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SEPARATING TOGETHER: UNDERSTANDING INSURGENT RECYCLING IN BORDEAUX, JOHANNESBURG

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning (MSc DP)

Johannesburg, 2020

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted to the Degree of Master of Development Planning to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.



……

…13… day of …October…., …2020……

Abstract

As a result of state-mandated recycling efforts in Johannesburg, reclaimers who collect reusable and recyclable materials are increasingly dispossessed of their livelihoods, perpetuating their vulnerability, informality and undermining their access to self-employment. Therefore it has become imperative to seek new solutions to integration that challenge the city's neoliberal approach to recycling that is ignoring the contributions of those already active, albeit informally, in this sector.

The African Reclaimers Organisation (ARO) is working with members of the Bordeaux community and residents association (BSRA) to create their own collaborative recycling system, providing an alternative to the mechanisms of the state and private sector. Based on six months of mixed methods research in Bordeaux, using observations, interviews and a survey, this report argues that the reclaimer-resident recycling collaboration be considered "insurgent recycling" since it subverts accepted formal mechanisms of state service provision, and challenges predominant neoliberal ideas of class, belonging and informality in the suburbs. It further establishes that a collaborative approach to recycling transforms relationships between residents and reclaimers by 1.) facilitating residents' engagement with reclaimers, 2.) legitimizing reclaimers' work in Bordeaux, 3.) improving residents' perceptions and acceptance of reclaimers active in the collaboration. Together a win-win system is created with residents having some shared control over reclaimers' work in their area, and reclaimers having better access to more materials. Therefore this report recommends grassroots collaborative insurgent recycling systems as an alternative model for integration to Pikitup's exclusionary S@S system.

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List of Acronyms

WITS	University of the Witwatersrand
ARO	African Reclaimers Organisation
BSRA	Bordeaux South Residents Association
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
BRRC	Bordeaux resident-reclaimer collaboration
NWMS	National Waste Management Strategy
S@S	Separation at Source
IWM	Integrated Waste Management
PETCO	PET recycling company
SWM	Solid waste management

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the study:

Johannesburg's designation as "An African World Class City" has left little to no place for the presence of informality, yet it abounds with great determination. Most recognizable are the ubiquitous "trolley-pushers", "waste-pickers" or "reclaimers" pulling back-breaking loads of recyclables along main roads, separating materials in suburban parks and revaluing items found in private and public dustbins that others have so readily discarded as rubbish. This practice is pervasive in Johannesburg's middle class and wealthy suburbs, formal and organized as they may appear and securitized and fortified as they are. Residents are often hostile, despite the service reclaimers are providing, believing they bring crime and disorder into their neighbourhoods.

Compounding this already tenuous situation, the new Separation at Source (S@S) recycling approach implemented by Pikitup (the city's waste management company) excludes and dispossesses reclaimers further. Shaped by neoliberal urban management practises it contracts private companies for door-to-door recyclables collection. It also removes residents' ability to decide on their own terms what kind of relations they want with reclaimers.

Rather than simply accepting this, the democratic reclaimers' organization ARO (African Reclaimers Organisation) and residents of the up-market suburb of Bordeaux have developed their own resident-reclaimer collection system. By choosing to work directly with reclaimers instead of either the state or private businesses, I argue that residents are engaging in "insurgent recycling", voluntarily developing an informal social contract in their neighbourhood. By acting on and shaping the urban space in the way that residents would like it to look and function, they are effectively

advancing their right to the city, and coproducing the urban space with the inclusion of reclaimers in that vision.

This research report is the first study to analyse this kind of collaboration in South Africa and seeks to understand whether and how it has changed relations, legitimacy and belonging and whether it provides a better model for reclaimer integration. Based on six months of mixed methods research in Bordeaux, using observations, interviews and a survey, this report argues that the resident-reclaimer recycling collaboration be considered "insurgent recycling" since it subverts accepted formal mechanisms of state service provision, and seeks to challenge predominant neoliberal ideas of class, belonging and informality in the suburbs.

1.2 Problem Statement:

Recycling efforts in the city of Johannesburg have in the last two decades been spearheaded by the often survivalist initiatives of individual informal 'reclaimers', selling valuable waste for cash (Charlton, 2014: 539). However, without consulting either reclaimers or residents about the form that S@S should take, Pikitup is implementing a recycling collection system that contracts private companies and excludes reclaimers (Samson, 2015a; 2019). This imposes a neoliberal approach on residents, taking away their ability to decide what type of relationship they want with reclaimers and the form recycling should take where they live.

The overall problem is therefore that there are currently no alternative approaches to S@S in South Africa that are not based on these kinds of problematic neoliberal assumptions. The Pikitup approach simply highlights and perpetuates the issues of invisibility and exclusion of the urban poor as informal workers are routinely dispossessed by the state (Samson, 2015a).

The specific problem the study is focusing on is whether this resident-reclaimer collaboration and alternative S@S system is meaningfully different from Pikitup's neoliberal approach, and how it might contribute to greater legitimacy, inclusion and acceptance of and for reclaimers and their work.

1.3 Background to the study:

South Africa's 52% recycling rate of paper and packaging in 2014 is considered a result of the activities of informal actors, with 80-90% of packaging and paper waste recovered for recycling collected by the informal sector (Godfrey, Strydom & Phukubye, 2016; Pillay, 2017). Recycling is only now being recognized as worth millions of Rands and new systems and contracts being put in place by the city are dispossessing and by-passing the informal actors who effectively *started* this industry. Samson (2009) believes this is due to their general perception by the state as "detritus", highlighting the need for reclaimers to seek legitimacy from the public, by communicating the essential nature of their work.

In 2016, reclaimers from across the city banded together to form a crisis committee (now ARO) and succeeded in forestalling Pikitup's signing of two out of four contracts for private companies to collect recyclables. However, just these two contracts coming into effect officially put reclaimers out of work overnight in the areas now serviced by private collectors. This resulted in lower incomes and less access to waste, forcing many to sleep rough in order to beat the private collection trucks in the morning, and start their working day at ever-earlier hours (Zack & Charlton, 2012; 56). Ultimately, the attempts by the city at formalizing the industry, i.e. privatizing it, have not only further excluded reclaimers, but further informalised their work (Samson, 2009).

ARO's approach in Bordeaux instead seeks legitimacy directly from residents themselves, in an attempt to create new forms of citizenship. This bears similarity to the Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari Panchayat (KKPKP), a reclaimer union in Pune, India, who were able to transform social relations by institutionalizing and adopting the practice of receiving payment directly from residents instead of the municipality (Chikarmane & Narayan: 2005). A resident-reclaimer collaboration therefore proactively engages residents, giving them a choice as to whom they will give their recyclables, or as in the KKPK case whether they would rather pay reclaimers directly for their service. This reconceptualises the public and transforms pervasive neoliberal urban management in such a way that new participatory and inclusive forms of democracy are revealed. This study argues that resident-reclaimer collaboration legitimizes reclaimers work, and better integrates them into the economy, providing an alternative to neoliberal shaped state-led S@S.

ARO's collaboration with the Bordeaux South Residents Association (BSRA) works by delivering their own, branded bags to residents which are then collected by reclaimers rather than Pikitup. They work with residents to decide on the most appropriate collection day and time, and to ensure that bags are distributed, the area is cleaned following collection, and that reclaimers are easily recognisable. ARO therefore provides an organised, all-inclusive and free recycling collection service to residents, enabling engagement with residents and reducing stigma, but more importantly securing their access to better and more materials. This practice of circumventing state-mandated and formal private service providers is referred to in this report as 'insurgent recycling. This concept can be understood as methods of recycling that directly challenge the framework put in place by the state, with a specific aim to disrupt and ultimately transform the way we think about service provision (recyclables collection) in our neighbourhoods. The term insurgent is used to describe any practice that subverts formal urban development, in particular when it

is driven by or includes marginalized populations in activities such as self-organisation and informal service provision (Howe, 2018).

1.4 Research Questions:

This research project began as an investigation of the following research question:

> How does the collaboration between Bordeaux residents and ARO to create their own S@S programme help to secure greater legitimacy, inclusion and visibility of reclaimers in the suburban fabric?

The three supporting sub-questions were:

1. *How does ARO's approach to S@S work?*
2. *How is this direct partnership between residents and reclaimers transforming their relationships?*
3. *To what extent does the legitimation of ARO in Bordeaux foster greater inclusion and visibility of reclaimers in Bordeaux's suburban fabric?*

1.5 Aims/Objectives of the study:

The study aims to assess whether the resident-reclaimer collaboration in Bordeaux is fostering greater inclusivity in the broader urban economy and urban fabric. It is an analysis of ARO's system as it exists in Bordeaux, exploring how it is rooted in and transforms social relations and space. The study develops the concept of insurgent recycling throughout, adding to the literature on alternative approaches to recycling that challenge the accepted exclusionary model of privatization, forging new types of social relations, cross-class and cross-race. Therefore the focus is on how and why reclaimers and residents are proactively reshaping the space in which

they work and live through insurgent recycling. It illustrates how this collective reimagining and forging of a different urban future secures legitimacy for informal work, transforms social relations and therefore reshapes the urban space, providing a viable alternative to neoliberal urban management more broadly.

1.6 Overview of the report:

This report begins with a literature review exploring ideas about reclaimer integration, the production of urban space and the intersection between neoliberalism and participation. This chapter also includes an explanation of the theoretical framing of the report, 'insurgent recycling', underlining the reasons for viewing the research through this lens. Chapter 3 presents the methods used. Chapter 4 outlines the wider context of this study, including Johannesburg and the spatial legacy of Apartheid, the existing legislation and policies surrounding waste management and a review of Pikitup's current policies. An overview of Bordeaux and the collaborative recycling happening there is provided in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the Bordeaux residents survey, and Chapter 7 brings this together with analysis of the qualitative data and the literature to build a detailed picture of Bordeaux residents' perceptions of and involvement in the recycling system they have built with ARO. The final chapter concludes the report and provides some suggestions for a way forward.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction:

This chapter has two parts; a literature review and a theoretical framework. Part one of the chapter engages with three main bodies of literature - reclaimer integration, the production of urban space and the intersection between neoliberalism and participation. The first section on reclaimer integration explores the concept of reclaiming, and discusses how different places are dealing with incorporating these informal workers into the municipal waste management system and recycling economy. The second section discusses literature on the production of urban space, highlighting the debates around who produces urban space and how, and situating informality within this. Third, literature on neoliberalism and participation is reviewed, exploring their intersection and compatibility. Part two presents the theoretical framing of this research: insurgency and insurgent planning, and clarifies why this is a useful lens through which to analyse the Bordeaux collaboration.

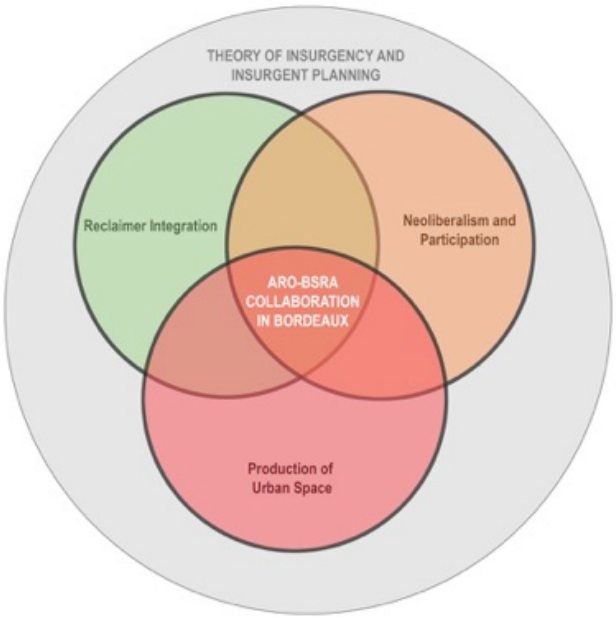

Figure 2.1 Diagram showing bodies of literature under review and theoretical framing (created by the author).

2.2 Literature Review:

2.2.1. Reclaimer Integration:

Who are reclaimers and what do they do?

Reclaimers or waste pickers as they are also called (Dias, 2010), work to collect recyclable products out of discarded waste, and sell these for income at buy-back centres or recycling centres. Samson (2008) argues that 'reclaimer' is a preferable term since it emphasizes that they are rescuing items with potential value from being wasted and engaging in complex forms of labour to revalue them. It is also the name chosen by reclaimers who are members of ARO and who participate in the Bordeaux resident-reclaimer collaboration (BRRC).

While recycling in the global North is a well-entrenched official municipal programme, in the global South it is primarily a result of the work of reclaimers, who are doing it informally to make a living (Ferguts, Dias & Mitlin, 2011). Three types of reclaimers are generally described: those working independently on the streets and at landfills, those who are organized into cooperatives and those who are contracted to junkyards and relevant industries (Dias, 2011a). Much of the research agrees that reclaimers have been an informal but ubiquitous element in developing cities for at least a few decades, often taking on the task of city-wide recycling single-handedly (Dias, 2011a, 2011b; Ferguts et al, 2011; Gutberlet, 2008; Godfrey & Oelofse, 2017; Samson, 2017, 2019, forthcoming; Schenck, Blaauw & Viljoen, 2012; Velis, Wilson, Rocca, Smith, Mavropoulos & Cheeseman, 2012).

Ferguts et al (2011), describe the tendency in the global South of reclaiming as a 'practise of poverty' and Simatele, Dlamini & Kubanza (2017) call it a 'survival strategy for the urban poor'. In Brazil, however,

reclaiming has been included in the official Brazilian Classification of Occupations (CBO) (Dias, 2011a) and recognising this practise as a profession is a vital step toward ‘inclusive recycling’. Schenck et al (2012) describe how they act as ‘reclaiming agents’ for buyback centres, receiving payment for what they deliver but no extra benefits or wages in addition. They further argue that reclaiming is informal work done out of necessity, lacks the conditions to be considered ‘decent work’, and is a response to poverty, unemployment and deprivation (Ferguts et al, 2011; Scheinberg, 2012; Schenck et al, 2012; Wilson et al, 2006). However, Samson (2009) contends that reclaimers are increasingly aware of the vital recycling work they do for the country, and they are therefore calling to be recognised accordingly, and challenging the perception of their work as merely a solution for survival. Some authors view reclaiming as an entrepreneurial activity (Dias, 2010; Godfrey at al, 2016) and Scheinberg (2012) criticises ‘middle-class academics and development professionals’ for failing to conceive of the possibility that reclaiming might be a rational choice of economic activity, or at least provides the best possible income out of a range of options.

Thousands of people depend exclusively on access to wasted materials, and recycling that material, in spite of the health risks and social stigmatisation inherent in this work and its’ economic undervaluation (Gutberlet, 2008). In Johannesburg, reclaimers are vulnerable to harassment by police, residents and motorists, and this is compounded by a lack of recognition and social acceptance. Lack of valid citizenship documents and supporting evidence makes their job even harder (Dlamini & Simatele, 2016; Samson, 2010, 2019; Schenck et al, 2012). Reclaimers are responsible for high recycling rates in developing countries (relative to their small numbers versus the total population), helping the environment, keeping the city clean and reducing the amount of waste destined for landfills - yet they are largely unrecognized by municipal administrations

and are not paid for the services they undertake (Dias, 2011a; Ferguts et al, 2011; Samson, 2017; Schenck et al, 2012; Wilson et al, 2006).

Dispossession and Integration:

Literature suggests that under the guise of modernization, developing countries formalize recycling services by partnering with private companies, or investing in technologically intensive recycling schemes, in an attempt to eradicate the 'bad' or 'archaic' image for the city of reclaimers operating on the streets or in the landfills (Dias, 2011a; Samson, 2015b; Scheinberg, 2012; Simatele et al, 2017). Through this 'modernisation' process, reclaimers are dispossessed of the waste itself while the state captures this sphere of capital accumulation; neatly fitting in to the broader processes of neoliberalism (Samson, 2015b: 4). Modernisation may result in a vicious, rather than a virtuous, cycle of competition for resources, conflicted public and private sector relationships and declines in the volume of resources recovered (Scheinberg, 2012).

There is a wide body of literature focused on how formal systems of solid waste management can integrate reclaimers. The terms 'integration', 'inclusion', 'formalisation' and 'legalisation' are used fairly interchangeably in the literature, although there have been efforts by Scheinberg (2012) to provide more precise and differentiated definitions.

Literature from Brazil and India indicates that integration must rely on the idea of waste as the 'public commons' and be contextually relevant to global south conditions (Dias, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2016; Chikarmane & Narayan, 2005). Brazil has been at the forefront of inclusion and recognition of informal reclaimers, and campaigns led by member based organisations and NGOs, has resulted in occupational classification and a preference for reclaimer cooperatives as service providers (Dias, 2011a, 2011b).

Authors such as Schenck, Blaauw, & Viljoen (2016) focus on the role of reclaimers as 'merchandising waste' and supplying materials to buy-back centres and industries. Scheinburg (2012) notes that reclaimers are integrated into both the municipal asset management system and recycling value chain. She suggests that there are three emerging models of integration: into the service chain, the value chain or a hybrid. Similarly, Godfrey et al (2016) see reclaimers' work as a low-cost solution for moving resources out of the 'service chain' and into the 'value chain' (Scheinberg & Simpson, 2015; Godfrey et al, 2016: 2). Velis et al (2012) argue that integration initiatives should be assessed in terms of priority given to integration of reclaimers into the waste management system, the recycling value chain, and society, underpinned by support to strengthen reclaimer organisations that is essential for the achievement of the other goals. Each approach requires different forms of support from government and industry.

