasional tours in the area and have signed the YBCDT up as a member of the newly-formed Joburg City Tourism Association (JCTA), a private-sector initiative to bring people back to the inner-city..

Empowerment

This is arguably the most important element in this report. If I am correct in my assertion in Chapter 1 that we are essentially a disempowered community, then the chances of meaningful change are very slim if the situation is not corrected.

I argue that we are a disempowered community because, generally speaking, we are not able to have a material impact on what is happening in our neighbourhood. We don't have a great deal of influence with the authorities and we have little control over our environment. We cannot hold the authorities to account if they do not deliver and we are nervous about confronting our neighbours if they make a noise or the man urinating in the street because we fear their reactions. Councillors tend to operate as though we are accountable to them, instead of them being accountable to us. Political thugs wield the sword of imagined power over those too scared to call their bluff.

'Invited spaces' hold out the promise of power and influence, but don't deliver. 'Invented spaces' have the power that comes from independence, but sometimes uncooperative attitudes by the authorities effectively neutralise some of the benefit of that power.

People are disempowered by other realities – poverty, unemployment, a lack of education, the psychological legacy of apartheid, gender, language. Foreign nationals are disempowered by the ever-present threat of discriminatory action, even if they have the required papers to be here.

The Freedom Charter is clear on the need for ordinary people to have access to the right and the power to shape what happens in their environment.

> *All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country."*[102]

and the Constitution which in clause 195(e) states that:

> *People's needs must be responded to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy-making.*

The Constitution does not say that the state has to force people to 'participate in policy-making', nor does it say that people are obliged to participate. But if the state is to encourage people to do so, as the Constitution demands it should, it is incumbent on the state to create an enabling environment that will allow people to take advantage of the opportunity to participate.

This means that it is not enough simply for government to 'consult'. Engagement must be *participatory.*

I believe that, in order for the state to fulfil this requirement, it needs to:

- Communicate effectively and continuously
- Be transparent and open at all times
- Make information easily accessible
- Act in an impartial and non-partisan manner with all stakeholders
- Respond fully and timeously to all queries, complaints and suggestions from the public
- Give full and proper support to 'invited spaces', but do not seek to control them
- Give equal attention to 'invented spaces' that are representative of communities or sectors in communities
- Listen actively and take criticism where it is due
- Ensure efficient service delivery

If these conditions are met, people are much more likely to be 'encouraged to participate' and will be only too happy to work with the state in pursuit of goals and objectives that are for the common good.

But what is the role of the people? Do they wait for government to 'encourage' them to participate? Do they simply complain when this doesn't happen?

In the printed first edition of *Making local government work: an activist's guide* (2011) are the following extracts from the 2009 inauguration speech of president Jacob Zuma:

> *Together we must build a society that prizes excellence and rewards effort, which shuns laziness and incompetence. We must build a society that draws on the capabilities, energy and promise of all its people..... From this common purpose we must forge a partnership for reconstruction, development and progress..... We do not seek conformity. We seek a vibrant, dynamic partnership that is enriched by democratic debate that values diverse views and accommodates dissent. Therefore, we need to make real the fundamental right of all South Africans to freely express themselves, to protest, to organise, and to practice their faith..... We must deepen the practice of participatory democracy in all spheres of public life. We must strengthen the democratic institutions of state, and continually enhance their capacity to serve the people. We must safeguard the independence and integrity of those institutions tasked with the defence of democracy, and that must act as a check on the abuse of power.*

The online version of the same handbook has, in place of the Zuma quote, a paragraph from a hard-hitting article headlined 'The danger of staying loyal to ideology' by Moshoeshoe Monare:

> *We've got the power to make local government work!* The fault-line in our democracy is the failure of the electorate to hold the leaders to account. Our failure to punish the arrogant, greedy, incompetent crooks, and the culture of deference to the leader, are the greatest dangers to this country. Our failure to exploit the power of our vote has resulted in mediocre leadership in government and party structures. The municipality fails to provide services, overcharges you for the very same mediocre services and the councillor is corrupt, but you still feel you cannot betray your party. As long as South African voters tolerate the stench, the same scoundrels will be voted into office to run down municipalities.[103]

I don't know why the printed version and the online version have different quotes. However, both are worth reproducing – the Zuma quote because it is a statement of intent against which the performance of government since then can (at least theoretically) be tested, and the Monare one because it expresses a frustration felt by millions of people, as evidenced by service delivery protests, court actions, articles and letters in newspapers and inputs to radio talk shows. They each (very differently) imply the same thing, the central message of the handbook, which is that it is possible for community activists to 'make local government work'.

The guide says elsewhere that it is important to *'take back your ward committee and make it a true voice of the community'*. The same goes for police forums, school governing bodies and the like. So the message is clear: people shouldn't wait around for the state to ask them to get involved. They should exercise their right and obligation to do so and demand that the state deliver. In addition, they need to make it clear that they are prepared to work cooperatively with the state in the interests of the common good.

CONCLUSION

This research report, like the revival of the inner city and the redevelopment of Yeoville Bellevue, is a work in progress. With this limiting (and liberating) thought in mind, I considered the question put to me by Karl von Holdt, one of the people who read and commented on a previous draft of the report:

Do you try to do a kind of demographic analysis of who lives in Yeoville at all? Is it predominantly the unemployed or underemployed poor? The formerly employed working class? Or a kind of lower-middle-class of office workers and supervisors? Self-employed businesses? This might help in the discussion of different interests, as well i.e. the relatively better-off wanting a more orderly "suburban space", the entrepreneurial poor opposing any kind of regulation, the very poor being exploited, but also exploiting the lack of regulation ..... And then the various elite interests that also have an interest in undermining regulation by taking bribes, corruption, etc. This might also partly explain (some of) the paralysis ..... too many interests (private and public) with a stake in regulatory failure ..... that's the kind of analysis I'm referring to!

The answer is no, this report didn't go into that kind of detail. I had access to Census 2011 data for the area and I have included it for the reader's interest as Appendix 9 in the form in which I received it from StatsSA. But it is not sufficiently specific, detailed or nuanced (or accurate?) and I have not analysed it in any detail. So the development of Yeoville Bellevue (which is the motive force behind my work and the writing of this report) would definitely benefit from further research and analysis – facilitating such research was, in fact, one of the original objectives of the YBCDT.

Karl is right, too, about the need to understand 'interests' in the area and the extent to which a range of people, poor and rich, might benefit (at least in the short term, taking into account Tanya Zack's comment on page 23 in Chapter 4) from what he calls 'regulatory failure'. There are some very rich people taking advantage of the breakdown in regulation to accrue more wealth, while there are poor people who would like nothing less than an 'orderly suburban space'. In other words, we cannot generalise about people's interests. We need to research and understand them and to respond accordingly.

There is a further concluding remark I would like to make about regulation or a lack thereof which has not yet been touched on directly. This is that the lack of regulation (or rules) and/or the lack of enforcement of regulations *create conditions for conflict* – with sometimes devastating consequences.

One example of this in our country (and our neighbourhood) at the moment is the hostility of some South Africans towards foreign nationals. Leaky borders, corrupt officials, poor urban management, unenforced by-laws and woefully inadequate communication collectively contribute to a climate in which a sense of impotence and helplessness (disempowerment) leads South Africans to turn on foreign nationals as the source of all of their problems.

We saw earlier in Chapter 5 how the lack of a sustainable plan for dealing with the issue of street trading nearly led to open conflict between market traders and street traders (and is currently causing conflict between street traders and the CoJ). Neighbours resort to violence to resolve issues over anti-social behaviour. Unchecked traffic violations lead to road rage. Tenants and landlords assault each other when they can't resolve disputes over undocumented agreements. And in many communities, entire armies of disgruntled people rise up and burn down targets of their frustration.

Substance abuse, domestic violence (mainly against women and children) and suicide are further examples of the conflict and physical hurt caused by the feelings of hopelessness that overcome people in situations where they feel they have no control or that there is no control.

It is therefore the responsibility of government, particularly local government, to limit the possibility of social conflict through the development and implementation, with the full participation and support of all stakeholders, of an enlightened, effective, sustainable and sustained programme of good governance and regulation.

For this reason, and the reasons outlined in the rest of this report, I am left in no doubt that the work that civil society has been doing in Yeoville Bellevue is necessary and important and must continue. There are

too many things at stake, the most critical being the needs and aspirations of the ordinary men, women and children who live and work in the area.

Of course, we could (and should) have done a lot more over the past 15 years. I don't say this to be self-deprecating or critical of others (except to say that I unequivocally condemn those who have deliberately and maliciously – in selfish and short-sighted pursuit of narrow personal or party-political interest – stymied the efforts of those who have genuinely been working for the development of the community). But we do need to critically examine what has gone wrong and how we can do better in future and I hope I have done some of that in this report. We also need to set clear and achievable goals and keep these firmly in focus. One of the most important things is not to allow external factors, especially political interference, to distract us, bearing in mind that the threats implied by political thuggery are often a chimera – they only have power if we give them power.

Furthermore, at the risk of being repetitive, I remain convinced that Yeoville Bellevue needs a properly-negotiated holistic Neighbourhood Development Plan[104] that will take the area forward in a way that values the views and needs of all stakeholders, especially the most vulnerable in our community. Such a plan must be the product of intensive and extensive participatory processes involving all key stakeholders – and must be realistic and implementable – and, as suggested above, it must be neighbourhood-based and not ward-based.

My last thought is this: citizens[105] mustn't give up so easily. When we do, we allow those who resent our 'interference' to win. We do have the power to 'make local government work',[106] but we are not using it. We have the *right* to make it work, but we're not exercising it. As citizens, we must empower ourselves, not allow ourselves to be *dis*empowered. We must not sit back and wait until we are 'given permission' to participate. If we see that the state is slow – or indeed loathe – to adopt an approach which embraces meaningful participation 'in the administration of the country',[107] we *must* organise ourselves effectively and put pressure on the state to do so. We must also devise ways of doing this effectively and this means finding ways of resourcing our organisations and activists so that they can make meaningful interventions.

And, in working on the future of our neighbourhood, we need to move away from Politics to politics, from an us vs them approach to one which recognises that we are all in this together. Big P Politics is about power, little p politics is about people.[108] It doesn't matter who you vote for – if there is sewage running down your street, your Political Persuasion won't make it smell any sweeter. Big P Politics has a very damaging effect on local activism, alienating people who don't want to play the game and encouraging those who are willing to be players as long as it serves their own selfish interests.[109]

NOTES

1 The table is attached as Appendix 1 at the end of this report.
2 Victor Jara – On my way to work http://www.smokestack-books.co.uk/book.php?book=61
3 The Group Areas Act, 41 of 1950
4 There is reference to a D F Corlett who 'has been a member of the Ratepayers' Association in Yeoville for many years, acting as Chairman during part of the period, and who in October 1924, was elected to the Municipal Council of Johannesburg (Yeoville Ward), by a majority of 1,240 over both his opponents. Transcribed from from Page 62 of the *South African Who's Who (Social & Business) 1927-28*; Ken Donaldson, Cape Town, 1927. Submitted by William MARTINSON.' http://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=2798
5 The Yeoville District Ratepayers Association is cited as objecting in 1943 to the planned removal of people from Alexandra *The Dark City, Alexandra. Jack Unterhalter,* Reality Vol. 10 No. 4 July 1978 pp 11-12, http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/webpages/dc/rejul78.8/rejul78.8.pdf
6 Principle 5 (p 34 of the Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) 2040, drafted by the CoJ in 2011), says that: *The City will work to build an enabling environment, through which citizens can support themselves and each other, creating change and greater inclusivity through the direct actions of individuals, communities, organisations, alongside the City.*
7 Principle 6 of GDS 2040 (p 35) says further: *In addition, the City will focus on building more innovative mechanisms through which citizens and communities can participate more effectively and meaningfully. Recognising that communication is critical for deepening participation, the City will transform the manner in which (it) communicates with citizens and stakeholders.*
8 Personal story told to me in 2012 by Advocate George Bizos
9 There may have been a degree of racial mixing early on – there is evidence that Gandhi lived there for two years and there were other Indian families living in the area who eventually had to move because of apartheid policies.
10 Originally comprising the African National Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the (white) Congress of Democrats
11 Personal conversation with Ruth Muller, then of the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory
12 The counter culture movement started in the United States with the anti-war movement, the civil rights movement and a general backlash by young Americans against established norms and values, as well as the development of sub-cultures such as the hippies. A similar movement developed in the United Kingdom and Western Europe. In South Africa, the counter culture represented a backlash amongst white youth against the conservatism and racism of the apartheid government, but for most it was more of a personal lifestyle issue than a political one.
13 South African term for marijuana
14 The Group Areas Act, 41 of 1950
15 'Grand apartheid' was the plan to segregate South Africa into racially-exclusive areas. 'Petty apartheid' was the day-to-day impact of laws designed to minimise social interaction between whites and blacks.
16 Ruda Landman was co-presenter of this well-known news programme which aired on M-Net, South Africa's first subscription television channel.
17 There have been at least three serial rapists linked to Yeoville Bellevue over the past three decades. The Carte Blanche piece focused on a rapist operating in the neighbourhood in the early 1990s.
18 Ruda Landman, Carte Blanche, 2003
19 This figure is for Yeoville, Bellevue and Bellevue East. They do not include Randview, the upper part of Lorentzville and Highlands. However, the ratios can be reasonably assumed to be fairly consistent across all five areas.
20 Note that his figures were for Yeoville only. However, they can be extrapolated to the whole of Yeoville Bellevue (including Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Randview, Highlands and the upper part of Lorentzville) with the understanding that the proportion of whites in areas other than Yeoville was likely to be slightly higher at the time than in Yeoville, but not sufficiently different to change the overall pattern.
21 Joburg is one of the shortened names affectionately used to describe Johannesburg – the logo of the City of Johannesburg uses Joburg rather than the full name. The *kasi* (township) name for Johannesburg is Jozi.
22 In 1982, annual educational subsidies in South Africa were R1 211 per child for whites, R771 per child for Indians, R498 for coloureds, and R146 for black Africans. Unequal Schools, Unequal Outcomes, Youth Group Fact sheet 1 – 2011
23 Chappies is a cheap, ubiquitous bubble gum that has been around for decades.
24 The blueprint for a democratic South Africa which was adoptd by the Congress Alliance in 1956 in Kliptown, Soweto.
25 Personal discussion with George Lebone in 2013
26 Tanya Zack and Melinda Silverman, Housing Roundtable, University of the Witwatersrand, 23 November 2011

27 Of course, this does not apply to everyone. There are some people – not necessarily poor – who specifically come and open businesses in Yeoville Bellevue (and other parts of the inner city) *because* there is no regulation. They know they can do things here that they would not be allowed to do elsewhere. They themselves do not live here – they live in places where there is more control, and they are happy with that control because it means their own lives are not disrupted by unregulated activity.

28 The current (October 2013) crackdown on street trading in the CBD of Johannesburg is a case in point. The traders are off the streets, the streets are clean and open – but at what cost to the lives of the traders and their families, and to Joburg? Law and order is prevailing, but nothing has been done to address the more important issues pertaining to the socio-economic realities underpinning the phenomenon of street trading.

29 South African Broadcasting Corporation, the country's public broadcaster (television and radio)

30 Johannesburg was developing into a major city at around the time, in the early 20th century, that the urban planning profession first came into being, as did the practise of 'zoning' in urban areas.

31 Inspectors would visit shops on weekends to ensure compliance. However, if a shop-owner knew a customer well and was prepared to take the risk, he or she might sell that person an 'illicit' product in a brown paper bag.

32 According to the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme of 1979, Residential 4 is a zoning category for properties whose primary use rights are for dwelling units and residential buildings and hotels/guest houses without a liquor license. In other words, permission is not needed to build a house or block of flats (subject to height restriction regulations or restrictions contained in a particular title deed) or a guest house, unless the latter has, or wishes to apply for, a liquor license. Secondary use rights, for which the city council must give consent, include: places of public worship, places of instruction, social halls, institutions not essentially for office or administrative use, special buildings, sports and recreational clubs, public or private parking areas, medical consulting rooms other than for veterinarians, an hotel in respect of which an on-consumption license is granted according to the conditions of the Liquor Act (27 of 1989).The main difference between the definitions for Res 4 in the 1979 Planning Scheme and the draft scheme of 2011 (which has not yet been adopted) is that the 2011 Scheme does not allow as a primary right the establishment of a guest house, whether licensed to sell alcohol or not. So, as for the other secondary land use rights, consent must be sought.

33 Clause 9(1)(i), Johannesburg Informal Trading By-laws, 2009, p12

34 Ubiquitous South African bubble gum brand that has been around for decades.

35 Various records of the JICDF in 2006 regarding the drafting of trading by-laws to manage street-trading.

36 The Yeoville Community Forum was a joint structure comprising the Yeoville Development Forum and the Yeoville Community Police Forum.

37 Jojo started out as a cartoon in Drum magazine and was then syndicated by newspapers like the World, Post and Sowetan - http://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/jojo

38 Periodic markets are those that happen regularly on the same days once or twice a week. *'Market days can be based on a rotating schedule for villages, so that marketers and service providers can enjoy a full week's work. On the market day of a village, marketers from the modern economy travel to marginalised areas. Such periodic markets effect economies of scale, low unit cost, cash circulation and a diversity of goods and services. Citizen access to periodic markets rewards local economic activity (lower transaction costs for buying and selling, gaining information and services, and meeting and dancing). Periodic markets provide the organisational framework for service delivery and for regional planning.'* (Reynolds, 2001)

39 The MTC has a policy of not allowing photographs to be taken in their markets without permission, which usually has to be sought at the MTC offices in the centre of the city. This too does not encourage tourism. I have taken to calling the Yeoville Market manager to warn him if I am coming with visitors so that I can avoid confrontations with the sometimes very aggressive security guards working in the market.

40 If there was a management plan which included the licensing of traders, those with licenses would have the authority to ask unlicensed traders to leave.

41 I had experience of a market in Walthamstow in London in the 1980s. It operated three days a week, in the middle of the high street which was closed off for the day. People who came to the market were attracted to the formal businesses and people who came to do their regular shopping at the formal businesses, popped into the market to see what was on offer. Everyone – the formal businesses, the market traders and the customers – benefitted.

42 More on Yeoville Studio in Chapter 6

43 Minutes of the Yeoville Trading Task Team, Yeoville Recreation Centre 22 March 2011

44 My notes from the meeting of the Yeoville Trading Task Team that took place on 6 April 2011

45 I 'contributed' to the 'Clean Sweep' document, which is essentially a strategy by the CoJ to re-take 'control' of the inner city after years of ineffective urban management. In working on the document, into which I inserted the Three-legged Pot Approach (see Appendix 4), I tried to increase the emphasis on participatory processes and communication. Unfortunately, a year after the writing of the document (whose name I unsuccessfully suggested should be changed because of possible associations with Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Drive Out Rubbish), Zimbabwe 2005, which resulted in the displacement of 700 000 informal dwellers and traders in Harare), Operation Clean Sweep is being implemented with a focus only on law enforcement and the removal of street traders – I am not aware of any attempt to implement the communication and participation aspects of the document.

46 The agreement of 2 November did not work. The process of verification was taking longer than projected and there was continued disagreement over the areas to which traders could return. Eventually the trader organisations took the CoJ to court, but failed to win an urgent interdict for the return of all traders to their places of business. At the time of writing (2 December), the coaliton says that no traders have been allowed to return to work and they are considering going back to court to seek relief.

47 This is itself 'street language' – *tsotsi* is slang for criminal or thug, *taal* is Afrikaans for language
48 A personal comment to me by the clr Masondo in 2000
49 The Mayoral Committee is the 'Cabinet' of the City of Johannesburg, appointing by and serving under the Executive Mayor of Johannesburg. The Mayor chooses his or her Mayoral Committee members from amongst councillors elected in municipal elections.
50 Notice 1761 of 2000, Notice of Approval, Johannesburg Amendment Scheme 7110, Provincial Gazette No.23, 29 March 2000
51 In the new Consolidated Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme 2011, clauses 40 and 41 confer much the same rights and obligations as clauses 7 and 8 in the old Scheme of 1979. The 1979 and 2011 clauses are set out in Appendix 5 at the end of the report.
52 Gina Zanti, Deputy Director, Land Use Management, Department of Planning, City of Johannesburg
53 Conversation with Louis Geldenhuys, 2011
54 'It is suggested that applicants will have three months within which to submit applications as soon as the amendment to include Yeoville has been approved by the Council, failing which, the Council will have no option but to take legal action against the unauthorised uses. This does not imply that all applications for a house shop will be supported and approved.' Submission to the Mayoral Committee, 25 March 2004
55 Popular term for the Nigerian film industry
56 Yeovue News Volume 2 Number 9, March 2009
57 Uncle Paul – the affectionate Afrikaans name for Paul Kruger, president of the Transvaal Republic.
58 http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/shebeen
59 A highly derogatory word to denote black South Africans (or perhaps black Africans in general). The term originates from the arabic word meaning a non-believer.
60 A ethnological term to describe people across Africa who speak one of nearly 300 Bantu languages. The word Bantu means people. Bantu was used as an official way of describing black South Africans during apartheid (replacing the previously-used *native*). It is regarded as a perjorative term in South Africa except when used in a strictly ethnological or linguistic context because of its association with apartheid.
61 It should be noted that the various liquor acts cited (1928 , 1961 etc) were not exclusively focused on the sale or otherwise of liquor to black South Africans. These were laws governing the manufacture, distribution and consumption of liquor generally and so also included proscriptions that applied to whites. This would have included, inter alia, the kinds of licenses available, the hours that liquor outlets could stay open, a ban on the sale of alcohol on Saturday afternoons and Sundays, largely for religious reasons, the age of consent and so on.
62 See clauses 24 and 25 in particular.
63 *Phuza Thursday* is 'drinking' Thursday from the Nguni word –phuza which means 'drink' and suggests that the weekend's drinking can start on Thursday already – and *Woza Friday* can be translated as 'come' Fridays, ie celebrating the imminent onset of the weekend and the opportunity to relax and do some serious drinking.
64 Sunday Times. Also http://www.lockedup.co.za/news-flash/29-breaking-news/122-spy-ministers-wife-and-the-drug-bust.html, 2009
65 According to the Johannesburg Consolidated Town Planning Scheme, 2011, a guest house 'means a converted dwelling house or dwelling unit whereby the resident family / person lets out individual rooms for temporary residential accommodation, with or without meals, with the proviso that all amenities and the provision of meals and beverages shall be for the sole benefit of bona fide guests and the resident family/person. The premises shall not be used for functions such as conferences, promotions and/or receptions'. The Gauteng Liquor Bill, 2013, describes accommodation (which includes guest houses) as 'premises wherein the primary business relates to lodging and ancillary uses including meals that are served to guests .... (and that) .... the licensee of an accommodation liquor licence must at all times maintain on the licensed premises, an accommodation business that provides lodging and meals regularly to guests).
66 The establishment of a church on a residential premises is a 'secondary right' and therefore consent has to be granted before the church can operate. Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme, 1979, and Johannesburg Consolidated Town Planning Scheme, 2011.
67 Personal conversation with me, 2012
68 Revealed in a meeting of South African Council of Churches with senior police officials, including the National Police Commissioner, Riah Phiyega, 22 April 2013; and in two broadcasts on SABC: Praise the drug lord (23 May 2013) and Praise the drug lord 2 (19 September 2013), Special Assignment, SABC 3.
69 I have not in this report referred to outdoor churches as there is really only one manifestation of this phenomenon in Yeoville Bellevue. It happens on (mainly) private land on the Yeoville ridge behind the water reservoir and does cause something of a nuisance for the people living in the flats there, largely through noise and litter. Such gatherings in the open are in fact prohibited (there is, or was, a specific sign erected in the area by the CoJ to indicate it should not happen, but the restriction is not enforced). I was aware of a ritual which could lead to environmental pollution – it was recently explained to me that worshippers write a message (to God?) on a piece of paper and put it into a bottle half-filled with water. They then shake it up until the paper dissolves and then smash the bottle, after a blessing by a religious leader. I asked my informant, who was busy filling the bottles in preparation for the ritual, if the breaking of glass wasn't causing a problem on the ridge. She said it could, but in fact she was taking the broken glass for recycling! I didn't ask her if she also charges people for the bottles which she prepares – one way or another, she has an entrepreneurial spirit, perhaps partly driven by environmental considerations.
70 Email message, 18 August 2013
71 Presentation to United Church Schools morning assembly, St Marks Presbyterian Church, Frances St, Yeoville, 10 April 2013
72 MMC for Planning Ros Greeff at a meeting of the YBRA, St Aidans Church, Regent St, Yeoville Bellevue, 18 June 2013