Studies have shown that reclaimers will have better prospects of meaningful inclusion by organizing (Dias, 2016; Chikarmane & Narayan, 2005). Examples from Brazil, Colombia and India show how member-based organisations are a viable basis for integration, coupled with an enabling legislative and institutional environment to protect and legally enshrine their rights to be involved in the formal system (Dias, 2010; 2016; Chikarmane & Narayan, 2005). Forming cooperatives can generate the capital needed to scale up productivity, including better access to protective equipment and clothing, training, basic hygiene protocols, and correct waste handling practices (Ferguts et al, 2011; Marello & Helwege, 2014). Additionally, cooperatives that are contracted for a door-to-door collection service become as commonplace and ubiquitous as for example, a postman, greatly reducing stigmatization of reclaimers (Ferguts et al, 2011). However, despite major successes of co-operative models in Belo-Horizonte, Brazil and Bogotá, Colombia, studies on South

African waste sector cooperatives show a 91% failure rate (Godfrey et al, 2016: 3). Therefore different solutions need to be considered for the South African context.

Rather than finding ways to integrate reclaimers into the municipal Separation at Source (S@S) programme, Samson (2019) believes the emphasis should be on integrating the municipality into the reclaimers' well-functioning alternative system, recognizing and valuing reclaimers as they would like to be seen. It can be highly counterproductive to establish new recycling systems without first taking into account the already existing informal system (Wilson et al, 2006; Samson, 2017). Furthermore, Velis et al (2012) contend that integration has the potential to be a 'win-win' solution in developing countries, building recycling rates, mitigating the negative aspects of informal recycling, protecting and developing people's livelihoods and reducing overall costs of city waste management.

2.2.2 Production of Urban Space:

Who produces urban space?

Lefebvre argues that it is not architects, planners, economists or politicians who produce urban space, although they may shape trends and forms, but only social life that can truly change or create the city itself (1968: 112). He asserts that policy alone is insufficient, since it changes during the course of its implementation, and out of this Lefebvre advocates for a 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1968: 119). As interpreted by Harvey (2008: 23), this is the right to change ourselves by changing the city. The city should be a meeting place for collective life, accessible for all, enabling social interaction that in turn transforms the trajectory of the city. Reimagining the city as a space co-created by everyone, and overcoming the commodification of urban life that has resulted from capitalism, allows it to become a meeting point for collective life, which again changes the city

(Lefebvre, 1968). It is a common, not an individual right, since it relies on collective action to reshape the course of urbanization and therefore runs contrary to the current dominant ideology of capitalism, neoliberalism and possessive individualism that has produced spatial fragmentation and social polarization (Harvey, 2008: 32).

Drawing on Lefebvre and Harvey, de Pacheco Melo (2016: 620) argues that in a capitalist mode of production, space is an intermediary that becomes both instrument and goal, since it is essential in the process of accumulating and distributing profit - therefore both a product of the system and its means of reproduction. As urban space is increasingly the object of capital accumulation, it is constantly made and remade for this purpose according to its land value and in a neoliberal context it is the wealthy who have the means to shape this urban development (de Pacheco Melo, 2016: 622). This pushes the urban poor to the periphery, as urban renewal projects and land speculation raises taxes, rents and real estate prices (Harvey, 2008; de Pacheco Melo, 2016). This is mirrored in post-Apartheid South Africa's spatially grounded social fragmentation: the urban landscape is divided into fortified enclaves for the wealthy and degraded spaces to confine the urban poor (Murray, 2013: 121).

Huchzermeyer (2014) notes that this results in the flourishing of an often small political and economic elite who have the requisite resources to shape the city in their interests. Strategies to exclude the poor (such as anti-street-trading and anti-slum measures), in favour of attracting the classes whom they believe will make the city attractive to global investors result in building and maintaining class-based privileges and elitism (Huchzermeyer, 2014). Informal activities that continue to take place in the city in spite of this, do so under duress (Huchzermeyer, 2014: 66). This crystalises the issue of space along class and race lines, as only those with the means to do so can create the city in their image with less 'desirable' types pushed out (de Pacheco Melo, 2016; Murray, 2013;

Porter, 2014). As social and economic rights are increasingly dissociated, Porter (2014: 388) argues that dispossession becomes intertwined with spatial planning; in order to partake in a structurally neoliberal context, which supports and protects the rights of the wealthy, and private rather than community interests, production of space is available only to the few around whom the system is based (Porter, 2014: 390).

Informality:

This exclusionary way in which urban space is produced can be used to understand informality, and why it manifests in the ways it does. Urban informality is defined by Huchzermeyer (2011) by what it is *not,* by its opposite which is formal, planned, legal and taxed. Mcgranahan, Schensul & Singh (2016) see informality as a reflection of poor policies and poor implementation, or as a result of policies that are only relevant to more affluent citizens and workers and a better-resourced state (Mcgranahan et al, 2016: 26). Informal economic activities are those that fall outside of official regulations, or where these regulations do not apply out of evasion or weak enforcement (Brown & Mcgranahan, 2016: 98). An emphasis on attracting investment, and a top-down growth pattern therefore gears cities toward the needs of elites, businesses and appearances of efficiency and modernisation. The poor and unskilled become second priority, and they are pushed out of the formal sector, creating a long-lasting pattern of exclusion (Mcgranahan et al, 2016: 14). Wilson et al (2006) describe informality as work that is '…labour-intensive, low-technology, low-paid, unrecorded and unregulated…' and that reclaiming epitomises this sector. The informal sector accounts for employment of significant numbers of the urban population in South Africa (Schenck et al, 2016).

Informality reflects the human face of the city; people struggling to claim their existence in an urban framework which is inherently rejecting them or deliberately making their lives less liveable (Huchzermeyer, 2011). The

state views the ways informal actors shape the city as subversive and transgressive (Brown & Mcgranahan, 2016). But as it becomes an urban norm, it is imperative that the discourse looks at the informal economy in a wholly different way (Huchzermeyer, 2011: 83; Schenck et al, 2016).

Similarly, Brown & Mcgranahan's 'inclusionist school' of thought on informality focuses on the political and economic linkages between the formal and informal economy, framing informality as a dominant mode of urban development (2016: 101). It takes elements of pro-poor planning and combines it with collective organisational action, to bring the formal and informal closer together, resisting the notion that formalization is inherently better for disadvantaged citizens. It '…recognize[s] the constraints of resisting domination and oppression within broader capitalist economic systems, but…emphasise[s] the political agency of poor women and men to co-produce grassroots solutions in partnership with the state and civil society' (Brown & Mcgranahan, 2016: 102).

2.2.3 Neoliberalism and participation:

How do they interact?

Peck & Tickell (2002) assert that 'neoliberalism seems to be everywhere' and it has become the dominant ideological rationale for state 'reform' and globalisation. Neoliberalism is a political and economic ideology that relies on the logic of the market. Its proponents claim that this ensures that society functions well, and resources are shared in the best possible way, but it is widely understood as a class project to further consolidate power, profits and resources of the elite (Oleson, 2014). Creating a business-friendly environment and market competition are the pervasive values in decision-making, normalizing this growth-first approach to urban development (Oleson, 2014; Peck & Tickell, 2002).

South Africa's 1996 Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy consolidated the shift to neoliberalism. Highlighting the tensions between political liberation and economic liberalisation, Miraftab (2009: 37) argues that, ironically, at the very moment that political liberation extended political citizenship and symbolic inclusion in decision making, GEAR stripped citizens of substantive rights and increased material exclusion. Both in Brazil and South Africa, a progressive constitution lays out myriad rights to which citizens are entitled, but which massive income inequalities make it difficult to access (Watson, 2012: 8).

Harvey (2008) argues that the increasingly divided nature of the developing world is unsustainable and that neoliberalism is a threat to ideals of citizenship, urban identity and belonging (Harvey, 2008: 32). Additionally, the increasing informalisation of work, including the eroding of employee benefits, union protection, and employment by the public sector, is a hallmark of neoliberalism (Heintz & Pollin, 2003: 6-8). This can be observed in informal practises of livelihood creation and housing, showing that informality and neoliberal economic practises are intrinsically linked (Samson, 2015b; Miraftab, 2009).

A neoliberal rollback of state control in favour of the market transforms community groups into private businesses competing for funding, and citizens into clients or consumers of services, and entrepreneurs (Cornwall, 2008; Krivy & Kaminer, 2013; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Krivy & Kaminer (2013) assert that this then requires a reevaluation of 'participation' itself, and whether it has the potential to overcome this or necessarily leaves inequalities intact and acts as a means of placating the marginalized classes. Cornwall (2008) distinguishes participation in a number of ways, for example mobilizing to protest for basic services is different from participating in forming a self-help group, doing a mapping exercise or taking part in a village committee. But in the market-dominated state, can one participate without first being absorbed into the market?

Miraftab (2004a) and Cox (2001) argue that neoliberalism coopts progressive concepts like participation and inclusion to further entrench systemic exclusion and power inequalities and strengthen neoliberal hegemony. 'The possibility that one can feel empowered without being so forms an important element of legitimacy for the antidemocratic dimensions of liberalism' (Miraftab, 2004a: 244). For example, the privatization of a basic need such as water is justified as economic efficiency and based on neoliberal values of freedom of choice among service providers (Miraftab, 2009). The pervasiveness of these discourses in shaping urban management indicates that neoliberalism informs even our ideas of what it means to be a citizen (Cox, 2001). Gills (2001) contends that it is therefore essential that counter-hegemonic movements choose their own way of framing and understanding their collectivities and participation.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Insurgent Planning:

First coined in the 1990s by James Holston, the concept of 'insurgent urbanism' takes the onus away from the state as the 'legitimate' conveyor of citizenship rights (Holston, 1998: 39). It is found in grassroots organisations, everyday actions that subvert, transform, parody or derail state agendas, and struggles over what it means to be part of the modern state (Holston, 1998: 47). Both Sutherland (2011) and Sandercock (1999) see insurgency as something that challenges or opposes mainstream constructions of power, for example the state or the market, through inventive and spontaneous forms of citizenship. It goes beyond participation to formulating action strategies, resistance, reconstruction, resilience or self-reliance; citizens taking matters into their own hands (Miraftab, 2012; Sandercock, 1999).

Sites of insurgent citizenship are found at the intersection of the erosion and expansion of the state; in homeless networks, migrant communities, peripheries of the poor, sweatshops, ganglands and fortified gated settlements (Holston, 1998: 48). As new kinds of residents occupy new spaces and cities, forms of citizenship and notions of community are continually challenged (Holston, 1998: 51). Miraftab (2012) argues for planning to be guided by an understanding of citizenship as a practice constructed from below, through citizens' direct actions to develop their self-determined political community (Miraftab, 2012: 16).

Insurgency is strongly linked to various forms of resistance that can be explicit, implicit, reactionary, proactive, violent, peaceful etc (Howe, 2018; Meth, 2010). Insurgent actions are, however, always a deliberate, specific mobilisation against the state and/or market that hold the state accountable through means that exceed state-sanctioned citizen participation channels (Miraftab, 2012: 12; Sandercock, 1999). The underprivileged stake a claim to the city by contributing to shaping urban space and establishing tangible citizenship as they force their participation in the making and planning of cities (Meth, 2010: 244; Miraftab, 2009). This is what constitutes insurgent planning, or insurgent urbanism.

Without formal rights to participation in the predominantly neoliberal state agenda, informal actors such as reclaimers have to mobilise and force their recognition by the state by providing alternative solutions or alternative visions of the future. This is a way to potentially counter neoliberalisation of the state, and open up channels of inclusion and participation outside of the prevailing formal structure (Samson, 2015b: 2). As seen in Columbia, Brazil and India, reclaimers are challenging the state by introducing new conceptions of the public, private and state and transforming the relations in between, challenging a conventional neoliberal structure and contributing to a more inclusive democracy

(Chikarmane & Narayan, 2005; Dias, 2011; Gutberlet, 2008; Samson, 2015b). Contrary to the veneer of ‘participation’ and ‘inclusion’, insurgent planning practices have the capacity to go beyond these to pursue substantive forms of justice and reshape the city (Miraftab, 2012: 18).

2.4 Conclusion:

This literature review helps to frame the analysis of the research findings to answer the central research question of the study: how does the BRRC assist reclaimers to secure greater legitimacy, inclusion and visibility in Johannesburg’s suburbs? By looking first at the literature on reclaimer integration, a backdrop for the research question is built, highlighting similar initiatives around the world. The second body of literature concerning the production of urban space grounds the research question spatially, and situates the issues of inclusion and visibility. It also provides an explanation for the pattern of urban development in the city’s suburbs. Thirdly, the literature around neoliberalism and participation problematizes reclaimer’s potential to secure legitimacy for their work and coproduce the city given pervasive neoliberal state policies, top-down growth approaches and an overstatement of elite interests.

Lastly, understanding the emergence of an alternative recycling programme initiated by reclaimers themselves and based on grassroots social relations as an ‘insurgent’ mode of planning can provide a new paradigm within which to understand informality, production of urban space, and the move toward integration of reclaimers and their ‘separation outside source’ recycling system (Holston, 1998; Samson, 2019). ‘Insurgency’ also helps to underscore the autonomy and agency of reclaimers and residents, and their capacity to shape their urban space, outside of the confines of formal private or public services or management.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter presents the methods used in this research report to gather resident's insights and understand the collaborative recycling initiative in Bordeaux. Since this study aimed to understand more complex ideas around reclaiming, legitimacy and urban space production, but also required some baseline general information, qualitative semi-structured interviews and observation were used for the former and a short survey for the latter (Simon, 2006). This report therefore used a mixed methods approach, with a sequential exploratory design (Creswell, 2009).

3.2 Case study model:

The research report aims to ascertain what makes the BRRC an example of insurgent recycling, and to understand whether and how it improves legitimacy, inclusion and visibility of reclaimers in the suburbs. Using a case study model allowed an investigation of the collaboration in its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence, and where the boundary between the context and the intervention is sometimes blurred (Sarantakos, 2005: 211). The study wanted to present a real life alterative to state-mandated recycling therefore justifying the use of a case study model (Yin, 1994). The disadvantages of using this framework is that the results are not necessarily generalizable, the findings will contain some personal bias from the researcher and the presence of the researcher may disrupt the context or intervention in the field (Sarantakos, 2005: 217).

3.3 Mixed methods:

The study adopted a mixed methods approach that included qualitative and quantitative methods (Yin, 1994). It triangulated different sources of information, such as interview and survey data, therefore reducing the

potential for arriving at erroneous conclusions and allowing the final conclusions to be strengthened (Phillip, 1998: 271). It also allowed a wider range of issues to be covered in the study than may have been possible with one approach alone. For example, in this report a small number of in-depth interviews were conducted and a larger survey was built out of this, therefore allowing the nuance of the particular to inform and draw strength from the power of the general (Phillip, 1998: 271).

3.3.1 Data collection methods:

The data was collected between 18 September 2019 and 19 November 2019. The below methods table explains how each strategy was used to answer the particular research question:

Table 3.1 Methods and data collection used in the study.

Research Sub-Question	Evidence needed to answer the question	How will evidence be collected
How does ARO's approach to S@S work?	Baseline understanding of recycling levels in the area, and the presence of Pikitup and private recycling in the area.	Semi structured interviews Survey
	Explanations from reclaimers, residents and alternative recycling companies on how this approach works	Semi structured interviews
	Seeing how the approaches differ physically and	Observation

	materially.	
How is this direct partnership between residents and reclaimers transforming their relationships?	Understanding how residents and reclaimers viewed each other, and to what extent this has changed, and whether this change is because of the collaboration.	Semi structured interviews Survey
	Seeing how residents and reclaimers interact.	Observation
To what extent does the legitimation of ARO in Bordeaux foster greater inclusion and visibility of reclaimers in Bordeaux's suburban fabric	From the perspective of the residents whether they now feel that the reclaimers are included as an essential part of their neighbourhood.	Semi structured interviews Survey
	From the perspectives of reclaimers whether reclaiming in Bordeaux feels different from other areas, and why.	Semi-structured interviews
	How do reclaimers perceive their place in the community, how does the community percieve them?	Survey Observation

3.3.2 Sequential research design:

A sequential exploratory study design was used, with secondary quantitative findings assisting in the interpretation of primary qualitative findings (Creswell, 2009: 214). On-site qualitative data was collected first, and then surveyed against a representative sample in the second phase. Limitations include the effort and expertise required to use two different methods to study the same intervention and the difficulty of interpreting results from two different kinds of data (Creswell, 2009: 214).

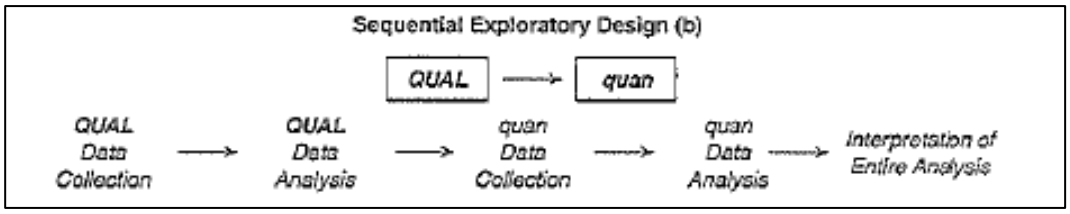

Figure 3.1 Sequential exploratory research design (Creswell, 2009: 209).