73 Figures from African countries taken from the World Bank at http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GDP.pdf. Rasheed Seedat, head of the Gauteng Planning Commission, suggested I calculate Gauteng's GDP at the widely-accepted figure of 35% of South Africa's GDP (private conversation, 20 August 2013)

74 http://www.iol.co.za/business/news/gauteng-launches-bold-new-transport-plan-1.1564734#.UhfE5hswd8J

75 The term 'invited space' was first used by Cornwall in 2002 to describe areas of participation into which members of the public are 'invited' by government, business and other establishment entities. She contrasted these to other 'spaces' that are created by members of the public themselves – though she does not give such 'spaces' a name. *Locating Citizen Participation, Andrea Cornwall, 2002*. As other people explored the concept of 'invited spaces', they came up with names for the independent spaces created by communities themselves – 'organic', 'invented', 'claimed', 'created'. Faranak Mifratab, on the other hand, says that: "Invited" spaces are defined as the ones occupied by those grassroots and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions. "Invented" spaces are those, also occupied by the grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the authorities and the status quo. *Invited and Invented Spaces of Participation: Neoliberal Citizenship and Feminists' Expanded Notion of Politics, Faranak Miraftab, Wagadu Volume 1 : Spring 2004*

76 'Invented spaces' are those structures that are established by community members themselves and operate independently.

77 'Invited spaces' are those structures that are established by government or some other agency (eg a church or a school) and community members are invited to participate in them.

78 I say 'unsurprisingly' because, however poorly-supported, the impetus for the formation of 'invited spaces' comes from outside. If people in a community fail to keep the structure going, the outside body can find other people to reinstate it. This is not the case with 'invented spaces'. If the initiators of an 'invented space' withdraw, there won't necessarily be anyone to push for the structure to be re-formed. This is, of course, not true for the more enduring 'invented spaces' which have sufficient resources to give them the resilience to continue and to replace leadership that leaves.

79 Provinces in South Africa are led by Premiers who appoint 'Executive Committees' to work with them in different portfolios. The 'Executive Committee' is effectively the 'Cabinet' of the province, members of which are appointed from amongst Members of the Provincial Legislature (MPLs) who are elected in national and provincial elections every five years.

80 The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was a socio-economic plan for post-apartheid South Africa that was spearheaded by the Congress Alliance in consultation with other political and social organisations the country in the period leading up to the 1994 democratic elections. The first post-apartheid government had an RDP cabinet member – Jay Naidoo, who had been COSATU's General Secretary – but in 1996, the RDP was replaced with the more conservative Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy.

81 Email from chair of ANC Yeoville branch, 1998

82 Alexandra is an area demarcated pre-1994 as a black township in terms of the Group Areas Act, 1950, and located in northern Johannesburg, just east of Sandton.

83 A City Improvement District (CID) is an initiative by the private sector to address issues of crime, grime and development in a demarcated area through property owners contributing to a central fund to be used to employ people to keep the area clean and safe. This work is usually done to supplement services already being supplied by the local authority. The concept was first tried in the United States.

84 Proportional Representation. The municipal system in South Africa has Ward Councillors, who are responsible for specific wards, and PR councillors who represent their party in council, but are not officially linked to a particular area in the city.

85 These had been created as separate city-owned 'businesses' to carry out certain municipal functions (waste management, roads maintenance, water and electricity provision, parks development etc). It was believed that these would be more efficient and cost-effective in providing services than internal municipal departments. There continues to be a debate as to whether this is indeed the case.

86 http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=121

87 Municipal Structures Act, 117 of 1998

88 In the City of Johannesburg (in 2013), the ten portfolios are Corporate & Shared Services; Community Development; Development Planning; Economic Development; Environment; Infrastructure and Services; Finance; Health and Social Development; Housing; Public Safety; and Transport.

89 Ward 67 Ward Committee minutes, 4 April 2003

90 Taken from an online Inner City Charter update by Neil Fraser at http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2267&Itemid=58

91 Many of these immigrant Jews were regarded as unassimilable into European South African society. Jews were popularly perceived to be non-Western and consequently not 'white.' Eastern European Jews (pejoratively labeled 'Peruvians') (Shain 1994, 27), said one newspaper correspondent, 'made the name of the white man stink in the nostrils of all men' (30). Jews were paralleled with blacks, Indians, and coloreds. (Braude, 2001)

92 Field, R. (2012). '... The Agapanthi, Asphodels of the Negroes...': Life-writing, landscape and race in the South African diaries and poetry of George Seferis. ENGLISH STUDIES IN AFRICA, 55(1): 77-92 http://repository.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10566/512/FieldGeorgeSeferis2012.pdf?sequence=3

93 The MMDA is a government body set up with funds from the big newspaper groups to support diversity and development in media, particularly through supporting community newspapers and radio.

94 Co-educational means a school attended by boys and girls

95 From the HotelYeoville website at http://www.hotelyeoville.co.za/about

96 http://www.hotelyeoville.co.za

97 Insulting word for migrants – the exact origins of the word are in dispute

98 Jozi's illegal building chaos, Anna Cox, The Star, 4 February 2013

99 I am reminded of a book suggested to me by Claire Benit-Gbaffou called *Reinventing cities: Equity planners tell their stories.* The book is about *'professional urban planners who, in their day-to-day practice, have tried to move resources, political power, and political participation away from the business elites that frequently benefit from public policy and toward the needs of low-income or working-class people of their cities. We call these planners "equity planners" because they seek greater equity among different groups as a result of their work'* (Krumholz, 1994). One of the things that struck me about these stories was that, in many cases, the reason equity planners were appointed and were able to introduce new thinking into planning was because there was a change of administration and the new Mayor was willing to take risks and seek out people who were able to introduce new and innovative ways of doing things.

100 One of the criteria set out in circulars sent out by the Demarcation Board in the build-up to the 2011 local government election.

101 I have tried for years to persuade both the councillors and the ANC branch in Ward 67 to reach out to the areas of the ward beyond Yeoville Bellevue, especially to the business area in Parktown, with a view to negotiating support for development in our neighbourhood on grounds that a revitalised Yeoville Bellevue would be of benefit to the neighbourhood, the ward and the city as a whole. I even suggested that public meetings and ANC branch meetings should perhaps take place in a venue such as the Bethesda Methodist Church which is across Louis Botha Avenue from Yeoville Bellevue. It is accessible to people walking from Yeoville Bellevue and it is also the kind of place to which the rest of the ward would be more willing to come. There are many people from other areas who are intimidated by the idea of coming into the main street of Yeoville Bellevue.

102 http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72

103 Moshoeshoe Monare, *'The danger of staying loyal to ideology', The Sunday Independent, 15 May 2011* http://www.section27.org.za/2011/08/22/making-local-government-work-an-activists-guide/

104 The CoJ calls this a Precinct Plan or an Urban Development Framework, both very dry, technical terms. I prefer Neighbourhood Development Plan because it is more descriptive and inclusive.

105 My use of the word 'citizen' is generic, it does not exclude people who are 'non-citizens' by virtue of not being South Africans by birth or by naturalisation. A citizen of Yeoville Bellevue is anyone who lives and works here, an 'active citizen' is someone who gets involved in the affairs of their community, whether or not they are technically or legally citizens.

106 Making local government work: an activist's guide, 2011

107 Freedom Charter, 1956

108 I always thought I 'thought up' the idea of big P little p politics a few years ago. But I did a google search recently and found a large number of references to the concept. I must have at some point 'logged into' a thought stream in the ether without realising it. http://palimpsest.typepad.com/frogsandravens/2006/05/politics_vs_pol.html. This blogger says something I particularly like which is that *'progressives practise little p politics'*.

109 I heard recently that there are people from our area who have an eye on getting into national parliament. I'm amazed. On what grounds? What have they ever done 'for the people' to justify their claiming to be 'representatives of the people'? They would do well to reflect on the words of Gwede Mantashe which I quoted earlier in the report and repeat here: '*There are pockets of excellence where branches are really active and take up issues affecting society ..... (but) basically our branches are driven by the need to ..... nominate ..... candidates for ..... elections ..... This has killed the culture of activism at branch level, making the ANC almost absent in community activities.'* This observation doesn't apply only to the ANC, but to all political parties who are conspicuously absent from everyday community life in Yeoville Bellevue until it is time for elections.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Table produced by me in November 1997 as I began to get involved in Yeoville Bellevue development work

ITEM	DETAIL	OTHER
Development policy for Yeoville	• Is there one? • Who has decided it? • What are the underlying objectives? • If there isn't one, how does one get one?	Speak to Sizakele Nkosi • Primary objective: Yeoville for Yeovillites in all their diversity • Build a community-oriented economic centre which allows people to carry out most of their business in Yeoville instead of having to go to Eastgate, Rosebank etc • Build on history of Yeoville as first integrated community, site of resistance, cosmopolitan, cultural centre • Look forward to a Yeoville of the 21st century rather than backwards to the Yeoville's of the pre-80s and the 80s
Community Forum	• Rebuild the Forum into a force • Identify what sort of structure people in the community want • Establish relationship between Forum, ANC, Women's League, other structures in the area	• Speak to Richard Levin • Speak to Paul Goller • Speak to Sisa
Park on corner of Cavendish and St Georges	• Broken, rusting equipment • Glass and dirt all around • Not enough dustbins • Signs to encourage community responsibility with contact numbers for local authorities	

ITEM	DETAIL	OTHER
Parks generally	• How can the community be encouraged to take responsibility for helping to maintain parks? (Cf Alex park)	
79 Regent St	• House demolished and rubble threatening to burst out of the metal garage door	
Bar in Raymond St	• Do they have a license? • Are there restrictions on when they can and can't open? • Can they sell beer over the counter in the cafe? • Are there proper toilet facilities?	
Signs encouraging community responsibility in keeping Yeoville clean		
Hawkers: what is the position?	• Where are they allowed to operate? • What are the regulations governing them? • How can the community be made aware of the current status?	
Repairing of cars in the street	• Though the property on corner of Hunter and Cavendish has been closed off, there are still cars being repaired in Hunter St, probably by the same people. Can something be done about that?	
Community access	• How can the community be given easier access to information about local government (regulations, proceedings, notices, contact numbers etc)? • How can the community be given easier access to local authority representatives and to organs of civil society operating in Yeoville - eg the Yeoville Community Forum and the Community Policing Forum?	• Proposal: establish community office on Raleigh St, readily accessible to passers by, funded by the community (and in part by the council - possibly also through funding eg Mott Foundation), staffed by reps of local authority and civil society structures, with printed information available, a notice board, job placement opportunities, suggestion box, complaints desk etc etc • Proposal: employ half-time suburb manager to help coordinate efforts in the area and provide a contactable link between local authorities, organs of civil society and community, facilitate delivery of suggestions, promises etc, also funded by community with help from council and funders
Tree in St Georges St	• Looks as though it's dying, Needs to be cut down?	

APPENDIX 2

	By-law infringements and other illegalities in Yeoville Bellevue
	Infringement
Traffic	Double-parking
	Diagonal parking in the main street
	Privatisation of pavements for parking
	Parking on pavements
	Service station used as overnight parking lot
	Parking in no parking streets
	Unauthorised 'ranking' by meter taxis, kombi taxis and delivery trucks
	Unmanaged car guards
	Jaywalking
Business activities in streets	Unmanaged street trading (main street and environs)
	Unmanaged street trading (residential areas)
	Hair cutting in the street, littering of streets with braiding etc
	Selling of drugs on street corners
	Braaiing of meat on pavements, under verandahs etc
	Washing cars in streets
	Repairing cars in streets
	Shading of car windows in street
	Selling of pirated CDs and DVDs
Property issues	Unauthorised use of residential properties for other purposes
	Overcrowding in houses and flats
	Unauthorised building operations
	Building materials left on the pavement for extended periods
	Buildings not compliant in terms of regulations for people with disabilities
	Hijacking of buildings
	Poor maintenance of buildings
	Bridging of electricity
	Unauthorised water connections
	Uncontrolled flow of water and sewage into streets
	Unauthorised piping of grey water into storm water system
	Informal renting of properties without leases or other protection for tenants
	Illegal occupation of buildings, properties
	Derelict properties not demolished or upgraded
	Neglect of empty plots
	Unauthorised use of empty plots for car repairs, car wash, shops etc

Liquor	Illegal liquor outlets, esp in houses and flats
	Drinking in public
	Non-compliance with license conditions by licensed establishments
Anti-social behaviour	Urinating in the street
	Urinating and defecating in parks and other open places
	Littering
	Dumping, including onto pavements by businesses
	Using street bins for domestic and commercial waste disposal, esp Pampers
	Throwing of rubbish from balconies, esp Pampers, sanitary napkins etc
	Fires made on pavements, under verandahs and in other public areas
	Anti-social activities happening in parks
	Sleeping in parks, in swimming pool area, on street furniture etc
	Theft of maintenance hole covers
	Illegal postering of buildings, lamp posts etc
Noise	Loud music from bars, clubs etc in the main street and environs
	Loud music from car washes
	Loud music from residential properties
	Loud music from shebeens and other outlets in residential area
	Loud music from shops and pavements in main street
	Noise form churches
	Noise from barking dogs
Economic	Businesses not compliant with laws, labour regulations, tax laws etc
	Selling of counterfeit clothing, shoes, CDs, DVDs and other goods
	Unauthorised sex work activities (possible use of guest houses etc for this)
	Selling of live chickens
	Unauthorised crèches
	Unhealthy conditions in restaurant kitchens and outside restaurants
	Selling of stolen goods at second-hand outlets
	Scrapyards selling stolen metal
Foreign nationals	Importing and holding hostage undocumented migrants
	Provision of illegal IDs, asylum papers, proof of residence etc
	Human trafficking for sex work etc

APPENDIX 3

CITY Of JOHANNESBURG AND COSATU-LED COALITION OF STREET TRADERS STRIKE A DEAL

After two days of intense engagement between a Johannesburg COSATU-led coalition of informal trader leaders and city politicians and officials, agreement was reached on November 2, 2013.

TERMS OF AGREEMENT

A joint task team of traders and city officials will begin an immediate verification process to identify suitable trading locations and establish the legitimacy of individual traders. This will be done at the rate of 5 streets at a time. The first group of displaced traders should be in business again by Tuesday 5 November. Priority would be given to those holding CoJ-issued smart cards and those who were removed from designated trading spaces, including those from the successfully-managed City Improvement District (CID) areas.

Confiscated stock would be returned without payment of penalties. There would be urgent focus on the development of a sustainable public space management model to ensure that the chaos of the past that prevailed in certain areas is not repeated. The city-wide Informal Trading Forum would soon be reconvened, under the chairmanship of Mayoral Committee Member for Economic Development, Ruby Mathang.

THE LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

1. Direct engagement between local government politicians and traders produces positive outcomes that reduce friction levels.
2. People's economic activity from public spaces can easily be integrated with urban renewal initiatives in a sustainable manner that benefits the city economy as a whole, as well as all stakeholders. That is the norm in our own City Improvement District zones as well as places such as Singapore etc.
3. Interdependence between formal and properly-managed informal components of our economy was previously under-estimated. However, this engagement is an opportunity for the city officials to analyse and take this into consideration.
4. Heavy-handed law enforcement tactics should not be the first option, as was the case with the present Mayoral 'Sweep Clean' campaign, but a last-resort measure when all else fails.
5. As it moves to other parts of the city, 'Operation Clean Sweep' needs to be modified to prevent a repeat of the events of October 2013.
6. Non-criminals should be engaged with whilst criminals should be identified through a participatory method and severely dealt with.

MATTERS OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN

7. The Metro Police need to provide an inventory of the goods confiscated, a plan of how these will be re-distributed and how destroyed and perished goods will be compensated for.
8. Unchecked, daily Metro Police brutality and violence during 'Operation Clean Sweep', and continuing punitive measures such as confiscation of street traders' stock as a method of punishment should cease immediately.
9. Congested areas where there is no efficient public space management should be identified by the traders and managed by the city through a collaborative approach.
10. Operations led by Metro Police and South African Police Services need to be monitored and should not unfairly target foreign national street traders.
11. The city should develop measures to deal with corrupt JPC officials to avoid the illegal and uncontrolled issuing of Smart Cards.

APPENDIX 4

Good governance: the example of litter

Yeoville Bellevue are dirty suburbs. This is agreed by all except for those in denial or those who argue that 'the area is not dirty, it is just not so obsessed with cleanliness, like all those boring white areas to the north (and south and east and west)'. It is agreed by Pikitup which puts extra resources into the area to try and prevent an accumulation of waste. It is agreed by the City of Johannesburg which says in its Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) that 'the City collects 1,8 million tons of garbage each year, with approximately 244 200 tons reflected in the form of illegal dumping, and 1 779 000 tons collected as litter from the streets'.[1] There are serious cost implications to this. In 2007, an official from Pikitup told me that it cost (at that time) R1 000 per ton to collect waste that had been thrown into street bins, but it cost R7 000 per ton to clean up litter thrown onto the pavements and into the gutters.

On the same page in the GDS document the following statement is made: 'A further difficulty noted relates to the lack of awareness many have, in terms of the consequences of their behaviour (e.g. littering). As with the management of all other resource forms, success will in part depend on education.'[2]

In an earlier part of the same document, it says: 'Minimising waste is about building a social culture that prioritises protecting the urban environment. This involves ownership and collective responsibility – with all parties working together to jointly protect the urban environment and thereby promote greater standards of public health and safety. Cities can work to change littering, illegal dumping and other activities that negatively affect the urban environment, to develop more positive, pro-city attitudes that protect the natural and built environment. Small changes in behaviour have gone a long way in driving sustainability and resilience, in leading cities around the world.'[3]

One cannot fault the GDS on this. The understanding of those that compiled the document – that behaviour change is necessary and that education is one way of tackling the problem – is absolutely correct. And the need for it is urgent if the figures quoted above are correct – because they say that, at 2007 figures, R6 000 per ton is wasted removing litter from the street. This means that the financial loss to the CoJ of having to unnecessarily move 1 779 000 tons of litter is a staggering R10.7bn per year/1 779 tons of litter is a staggering R10.7m per year. If people were not littering, if the CoJ and Pikitup were successful in changing behaviour and getting people to take collective responsibility, there would be an annual saving of R10.7bn/R10.7m. Some of those funds could be used to run an ongoing awareness-raising programme to ensure sustained behaviour change and to communicate with new arrivals to the city from all over South Africa, Africa and the rest of the world. They need to be made aware from the outset of the need to observe the litter laws of the country, the province and the city.

I have two points I would like to make on this issue. The one is a quick introduction to the 'three-legged pot' theory that I have developed around behaviour change – this is not a new invention, but rather an elaboration of what I believe to be an obvious approach to dealing with such social behaviour challenges.

The other is a view that I have developed recently in 2013 (the 'three-legged pot approach' dates back to 2007) and which I will spell out first. It is directly related to the 'three-legged pot theory' in that it recognises the need to confront a truth: that litter is primarily a problem of people and only secondarily one of waste management.

It occurred to me when I was driving through the streets of Yeoville Bellevue in August of 2013 that, in extending extra services to Yeoville Bellevue, Pikitup might be shooting itself in the foot and locking itself into a never-ending and costly cycle of responsibility for cleaning up after the people of the neighbourhood.

The basic service that Pikitup offers in residential areas across the city is the collection of domestic waste in wheelie bins or plastic bags. To do this, Pikitup trucks visit each street in each area once a week on a set day and collect the waste that has been put out on that day by the dutiful residents of that street.

Yeoville Bellevue gets two additional services. There is an additional truck that makes the rounds in between the emptying of wheelie bins and collects any other rubbish that might have been put out or, indeed, dumped on street corners, under trees etc, but people who don't know or don't care whether putting out rubbish any day of the week or dumping rubbish on a street corner is legally or socially correct. There are also street sweepers who come into the residential area and sweep up all the litter that has been thrown down on the pavements, in the gutters and in the streets.

On the face of it, this would seem to be a good idea. There are two strong arguments put forward for having extended services in Yeoville Bellevue – the sheer number of people as a result of ongoing in-migration and related challenges such as overcrowding, and the fact that the neighbourhood had a great deal of foot traffic. People walk to get where they want to go rather than drive.

This approach, however, does nothing to facilitate behaviour change. People in Yeoville Bellevue know, by and large, that they are the reason why the neighbourhood is dirty. It has been admitted in any number of public meetings and other community forums. Most people will also say that they do not like living in a dirty neighbourhood. So why do they continue to do it?

I believe they do because there are no real efforts to effect behaviour change (I'll talk to that in the section on the 'three-legged pot approach') and because they have come to expect that Pikitup will clean up after them. In fact, I would argue that people have probably reached the point where they believe it is their 'right' to have these extended services and that there would be a militant reaction if the services were to be withdrawn – something I personally believe should happen.

There is a video I saw on television in 2004 or thereabouts which everyone should see. It was one of a series of documentaries produced to commemorate the 10th anniversary of democracy – each one looked at a different aspect of life in South Africa ten years after the 1994 elections. The series was called *Our Nation in Colour* and appeared on SABC.

The particular one to which I am referring was called *Night Sweepers* and focussed on waste management. The camera crew tracked a team of Pikitup workers who operated in the inner city. They filmed the workers arriving at the depot for the shift, being briefed on their tasks for the night, and getting onto buses or trucks to be taken to their specific work areas.

They focused in one particular woman worker and interviewed her at various points – at the depot, when they arrived at their designated area, while she was working.

The footage of the litter-strewn streets of the inner city after the end of a working day was not pleasant. There was clearly no attempt at all to keep the city clean by the hundreds of thousands of people who travelled in and out of the area every day. The only areas that remained reasonably clean were those serviced by a City Improvement District (CID), one of whose functions is to have people on the streets all day, preventing them getting dirty by encouraging people not to litter and by immediately picking up rubbish that did get dropped and not allowing it accumulate.

The film-makers asked the woman worker how she felt about coming to work every night and having to confront the same volume of litter and dumping all the time. She said that it depressed her. She said that she was from the rural areas and that 'when I came here, I thought I was coming to a civilised place, but this is not the behaviour of civilised people'. She said it was a long time since she had felt any job satisfaction.

I found this comment particularly interesting, given the recurring comment that I often encounter when I challenge people who litter. 'I am creating jobs'. There are, I am sure, people who genuinely believe this, though I think that most use this as an excuse to justify what they know to be anti-social behaviour.

I think if they were to say the same thing to the woman worker interviewed in the video, they would be shocked at the ferocity of her response.

Any rational person knows this simply does not make sense. The negative consequences of having a dirty environment far outweigh the positive benefits of giving employment to a few people, in both social and economic terms. One of the reasons for the challenges we face in Yeoville Bellevue (and the inner city as a

whole) is the impression created by the physical appearance of the area. It discourages people from coming there, it has a negative impact on economic investment and growth, it creates an air of neglect that no-one particularly enjoys. Litter is not the only cause of this air of neglect, but it plays a large part in cultivating and perpetuating it.