Qualitative research was conducted first to capture a detailed understanding of the perspectives and ideas of respondents (Creswell, 2009). The intensive, small-scale nature of this research, concerned with the experiences of people in particular places allows a richness and diversity of meaning to be attained (Phillip, 1998: 266-7). Using both observation and interviews built a more complex picture that could accommodate the varying views and experiences of respondents (Creswell, 2009).

Secondly, quantitative data collection, in the form of a short online survey, was used to build a clearer and more accurate picture of the broader context. Analysing the first phase of qualitative research informed the survey's questions. The survey provided an inexpensive and efficient way to understand the beliefs and characteristics of Bordeaux and its residents as a whole, through a representative sample (May & Williams, 2001: 89). It also enabled the findings from the first phase to be tested against a wider sample of residents, validating the final conclusions.

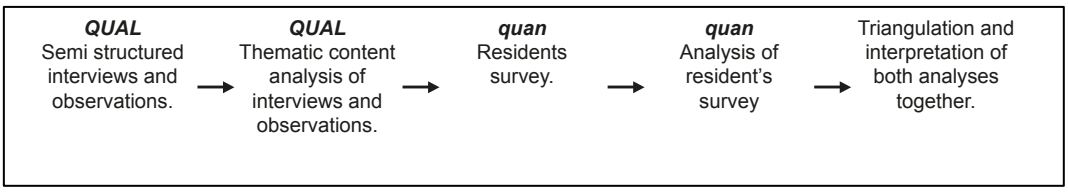

Figure 3.2 Research design used in the study (created by the author).

3.3.3 Interviews:

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted between 18 September and 24 October 2019 with key informants (3 reclaimers, 17 residents and 2 business owners in the recycling and waste industry) to gather insights and information about the collaboration. More residents were interviewed than reclaimers, since the study was focused on understanding resident's insights in particular.

Interviews captured resident's behaviour or perceptions of reclaimers that couldn't be directly observed, and they allowed the researcher to take control over the line of questioning (Creswell, 2009: 178). This was important for answering the specific research questions, and interview guides were used as part of this process (see Appendix A). The disadvantages of the interview process were that the researcher's presence may have biased responses and that not all respondents were equally perceptive or articulate about their ideas (Creswell, 2009: 178). Interviews were useful for a comprehensive understanding of the perceptions of residents and their feelings about the BRRC, and how this then compared to their behaviour (Simon, 2006). Analysis of these interviews can be found in Chapter 7.

Interviewees were purposefully selected to acquire in-depth information about the topic using non-probability sampling (Yin, 2016). Purposeful sampling selects participants that are able to generate plentiful and productive insights that are relevant and 'information rich' (Yin, 2016: 93).

Therefore residents of Bordeaux that were involved in the BRRC were selected since they could provide the most relevant insights. Additionally, the small number of reclaimers that were purposefully selected were either established or newly recruited members of ARO. Due to time constaints, non-participants on the reclaimer and resident side were omitted from the sample, causing some limitations to the study (see section 3.6).

3.3.4 Observations:

Non-participant observation was used to gather more nuanced information about residents' and reclaimers' interactions, and the process of insurgent recycling in Bordeaux. This method gathered first-hand experience of the site and investigated topics that might be uncomfortable to discuss (such as exploring perceptions of others) (Creswell, 2009: 178). Seeing and perceiving the study site first-hand, without the filter of another's reporting, provides vital primary evidence (Yin, 2016: 150). However, the researcher might be seen as intrusive or participants might temper their behavior as a result of the researcher's presence (Creswell, 2009: 179).

Observation of collection days (initially on a Wednesday but changing to a Tuesday) was undertaken on a weekly basis between 18 September 2019 and 5 November 2019. A fieldwork journal was used to note down observations and photographs were taken to record first-hand how the intervention was evolving and growing. The researcher drove or walked around the area observing the number of households with ARO bags outside, the number of reclaimers in the area on collection days and waited at the collection point at the park to see the comings and goings of residents dropping off their bags. Additionally, the researcher attended community events that reclaimers were invited to, and visited the area on days the reclaimers were not there to try and get a sense of Bordeaux as a suburb and community. The information gathered in the observation phase informed the maps shown in Chapter 5, building the context of Bordeaux South.

3.3.5 Survey:

A short survey made up the second phase of the research strategy (see Appendix B). It was administered through Google Forms from 2nd to 15th November 2019. It measured recycling habits, involvement in the BRRC, key issues residents had with reclaimers, and ways in which these relations might be improved. The questions were informed by the in-depth interviews, building on insights from these conversations. They were also designed so that the survey could be administered again at a later date to measure further changes and adaptations in the BRRC and resident's perceptions over time. The intention of the survey was to test interview insights and observations against a wider sample to deliver a more general picture of Bordeaux and its residents (Creswell, 2009). It relied on self-completion and was therefore short, simple and self-explanatory, taking less than 5 minutes to answer (Simon, 2006: 166).

Non-probability random sampling was used for the survey. To get a random sample of residents, the survey was shared through the community's numerous Whatsapp groups, 2 community Facebook pages, the community school and a number of the area's complexes. Additionally, the researcher used the local park, approached homes, and attended the local sports club to try and get a wide enough cross section of residents. The survey randomly sampled 77 residents in Bordeaux, out of a total population of approximately 1230[1]. Results from the survey are analysed in Chapter 6.

The main strength of this survey was that its questions were embedded in information from the first phase of qualitative findings, therefore on insights from Bordeaux's residents themselves, not assumptions of the researcher.

[1] This figure comes from the BSRA count of 430 households, multiplied by the average number of residents per householder in greater Bordeaux (2.86) (Census, 2011).

The respondents read and filled in the questions themselves, without the researcher seeing their answers, and this contributed to anonymity and discouraged the researcher's influence over the answers. Limitations of the study include its relatively small sample size and a lack of questions which could have probed more exploratory 'why' questions from respondents.

3.4 Data Analysis:

Thematic content analysis was used for the interviews and observation. This is a system of identifying, organizing and finding patterns across a data set, and offering insights into their meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 57). These insights become the themes around which the analysis is based. The researcher focused on meanings across the entire data set, allowing shared experiences and collective perceptions to be identified, as well as unique responses or outliers, and making sense of these within the scope of the topic or research question at hand (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 57). Key advantages of thematic content analysis include the simple and systematic technique for coding and analysing data, as well as its flexibility for use with multiple theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2012: 58).

Interviews were transcribed and observations noted down in the field journal. These documents were read through a number of times before a general coding legend was built. Quotes from interviews transcripts and field journal notes were then categorized into their various codes. This grouped and organized similar experiences or answers. The second phase involved grouping these codes or categories into themes, and then grouping these themes again to form a small, nuanced set for the final analysis in Chapter 7.

3.5 Ethical Considerations:

The research complied with the University of Witwatersrand's ethical code of conduct. An ethics clearance certificate was obtained before the researcher began conducting fieldwork. Participants were provided with an information sheet explaining the study, their involvement, and lack of incentives (see Appendix D). Participation was voluntary and written informed consent was obtained. The participation information sheet was read during telephonic interviews and consent was recorded.

Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured through the use of pseudonyms and removal of unique identifiers. The online survey included project information and participants could only proceed once they confirmed their consent. None of the participants were disabled in any way, therefore there were no cases where participant's ability to give consent was impaired.

3.6 Study limitations:

The research process did not always go smoothly. The original study site chosen was Brixton, Johannesburg, 15km South of Bordeaux and situated close to the inner city near two public universities. In response to ARO's call for partnership, the Brixton resident's association was the first to work with them to create their own recycling system. The initiative's success made it in the prime location for a Unilver-funded pilot project to pay reclaimers for their collection service. This partnership between Unilever, the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) and ARO resulted in a slowdown in the initial collaboration so that the groundwork and research for the pilot could be conducted. This made the original resident-reclaimer partnership difficult to study in isolation. Luckily, by this time word of the collaboration had spead to Bordeaux, and the fledgling resident-reclaimer partnership there became a more viable and salient study site, and the research project was moved.

Following this move, I faced other challenges. The language barrier between myself and reclaimers was overcome by using a translator. However, since the translator was generally a member of ARO this biased the interview process. Since I was unable to acquire an unbiased and non-ARO translator, I decided to weight the study more toward resident's perceptions and insights as I would be able to interview them in English without a translator. In this way I overcame the issue of overtly biased responses, and needing a translator, and it actually helped me to narrow the focus of my study and therefore achieve more meaningful results.

I was also faced with a lack of diverse, willing interviewees and therefore many participants were of a similar type; active in the BSRA and community, aged 40 and above. Many of these interviews had to take place telephonically due to time and transport constraints and this compromised observation of the interview in-situ. For the survey, conducting random sampling by going door-to-door was unsuccessful. I therefore overcame this by visiting Bordeaux's popular public recreation spaces at busier hours.

Due to time constraints, I was not able to include non-participants in the sample of key informants. This is another limitation of the study since including non-participants would have built a greater understanding of the opposition to the study, and the counter-views. In turn this would have added depth to the results.

3.7 Conclusion:

This chapter explained what methods were used, how they were employed and why. It introduced the use of the case study method, mixed methods, the particular methods that answered each research question and the sequential research strategy. It justified the use of interviews,

observations and a survey, and the sampling strategy for each. The limitations of the study were also addressed, as well as the strategies to overcome them.

CHAPTER 4: HISTORY OF RECLAIMING AND SEPARATION AT SOURCE IN JOHANNESBURG

4.1 Introduction:

This chapter introduces the broader context in which this research was conducted. First, I consider Johannesburg, and how the enduring spatial legacy of Apartheid and rapid in-migration has contributed to an expansion of the informal economy and socio-spatial polarisation. Secondly, the broader recycling and waste management policy developments over the last decade are highlighted.

4.2 Johannesburg context:

Located within the dynamic Gauteng City Region, Johannesburg is a city of economic opportunity attracting migrants from all over the country and Southern Africa, while simultaneously exhibiting extreme wealth disparity along race and increasingly class lines (Harrison, Gotz, Todes, & Wray, 2015). The city is constantly shifting, with class formation, population movement and spatial growth and shrinkage occurring concurrently. These processes continue to be plagued by the persistence of Apartheid's racially segregated townships, post-Apartheid's equally racially segregated inner-city slums and new, similarly racially segregated, informal settlements - 'the new geography has done little to uproot Apartheid geography' (Everatt, 2015: 64).

Apartheid's policies aimed to keep cities white, therefore forcing black South Africans to live in peripheral townships zoned by race and often physically separated by major roadways, industrial belts or geographical features (Everatt, 2015: 74). This ensured systematic exclusion from economic opportunity, rights and resources and has resulted in a present day economy that is catergorised by structural racism, with black citizens

worst affected by unemployment and poverty (Everatt, 2015). Townships continue to be marginalised, and elite and business-oriented areas such as the northern surburb of Sandton increasingly gain in economic importance (Gotz & Todes, 2015).

There is a spatial mismatch between where people were forced to live under Apartheid (and where many have no choice but to remain) and where employment opportunities are located; compounding urban poverty, and inequality of access, income and opportunity (Everatt, 2015: 70). This also results in rapid population movement into more economically active areas to secure employment (Everatt, 2015). But without adequate affordable housing in urban areas, informal development springs up on the city's periphery or unused open spaces (Harrison et al, 2015). Compounding this, Johannesburg is described by Zack (2015) as an 'arrival city' for migrants from the greater Southern African region and the African continent, seeking jobs and a better life. This results in continuous transformation of the city's spaces, and some pressing urban issues such as overcrowding, a proliferation of informal settlements, rising unemployment and poverty (Harrison et al, 2015: 12). In-migration at this rate makes upholding a consistent development agenda increasingly challenging for the city's local government and a jobs deficit, coupled with entrepreneurialism, results in appropriation and informalisation of space and land use, contrary to local plans and policies (Everatt, 2015; Zack, 2015).

Apartheid's spatial legacy thus reinforces and compounds social polarisation, with vast income and class divides between areas of economic importance, historically wealthy residential suburbs, informal settlements on the urban periphery, under-resourced and poorly planned former townships, and sprawling gated developments for the suburban middle and elite classes (Landman & Badenhorst, 2015). Additionally, fear of the 'other' is compounded by high crime levels, resulting in electric

fences, private security and increasingly exclusive communities (Dirsuweit, 2015: 548). This is the context in which reclaimers are operating their informal door-to-door collection service; they are almost exclusively black and poor, working in predominantly or historically white, wealthy suburbs. The issue of race therefore cannot be divorced from the fragmentation of space and class in the Johannesburg landscape.

4.3 Waste management, reclaiming and recycling in Johannesburg:

The dearth of economic opportunities in South Africa drives many people toward the informal economy to support themselves. Being labour-intensive and low-tech, with little barriers to entry, reclaiming falls into this catergory (Schenck & Blaauw, 2011). Historically in cities of the South formal solid waste management (SWM) systems are weak and focused on collection and disposal of waste, rather than recycling itself, creating an opportunity for the salvaging of recyclable products to generate an income (Samson, 2015b). Therefore, recycling in these cities has generally been undertaken not by state-mandated solid waste management (SWM) services, but by informal actors salvaging recyclable materials from waste to sell and generate an income (Samson, 2015b; 2019). Recycling creates an opportunity for people to earn an income by informally collecting and selling waste to buy-back centres, who then sell it to recycling companies – thus contributing to overall waste reduction (Schenck et al, 2015: 36).

Johannesburg is no exception, with a long history of reclaiming alongside municipal SWM services. Following the end of Apartheid, and since 2001 when the city's subsidiary SWM company Pikitup was formed, services have been extended to all urban areas including townships and most informal settlements. Reclaimers have continued to exist in parallel to this system, on the periphery and largely ignored. According to the Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA), there are over 62000 reclaimers operating in South Africa (approximately 25 000 working on the streets) and

reclaiming is a global reality particularly in post-colonial cities (Khabokhedi Waste Management, 2015: 7). Cities and donor agencies across the world are paying more attention to recycling in response to the increaingly self-evident effects of climate change and but in South Africa this has occurred while simultaenously sidelining calls by organised groups of informal recyclers demanding recognition and inclusion (Samson, 2015a; Simatele et al, 2017)

With municipalities sending 90% of waste to landifll, it is reclaimers who have been largely responsible for moving some of this waste from the 'service chain' to the 'value chain' – diverting waste that has the potential to be reprocessed, from the municipal waste removal service stream, to a new life in the recycling chain where its full value is yet to be extracted (Godfrey et al, 2016: 2). Yet, they have been actively overlooked by the city when it comes to introducing recycling initiatives. The municipal Separation at Source (S@S) scheme partnered with private truck-based companies to collect and sort waste in the suburbs in spite of the existence of reclaimers who have been doing this work there for years, without wages, job protection, insurance or medical aid (Charlton, 2015). Charlton (2015) sums it up as follows:

> 'Reclaimers are invisible when it comes to their daily work of salvaging and transporting waste, omitted from the city's non-motorised transport policy of 2009/2010 despite hundreds of trolleys being pulled precariously through the streets every day. But in their sorting, stockpiling and sleeping arrangements they are made visible by their infringement on the city's by-laws, running foul of those tasked with enforcing the laws intended to keep the city clean and orderly. They become visible through activities in contravention of or mismatched with the space they are practiced on' (Charlton, 2015: 544).

This illustrates the complex and contradictory nature of reclaimers' work: practised out of a survivalist necessity yet simultaneously saving the environment and municipal funds; recognized as an urban hazard yet ignored as a legitimate service.

As Godfrey & Oelofse (2017) note, reclaimers are responsible for South Africa's local recycling economy being on par with developed countries. This is in part because they are able to access resources which the private sector can't, since their working methods are more flexible and as yet unregulated (Godfrey & Oelofse, 2017: 1).

The first mention of reclaimers in policy was in the 1998 National Waste Management Act (RSA, 1998). However it simply made reference to their removal from the waste system in favour of S@S policies (Godfrey et al, 2016: 2). In subsequent policy and the 2007 Waste Bill reclaimers were mentioned, but without a clear mandate as to government's short or long term plans for them (RSA, 2007). By focusing more on 'waste management practises', without explicitly tackling the working standards or issues facing reclaimers, this policy resulted in maintaining a largely exploitative and harmful status quo (Samson, 2010).

The current central policy guiding waste management in South Africa is the 2011 National Waste Management Strategy (NWMS)(DEA, 2011). It gives effect to the objectives of the 2008 Waste Act such as protecting health, wellbeing and the environment through application of the waste management hierarchy (DEA, 2011). Strategic goals of the NWMS include waste minimisation, reuse, recycling and recovery of waste, effective and efficient delivery of SWM services and an integrated management plan (DEA, 2011). This strategy has then informed Pikitup's trajectory (discussed in section 4.4). The 2011 NWMS recognised the importance of reclaimers and included a commitment that the DEA would provide guidance to municipalities and business on how to improve the conditions

of waste pickers (DEA, 2011). This has resulted in the development of the Guidelines for Waste Picker Integration in South Africa but has resulted in inconsistent treatment and insecurity for reclaimers in the intermin; some municipalities have started working with them and others ignoring or banning them (DEA, 2011; Nowicki, 2019; Sekhwela and Samson, 2019).