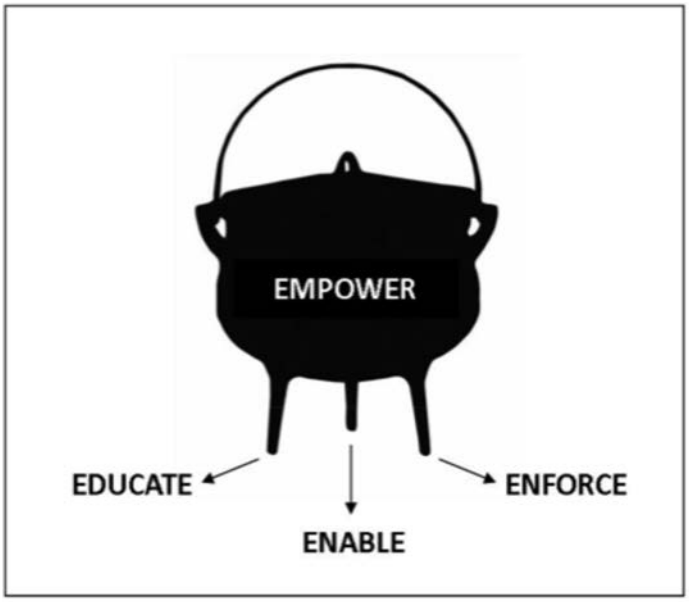
So what's the solution? Well, as I said, I think Pikitup should gradually withdraw the extended services, except where they make good business sense, and concentrate on getting people to take responsibility for their own neighbourhoods. Which brings me to the 'three-legged pot approach', a concept I developed when I was driving a litter-free campaign for the Gauteng Provincial Government from in 2006/7.

Why a three-legged pot? Apart from the fact that it is an easily recognisable symbol in Africa, it offers one simple truth – that the pot can only stand if all three legs are there. Take one away and it falls over.

The same principle can be applied when attempting to address the problem of litter (and other anti-social behaviour) - take away an essential element of the process and it will fail.

The image below gives a visual representation of the essence of the approach:

The idea contained in this proposition is deceptively simple: communities need to be encouraged to assist in the ongoing management of their own environment. While this does not imply that they will be given the legal power or authority to enforce the law – this remains the responsibility of the State – ordinary people can be 'empowered' to intervene when they see anti-social or illegal activity taking place around them, activity which could possibly have a direct and material impact on their own lives.



So how does that empowerment happen?

Through the implementation of the three-legged pot approach: educate, enable and enforce. Let's unpack those three ideas.

Education, communication, information – these are all part of a very necessary (and currently deficient) function of the State: to ensure that citizens are aware of their rights and responsibilities. It is said that 'ignorance of the law is not excuse', but the reality is that most people only learn about the law if they have to or if they are helped to. A suggestion some years ago by a CoJ representative that 'it is time that citizens of Johannesburg familiarise with all of our by-laws' reveals a failure to understand this. People don't 'familiarise' themselves with by-laws spontaneously or voluntarily. Most people only get to know about certain by-laws because they have a material reason for doing so, eg if they want to make alterations to a building or

if they want to open a business. Of course, it is not always certain that they will comply with those by-laws. Some people (especially now) learn about the by-laws because they want to circumvent them, not because they want to comply.

There is also the problem of people treating communication as an event rather than as a process. So they will hand out leaflets and tick off on their score card that communication has taken place. There will be a 'clean-up' with a politician putting on an overall and gloves and cleaning a dirty area. The communication that happens is that message sent out to those who are present when the politician is there or the newspaper article that is written about the event. Once again, a tick on the score card.

But how effective is this? How many people does it reach? How successfully do people absorb and internalise the message? The answer in all instances is not a positive one. Messaging that aims at establishing behaviour patterns or changing behaviour patterns does not work on a once-off basis. It needs to be sustained. It needs to be presented in a variety of ways. Take, for example, Europe, where there is a high level of awareness about litter. Is this because Europeans or Caucasians are somehow genetically wired to be clean? No. It's because, in those countries, there have been awareness campaigns running for decades (backed up by the other two legs of the pot) that have succeeded in impacting on the behaviour of people so that there is now an embedded subconscious orientation amongst most people to not litter. But if the litter-free campaigns were to stop, behaviour would change within a generation and some people would go back to littering.

Obviously it is most important to target children at school through civic education programmes which should deal with a wide range of issues related to the rights and responsibilities of ordinary people. It is also critical in large cities where there is a constant flow of people in and out of the area. All new arrivals need to be quickly made familiar with 'how things are done here' so that they easily internalise appropriate behaviour patterns and conform to the laws and by-laws of that city and the country in which the city is located.

Enabling – the second leg of the pot – is a little more complicated. When we talk about enabling, we mean creating the conditions in which it becomes easier and more possible for someone to conform to laws and by-laws. Why this is more complicated is that the thing that is needed to enable people to conform will vary according to the particular issue. Let us return to the issue of litter. It is all very well to bombard people with messages encouraging a litter-free environment. But what if there are no street bins (one shouldn't call them litter bins because litter is rubbish that has become litter because it has been thrown down in the street)? If you have carried out your awareness programme well, and you can back it up effectively with law enforcement, it could be argued that you are being unfair if there are no street bins in which to place your rubbish. So. By providing bins, you are reinforcing the messaging, but also legitimising enforcement, because people cannot claim that 'they did not know' and they cannot claim that it is difficult not to litter because there are no bins.

There is an additional complication. Once bins are placed on the streets, people often use them to deposit their black bags full of domestic rubbish. This means that someone walking past with a banana peel is going to have nowhere to throw it. So this reinforces the need for effective messaging – people must be reminded of how the different elements of the waste removal programme work, ie when and how to put your domestic refuse out, what street bins are for etc). And this also calls for ensuring that there are wheelie bins in all properties, because then people will not find it necessary to put black bags into the rubbish bins.

Enforcement of the law is the third important leg. You can spend millions educating people and encouraging behaviour change. But if there are no consequences for anti-social behaviour, then what it the incentive to comply, apart from a basic social conscience which many people appear not to have? Effective law enforcement, which backs up communication and awareness-raising processes and the provision of resources, is vital to ensure ongoing compliance. But the enforcement cannot come before the awareness-raising and the provision of an enabling environment. It must happen after a period of implementation of awareness-raising and the provision of resources. This will make it more difficult for contraveners of the law to argue that they were not aware or that it is not easy to comply. But once the enforcement kicks in, it must be visible, it must be consistent and it must be ongoing. It must instil awareness in people that anti-social behaviour will not be tolerated.

It should be clear from this that the three legs of the empowerment process are all absolutely vital for a successful and sustainable change in behaviour, just as the three legs of the pot are necessary for it to stay stable and upright and able to serve its purpose.

The three-legged pot approach can arguably be applied in all possible scenarios. Let's starts with the example given by Sbu Ndebele when he was Minister of Transport.

At a passing-out parade of traffic officials on 29 March 2011, he said: 'We must therefore continue with our three-pronged approach to addressing road deaths in our country namely: Engineering, Education and Enforcement. Our road infrastructure must be in good condition, education of road users will continue and we will enforce the laws of the land.'

In the table below, there are three further tentative examples. It is arguably possible for this approach to be used in virtually any scenario.

EDUCATE	ENABLE	ENFORCE
Educate people about good informal trading practise and about the laws governing informal trading	Ensure that there are appropriate informal trading regulations and facilities in place, developed in consultation with all stakeholders	Ensure that those who contravene the laws and regulations are dealt with quickly and visibly so that they do not get a chance to establish themselves; ensure enforcement by the authorities is supported and backed up by stakeholders in the area.
Educate people about the laws and by-laws governing parking, especially parking on pavements, double-parking and parking in no-parking areas.	Ensure that there is enough off-street parking for a particular area and also that there is enough appropriate signage and road markings to make it clear to people where parking is permitted and what kind of parking is permitted.	Have 'bobbies on the beat', especially in high density areas who deal immediately with people who are not complying with law
Educate people about their rights and responsibilities with respect to property ownership, renting of accommodation etc	Ensure that there is adequate housing within a community provided by the State and in partnership with the private sector and the community; provide local offices where people can go to get information and lay complaints. Have appropriate and effective laws which protect the rights of property owners and of tenants. Have a system in place which speeds up the resolution of disputes between property owners and landlords.	Act swiftly against hijackers, defaulters on service payments and landlords who do not look after their properties and/or their tenants.

The most important element of the 'three-legged pot approach' is the empowerment of ordinary citizens to play a role in shaping their own environment. I would like to offer an anecdote which was shared with me by a friend. He is a trade unionist and, in the course of his work, was invited to go to a country in Asia where there is a dedicated campaign to create a completely litter-free environment.

After his plane has landed, he stepped out of the airport building to have a cigarette while he waited for his counterpart from the host country. When the man arrived, my friend took a last drag on his cigarette, threw it down, and shook his hand. They chatted a bit and then, as they were about to leave, the man walked over, picked up the cigarette butt, and went and threw it into a bin, all without saying a word. My friend was deeply embarrassed and, I suspect, has never since thrown down a cigarette butt.

The point here is that the man would not have had the quiet confidence to deal with the littering by my friend if he himself was not a product of a national campaign to keep the country clean and, more importantly, if he had not had the knowledge that, in taking action, he was fully supported and backed up by his government and his community. That's all it takes.

I recall standing in Nando's one night in Yeoville Bellevue, waiting to receive my order. Behind me in the queue was a man who had clearly been drinking. He pulled out a box of cigarettes, extracted the last one, and tossed the box into the street. I was in a dilemma. There I was, in Rockey Raleigh St at 9pm, contemplating challenging a drunk man over his anti-social behaviour. Should I speak or should I keep quiet in the interests of keeping the peace and, more significantly, of protecting myself against harm. I was reminded of the many people I had spoken to in Yeoville Bellevue who said they would never challenge someone who was littering or who was urinating in the street because they feared the reaction from the person.

I couldn't keep quiet. In the nicest possible way, I raised the issue with him – and it worked out okay. We had a conversation, he recognised that it was wrong, he explained why he did it – 'everyone else does, so it won't make a difference if I don't' – and, interestingly, he also said he was wary of challenging people doing things of which he didn't approve because he feared their reaction.

Why I was nervous about it was I didn't feel I had any backing. I didn't think other people would step and support me and I knew if I called the police, they would in all likelihood not come or accuse me of wasting their time. I felt disempowered.

The main purpose in including this section is to stress the point that good governance is necessary (I'll talk a little more later about what I think 'good governance' means) and that many of the problems we experience currently in our communities *can* be solved (despite the Afro-pessimists who say it can't done), in part by using the 'three-legged pot' approach. People need help to be good citizens. Kids need guidance as they grow up. Newcomers to the city and the country need assistance to understand what being a good citizen in Johannesburg means – if we don't tell them, how will they know? Their behaviour will eventually be shaped by what they see happening around them and if what they see is anti-social, their own behaviour is likely to be anti-social. If it more responsible and caring, that is what they will emulate.

It's worth noting that I have had conversations with foreign nationals who have said that they cannot understand why we in South Africa allow people to get away with so much. They say that they would never be able to get away with such things in their own countries.

There are two things to learn from this. The one is that those who blame foreign nationals for all of the problems we are experiencing are missing the point. Yes, there are foreign nationals who are breaking the law, who are engaged in seriously problematic activities. But why? Because they can. Because the message they are getting is that this is how things are done in South Africa.

The second is that foreign nationals expect there to be some control. I am not talking about the kind of control that is based on prejudice towards foreign nationals – they have plenty of experience of that. I'm also not talking about undemocratic, brutal control of the type that exists in some countries in Africa and in the rest of the world. I am talking about good governance, the kind of control by government that is necessary to protect people from each other and to prevent chaos and disorder. There are many South Africans across the country who have the same expectation.