In this context of unclear policy directives, initiatives like the BRRC, provide a simple and immediate solution for the local reclaimes, with more consistent collection amounts, and better sorted materials. Moreover they form part of ARO's political goal of improving visibility of reclaimer's work and forcing the state to integrate into the already functioning recyclingscape of independent reclaimers – not the other way around (Samson, forthcoming).

4.4 Pikitup:

Johannesburg's waste management department was privatised into a council-owned company, Pikitup Pty Ltd, in 2001 (Samson, 2015a: 817). It therefore plays an important role in reclaimer integration. In line with the NWMS, Pikitup piloted its S@S programme in 2009, making it mandatory in 2018, but without properly extending it to all areas of Johannesburg (Pikitup, 2018a). Even in this limited form, it impacted greatly on the working conditions of reclaimers (Zack & Charlton, 2012).

In terms of legislation, Pikitup officially included waste reduction in their agenda at the 2001 Polokwane Declaration at the first National Waste Summit, but it was only in 2008 that municipalities were required to provide practical interventions, such as recycling, with the adoption of the Waste Act (RSA, 2008). In 2011 the City adopted an Integrated Waste Management (IWM) policy and IWM plan to achieve its ambitious 2030 target of zero waste to landfill (CoJ, 2011).

The key intervention was Pikitup's S@S programme. It requires generators and collectors of waste to do so in a manner that respects the environment and applies the principles of waste hierarchy, as per the 2011 NWMS (DEA, 2011; Sekhwela & Samson, 2019). It tasks citizens with separating their own household waste, to be collected by private contractors who sell the recyclables at a profit and are paid by the city for their service. Historically reclaimers have done this very same work yet remained 'nameless', uncompensated and ostracized for it, providing an environmental and public service to the city at no cost (Pillay, 2017: 5). Pikitup's 2015 commitment to incorporate reclaimers into the programme has yet to happen (Pikitup, 2014/2015). Yet as Eli Kodisang from WIEGO[2], who is the organiser of ARO, points out, "You know they [reclaimers] go to people's homes, they pick the materials and they transport the material, process it and sell it, but they cost the city nothing for the same service. So in other words, the poorest of the poor are actually subsidizing the city to the tune of millions of Rands a month" (Kodisang, ARO organizer, 18/3/2019).

In its online guide to S@S, Pikitup claims that mandatory S@S will not make reclaimers worse off. 'Instead, it is expected that there will be more recyclables available at the point of collection where waste pickers typically collect what's valuable to them' (Pikitup, 2018a). They don't mention whether and how reclaimers will continue to access this material, if the job of collecting it has now been officially mandated to private collection trucks. Since reclaimers are now actively competing with Pikitup for recyclables, their need to beat them to the bins early in the morning is exacerbated. This has resulted in an increase in cross-nighting[3] by

[2] Women in Informal Employment: Globalising and Organising is an international policy-research-action network of mass based organisations of informal workers, policy makers and researchers that focuses on improving the conditions of informal workers, including reclaimers (www.weigo.org)

[3] This refers to the practice of reclaimers staying in parks, or in other public places, overnight in order to be closer to their collection areas earlier in the morning. These reclaimers are not homeless.

reclaimers, and a significant dip in their earnings for the same amount of work (Pillay, 2017: 5).

Kodisang (18/3/2019) explains this further;

> There are thousands of people living in public spaces, in parks, abandoned pieces of land…and I'd say that about 85-90% of those people are actually not homeless. These are people that need to be close to their places of employment. So you have a choice, either you live in a park in Sandton or Randburg so you can be close to where you need to be, or you walk the 20-30km from where you live every morning, which means you leave at 2 in the morning, you risk being run over by cars, you annoy a lot of motorists because you've got this trolley and its dark…You find some people who literally spend 4 or 5 nights in the street, that's it. They don't leave the area because of the Pikitup schedule. The material is not that much [to take to a buy-back centre] so you go to sleep close to an area you are going to pick and once you've picked you move to the next area and you sleep there. And that is a direct consequence of this municipal policy of introducing and displacing, it's actually a process of colonization and exclusion."

Pikitup claims to recognise the role of reclaimers and aims to build partnerships with them as they roll out their S@S programme, but in reality is pledging only 'minimal effort' toward direct engagement with them (Pikitup, 2016: 5; 38; Samson, 2019). In their 2018/2019 business plan, the company planned to 'organise reclaimers and small-scale collectors to enable them to partner with the private sector to support their infrastructure needs' and 'facilitate training of waste pickers by relevant partners, and other industry associations' (Pikitup, 2018b: 24). They acknowledge the importance of working with reclaimers but shift the responsibility for integrating them away from themselves.

Additionally, Pikitup justifies their partnership with the private sector to roll out S@S, due to the large-scale nature of the project. They commenced collaboration with private companies in 2015/2016, while simulatenously reaffirming their commitment to the empowerment of SMME's and reclaimers (Pikitup, 2016: 51). 'The private operators deliver the separation at source service by making use of their own sorting facilities, and also support and empower SMME's, ensure integration of reclaimers, and roll out education and awareness programmes in their allocated areas' (Pikitup, 2018b: 27). They also believe private contractors add value with their experience and knowledge of the industry (Pikitup, 2018b: 27).

Concurrently, Pikitup commits to 'education and training' of reclaimers by industry and partners. They therefore do not recognise reclaimers as rightful knowledge-holders and experts in recycling themselves. This erases their epistemic agency and justifies the municipality's general unwillingness to work with them (Pikitup, 2018b: 24; Samson, forthcoming). This underlies what Samson (forthcoming) calls a 'charity' approach to reclaimer integration and is partly to blame for a lack of progress. The course of action for working with and integrating reclaimers, in the budget, is merely 'establishing stakeholder partnerships', to identify partners and establish joint ventures that support Pikitup's business objectives (Pikitup, 2018b: 35). And then in the stakeholder matrix (Table 11.1) on p36 of the business plan, waste pickers are not even mentioned, indicating a lack of recognition (Pikitup, 2018b: 36).

4.5 The African Reclaimers Organisation:

The African Reclaimer's Organisation (ARO) started as a response to this attitude by Pikitup. In 2016 reclaimers established a crisis committee to stop the city from signing more contracts with private companies, as part of the S@S programme. "In 2017, we managed to organize a march

based on this contracting with private companies that was going on, and we were not expecting a lot of people because it meant a loss of a day's wages, but we had over 1000 people" (Kodisang, ARO organizer, 18/3/2019). They managed to stall the signing of two out of four contracts, and the committee grew into a fully-fledged democratic organisation, run by reclaimers.

ARO defends the rights of reclaimers to do their work in the city, actively opposes Pikitup's policies and seeks to engage with residents directly to defend and maintain their access to materials. ARO's counter-strategies against S@S (what they call the 'privatisation of recyling') include delivering their own plastic bags to residents, meeting directly with residents associations to develop their own system and partaking in counter-patrols to protect reclaimers against private security in Johannesburg's more heavily guarded Northern suburbs –

> "We wanted to try as far as possible to meet with different residents associations to try and speak to them about the work that reclaimers do, and see if we can find a way of cooperating with them. We also go to areas where security guards have explicit instructions to remove reclaimers, and we escort them and stop private security guards from harrassing them… So it's a constant battle, not just with the city but with residents too" (Kodisang, ARO organiser, 18/3/2019).

Additionally, ARO has a plan and strategy in place for reclaiming in the future. "We gave a proposal to the city in 2017. We had an entire vision that we presented to them of building recycling centres all over the city, which will have spaces for sorting so that people can take some of the work that they do out of communities [and the streets] and into a common space. We had proposals also for these recycling centres to have transport that people can book, for example a truck" (Kodisang, ARO organiser, 18/3/2019).

In 2019 Pikitup, EISD (the City's Environment and Infrastructure Services department to whom Pikitup reports) and ARO undertook a drive to get reclaimers registered. This would enable industry to better quantify the work of reclaimers, engage with them and assist with protective clothing, tools of trade and innoculations 'through corporate sponsorship' (Pikitup, 2019). The broad intention behind the drive was to integrate reclaimers into the City's waste management strategy (Pikitup, 2019).

However, while Pikitup presents the registration drive as being initiated and conducted by themselves, in reality it was the outcome of several years of negotiations between ARO, the city and Pikitup based on a demand by ARO that all reclaimers be integrated. It was also conducted as a collaborative initiative with ARO. As Samson explains:

> "The reality is that the registration campaign was initiated by ARO, who played a central role in designing the approach to be used and ensuring the inclusion of non-South Africans. While all previous Pikitup and city registration campaigns failed because reclaimers did not trust them, more than a thousand reclaimers were registered in the first few weeks due to the advance work done by the ARO organising team and the active role played by the ARO team in the actual registration process. It is profoundly ironic and concerning that Pikitup and the city completely erased the role of ARO as partners in the registration campaign which was, in fact, designed to increase recognition and visibility of reclaimers. This demonstrates the ways in which the city and pikitup remain grounded in a traditional charity approach to reclaimers" (Samson, email communication, 20/10/2019).

In addition to sidelining the valuable work done by ARO to ensure the success of the registration drive, Pikitup then reneged on its agreements, failing to issue cards promised to those that were registered. They also

refused to register those without papers, i.e reclaimers from Lesotho who make up a large proportion of Johannesburg's reclaimers.

> "They had a registration drive for only South Africans and we know for a fact that the majority of the people doing this work are mostly from Lesotho. You can exclude them as much as you want but it doesn't erase them, they are still on the streets doing their work" (Kodisang, ARO organiser, 18/3/2019).

ARO's mandate is to include, integrate and register all reclaimers, regardless of nationality.

4.6 Conclusion:

This chapter has contextualised the research report, outlining the broader urban and spatial conditions within Johannesburg, the existing waste and recycling policy and legislation, and the circumstances pertinent to the question of reclaimer integration more widely. It has highlighted the relatively recent inclusion of recycling in Pikitup's policy agenda, contrasted with the consistent and ubiquitous presence of reclaimers over time, undermining the base assumption of most official policies that new recycling processes are being implemented on a blank slate. This has resulted in very negative implications for reclaimers already active in the sector and justifies ARO's breakaway from formal, municipal channels to rather pursue a direct relationship with residents through recycling partnerships.

CHAPTER 5: COLLABORATIVE RECYCLING IN BORDEAUX

5.1 Introduction:

Drawing on observation, insights and interviews gathered during the fieldwork, this section explains how the BRRC works, and the context in which residents have chosen to bring this informal system into an otherwise formal suburb. Given the securitization of Bordeaux, in some ways it seems unlikely that an “insurgent recycling” initiative has taken hold here since this entails an acceptance and embracing of the informal sector, rather than moving them out and keeping them out.

News of the original resident-reclaimer collaboration in Brixton spread to Bordeaux through word of mouth, and in early 2019 the Bordeaux South Resident’s Association (BSRA) made contact with ARO to set up a similar system. The BSRA is very active, with approximately 49% of the 430 households paying the required levies, and regular communication through email, Whatsapp and other social media channels (BSRA member, Email correspondence, 7/10/2019).



Figure 51 Bordeaux is a neat and well looked after suburb (photograph by the author, 12/11/19).



Figure 5.2 Bordeaux South park (photograph by the author, 12/11/19).

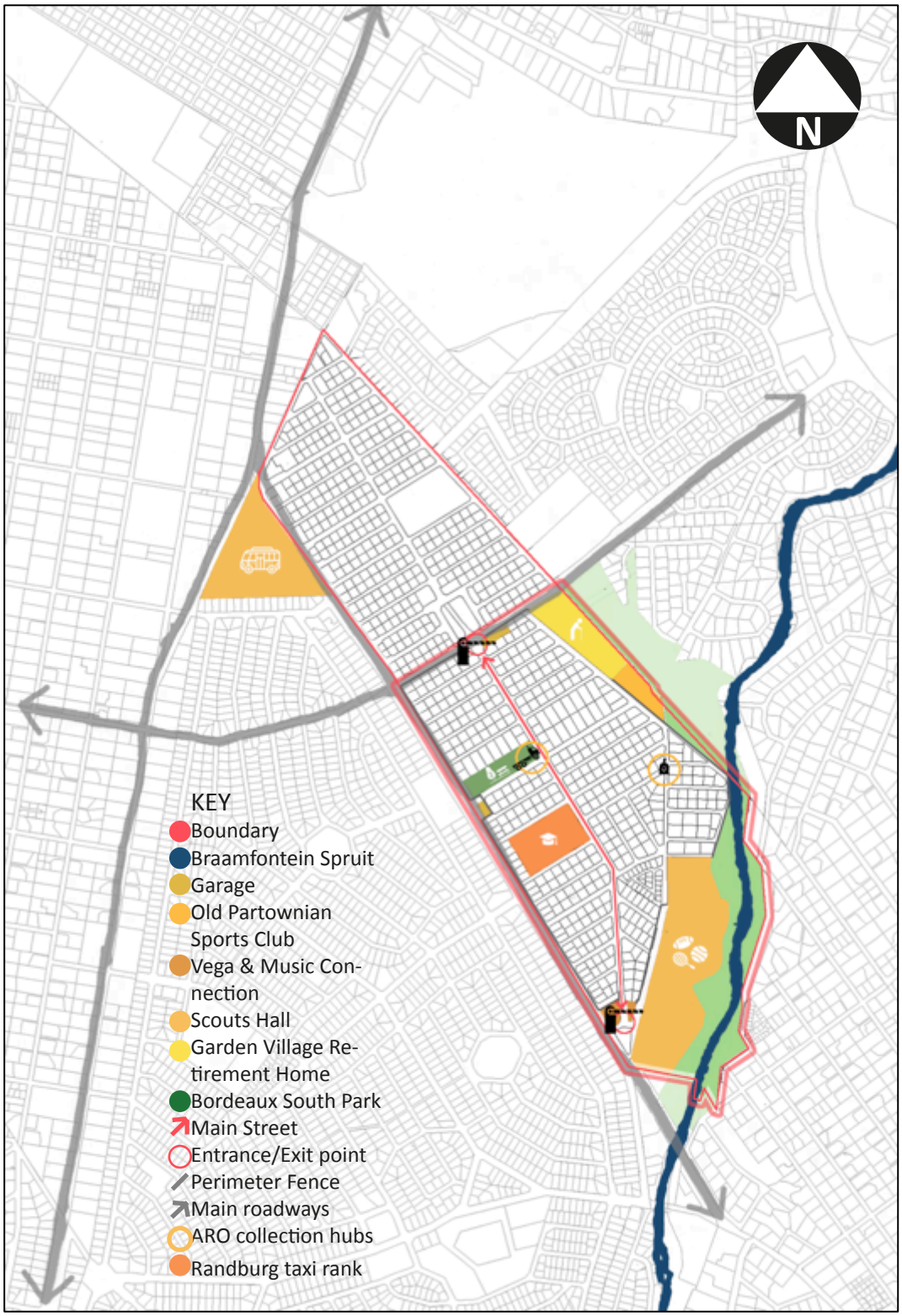

Figure 5.3 Map of Bordeaux (created by the author).

Bordeaux therefore presented an interesting study site since it exemplifies Johannesburg North suburbia, being predominantly middle-to-upper income and heavily fortified with booms and private security, and is the first of the more securitised suburbs that ARO has managed to collaborate with. It typifies the tension between formality and informality, exclusion and inclusion, and legitimacy and illegitimacy that a collaboration with reclaimers presents in the suburbs. And yet one of the residents instrumental in bringing ARO to Bordeaux described the collaboration as a win-win for residents and reclaimers, and the perfect solution to their search for a recycling partner (Angela, Resident #1, 18/9/2019). Pikitup's S@S programme is not yet active in the area, so residents were either not recycling at all, taking their own materials to a depot or paying for a private recycling service to collect their items.

5.2 Securitisation of Bordeaux:

Bordeaux South is bordered on the west by Jan Smuts Avenue (one of Johannesburg's arterial roads), and on the east by the Braamfontein Spruit and green belt. This natural area is popular with mountain bikers, runners and walkers, and reclaimers seeking space to sort and shelter overnight. Many reclaimers who collect from Bordeaux use this public space to store and sort their recyclables, before they have collected enough to exchange at a buy-back centre, and they also use the area to set up temporary camps. This has created a conflict with residents and other users of the green belt who don't want it used for these purposes, and believe that the reclaimers are responsible for pollution and rising crime. So while residents enjoy the benefits of reclaimers' work, having their recyclables collected for free, they don't want them using the neighbouring public space to do what they need to do to make this work possible. Equally, reclaimers face the added negative stigma of being perceived as homeless when in fact they may own a home somewhere else in the city, and are choosing to stay in the park to be closer to their

work. It is these layers of complexity and tension that underlie the relationship between reclaimers and residents, and make it far more difficult to find common ground - beyond the geographical.

The desire to close the area off from activities at the spruit is ultimately what prompted the BSRA to erect a perimeter fence around the suburb, and boom off the two main entrances for cars; at night the South entrance is closed and the North entrance is manned with a guard. Not all residents are in favour of these measures but they have been implemented nonetheless, and Bordeaux South now constitutes one of Johannesburg's heavily securitized Northern suburbs. One resident explained it as follows:

> "[The river has been closed for] probably 3 or 4 years…The whole thing was we were trying to up our security and nobody knew where the crime was coming from. And we've had a huge problem at the Spruit because it seems like it might be from there. Again, a sad situation where people go and work in Randburg, and they get such a piddling wage that they can't go home because of transport, so they just park off at the Spruit. And you know you can't point fingers because you don't know for sure where the crime is coming from, but that's your first thought because Jan Smuts has been closed off for a while. We closed off Jan Smuts before the river" (Linda, Resident #12, 18/10/2019).



Figure 5.4 Fences between Bordeaux Drive and Jan Smuts Avenue (photograph by the author, 12/11/19).



Figure 5.5 Fences along the green belt and spruit (photograph by the author, 12/11/19).

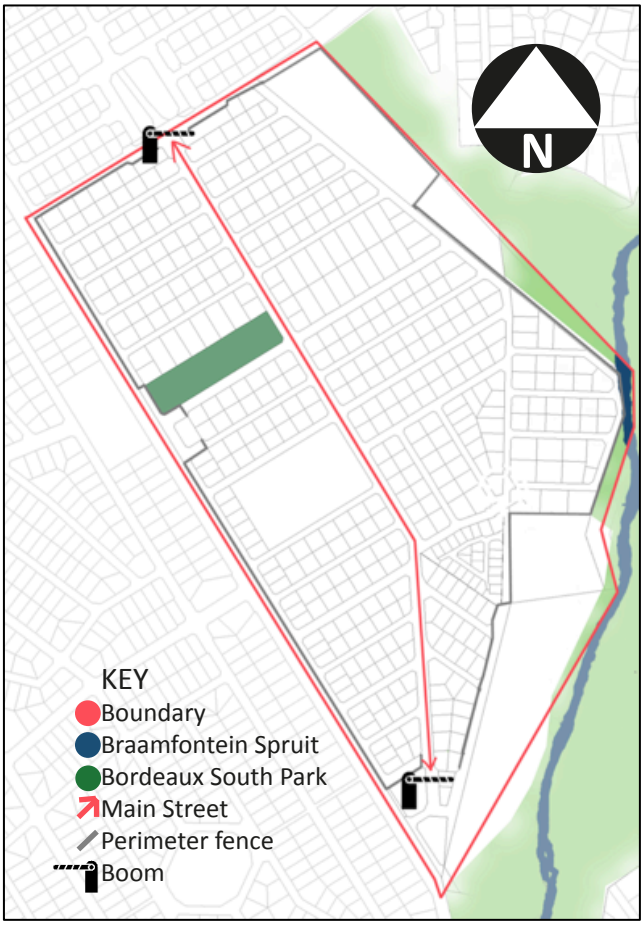

Figure 5.6 Map of Bordeaux showing perimeter fence and booms (created by the author).

Additionally, ARO has also maintained that before they began working with the BSRA, these security measures made Bordeaux a difficult area for reclaimers to do their jobs.

> "The reclaimers they came here [Bordeaux], but it wasn't as free as it is now. It was like they were stealing. Reclaimers were not allowed to come in here, only maybe a few. But now its free and anyone can come in here to do recycling. Whether you are a member of ARO or not you can come in" (Eva, Organising Member of ARO and reclaimer #1, 18/9/2019).

5.3 Negativity around reclaimers:

Many residents reported negative perceptions of reclaimers and had concerns with the way they conducted their work in the area, but acknowledged that reclaimers had been in Bordeaux for a really long time.

As one resident said, "So we've known about the informal ones, I mean they've been around forever" (Caroline, Resident #7, 15/10/2019). Many residents reported seeing them for years – long enough that they don't know when they first started seeing them. "From the get-go. They've always been here" (Claudia, Resident #16, 23/10/2019). The survey supports this, with 96% of respondents saying they were aware of reclaimers operating in Bordeaux (Figure 6.1).

When residents spoke about first becoming aware of reclaimers, many mentioned how they were "scratching in the bins" (Linda, Resident #12, 18/10/2019) or "a bit of a nuisance" or "making a mess" (Tom, Resident #10, 10/10/2019). There are perceptions that "…[they] take what they want and don't bother to clean up after themselves and leave everything in a mess, either on the street or the vlei [spruit] area behind the residential area" (Tom, Resident #10, 10/10/2019). There are residents who believe reclaimers are responsible for the pollution on the spruit, and "leaving the

bins in an unhappy state" (Paul, Resident #5, 5/10/2019) and this also spurred the BSRA to search for a better solution, given that reclaimers were there in the area to stay:

> …they would go down there with their trolleys and sort through their stuff and then they would just leave and the junk that they'd leave behind would just end up in the river and on the riverbanks and that also spurred us into saying isn't there a better way to be able do this and that's why we tried to formalize this (Mary, Resident #8, 5/10/2019).



Figure 5.7 Reclaimers and suburban form (photograph by the author, 12/11/19).

Residents noted that reclaimers presented a hazard on the road. As indicated in this photograph however, without adequate pavements to accommodate their trolleys, reclaimers often have no choice but to walk in the road.

The negative comments in the survey centred around the same concerns. When asked to describe their perception of reclaimers in one word, although only 11.7% claimed to have negative perceptions of reclaimers in general (not just prior to the collaboration, as the interview was asking), words and phrases such as “Untidy”, “Dodgy”, “Can be mistaken for criminals”, Unstable”, “Messy”, and “Dangerous for traffic and unnecessary” were used (Appendix C).

The drive to work with reclaimers was partially catalyzed by a desire to overcome the issues created by their work. This became possible through meeting with them directly and therefore better understanding them and the value of their work. “… the BSRA had mentioned that we wanted to do something to formalize the relationship with reclaimers because we’d had a lot of complaints about mess made from rubbish bins” (Sharon, Resident #6, 1/10/2019).

5.4 How the collaboration started:

Angela Schaerer, the relative of a Brixton resident who was involved in insurgent recycling there, introduced ARO to the BSRA. After hearing their stories directly, Angela not only had a renewed appreciation for their work but saw the potential for a collaboration in her suburb, to overcome the negativity toward them that she felt there (Angela, Resident #1, 18/9/2019). She introduced ARO to the BSRA and the relationship between reclaimers and residents began to be formalized. As one member of the BSRA remarked:

> **“**So we’ve been looking for a recycling solution for a long time. They [ARO] are providing what’s kind of a win-win because it’s free and if we can get it working smoothly its very effective. So I think whether it was them or someone else, we were looking for a long term partner that we could work with on the recycling” (Sharon, Resident #6, 1/10/2019).

At the first meeting between ARO and the residents association, ARO members explained their work as reclaimers, described their day-to-day activities and shared with residents the issues and stigmatization they face, especially in Johannesburg's wealthier suburbs. The BSRA recognized that reclaimers were in the area to stay, and instead of trying to force them out (which the fences had already failed to do) a more productive solution was to foster and refine this already existing informal collection system, to make it more efficient and convenient for the suburb. "I think they will continue to be in the area, trying to move them will just relocate the problem elsewhere…" (Tom, Resident #10, 10/10/2019). Additionally, the survey revealed that 93.3% of respondents thought it was important to work with reclaimers, showing the potential success and popularity of insurgent recycling in Bordeaux (Figure 6.1).

5.5 How the collaboration works:

ARO issues clear plastic bags donated by PETCO[4] to households to be filled up with anything and everything that residents believe to be recyclable. On a Tuesday morning, residents leave these bags outside their homes or bring them to the park[5]. Reclaimers meet at the park early to get new plastic bags from ARO organizing team members to hand out to households as they collect. Even reclaimers who aren't part of ARO are asked to do this to ensure there is consistency for residents. ARO reclaimers then bring the filled bags to the park to sort. Anything valuable goes into their own personal trolley (and they will exchange this material for cash at a later date) and any low-value or useless items go back in the bag and these get loaded onto the truck. At the end of the collection and sorting process, the truck takes the load of unrecyclable or low-value items

[4] The South African Polyethylene Terephthalate (PET) recycling company specialises in recycling PET (plastic) products.
[5] The addition of the collection point at the park was a direct result of residents wanting more control over who received their bags – ARO reclaimers or non-ARO reclaimers (see section 7.2.1).

either back to Newtown to dispose of in the skip, or to Sasolberg to use for further processing purposes[6]. As Eva explains further:

> "… everybody has his own trolley and his own bag, so normally they don't share profits. So you see here, the truck comes, and they sort through this material. Each takes a plastic and sorts it into his own bags. That's how they do it. They're sharing the work and sharing the materials" (Eva, Organising Member of ARO and reclaimer #1, 18/9/2019).

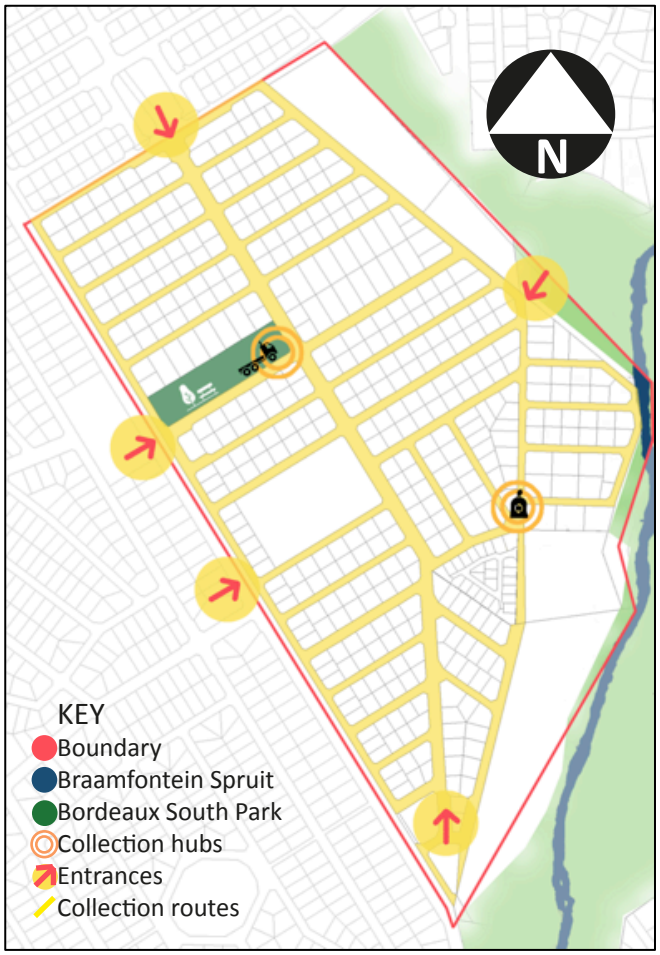

Figure 5.8 Map showing collection routes, hubs and entrances of reclaimers into Bordeaux South (created by the author).

[6] The involvement of Techno Fuel Traders, who provided the truck, was not part of the original plan. They reached out to ARO to provide materials for them for their plastic-to-fuel pilot project. There is not enough scope in this paper to go into further detail, but this partnership shows that ARO is being recognized by wider industry as a valuable and important waste collection service.



Figure 5.9 The truck and ARO bags that residents have dropped off at the park (photograph by the author 12/11/19).



Figure 5.10 Reclaimers sorting their bags in the park (photograph by the author, 12/11/19).



Figure 5.11 Reclaimers replace the filled ARO bags with new bags (photograph by the author, 25/09//19).



Figure 5.12 Reclaimers helping residents offload their materials in the park (photograph by the author, 25/09/19).

The map below indicates the distribution of ARO's PETCO-sponsored bags outside homes on a typical collection day (recorded on 22 October 2019), and on these days there were usually a number of reclaimers around. Over the 7 weeks of observation, the number of reclaimers being recruited by ARO had increased, and by the final observation day, almost all reclaimers seen in the area on the collection day were part of the collaboration.

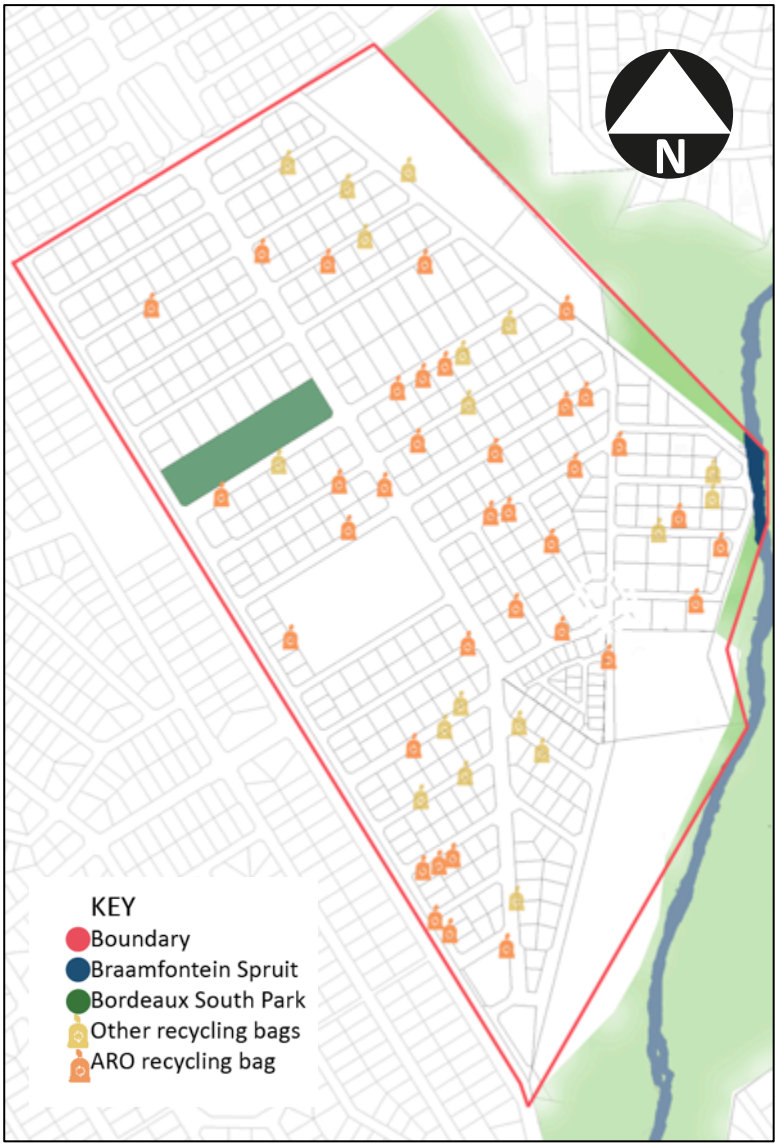

Figure 5.13 Map of Bordeaux South showing ARO's and other recycling bags (created by the author).

5.6 Encouraging an informal system in a formal suburb:

Therefore the BRRC grew of conscious necessity; the BSRA's need to find a sustainable solution for what they considered to be "problems" created by reclaimers in their area, the need to find a recycling partner that could efficiently service the whole area, the implicit understanding that they would not receive support or help from the municipality and therefore the need to do it themselves. This arrangement challenges the binary conception of informal and formal, drawing from theories of insurgent planning. Although Bordeaux can be considered a legal, bounded and taxed suburb of Johannesburg, and therefore formal (Huchzermeyer, 2011), by creating a service provision agreement with a group of informal recyclers they are essentially blurring these lines. Sutherland (2011) sees insurgent urbanism as a response by the urban poor, who feel policies are being imposed on them, to challenge the mainstream approach of constructing and maintaining power. Similarly, Howe (2018) sees it as a strategy of the 'underprivileged' to stake their claim to the city. However, in this case, the citizens who are 'taking matters into their own hands' (Sandercock, 1999) are not just the urban poor, but the suburban elites.

Therefore insurgent recycling is insurgent not just on the side of reclaimers, but in the case of residents as well. By opening up alternative channels of participation and inclusion in the suburb, outside of what would be considered the prevailing formal structures, residents are directly challenging accepted neoliberal notions of citizenship, community and service provision and engaging in what I have called insurgent recycling.

CHAPTER 6: SURVEY RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction:

This chapter discusses the results of the survey, building a more general, descriptive picture of the BRRC. Its questions were informed by interviews and observations in phase 1 of the research strategy (see section 3.2), therefore adding depth to the findings and allowing for triangulation. An integrated analysis of this survey and the interviews is found in Chapter 7. The following section describes the most notable results while section 6.3 contains the key findings and importance for future research.

6.2 Results:

The survey relied on self-completion by residents, consisted of 30 questions, and took an average of 5 minutes to answer. It was administered through Google Forms from 2nd to 15th November 2019, and respondents either clicked through a link themselves to fill it in, or the researcher took them through the questions in person. A total of 77 residents participated in the survey, and most respondents answered all the questions required. The tabulated results of each question in the survey can be found in Appendix C. Below, the most important and interesting results have been analysed and graphically depicted, and the infographic in Figure 6.1 has been explained.

BSRA membership and involvement in the collaboration:

Respondents to the survey comprised 78% owners and 22% tenants and out of 77 residents, 29 had lived there over 10 years, 18 people had been there between 5 and 10 years, 24 between 1 and 5 years and only 7 people had been there less than a year (Appendix C). Of the 79% of respondents who claimed to be aware of the collaboration, only 60% answered that they are actually involved in it (Figure 6.1). Given that

almost all communication about the collaboration goes out through the BSRA channels, and that 83.1% answered that they receive this communication, it is concerning that a comparatively lower figure said they were actually part of the collaboration (Figure 6.1). Reasons for not being involved in the collaboration (n=33) included not knowing about it (12), already recycling with someone else (7) and already recycling with Whole Earth (5) (Table 6.3).