Neighbourhood Development Forum: To that end, I have initiated steps towards the establishment of a Yeoville Bellevue Neighbourhood Development Forum to work on the drafting and implementation of a comprehensive Neighbourhood Development Plan. I realised earlier in the year, as I worked on this paper, that it was only the Yeoville Development Forum, back in the mid-1990s, that seemed to focus exclusively on the goal of producing a plan for the area. All subsequent structures that I was involved in, or that I observed operating in the area, were trying to both plan and deal with day-to-day issues as they came up or were single-issue organisations trying to solve one particular problem. It is perhaps this lack of focus that resulted in the YBCDT

ultimately failing to achieve its primary goal – of getting the resources and the necessary structure in place to enable a community-driven neighbourhood development planning process to happen.

It seems to me imperative, therefore, to have a dedicated capacity which will focus exclusively on that one task – ensuring that a holistic Neighbourhood Development Plan is drawn up and implemented. This will not be easy. There is a disconcertingly large number of challenges in Yeoville Bellevue which will all have to be confronted in drafting such a Development Plan. It will take a lot of resources to do it, resources we don't currently have. There will be resistance, political and otherwise, to the undertaking of such a process as different interests look ahead to the possible implications for them of the revitalisation of Yeoville Bellevue. Nevertheless, I believe that this is really the only way to go if we want to find a sustainable solution to the situation in which we find ourselves. I also believe that we have the necessary structure already. The Deed of Trust of the YBCDT has as a key objective *'to raise funds for the holistic socio-economic upliftment of the Yeoville Bellevue area for the benefit of the people residing and working therein from time to time, all on a non-profit basis.'* It also establishes as an objective the need for *'research including ..... economic .... (and) social ..... research'*.

It strikes me, and you have probably thought of this, but one solution would be that traders be required to attain a licence to trade. In return for the license they would undertake to adhere to norms and standards, and would also stand to gain some sort of benefit from the city (incentives of some sort, but I am not sure at this point what such incentives would in fact be). If people could identify firm benefits from having a licence then they would apply for one. Equally, their would be higher degrees of self-policing as the licenced traders (even if they traded on the street) would police the unlicenced traders who posed a competitive threat to them. The licensed traders though would have authority to do so, by virtue of being licensed, and would thus not be susceptible to being told that they too are illegitimate and to therefore shut up. Equally, licensed traders who failed to adhere with by-laws etc would run the risk of losing their licenses, which is what would prompt them to be 'clean', so to speak. If the incentives/benefits of haivng a license were adequate, then people would not run the risk of losing the license. As such, this all rests on the provison of adequate incentives to license holders. As I say though, I do not know off the top of my head what such incentives might be. I will think more about it.

The license to trade would certainly be one means of getting the JMPD to calm down, and also enable them work in a more focussed manner, targetting unlicensed traders.

NOTES

1 Joburg 2040 Growth and Development Strategy, p 62, 2011
2 Ibid, p62
3 Ibid, p29

APPENDIX 5

(7) Public Notice of Application for Consent

(1) If a provision in the Scheme makes the provisions of this clause applicable to an application for consent, the applicant shall, within a period of seven days of submitting the application to the City Council:

(a) cause notice of the application to be displayed on the site in English and at the discretion of the City Council any other official language(s) which notice:

(i) shall be in a format as specified by the City Council.

(ii) shall be posted in a conspicuous place on the erf or site, where it is easily visible and can easily be read from each and every adjacent public street or other public place:
Provided that in the instance of an application in respect of more· than one site which are contiguous but not notarially tied or consolidated the City Council may in its discretion, grant exemption from such display on certain of the sites concerned.

(iii) shall be maintained in a clearly legible condition for a period of 21 days

(iv) shall reflect details of the application including the street address, the name of the township and the number of the erf or site concerned and the nature and general purpose of the application

(v) shall reflect the date on which the application was submitted to the City Council and the name, postal address and telephone number of the applicant.

(vi) shall reflect that the application documents relating to the application will be open for inspection at specified times and at a specified place at the City Council's offices and that any objection or representations in regard thereto must be submitted in writing both to the City Council and the applicant under cover of registered or certified post or by hand within a period of 35 days from the date on which the application was submitted to the City Council.

(b) In instances where the erf or site which is the subject of the application adjoins erven or sites zoned Residential 1, 2, 3 or 4 also dispatch by registered or certified mail a notice to all owners of all contiguous stands including those on the opposite side of the street, lane or thoroughfare within seven days of submitting the application to the City Council informing them:

(i) of the details of the application including the street address, the name of the township and the number of the erf or site concerned, and the nature and general purpose of the application;

(ii) of the date on which the application was lodged with the City Council and the name, telephone number and postal address of the applicant;

(iii) that the application documents relating to the application will be open for inspection at specified times and at a specified place at the City Council's office and that any objections or representations in regard thereto must be submitted in writing both to the City Council and the applicant under cover of registered or certified post or by hand within a period of 35 calendar days from the date on which the application was submitted to the city Council.

(2) After the expiry of a period not less than 21 days from the date of posting up of the on-site notices referred to in sub-clause (1) (a) (iii) but not longer than 35 days from the date of submission of the application to the City Council, the applicant shall submit the following to the City Council:

(a) a sworn statement that the requirements of sub-clause (1) (a) were complied with.

(b) proof of dispatch of the notices referred to in sub-clause (1) (b), if applicable, to the satisfaction of the City Council.

(3) The applicant shall within a period of seven days from date of receipt from the City Council of a list of the names and addresses of persons and/or organisations or associations of persons who, in the opinion of the City council, may have an interest in the outcome of the application, dispatch by

registered or certified mail a notice substantially in the form contemplated in clause 7 (1) (a) (i) to every person, organisation or association included in the list.

(4) The applicant shall submit proof to the satisfaction of the City Council that the provisions of sub-clause (3) have been complied with.

8. Public Hearing of Application for Consent of which Public Notice has been given

(1) Whenever, in respect of any application of which public notice has been given as contemplated in clause 7, the City Council wishes to hear the applicant, or the objectors, if any, or both the applicant and the objectors, such hearing shall be open to the public.

(2) The City Council shall, in considering an application for its consent, take into account any objections timeously lodged in respect of such application and, in its discretion, any other objections lodged, and when it has taken a decision on such application it shall notify the applicant and the persons from whom objections were timeously received of its decision in writing.

40. CONSENT APPLICATION PROCESS

1. If a provision in the Town Planning Scheme makes this clause applicable to an application for consent, the applicant shall, within a period of seven days of submitting the application to the Council, cause notice of the application to be displayed on the site in English and at the discretion of the Council any other official language(s), which notice:

a. Shall be in a format as specified by the Council;

b. Shall be posted in conspicuous place on the erf, where it is easily visible and can easily be read from each and every adjacent public street or other public place.

c. Shall be maintained in a clearly legible condition for a period of 21 days;

d. Shall reflect details of the application including the street address, the name of the township and the number of the erf concerned and the nature and general purpose of the application.

e. Shall reflect the date on which the application was submitted to the Council and the name, postal address and telephone number of the applicant;

f. Shall reflect that the application documents relating to the application will be open for inspection at specified times and at a specified place at the Council's offices and that any objection or representations in regard thereto must be submitted in writing both to the Council and the applicant under cover of registered or certified post or by hand within a period of 35 days from the date on which the application was submitted to the Council.

2. In instances where the subject erf adjoins erven in Use Zones "Residential 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5", also dispatch by registered or certified mail, notice to all owners of all contiguous erven, including those on the opposite side of the street or lane, within 7 days from submitting the application to the Council, informing them of the application as per Sub-clause (1).

3. The applicant shall submit proof to the satisfaction of the Council that the provisions of Sub-clause (1) and (2) have been complied with.

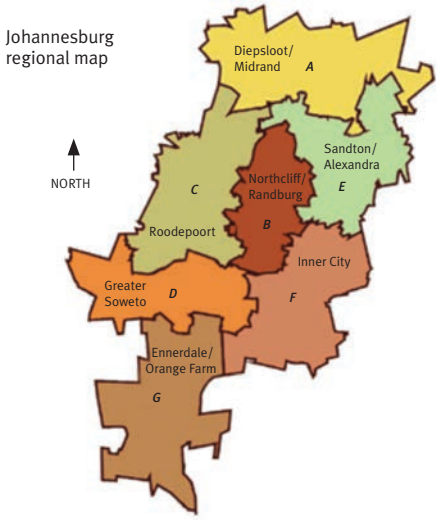
4. The Council may require the applicant to notify additional stakeholders and interested parties.

41. HEARINGS FOR CONSENT APPLICATIONS

In considering an application for its consent, the Council shall take into account any objections, comments and/or representation timeously lodged in writing by any interested party in respect of such application, and when it has taken a decision on such application it shall forthwith notify the applicant and any such interested party of such decision in writing.

APPENDIX 6

To illustrate some of the socio-economic implications of this, I want to refer to a study that was included in the Gauteng Draft Liquor Policy in 2011 in which the profiles of the CoJ's Region B and Region D were compared.



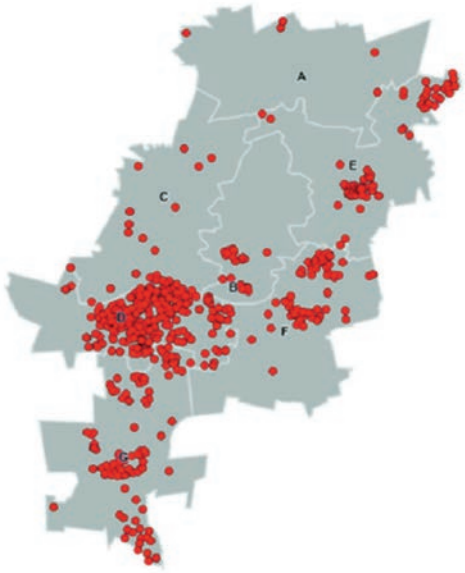
*The established areas of **Region D** are largely composed of the old matchbox houses built to provide cheap accommodation for Joburg's workers during the apartheid era. Street after street of these are found, but in some areas, such as Diepkloof Extension, prosperous Sowetans have built houses that can be compared to those in some of Joburg's most upmarket suburbs (www.joburg.org.za). However, there are also large areas of informal settlements, the most extensive being in Doornkop/Thulani, Protea South, Chris Hani, Slovo Park and Freedom Square. Region D's population is 1 058 978 (Census 2001, Stats SA) many of whom live in informal settlements; for example, 58 000 people living in Doornkop/Thulani alone. Poverty is a major problem, with high unemployment and low educational levels.*

*In contrast, **Region B** is well noted for its diversity, ranging from upmarket houses in both historic and newer suburbs, to central Randburg and trendy Rosebank. The numbers of townhouse developments in the northern areas of the region are increasing, with residential and commercial interests competing for prime land in suburbs like Hyde Park. Upmarket residential areas in the centre and to the north of the region include Bryanston Extension, Hurlingham, Sandhurst and Dunkeld. Densification around Rosebank is expected as a direct consequence of the Gautrain station being built next to the retail precinct in that suburb. The population is estimated at just over 198 000, accounting for about 6 percent of the population of Johannesburg. Much of the area the population is stable and economically active, with high levels of education and disposable income. A comparison between the two Regions in terms of population per liquor outlet (shebeen permits and licensed outlets) and recreational facilities reveal the following variances:*

	Region D (Soweto et al)	Region B (Rosebank et al)
Population	1 058 978	198 000
Number of shebeens	2 438	16
Number of licensed outlets	123	302
Population per liquor outlet	414	623
Population per recreational facility	31 146	9 900
Population per library	66 186	14 143

www.joburg.org.za and DED, 2011

The geographic spread of shebeens in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, as seen in the map below, clearly illustrates the historical context of the regulation of liquor. In the context of the nature of development in Regions B and D as described above, the high concentration of shebeens in Region D as opposed to the small number located in Region B is indicative of the historical and current distortions in the regulation of liquor outlets.



What the statistics above tell us is that, in the historically white areas within Region B, the population has 33.3% less access to alcohol and over three and four times more access to recreational facilities and libraries respectively than the population of the historically black Region D. This has serious consequences for the intellectual, health and economic prospects of people in Region D, which means that the current socio-economic imbalance between whites and blacks will continue, even though apartheid is no longer there to ensure this imbalance legislatively.

NOTE

1 Responsible distribution, promotion, sale and consumption of liquor: Draft Gauteng Liquor Policy, Gauteng Department of Economic Development, June 2011

APPENDIX 7

1. If the intention is to look for a property to operate a place of public worship (church, mosque etc) the first call is to go for sites that permit such use as primary right (eg Institutional, Educational, Business). A call at the information counter of GIS can indicate the zoning and description of the property. If the person cannot find anything else and the only option is to buy a dwelling house with the intention to operate a church then the following will be applicable.
2. The area that you refer to is located in the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme, 1979, [Municipal legislation] (JTPS) area. The use of any site is based on the applicable zoning. In your example you state that the property is a residential property. The zoning can be Residential 1, Residential 2, Residential 3 or Residential 4. Churches are referred to in the JTPS as Places of Public Worship as it can be any religion, not only churches, and in all these zonings a Place of Public Worship is only permitted through a consent use application. In other words, a consent use application must be submitted for consideration to Council, prior to using a site for the purpose of a Place of Public Worship. In terms of the provisions of the scheme you can stay in the house and have a Place of Public Worship, but such permission is decided upon on merit for each application under consideration. The appropriate conditions will be imposed depending on a variety of criteria such as scale of the operation, intent (only a church or a combination), frequency of services, number of congregation, hours of operation, noise etc.
3. Yes, you can submit a consent application and only operate a Place of Public Worship from a Residential 1, Residential 2, Residential 3 or Residential 4 site.
4. Rezoning is not required. The Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme makes provision for a consent use application for a Place of Public Worship on a Residential 4 zoned site.
5. A consent use application submitted to the local authority in terms of the scheme. Application forms and the necessary documentation and fees to accompany the application are available from the Registration Counter of the department on the 8th floor of the Metro Centre.
6. Yes, restrictive conditions have to be removed or amended as per the requirements of the Gauteng Removal of Restrictions Act, 1996. You also need to comply with obtaining Township owner's permissions if needed as per conditions in the title deed. In the example that you give, those conditions are not restricting the possible use for a place of public worship.
7. Each application process requires different forms of advertising; we include obtaining permission from neighbours under this. In terms of the consent application process, you need to place a notice on site as well as sending registered letters to all contiguous land owners meaning to all properties that surround your property as if there were no streets or lanes in between them. The Removal of Restrictive conditions process also requires in addition to the on-site advertising and adjacent land owners notification, advertising in two newspapers and the Provincial gazette.
8. As a rule, any land use needs to provide parking on the site, but the Johannesburg Town Planning Scheme does allow for an application for the relaxation of parking to be submitted and considered. For this you will required at least the approval from Johannesburg Roads Agency and Transportation. These applications are considered on merit, if you state upfront that all people that use the site will be using their own cars, it is unlikely that you will obtain approval for relaxation of parking. The Department can also ask that you identify another site that can be used for parking purpose; it will be the owner's responsibility to enter in the necessary agreements with the owner of that site to obtain permission to use the site for parking. It might also require an application for consent to use the site for parking. Street parking is generally not permitted, but the type of road and the status of the road are taken into consideration in this regard. Access to other properties cannot be blocked at any time. You will need approval for an application for relaxation for parking and address in this application where parking will be provided or how it will be accommodated.
9. A sound system can be used, as long as the level of noise will comply with the Environment Health regulations that specify the level that the sound may reach. All sound that emanates from the site

must comply with the noise by-laws. Appropriate conditions will be included in the consent if granted to cater for this.

10. At the time of the submission of the consent application, we require that you submit a site plan that will give an indication of how the site will be developed. If approval has been obtained to use the site for a Place of Public Worship, a condition is included in the approval that a Site Development Plan (SDP) must be submitted to indicate how the site will be developed. After the approval of the SDP, you need to obtain approval of building plans, even if you just change the use of a building, amended building plans must be submitted to ensure that all safety matters are addressed to the satisfaction of the relevant authorities, for example the Fire Department will check if the emergency exit is satisfactory for a building that is now used as a public building. Building plan approval must be obtained from building control and in terms of the National Building Regulations. When submitting the building plan the consent use letter approval with the conditions and SDP must be included. Furthermore because the building is more that 60 years old the authorization of the heritage agency PRAG-H will be necessary.
11. If the extension was considered in the decision making process, as was mention in point 10, and the consent was granted, knowing that you will be extending the house, the extension can be made after the approval of the consent use application and the approval of the SDP application. And the subsequent Building plan approval as per the process in 10.
12. The consent use application must make mention of the fact that there will be offices and residential accommodation on the site. The various additional or related uses will be taken into consideration at the decision making process. If the additional uses as well as the extension were considered in the decision making process and the consent was granted, the extension can be made after the approval of the consent use application and the SDP application. Building plan approval must be obtained.
13. The consent use application process makes provision for the permission of neighbours already. So you don't repeat the process for whatever has been already decided on as part of the approval of the consent application.
14. Advertising signage must comply with the outdoor advertising bylaws. (They are available on the Joburg website). Usually additional conditions for advertising are included in the consent approval.
15. Same as 14.
16. Any retail outlet on the site will required an additional consent application. The process depends on where the site is located. In Yeoville a consent use application can be submitted, but in the other surrounding areas such as Bellevue, a rezoning application must be submitted. These applications are also considered on merit. A rezoning can either be submitted in terms of the Town Planning and Townships Ordinance [Provincial legislation] or the Removal of Restrictions Act, [National Legislation] where a simultaneous application can be submitted to rezone the site and at the same time remove restrictive conditions form the title deed. All these uses however, might not be supported on the same site as the services might not be able to accommodate such an intense use of the site and usually are not entertained

Additional general points:

The applicable rates will be affected should you obtain additional rights for the site, as you will no longer receive the residential rebate, and if the value of the property increases as a result of the additional use, the rates will further be affected. Engineering contributions will be applicable and payable as part of the approval of the consent.

All applications are evaluated on individual merit, in other words, not all applications will be supported/ approved.

If you buy a property with the idea to start a church, investigate properties that already have rights to operate a church, or have business rights.

All applications for additional land uses consent are approved subject to a number of conditions that is intended to manage and regulate how the development on the site occurs and how the use will be managed to have the least impact on the surrounding area.

APPENDIX 8

Students and staff from Wits University, School of Architecture and Planning, built a partnership with Yeoville Stakeholders Forum (YSF), the Yeoville Bellevue Community Development Trust (YBCDT), and the SA National Traders Retailers Alliance (SANTRA) about what it means to live in Yeoville, how residents could have more say in their environment, what are local issues that matter to people, and how to think about possible responses to these issues. Other partners in the initiative were the Goethe Institute of South Africa and the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS)

Four themes were identified with civic leaders, in public meetings and with Wits staff:

- **Yeoville stories** – What does Yeoville mean for you?
- **Public spaces** – Eating, playing and trading? How are our spaces (streets, yards, buildings?) used and shared?
- **African diversity** – How to celebrate it so as to make a better Yeoville (business opportunities/ cultural richness)?
- **Housing** – How to understand the complexities of finding a place, managing housing, working together to address the issues?

The project itself ran from January 2010 - December 2011, where a huge quantity of new research was generated. Much of the research is being consolidated in the form of a book, pamphlets and other outputs.

The project used a number of different tools to achieve its aims:

- **Teaching and Research** (Wits students and staff in conjunction with residents) on various topics and spaces in Yeoville, pertaining to the 4 themes of the project. This involves different levels of study (from 2nd year to Masters); collective (class) or individual research.
- **Community workshops** to define topics and expected outputs; to collect stories and start engagement; to present and debate findings.
- **Media outputs** which included a local newspaper delivered door-to-door (Yeovue News), internet, and broad-based academic outputs.
- **Participation in public events** from Yeoville street festivals to Joburg City participatory workshops, to academic seminars.
- **Negotiation and activism** with other parties, such as the City of Joburg's Department of Local Economic Development or trader coalitions.

Some of the academic outcomes (teaching/research) included:

- Training students to work with residents and communities in their future specialization
- Creating urban design/urban management models adapted to local specificities
- 'Urban lab' type of experience - multi-disciplinary research focus on a very local space
- Producing more formal research outputs for dissemination in the broader academic community, including two books to be released by the Studio
- Demonstrating to Wits researchers and students the potential of their research to have real practical use in their local area/community

Community outcomes included the following:

- Workshops to empower residents to perceive and imagine their neighbourhood differently, exploring ideas for policy/planning/design solutions to local challenges (cf. participatory trading stalls design; design solutions for the multiple functions of housing; and photography workshops exploring the representation of street life as commented on by Natal/Saunders St residents)
- At the South African City Studies Conference in September 2011, Yeoville Studio presented on the politics of community engagement, using the Studio's work with informal traders as a case study.
- Celebrate Yeoville Bellevue's identity and potential for tourism (through a series of guides: African Restaurants Guide; Political Tour; Arts and Culture Tour; and the Architectural Walking Tour)
- Archive: all theses and reports written about Yeoville Bellevue are gathered and made available to Yeoville Bellevue residents at the YBCDT office in Rockey Alley on Rockey St, as well as in our display box in the Yeoville Library[1]

NOTE

1. From the Yeoville Studio website at http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/ebe/archplan/4876/yeoville_studio.html

RSA Census 2011 - Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Highlands, Randview, Lorentzville

Total population by gender

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Male	9 774	4 780	4 354	805	91	1 576	315.2	20 119	
Female	9 110	4 543	4 178	652	72	1 456	291.2	18 846	
					TOTALS	41 391		38 965	

Total population by population group

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Black African	18 218	8 958	8 047	1 390	110	2 729	545.8	37 269	96
Coloured	200	154	190	22	-	145	29	595	2
Indian or Asian	91	49	36	12	-	84	16.8	205	1
White	298	145	174	26	51	70	14	708	2
Other	77	17	85	8	-	4	0.8	188	0
					TOTALS	41 390		38 964	100

Number of individuals by first language

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Afrikaans	139	82	80	21	6	59	11.8	340	
English	3 915	2 110	2 054	94	62	550	110	8 345	
IsiNdebele	2 788	1 159	1 144	257	4	291	58.2	5 410	
IsiXhosa	837	314	348	74	18	212	42.4	1 633	
IsiZulu	5 373	2 447	2 349	546	45	787	157.4	10 917	
Sepedi	708	387	221	69	-	91	18.2	1 403	
Sesotho	459	165	172	44	11	58	11.6	863	
Setswana	504	259	234	25	-	99	19.8	1 042	
Sign language	70	45	91	3	3	-		212	
SiSwati	170	106	149	8	-	106	21.2	454	
Tshivenda	165	90	60	27	-	31	6.2	348	
Xitsonga	297	72	85	38	-	46	9.2	501	
Other	3 030	1 936	983	253	12	529	105.8	6 320	
					TOTALS	40076		37 789	

Present school attendance

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Yes	3 510	2 262	1 584	256	47	670	134	7 793	
No	10 927	5 098	4 311	990	86	1 593	318.6	21 731	
					TOTALS			29 524	

Educational institution

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Pre-school including day care; crèche; Grade R and Pre-Grade R in an ECD centre	85	46	48	7	3	8	1.6	191	
Ordinary school incl Grade R learners attending formal school; Grade 1-12 learners & learners in special class	2 495	1 264	977	155	27	351	70.2	4 988	
Special school	22	19	13	-	-	3	0.6	55	
Further Education and Training College FET	223	113	115	11	3	97	19.4	484	
Other College	128	167	84	14	4	23	4.6	402	
Higher Educational Institution University/University of Technology	494	518	283	69	10	176	35.2	1 409	
Adult Basic Education and Training Centre ABET Centre	42	116	39	-	-	10	2	199	
Literacy classes e.g. Kha Ri Gude; SANLI	9	9	8	-	-	3	0.6	27	
Home based education/ home schooling	11	10	19	-	-	-	0	40	
					TOTALS			7 794	