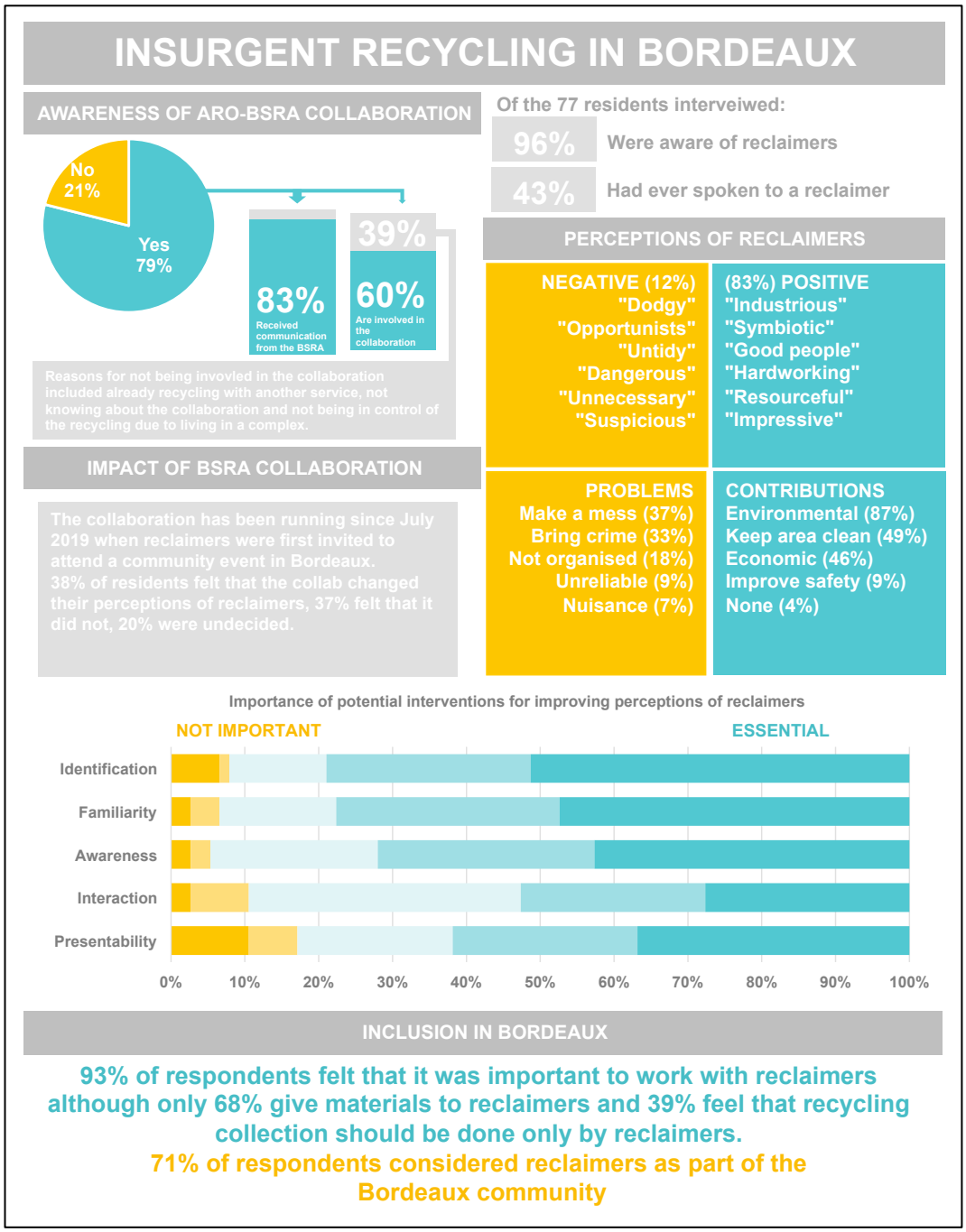

Figure 6.1 Infographic showing key insights from Bordeaux Resident's Survey 2019 (created by the author).

Perceptions of reclaimers:

As Figure 6.1 shows, 96.1% of respondents are aware of reclaimers in Bordeaux, but only 32 out of 77 respondents have ever spoken to a reclaimer, and less than half of that, only 15 respondents, know a reclaimer by name. However, 64 out of 77 respondents (83%) had positive perceptions of reclaimers, and words used to describe reclaimers ranged from industrious and hardworking on the positive side, to opportunistic and suspicious on the negative (Figure 6.1). Moreover, 93.3% of respondents still thought it was important to work with reclaimers (Figure 6.1).

In terms of the perceptions of the contributions they make, Figure 6.1 shows that “environmental” came up most frequently, with 88% of residents acknowledging this contribution. Almost 50% stated that reclaimers made a contribution by keeping the area clean, and just under half noted that reclaimers make economic contributions. Contrastingly, the problems identified by residents included “they make a mess” most frequently (36.4%), followed by “bring crime” (32.7%) and “they are not organized” (18.2%) (Figure 6.1). When asked about a change in perceptions as a result of the collaboration, the results were inconclusive: 38% of residents felt that the collaboration changed their perceptions of reclaimers, 37% felt that it did not and 20% were undecided (Figure 6.1). Positively, 71.1% of respondents saw reclaimers as part of the Bordeaux community (Figure 6.1).

Improving relationships with reclaimers:

For questions 21-25, respondents were asked to rate interventions that might help to improve relationships with or perceptions of reclaimers, from 1 to 5, where 1 signifies something unimportant, and 5 signifies something essential (Table 6.1). The interventions listed were based on responses provided by residents during the interview phase regarding what they

thought could improve perceptions of reclaimers. As per Table 6.1, "presentability" has a high importance rating (36.8% of respondents rated

Table 6.1 Questions 21-25

In terms of improving relationships with and perceptions of reclaimers how important are the following (scale: 1=not important at all; 5=essential)						
	1	2	3	4	5	Missing
21. Presentability (a uniform) (n=76)	8 (10.5%)	5 (6.6%)	16 (21.1%)	19 (25%)	28 (36.8%)	1
22. Ability to have a conversation or interact with reclaimers (n=76)	2 (2.6%)	6 (7.9%)	28 (36.8%)	19 (25%)	21 (27.6%)	1
23. Awareness and education about reclaimer's work and lives (n=75)	2 (2.7%)	2 (2.7%)	17 (22.7%)	22 (29.3%)	32 (42.7%)	2
24. Familiarity (seeing the same faces every week) (n=76)	2 (2.6%)	3 (3.9%)	12 (15.8%)	23 (30.3%)	36 (47.4%)	1
25. Identification (wearing name badge) (n=76)	5 (6.6%)	1 (1.3%)	10 (13.2%)	21 (27.6%)	39 (51.3%)	1

it essential). “Ability to have a conversation or interact with reclaimers” was rated by 36.8% of respondents at a 3. “Awareness and education about reclaimers lives” also had a high importance rating (42.7% of respondents rated it essential). At 47.4% of respondents rating it essential, “familiarity” also scored high in importance. “Identification” scored the highest out of the five, with 51.3% rating it essential. The results confirm that these interventions are indeed important to a larger section of Bordeaux’s residents, and not just the select few who participated in the interview phase, and shed light on their relative importance to each other.

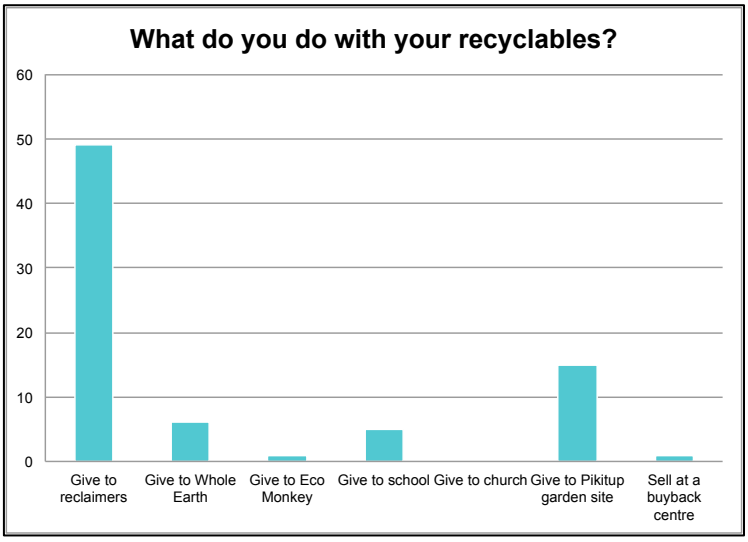

Figure 6.2 Question 29 (n=72)

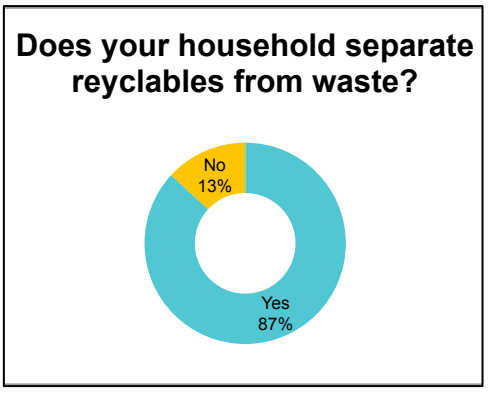

Figure 6.3 Question 27 (n=76)

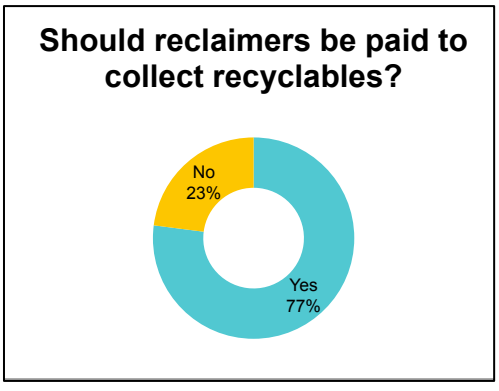

Figure 6.4 Question 19 (n=76)

Waste separation:

When asked what they do with their recyclables, the majority of respondents answered that they give them to reclaimers (49) followed by giving it to a Pikitup garden site (15) (Figure 6.2). As shown by Figure 6.3, a large majority of respondents (86.8%) indicated that they do separate their recyclables from waste, and of those who don't separate (n=15), 33.3% of these respondents said it was because separating is time consuming and 13.3% said they don't see a reason to separate (see Appendix C). Most respondents saw the responsibility for collecting recyclables as one for reclaimers (39%), ahead of Pikitup (23.4%) and a cooperative (15.6%) (Table 6.3). Building on this, 57 out of 76 respondents thought reclaimers should be paid (Figure 6.4), but residents saw municipalities as primarily responsible for paying reclaimers (76.5%), then industry (32.4%) and lastly residents themselves (14.7%) (Figure 6.5).

Table 6.2 Question 18 (n=77)

Ideally who should collect recyclables in Bordeaux?	Count
Pikitup	18 (23.4%)
Reclaimers	30 (39%)
Whole Earth	2 (2.6%)
Eco Monkey	1 (1.3%)
Other private company	4 (5.2%)
A cooperative	12 (15.6%)
Other: Anybody	4 (5.2%)
Other: All of the above	3 (3.9%)
Other	3 (3.9%)

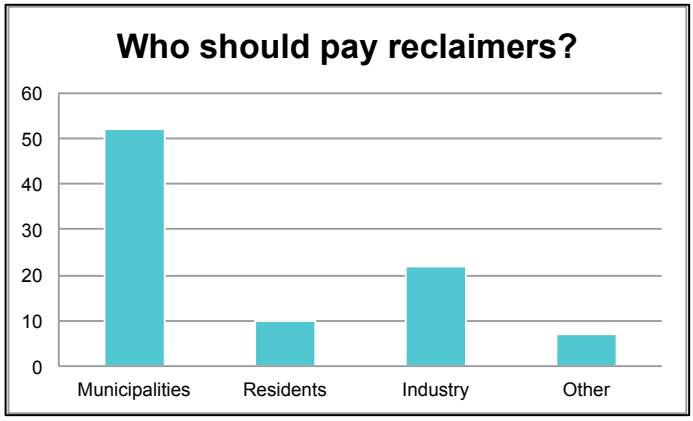

Figure 6.5 Question 20 (n=68)

6.3 Key findings:

The BSRA is responsible for distribution of information about the campaign as well as all communication from reclaimers to the residents. Therefore it is promising that a high number of respondents receive communication from them (83%), in comparison to the 75% who are members of the BSRA: receiving communication is not contingent on being a member – and more importantly, not belonging to the BSRA does not preclude one's involvement in the collaboration (Figure 6.1). But while awareness of the collaboration is high (79%) only 60% said they are actually involved in the collaboration (Figure 6.1). Of the 39% that said they were not involved in the collaboration, their reasons included already recycling with another service, not knowing about the collaboration or not being in control of the recycling due to living in a complex (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Question 7 (n=33)

If no (if you aren't involved in the collaboration), why not?	Count
I already recycle with Whole Earth	5 (15.2%)
I already recycling with Eco Monkey	-
I already recycle with someone else	7 (21.2%)
I don't recycle	3 (9.1%)
I don't know about the collaboration	12 (36.4%)
Other: Live in a complex so recycling is out of my control	4 (12.1%)

These are likely all responses that ARO could address since 96% of respondents are at least aware that there are reclaimers operating in Bordeaux, although only 43% had ever spoken to one (Figure 6.1). There is clearly room for improvement in this area, and respondents recognized that identification (wearing a name badge) would be an essential intervention to improve relationships with and perceptions of reclaimers (at the time of fieldwork reclaimers did not yet have nametags), therefore showing that greater personalization of the service might help to ensure visibility of and legitimacy for reclaimers (Figure 6.1, Table 6.1). Perceptions of reclaimers were indicated to be overwhelmingly positive, and words used to describe reclaimers ranged from “industrious” to “symbiotic” (Figure 6.1).

Additionally almost all respondents recognized the importance of working with reclaimers and this shows the community’s openness to an insurgent recycling intervention (Figure 6.1). More respondents saw reclaimers as responsible for collecting recyclables than Pikitup (Table 6.2), and the rightful providers of recycling services. However, when it comes to paying reclaimers most respondents still say the municipality should pay them followed by industry and only a few indicating that residents should pay (Figure 6.5). Therefore its possible that residents who want to recycle prefer the BRRC to fee-charging private companies because it is free, not because it challenges the state.

A comparatively higher number of respondents answered that they separate recyclables from waste (Figure 6.3). Those who don’t indicated the time it takes to do so as the main reason (33%, see Appendix C). This underpins the importance of ARO continuing with a convenient ‘one-bag’ service, whereby residents simply fill the bag with anything they consider to be recyclable, and reclaimers re-sort this after collection. In terms of inclusion, 71% of respondents indicated that they see reclaimers as part of the Bordeaux community. However, compared to 60% of residents saying

they are actually involved in the collaboration, and only 38% saying that the BRRC has changed their perception of reclaimers, this could have mean multiple things (Figure 6.1). Either the comparatively lower figures reveal that the collaboration has not had a conclusive effect on perceptions of inclusion in Bordeaux or it could indicate that there was already a high rate of positive perceptions before the project.

6.4 Importance for future work:

This survey is the first of its kind to be administered in Bordeaux, therefore providing a baseline against which interventions in other areas can be compared, and against which this same intervention can be compared over time. This will be important to measure whether and how insurgent recycling becomes more embedded in Bordeaux with time, and will be useful for comparing the responses of other suburbs if they collaborate with reclaimers in the future. It could contribute to building a bigger picture of suburban responses to insurgent recycling in the future and more widely.

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSING INSURGENT RECYCLING IN BORDEAUX

Chapter 6 presented and analysed the survey results to build a descriptive picture of Bordeaux, resident's perspectives on reclaimers and the collaboration with ARO, and their waste separation habits. This chapter marries these findings with more detailed insights gained from semi-structured in-depth interviews and field observations undertaken in phase 1, as well as the literature from Chapter 2, in order to answer the main research questions indicated in Chapter 1.

Chapter 7 is divided into 3 main sections, each outlining the qualitative findings from phase 1 and drawing on survey data and literature to support or challenge its findings. Interviewees have been given pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

7.1 Visibility/Invisibility of reclaimer's work and value in Bordeaux:

This section looks at how reclaimers and their work have become more visible in Bordeaux, and how residents have been able to better recognise the value of their work in the area. Residents interviewed reported a change in perceptions of reclaimers as a result of ARO's intervention in the area. Greater visibility of reclaimers' work therefore seems to come from 1.) a better structured and organized relationship with residents, which shows that they have rules and order and are there to do what they say they are doing, and 2.) an understanding of the value of the work they do, facilitated by engaging with reclaimers to whom residents can more easily relate. This section also highlights the persistence of class and race boundaries in Johannesburg's suburbs, and how this works to compound social polarization (Everatt, 2015).

7.1.1 Structure:

There was a marked difference between how some residents described their perceptions before the collaboration, and after. Many residents weren't really seeing the value of the work that reclaimers were doing in the area, "…they'd just pick at random what they want and when they want and leave a mess" (Tom, Resident #10, 10/10/2019). Some even described them as "invaders" in the area, making a mess around the bins, leaving stuff in the road and impacting on the spruit (Paul, Resident #5, 1/10/2019). One resident put it quite bluntly "I see them as untidy, opportunistic and doing this job purely out of necessity. They are a natural consequence of poverty" (Michael, Resident #11, 15/10/2019).

However, the introduction of a more 'formalized' system, organized by actors with whom residents could identify, seemed to allow them to better understand reclaimers and their work, and essentially make them more visible, in a way they would like to be seen. As one resident remarked about the collaboration: "I think it's great if we can give people jobs and they become a name instead of nameless" (Linda, Resident #12, 18/10/2019) indicating that prior to the BRRC reclaimers in the suburb were mysterious and their activities did not necessarily constitute a "job", but now residents are recognizing more and more that reclaimers actually provide a vital service.

Therefore the structure of the recycling system, and formality of ARO as the organizing body enabled residents to lend their support to it.
"Changing perceptions comes from structure…I think the more you bring organization to it, the more it becomes a respected entity" (Oscar, Resident #9, 10/10/2019). More structure around the work of reclaimers allowed greater trust to be developed. The idea that structure and order entail trustworthiness and reliability is because organisations tend to foster a sense of accountability – something that an individual doesn't automatically have. Studies have backed this up, asserting that working cooperatively reduces vulnerability of reclaimers, decreasing their chances

of being exploited or excluded by ensuring greater bargaining power against industry and the state, and improving their chances of inclusion in the state's system (Dias & Ogando, 2015, 2016; Chikarmane & Narayan, 2005). Additionally, as they are more accepted as a service provider and become more commonplace, the stigma attached to their work is greatly reduced (Ferguts et al, 2011).

Compounding this, in the context of Apartheid's legacy of spatial fragmentation, by virtue of their race and their perceived level of class through their attire and job, reclaimers are seen as "others" in this formerly white-only suburb, and working as individuals they lack accountability (see sections 2.1.2 and 4.2). Additionally, high levels of crime increases fear of the "other" and results in more private security, more fences and more cut-off communities (Dirsuweit, 2015: 548). Therefore having an organization to account for these "others" appears to put the minds of residents at ease and explains the preference of residents for a more organized or formalized, group of reclaimers:

> "I think in more recent years and probably because of the crime rate and everything, a lot of people were more skeptical of the recyclers in terms of then maybe having nefarious reasons to be in a suburb, some people used to say they come and scout our houses and mark them and then the syndicates and the crooks come in afterwards, which I suppose to some degree it might happen. But that's why the formalizing of the recyclers has become very important so we don't have that negativity towards recyclers that we did have" (Mary, Resident #8, 5/10/2019).

Looking to the survey, when asked about how relationships with reclaimers could improve, 42% of respondents said that awareness and education about reclaimers' work and lives was essential versus 2% saying it was not important at all (Table 6.2). In the interviews, residents tended to associate having a name badge and wearing a uniform, or at

least being neatly dressed, with being a more formalized entity. Therefore these indicators were included in the survey as “identification” and “presentability” and when combined were rated essential by an average of 44% of residents, in comparison to an average of 8.5% of respondents rating it totally unimportant (Table 6.1) This demonstrates that in general residents value both of these components very highly, and that these could reasonably have played a role in improving residents perceptions of reclaimers.

However, the survey also found that residents were not totally convinced that the collaboration had changed their perceptions of reclaimers, with 38.2% answering a hard yes, and 21.2% answering maybe (and 36.8% with a hard no) (Figure 6.1). While the survey results were inconclusive, the interviews help to explain this complexity. As one resident put it: “…To break through middle class people of all colours, to break through their perception of seeing reclaimers as really [trash], it’s a difficult thing to do” (Allison, Resident #4, 30/9/2019).

7.1.2 Awareness:

Many residents also claimed that it was greater awareness about reclaimers’ work that had caused a change in their perceptions. The awareness came from an increased ability to relate to the reclaimers they were coming into contact with, and this in turn resulted in reclaimers’ work gaining visibility. Since Luyanda Hlatshwayo, Steven Leeuw and Eva Mokoena (the organizing members of ARO who first made contact with the community) are educated, well-spoken and accustomed to engaging with residents on an equal footing, residents responded positively to them. This opened their eyes to the value of reclaimers’ work

> “…When you meet someone like Luyanda and you hear he is a highly educated man, prepared to dig through dustbins its quite

> humbling. So it absolutely has changed my perceptions, it's been enlightening" (Caroline, Resident #7, 5/10/2019).

Therefore engaging with reclaimers whom they perceive as not vastly different from themselves, and hearing about their work first-hand, enabled residents to better appreciate them:

> "My perceptions have changed dramatically, hugely. Just getting to know some of the stories behind some of these guys and realizing the dramatic impact they have in the whole recycling economy has really changed it. Going from these sort of neighbourhood nuisances to this really important part of what we're trying to do with becoming a greener suburb" (Sharon, Resident #6, 1/10/2019).

Residents acknowledge that reclaimers have been in Bordeaux for a long time, yet it seems that only when they engage with a well-educated reclaimer, such as Luyanda, they are able to really appreciate and understand the work that they do. The Apartheid legacy of racially unequal opportunities and geographical segregation, results in racially skewed socio-economics by area, and a perpetuation of the invisible boundaries of "class". Residents find it difficult to really relate to reclaimers because they are out place in this context, seen as "other", and often conflated with the dirty or unhygienic nature of their job. The urban informal economy arises out of poor policies and poor implementation, but also as a result of policies that are only relevant to more affluent citizens (Mcgranahan et al; 2016). This entrenches the idea that the urban poor or informal workers have no place in the suburbs, reserved as they are for "law-abiding" citizens. But by facilitating conversations with reclaimers to whom residents can relate, who are educated and well-spoken, residents can see that reclaimers may be just like them. Therefore representation by a reclaimer from ARO, such as Luyanda, to whom residents can relate, has served to increase visibility of reclaimers and their work in the suburb, and may have changed the perceptions of many residents.

Although it is positive that visibility has increased, this is a problematic basis for residents' acceptance of reclaimers, since many have not had the privilege of a good education or do not speak fluent English, and wealthy white residents of Bordeaux do not tend to speak African languages. This may serve to perpetuate spatially embedded class-based privileges, and the ability of elites to continue shaping the city in their image – only those who are deemed acceptable by residents are sanctioned to co-produce space in Bordeaux. Thus space remains divided along class and race lines as "others" lack the means to shape space (de Pacheco Melo, 2016; Murray, 2013; Porter, 2014).

So while this is a good start, it is also important that ARO finds other ways for residents to value and relate to reclaimers who do not speak English fluently. Some residents have themselves been made more aware of the tension between informality and organization and recognize that they too have a role to play:

> "I think I've always thought it was a good thing [in theory] that the informal recycling happened, but I think with the whole formalizing of everything, I kind of checked my perceptions again about allowing informality into a more formalized space, and I think that's important. And that I should make more of an effort with my own attitude towards having people from other economic backgrounds in this area, not necessarily just assume they want something" (Claudia, Resident #16, 23/10/2019).

7.2 Legitimacy/Illegitimacy of reclaimers' work in Bordeaux:

This section looks in more detail at the idea of "perceived formality", as posited by some residents, and its significance for the acceptance of ARO, and securing greater legitimacy for reclaimers. In this study legitimacy is

seen as the right to participate in the production of urban space in Bordeaux (Porter, 2014). As shown below, many residents seem to closely tie legitimacy to indications that reclaimers are aligned with ARO, and therefore it is through these outward expressions of formality, such as a uniform or nametag that reclaimers are legitimately "participating" or working in this area.

Therefore it is actually residents via ARO, not the state, who are conferring legitimacy on reclaimers through supplying uniforms and nametags. In this way the authority of the state is challenged, their role as service provider is circumvented and the practice can duly be called insurgent since it moves away from the state as the only conveyor of legitimacy and citizenship rights (Holston, 1998: 39). However, with residents setting the terms for who is or isn't legitimately reclaiming in Bordeaux, this potentially damages ARO's broader goal of legitimacy for all reclaimers, and their integration across the city.

7.2.1 Legitimacy via ARO:

By adopting various strategies to indicate the 'formalized' nature of their activities in Bordeaux, such as a uniform or a nametag, some residents believe that reclaimers' work will be seen as more legitimate. A number of residents have suggested that once "they are a team and they have their vests and they're totally organized" (Linda, Resident #12, 18/10/2019) and if they "… looked more presentable absolutely people would start changing their attitudes toward them" (Ruth, Resident #2, 18/9/2019). As one resident asserted:

> "Formality and organization just makes all the difference. For me it's like chalk and cheese. And going to the park and seeing the guys there already sorting the stuff it just looks so much more organized and so much more, well, like its working" (Paul, Resident #5, 1/10/2019).

The uniform or nametag is important to residents because it indicates that these reclaimers are reporting to a larger entity and people feel safer with that – “if they think there is a homeless person coming in, then I think people are scared of that” (Ruth, Resident #2, 18/9/2019). The backing of ARO lends legitimacy to the collaboration in Bordeaux, therefore it seems that indications of reclaimer’s affiliation with ARO will instantly improve resident’s perceptions of them. In fact, ARO relies on this to get the local reclaimers on board:

> “The reclaimers they came here [Bordeaux], but it wasn’t as free as it is now. It was like they were stealing. Reclaimers were not allowed to come in here, only maybe a few. But now it’s free and anyone can come in here to do recycling. Whether you are a member of ARO or not you can come in…So that’s what I’m trying to say to them. Guys it doesn’t matter whether you are an ARO member or not, as long as you are a reclaimer you qualify to be in this project that ARO’s started with the residents…Its difficult to work with [other] reclaimers because some they have their own minds. They’re saying I’m here in this industry, and I’m not going to listen to anybody. I’m just going to do my own stuff” (Eva, Organising Member of ARO and reclaimer #1, 18/9/2019).

The survey corroborated these findings. Out of the possible interventions that could improve relationships with reclaimers (familiarity, presentability, ability to have a conversation with reclaimers, identification and awareness and education about their lives), “Identification (wearing a name badge)” was rated “essential” by the highest percentage of respondents (51.37%) (Table 6.2).

But with residents tying legitimacy so closely to being a member of ARO, potential barriers to reclaiming in Bordeaux could be created. In fact some residents themselves have openly distinguished between ARO reclaimers

and “informal” reclaimers, appearing to see the former as inherently better simply by virtue of being organized and part of a structured team; ARO members are associated with responsible and efficient reclaiming, and other reclaimers with a shoddy service or lack of education and this may be detrimental for the perceptions of reclaimers more broadly.

The literature supports this, showing that while forming cooperatives can help to reduce stigma and increase reclaimers’ bargaining power against industry and market forces through increased social capital, there are also negative side effects (Dias & Ogando, 2015; Colombijn & .Morbidini, 2017). These include exclusion and possible exploitation of those now marginalized others (Colombijn & Morbidini, 2017). If ARO’s presence in suburbs such as Bordeaux serves to exacerbate negative perceptions of non-ARO reclaimers, than it may be doing harm to the organisation’s overarching aim to destigmatise reclaiming as these partnerships are initiated in other areas in the future.

In fact, some residents have said that “it’s a problem…that some people who are collecting as part of this collaboration are with ARO and some are not” (Caroline, Resident #7, 5/10/2019). This has resulted in a parallel collection system whereby residents are able to drop their bags off at the park instead, to ensure they reach ARO directly, rather than risk having them accessed by other reclaimers. “I’d rather bring my ARO bags to the park and then I know my recyclables are going to them and not to the spruit guys” (Paul, Resident #5, 1/10/2019). Some residents expressed concern that this was causing competition or exclusion of local reclaimers:

> “And then with the ARO guys we obviously had certain problems because we put the ARO bags out, and the informal pickers now come round and open the bags and take out anything they think is of use to them, which is mainly the plastics and the paper. So it’s not quite working at the moment because they really need to include the informal pickers as much as possible. I think they’re

> trying to but it's still in its teething stage at the moment. But I'm sure it will improve" (Alice, Resident #17, 24/10/2019).

So although residents appreciate and clearly have positive perceptions of ARO, this is potentially to the detriment of other reclaimers. While ARO's intention is not to create exclusion, perhaps the practice of coming into an area and setting up a system, *before* organizing and getting local reclaimers on board, has resulted in mixed understandings of reclaiming, from residents. This is in part due to the difficulties inherent in organizing reclaimers and getting them to participate in something abstract such as the BRRC. In general it is far easier to recruit people *after* already proving that their participation will indeed benefit them. This is slowly happening in Bordeaux though, with increasing participation of local reclaimers over the period of observation, from only 2 local reclaimers in the beginning to at least 5 on the last day. Hopefully this will continue to improve over time as the benefits to reclaimers become evident.

7.3 Inclusion/Exclusion of reclaimers in Bordeaux:

One of the main research questions of this study is whether insurgent recycling fosters greater inclusion of reclaimers. There was a widespread acknowledgement amongst residents that reclaimers were living by the spruit indicating that in an informal way they are also residents of Bordeaux. However, the same residents that acknowledged reclaimers were living in the suburb also indicated that they did not see them as included in the area. Contrastingly, some reclaimers themselves reported feeling "welcome" in the area. This could indicate that while perhaps inclusion itself has not been secured comprehensively, there are gradations of inclusion and something at least akin to this is being fostered through the collaboration in Bordeaux.

This embodies Lefebvre's ideal that it is only collective life and social interaction that can truly transform the trajectory of the city (1968). The BRRC acts as a catalyst for the right to the city to be accessed by everyone in Bordeaux, but it depends in part on residents recognizing that reclaimers have an equal stake in the area – are they truly included or not? If they are, then this wider understanding of "residents" and resultant new forms of citizenship can begin to challenge old notions of community, reshaping Bordeaux's space and urban form outside of what was sanctioned by the state (Holston, 1998; Miraftab 2012). Ultimately, insurgent recycling is a vision, and the strategy and practices enacted to achieve it include mobilization and in this case, the BRRC.

7.3.1 Technically residents but substantively excluded:

Some residents recognized that reclaimers have been living in the vicinity of the suburb and the greenbelt for some time, and "there's a perception that they're sleeping on the spruit…" (Ruth, Resident #2, 18/9/2019). While some residents saw this as simply part and parcel of the working methods of reclaimers: "So why would they want to get onto the spruit anyway? Well to put their trash there or because they're living there" (Paul, Resident #5, 1/10/2019), others recognized that it was likely a result of high transport costs and a need to be close to their places of work:

> "Again, a sad situation where people go and work in Randburg, and they get such a piddling wage that they can't go home because of transport, so they just park off at the spruit" (Linda, Resident #12, 18/10/2019).

Kodisang (18/3/2019) notes that it is essential for reclaimers to have spaces to store their materials and sleep close to where they work (see section 4.4). Since reclaimers only sell their materials when they have amassed enough, and they have no secure place to lock up their materials, they are forced to stay with their trolleys overnight - usually in a

public space such as the park. Additionally, the need to work closely with Pikitup's schedule to beat the trucks in the morning, means they need to stay in the area. This however creates tension with residents who are unhappy with reclaimers living and working in these public spaces in spite of them providing a recycling service to them at no cost, seeing them as an imposition or invasion on the community (Charlton, 2015: 544). Therefore by engaging the community in a collaborative process, it is hoped that greater acceptance of reclaimers' need for proximity to their work space, and storing space will be fostered, facilitating greater inclusion in the neighbourhood.

However, residents exhibited mixed ideas about what would constitute belonging to or being included in the community, and this ranged from not being seen as resident in the area (Phillipa, Resident #3, 27/9/2019) to not being a paying contributor to the BSRA (Stacey, Resident #15, 23/10/2019). As one resident notes, the domestic workers and gardeners for each home are seen as part of the community, but due to her feeling that reclaimers are still "elusive, dark figures in the night" she finds it difficult to include them too (Caroline, Resident #7, 5/10/2019). Other residents extend inclusion only to homeowners and the people that live in the area: "…that could be domestic workers or any of those people, but exclusively the people who are living there. Not the ones coming in and out" (Oscar, Resident #9, 10/10/2019). This indicates the complexity of reclaimers' position as they are widely recognized as being resident in the area, yet overlooked as part of the community - despite this being the baseline for inclusion.

Some residents also have different reasons for not including reclaimers. As one resident says:

> "It's difficult to engage with them, and they're only here one day a week. It's like Pikitup, they only come once a week, I don't know who's driving the truck. And with Whole Earth, they don't come

> everyday, I don't know who it was or who they were. So I liken it to that, it's the same thing. I don't think they're part of the community" (Caroline, Resident #7, 5/10/2019).

In other words they're seen as service providers rather than community members. Conversely, the same reasoning is used to *justify* reclaimers' inclusion in the community: "They come round every week so I would say that they're very much so [included in the community]. So it's domestic workers and gardeners and for me its reclaimers too" (Alice, Resident #17, 24/10/2019). And others see their provision of a vital service as a way to be seen as part of the community in the future: "I would like to see reclaimers as part of the Bordeaux community. Once they've got general names and a team, we could say 'that's our team'. I'm comfortable with that" (Linda, Resident #12, 18/10/2019).

On the reclaimer side, one individual reported that "Actually I'm feeling different, I'm feeling like I'm welcome, I'll say that" (Harrison, Reclaimer #2, 15/10/2019). Another said he felt good and happy:

> "…Because I can see they appreciate what I'm doing. Compared to other areas, Bordeaux is my best place ever…here the people of Bordeaux they are just communicating with us, that's why I'm feeling good here" (Khosi, Reclaimer #1, 29/9/2019).