RSA Census 2011 - Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Highlands, Randview, Lorentzville

Highest educational level by Geography for 20 +, Person weighted

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Gade 0	29	35	18	-	-	8	1.6	84	
Grade 1 / Sub A	20	19	14	3	-	5	1	57	
Grade 2 / Sub B	49	28	19	8	-	8	1.6	106	
Grade 3 / Std 1/ABET 1Kha Ri Gude;SANLI	30	30	8	8	-	10	2	78	
Grade 4 / Std 2	48	28	26	7	-	12	2.4	111	
Grade 5 / Std 3/ABET 2	91	64	35	14	-	19	3.8	208	
Grade 6 / Std 4	116	52	53	8	3	25	5	237	
Grade 7 / Std 5/ ABET 3	361	175	134	50	-	54	10.8	731	
Grade 8 / Std 6 / Form 1	374	165	140	58	3	62	12.4	752	
Grade 9 / Std 7 / Form 2/ ABET 4	443	232	227	42	-	83	16.6	961	
Grade 10 / Std 8 / Form 3	758	398	412	89	11	123	24.6	1 693	
Grade 11 / Std 9 / Form 4	2 608	1 377	1 228	185	10	252	50.4	5 458	10 475
Grade 12 / Std 10 / Form 5	5 469	2 581	2 287	475	36	1 084	216.8	11 065	
NTC I / N1/ NIC/ V Level 2	42	25	34	-	-	4	0.8	102	
NTC II / N2/ NIC/ V Level 3	6	7	8	-	-	-	0	21	
NTC III /N3/ NIC/ V Level 4	13	9	4	-	-	6	1.2	27	
N4 / NTC 4	13	8	5	3	-	3	0.6	30	
N5 /NTC 5	8	10	7	-	-	6	1.2	26	
N6 / NTC 6	14	19	11	3	-	-	0	47	
Certificate with less than Grade 12 / Std 10	33	60	14	-	3	6	1.2	111	
Diploma with less than Grade 12 / Std 10	82	64	58	6	-	11	2.2	212	
Certificate with Grade 12 / Std 10	278	82	75	18	-	46	9.2	462	
Diploma with Grade 12 / Std 10	404	170	141	28	3	60	12	758	
Higher Diploma	455	253	204	6	9	72	14.4	941	
Post Higher Diploma Masters; Doctoral Diploma	45	33	26	-	-	-	0	104	
Bachelors Degree	287	187	161	43	11	42	8.4	697	
Bachelors Degree and Post graduate Diploma	56	28	27	-	4	14	2.8	118	
Honours degree	81	52	47	5	6	7	1.4	192	
Higher Degree Masters / PhD	58	49	33	9	6	5	1	156	
Other	162	156	34	5	-	-	0	357	3 429
No schooling	549	76	201	12	-	51	10.2	848	
					TOTALS			26 751	

Official employment status by Geography for Person weighted, 15 - 64

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Employed	7 682	4 210	3 400	787	81	1 415	283	16 443	
Unemployed	2 263	1 140	1 138	228	20	352	70.4	4 859	
Discouraged work-seeker	239	114	127	9	-	8	1.6	491	
Other not economically active	3 958	1 492	1 854	120	13	588	117.6	7 555	12 905
					TOTALS			29 348	

Type of sector for 15 - 64, Employed, Person weighted

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
In the formal sector	6 370	3 124	2 563	383	77	1 155	231	12 748	
In the informal sector	641	453	264	165	3	47	9.4	1 535	
Private household	600	391	485	227	-	165	33	1 736	
Do not know	71	242	88	12	-	48	9.6	423	
					TOTALS			16 442	

RSA Census 2011 - Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Highlands, Randview, Lorentzville

Individual monthly income for 15 - 64, Employed, Person weighted

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
No income	936	540	370	47	11	106	21.2	1 925	
R 1 - R 400	143	129	99	35	-	57	11.4	417	
R 401 - R 800	203	119	90	29	5	55	11	457	
R 801 - R 1 600	740	366	375	68	6	170	34	1 589	
R 1 601 - R 3 200	2 256	1 176	835	271	6	392	78.4	4 622	
R 3 201 - R 6 400	1 722	902	692	146	12	287	57.4	3 531	
R 6 401 - R 12 800	658	385	305	109	5	134	26.8	1 489	
R 12 801 - R 25 600	274	174	112	47	14	56	11.2	632	
R 25 601 - R 51 200	65	44	51	17	11	24	4.8	193	
R 51 201 - R 102 400	6	17	-	-	-	-	0	23	
R 102 401 - R 204 800	3	3	6	-	-	-	0	12	
R 204 801 or more	8	6	-	-	-	-	0	14	
					TOTALS			14 905	

Household income

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
No income	1 189	589	773	74	6	226	45.2	2 676	
R 1 - R 4800	69	54	51	11	-	31	6.2	191	
R 4801 - R 9600	117	95	49	24	-	37	7.4	292	
R 9601 - R 19 600	355	206	159	43	5	128	25.6	794	
R 19 601 - R 38 200	1 006	579	395	99	3	220	44	2 126	
R 38 201 - R 76 400	1 158	719	489	125	6	228	45.6	2 543	8 622
R 76 401 - R 153 800	865	469	383	117	3	184	36.8	1 874	
R 153 801 - R 307 600	388	218	184	61	10	73	14.6	876	
R 307 601 - R 614 400	126	83	69	22	4	24	4.8	309	
R 614 001 - R 1 228 800	24	23	16	7	9	4	0.8	80	
R 1 228 801 - R 2 457 600	5	4	4	4	-	-	0	17	
R 2 457 601 or more	8	7	3	-	-	-	0	18	
					TOTALS			11 795	

House ownership

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Rented	4 632	2 700	2 237	487	23	1 045	209	10 288	
Owned but not yet paid off	251	111	163	32	11	49	9.8	578	
Occupied rent-free	78	67	35	40	4	16	3.2	227	
Owned and fully paid off	240	159	120	24	8	36	7.2	558	
Other	109	10	21	3	-	10	2	145	
					TOTALS			11 796	

Access to piped water

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Piped (tap) water inside dwelling/institution/yard	5 268	3 030	2 540	578	46	1 140	228	11 690	
Piped (tap) water on community stand	7	8	30	-	-	-	0	45	
No access to piped (tap) water	35	10	6	6	-	13	2.6	60	
					TOTALS			11 795	

RSA Census 2011 - Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Highlands, Randview, Lorentzville

Toilet facilities

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
None	24	6	5	4	-	6	1.2	40	
Flush toilet	5 260	3 036	2 563	579	45	1 140	228	11 711	
Chemical toilet	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	
Pit toilet	6	-	4	-	-	5	1	11	
Bucket toilet	13	-	3	-	-	-	0	16	
Other	6	3	-	3	-	3	0.6	13	
					TOTALS			11 791	

Energy or fuel for cooking

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Electricity	5 268	3 022	2 527	575	46	1 136	227.2	11 665	
Gas	5	6	3	-	-	-	0	14	
Paraffin	3	8	8	4	-	-	0	23	
Candles (not a valid option)	17	7	10	4	-	9	1.8	40	
Solar	11	3	16	3	-	6	1.2	34	
None	6	-	14	3	-	5	1	24	
					TOTALS			11 800	

Refuse removal

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Removed by local authority	5 292	3 016	2 564	566	46	1 148	229.6	11 714	
Communal refuse dump	-	-	4	-	-	-	0	4	
Own refuse dump	5	25	3	11	-	3	0.6	45	
No rubbish disposal	-	4	3	6	-	3	0.6	14	
Other	11	3	3	-	-	-	0	17	
					TOTALS			11 793	

Household size

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Highlands	Randview	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
1	1 374	765	700	171	10	414	82.8	3 103	
2	1 400	883	723	187	5	309	61.8	3 260	
3	1 092	631	523	94	11	196	39.2	2 390	
4	720	406	319	86	10	134	26.8	1 568	
5	365	195	154	26	5	55	11	756	
6	183	80	75	13	3	27	5.4	359	
7	85	46	34	5	-	10	2	172	
8	40	21	20	-	-	6	1.2	82	
9	16	13	14	3	-	3	0.6	47	
10+	35	9	13	-	-	3	0.6	58	
					TOTALS			11 794	

RSA Census 2011 - Yeoville, Bellevue, Bellevue East, Highlands, Randview, Lorentzville

Year moved

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Randview	Highlands	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Before - 1992	226	142	133	6	26	49	10	543	1.4
1992	48	28	26	-	8	10	2	112	0.3
1993	48	31	12	-	7	6	1	99	0.3
1994	78	63	39	-	3	13	3	186	0.5
1995	90	44	47	-	8	6	1	190	0.5
1996	135	83	54	-	8	13	3	283	0.7
1997	134	65	59	-	10	10	2	270	0.7
1998	186	74	91	-	11	34	7	369	0.9
1999	181	92	83	-	18	22	4	378	1.0
2000	443	228	181	-	36	51	10	898	2.3
2001	270	161	169	3	13	32	6	622	1.6
2002	297	174	162	-	22	35	7	662	1.7
2003	407	221	156	-	37	32	6	827	2.1
2004	429	224	219	-	30	54	11	913	2.3
2005	568	319	304	4	53	65	13	1261	3.2
2006	730	421	298	3	42	76	15	1509	3.9
2007	804	468	328	-	61	98	20	1681	4.3
2008	901	439	410	3	72	113	23	1848	4.7
2009	773	438	341	7	69	108	22	1650	4.2
2010	747	389	267	4	56	72	14	1477	3.8
2011	861	359	319	-	71	77	15	1625	4.2
9999	429	276	354	-	10	89	18	1087	2.8
Not applicable	10 100	4 582	4 482	129	789	1 970	394	20476	52.6
Total	**18 884**	**9 323**	**8 532**	**162**	**1 457**	**3 032**	**606**	**38964**	**100.0**

Region of birth by Geography

	Yeoville	Bellevue	Bellevue East	Randview	Highlands	Lorentzville	LV 20%	Totals	%ages
Born in South Africa	9 562	4 353	3 516	129	782	1 729	346	18688	48.0
SADC	5 190	2 600	2 300	18	486	547	109	10703	27.5
Rest of Africa	1 244	764	542	13	97	176	35	2695	6.9
United Kingdom and Europe	19	21	16	-	8	5	1	65	0.2
Asia	17	5	-	-	-	-	0	22	0.1
North America	3	-	-	-	-	-	0	3	0.0
Latin America and Caribbean	3	4	-	-	-	-	0	7	0.0
Oceania	4	4	-	-	-	-	0	8	0.0
Unspecified	2 846	1 574	2 155	-	83	572	114	6772	17.4
Total	**18 884**	**9 323**	**8 532**	**162**	**1 457**	**3 032**	**606**	**38964**	**100.0**

URBAN TRANSFORMATION RESEARCH PROJECT (UTRP)

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6

MAURICE SMITHERS was born in Graaff Reinet in the Eastern Cape and has lived in Johannesburg for almost 50 years, mostly in and around Yeoville Bellevue. He engaged in political activism and alternative living in a variety of forms in the 1970s and 1980s, and working in communications for government in the 1990s and 2000s. From 1998, he began to take a keen interest in his neighbourhood of Yeoville Bellevue and worked on a voluntary basis as a resident activist/activist resident for ten years in pursuit of the socio-economic development of the area. In that time, he served on the executives of a number of local civil society structures and also on various committees established to facilitate interaction between local government and civil society.

In 2008, he left government to work full-time on neighbourhood development planning in Yeoville Bellevue, financed first by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), then by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), and on and off by community supporters and past residents of Yeoville Bellevue. Since July 2012, he has been gainlessly employed doing the same work, though he was, from August to November 2012, given a stipend by SARChi to write up and reflect on his work in Yeoville Bellevue. Described by Prof Philip Harrison as an 'organic intellectual', he dropped out of university in the early 1970s, but hopes now to take his writing further by pursuing a Masters degree. In the meantime, he is exploring the possibilities of 'social tourism' in Yeoville Bellevue.



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