They said they "feel at home", and different than in other areas, because they "really felt that residents were supporting them" and seeing them for who they really are (Eva, Organising Member of ARO and reclaimer #1, 18/9/2019). This reclaimer sums up the change he feels from residents in Bordeaux:

> "Because before, when they saw us around here they would think we are here to steal and all those things, but now they [residents] can see what we want and they know we are not criminals, so there is a relationship between us and the residents, compared to other

areas where the residents just take out the bins and sometimes they even chase us away" (Khosi, Reclaimer #1, 29/9/2019).

7.3.2 Gradations of inclusion:

It's clear then that there is a disjuncture between residents and reclaimers, in terms of belonging to the Bordeaux community and this illustrates something essential about how each understands what it means to belong. For reclaimers, who are stigmatized and pushed out of most areas, a simple change in resident's behavior that grows out of better awareness of their work, and interactions with an organised entity like ARO goes a long way. But importantly, residents were answering a question about inclusion in the community, while reclaimers were reporting that they felt welcome in the area. These are different gradations of inclusion, and it is certainly possible that reclaimers could feel welcome in the area, but as outsiders, without all residents feeling like they were actually a part of the community. In fact, as is evidenced by some of the resident's answers above, reclaimers are seen as the service providers of the suburb, similar to a private company or even Pikitup doing the same work, and as such they are accepted in the area but could also possibly not be seen as part of it or included in that sense.

This is further supported by the survey data. When asked whether reclaimers were seen as part of the community, 71,1% of residents surveyed answered yes (Figure 6.1). However, when they were asked whether it is important to work with reclaimers, a much larger percentage, 93,3% of residents, said yes (Figure 6.1). This indicates that although residents may not see reclaimers as technically part of this community, they certainly acknowledge their role in the area and the importance of having a working relationship with them.

7.4 Conclusion:

Greater visibility → improved legitimacy → gradual inclusion:

The above analysis explored insurgent recycling in Bordeaux, both through the use of specific in-depth interviews and more general survey data. It provides an overview of insights gained from residents and reclaimers, and has linked this back to the research questions and the wider literature. The above insights from residents reveal the following: ARO's relatability has fostered greater visibility of the positive service provided by reclaimers in Bordeaux, enabling their work to be legitimized to the point that residents are willing to engage in an informal service arrangement with them. The perceived formality of the ARO system makes residents more likely to accept this informal arrangement in their suburb, and fosters an acceptance of reclaimers' need to stay in the area and therefore their gradual inclusion in Bordeaux. However, if perceptions are tied too closely to ARO itself, and not reclaimers more broadly, it may prove to be exclusionary to non-ARO reclaimers, further entrenching spatial boundaries along class and race lines.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This research report presented resident's insights on insurgent recycling practices in Bordeaux, Johannesburg. It sought to answer the question of how the BRRC's S@S programme can be considered an example of insurgent recycling: how it helps to secure greater legitimacy, inclusion and visibility for reclaimers' work in the suburban fabric. To this end the study was focused on exploring how ARO's approach to S@S works, whether and how this direct partnership might be transforming relationships between residents and reclaimers, and to what extent ARO's legitimation in Bordeaux fosters greater inclusion and visibility for reclaimers, in the way they would like to be seen.

The study established the concept of insurgent recycling as an informal recycling collection system that provides an alternative to the current service provided by the state and private companies. It is based on more than just a service to collect recyclables, supporting reclaimers through giving them materials directly. It is embedded in social interactions and a collective agreement between two parties; residents and reclaimers, and it is linked to insurgent urbanism, whereby mainstream constructions of power such as the state or market, are opposed or challenged through inventive forms of citizenship (Sandercock, 1999). While the insurgent planning literature up until now has focused on marginalized or low-income communities as the practitioners of insurgency, this study provided a fresh viewpoint. The analysis of cross-class insurgent urbanism, and insurgency from urban elites, provides a valuable contribution to the literature, revealing the potential of a practice like insurgent recycling.

The BRRC is a resident-reclaimer-determined system of recyclables collection that ignores what has been sanctioned by the state in favour of a more informal partnership based on trust and social cohesion, and is therefore an instance of insurgency. It challenges the prevalent neoliberal

hegemony by creating a system not based on individual profit or privatization, but on a communal good (Samson, 2015b). Through an improvement in cross-class and cross-race communication and relations, Bordeaux therefore opens itself up to greater inclusion and the urban form is reconceptualised and transformed.

Insurgent recycling is also an important addition to the practice of urban planning. It provides an alternative imagining of informal economic activity, and how it can reshape our experience of urban space. The current suburban form in many Johannesburg North suburbs encourages exclusivity, securitization and fear of the “other”. This diminishes the possibility of collective action and social cohesion, and perpetuates existing spatial fragmentation (Everatt, 2015; Landman & Badenhorst, 2015). By working together and forming a partnership, as in the BRRC, these invisible boundaries have a better chance of being broken down. Allowing all those who are resident (and this includes reclaimers) the opportunity to reshape the neighbourhood to their preference serves as an alternative to that which the state has or hasn’t provided – making it insurgent. Instead of passively waiting for the municipality to fix the issues in their area, residents have taken it into their own hands to work together with reclaimers to improve the recycling service they receive.

Simultaneously, reclaimers have staked their claim to the city by contributing to shaping the urban space in Bordeaux and thereby establishing tangible citizenship for themselves (Meth, 2010; Miraftab, 2009). Within the predominantly neoliberal state agenda, reclaimers are informal actors with little formal rights and through mobilization and insurgent recycling they force their recognition by the state, through providing alternative solutions to residents, and therefore alternative visions of the future. Insurgent recycling challenges privatization and neoliberalisation of the state, opening up avenues of inclusion and participation outside of prevailing formal structures (Samson, 2015b: 2). It

is a reminder to planners that urban form can only truly be changed with social interaction and a collective reimagining (Lefebvre, 1968). Therefore the job of planners is to catalyse and encourage these interactions and through this change in social relations, change the face of the city (Harvey, 2008).

Analysis of this study's research therefore established the following key findings. Insurgent recycling grew out of a breaking point between residents and reclaimers. While some residents continued to hold negative perceptions of reclaimers, many had come to recognize the value of their service and saw the potential in working with them rather than against them. Since putting up fences and guardhouses was unsuccessful in removing reclaimers from their suburb, residents turned to more inclusive solutions that recognize what reclaimers do for their community. The perceived organisation and formality of ARO is what brought residents onto their side, coupled with well-spoken and uniformed representatives like Luyanda, Eva and Steven to whom residents could more easily relate. Residents reported that these tokens of formality made them feel more comfortable in collaborating with "others" - and reclaimers were indeed still seen as "others" in the community. Thus, although insurgent recycling has facilitated greater communication and a win-win service arrangement for both parties, it may be some time before the invisible class and race boundaries that so define Johannesburg's suburbs will begin to truly be broken down. Perhaps initiatives like this are the first step.

This study recommends that more resident's associations and more suburbs work with local reclaimers, through organisations such as ARO in order to legitimize their work and improve the efficiency and convenience of systems that will continue to exist regardless. Municipal policy and legislation have, in Johannesburg, served to worsen the conditions of reclaiming, exacerbating the negative externalities faced by residents in suburban areas. Based on this study, a potentially effective solution for

both sides is in individual and collective partnerships that secure work and resources for reclaimers while simultaneously ensuring greater control over these services for residents. In addition, the municipality should support this approach over contracting out to private companies. But central to this would have to be that residents and reclaimers retain the leadings roles and significant control over the design, implementation and oversight of S@S in their area. Over and above the collection of recyclables the focus must remain on deepening relations, if it is truly to contribute to reconceptualising exclusionary urban forms and creating alternative urban futures.



Figure 8.1 A member of ARO sorting through recyclables (photograph by the author, 12/11/19).

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“Catherine”. Owner of Whole Earth. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 17/10/2019. Strydom Park.

“Themba”. Partner in Techno Fuel Traders. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 23/10/2019. Telephonic.

Eva Mokoena. Organising Member of ARO and reclaimer #1, Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 18/10/2019. Bordeaux.

“Khosi”. Reclaimer involved in the BRRC. Reclaimer #1. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 29/09/2019. Bordeaux.

“Harrison”. Reclaimer involved in the BRRC. Reclaimer #2. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 15/10/2019. Bordeaux.

Angela Schaerer. BSRA member and main organizer of the BRRC. Bordeaux resident #1. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit, 18/09/2019. Bordeaux.

“Ruth”. Bordeaux resident #2. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 18/09/2019. Bordeaux.

“Phillipa”. Bordeaux resident #3. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 27/09/2019. University of the Witwatersrand.

“Allison”. Bordeaux resident #4. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 30/09/2019. Telephonic.

“Paul”. Bordeaux resident #5. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 1/10/2019. Craighall.

“Sharon”. Bordeaux resident #6. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 1/10/2019. Telephonic.

“Caroline”. Bordeaux resident #7. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 5/10/2019. Bordeaux.

“Mary”. Bordeaux resident #8. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 5/10/2019. Bordeaux.

“Oscar”. Bordeaux resident #9. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 10/10/2019. Telephonic.

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“Michael”. Bordeaux resident #11. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 15/10/2019. Bordeaux.

“Linda”. Bordeaux resident #12. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 18/10/2019. Telephonic.

“Colleen”. Bordeaux resident #13. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 22/10/2019. Bordeaux.

“Julia”. Bordeaux resident #14. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 22/10/2019. Telephonic.

“Stacey”. Bordeaux resident #15. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 23/10/2019. Bordeaux.

“Claudia”. Bordeaux resident #16. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 23/10/2019. Bordeaux.

“Alice”. Bordeaux resident #17. Interviewed by Ruby Schalit. 24/10/2019. Bordeaux.

APPENDICES:

A: Interview Scripts

Residents:

I first want to start with understanding your general outlook on recycling.
Do you recycle?
What is your motivation for recycling? Or what is your reason for not recycling?
Have you always recycled? Or when did you start – what was the turning point?
How do you recycle? What's your recycling routine?
And who in your households takes care of this?

When did you first become aware of reclaimers accessing your recyclables and operating in your area?
What were your initial perceptions of them?
And what is your personal understanding of what reclaimers do?
Have you ever interacted with a reclaimer? Either before or after the collab started.
What was this like?

What is your understanding of the collaboration taking place with ARO in Bordeaux?
Are you on board with it?
Have you been receiving recycling bags from ARO? How have you been receiving them (in person or in your post box)?
So would it be fair to say that your perceptions of reclaimers in general has shifted a bit?
Do you see ARO and your local reclaimers as one and the same? Or is there a disconnect or difference in the way you view each group?
Have you noticed any change in your neighbourhood since the collaboration started (so in the last 2 months or so)? Is it tidier, busier, the same, messier, safer etc?

Do you have any ideas about how the collaboration could work better to encourage more residents to recycle?

Since Bordeaux is quite a self-contained area, I wanted to also understand a bit about who the resident's see as the members of their community? Do you think it extends to people like reclaimers who are spending a lot of time here, and doing an important job but do not own homes?
Why do you think this is? Do you think this perception would ever change? Or how do you think it has changed over the last few years?

Lastly, I wanted to ask if there are any other issues you want to talk about or any other concerns you wanted to raise?

Reclaimers:

How long have you been a reclaimer?
What does reclaiming mean to you?
Can you explain your typical day to me?
How do you normally collect in Bordeaux?
Have you been handing out the PETco bags from ARO?
Have these bags made a difference to the amount of recyclables that you are collecting in Bordeaux? Are you collecting more/less?
What did you think when ARO first came here?
Do you think you will be part of ARO in the future? Or do you prefer to work alone?

Have you ever interacted directly with a resident in Bordeaux?
Can you tell me about how it feels when you approach a resident in Bordeaux?
Can you tell me about some of your experiences of residents in Bordeaux?
What are your ideas about residents in Bordeaux?

Are residents in all areas the same? Or are they better/worse in some areas?
Do you feel welcome in Bordeaux?

How do you feel about ARO coming here and supporting reclaimers to collaborate with residents?
Do you feel different now that you have these PETco bags?
Do you feel like ARO is here to support you?
How have your ideas about residents changed since ARO came here?
Do you feel more welcome in Bordeaux with this collaboration and with ARO here?
How do you feel in other areas compared to Bordeaux?
Do you feel like ARO and this collaboration are having a positive effect?

Is there anything else you want to discuss?

B: Bordeaux Resident's Survey

(Administered through Google Forms)

Dear Bordeaux resident,

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this short survey. My name is Ruby Schalit and I am a Masters student in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I am undertaking a research project, and I am investigating the activities and perceptions of reclaimers (otherwise known as 'waste pickers') in Bordeaux. The aim of this research project is to find out the relationship between residents and reclaimers, and how this is changing with the advent of the ARO-BSRA collaboration in your area. This research is purely for academic purposes.

This survey will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me at 1969864@students.wits.ac.za.
If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

The survey will take approximately 5 minutes.

General:

1. Are you a:

- Tenant
- Owner

2. How long have you lived in Bordeaux?
   - Less than 1 year
   - Between 1 and 5 years
   - Between 5 and 10 years
   - More than 10 years
3. Are you a member of the BSRA?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Prefer not to answer

4. Do you receive communication from the BSRA?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Prefer not to answer

Collaboration:

5. Do you know about the collaboration taking place between the African Reclaimers Organisation and the BSRA?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Prefer not to answer

6. If yes, are you involved in the collaboration?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Prefer not to answer

7. If no, why not? (tick all applicable)
   - I already recycling with Whole Earth
   - I already recycle with Eco Monkey

- I already recycle with someone else
- I don’t recycle
- I don’t know about the collaboration

Reclaimers:

8. Are you aware of reclaimers (waste pickers) working in Bordeaux?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Prefer not to answer

9. Have you ever spoken to a reclaimer?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Prefer not to answer

10. Do you know any reclaimers by name?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Prefer not to answer

11. Is your perception of reclaimers in general:
    - Positive
    - Negative
    - Prefer not to answer

12. Can you describe your perception of reclaimers in one word?

13. Has this perception changed since the ARO-BSRA collaboration started?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Prefer not to answer

14. What contributions do reclaimers make? (tick all applicable)
    - Economic
    - Environmental
    - Improve safety
    - Keep the area clean
    - None

15. What problems do you have with reclaimers? (tick all applicable)
    - They are a security threat (bring crime)
    - They make a mess
    - They are unreliable
    - They are not South African
    - They are a nuisance
    - They are not organized

16. Is it important to work with reclaimers?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Prefer not to answer

17. Do you see reclaimers as part of the Bordeaux community?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Prefer not to answer

18. Ideally, who should collect recyclables in Bordeaux?
    - Pikitup
    - Reclaimers
    - Whole Earth
    - Eco Monkey
    - Other private company

- A cooperative

19. Should reclaimers be paid to collect recyclables?
    - Yes
    - No
    - Prefer not to answer

20. Who should pay them?
    - Municipalities
    - Residents
    - Industry

In terms of improving relationships with and perceptions of reclaimers how important are the following? (Rate from 1-5. 1=Not important at all, 5=essential)

21. Presentability (a uniform)
22. Ability to have a conversation or interact with reclaimers
23. Awareness and education about reclaimers' work and lives
24. Familiarity (seeing the same faces every week)
25. Identification (wearing a name badge)

Waste Separation:

26. Who is responsible for taking out the trash in your household? (tick all applicable)
    - Self
    - Female adult family member
    - Male adult family member
    - Male child
    - Female child
    - Domestic worker

27. Does your household separate recyclables from waste?

- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to answer

28. If yes, who is responsible for separating materials? (tick all applicable)
    - Self
    - Female adult family member
    - Male adult family member
    - Male child
    - Female child
    - Domestic worker

29. What do you do with your recyclables? (tick all applicable)
    - Give to reclaimers
    - Give to Whole Earth
    - Give to Eco Monkey
    - Give to a school
    - Give to a religious organization
    - Take to Pikitup garden site
    - Sell at buyback centre

30. If no, why don't you separate recyclables? (tick all applicable)
    - It is time consuming
    - It is not our responsibility
    - Not paid to do this
    - Don't see a reason

C: Full Survey Results

Table C1 (n=77)

Question	Yes	No	Maybe	Prefer not to answer	Missing
3. Are you a member of the BSRA?	57 (75%)	16 (21.2%)	-	3 (3.9%)	1
4. Do you receive communication from the BSRA?	64 (83.1%)	13 (16.9%)	-	-	-
5. Do you know about the collaboration?	60 (78.9%)	16 (21.2%)	-	-	-
6. If yes, are you involved in the collaboration?	44 (60.3%)	28 (38.4%)	-	1	4
8. Are you aware of reclaimers working in Bordeaux	74 (96.1%)	3 (3.9)	-	-	-
9. Have you ever spoken to a reclaimer?	32 (41.6%)	45 (58.4%)	-	-	-
10. Do you know any reclaimers by name?	15 (19.5%)	62 (80.5%)	-	-	-
13. Has your perception changed since the collaboration started?	29 (38.2%)	28 (36.8%)	16 (21.1%)	3 (3.9%)	1

16. Is it important to work with reclaimers?	70 (93.3%)	4 (5.3%)	-	1 (1.3%)	2
17. Do you see reclaimers as part of the Bordeaux community?	54 (71.1%)	20 (26.3%)	-	2 (2.6%)	1
19. Should reclaimers be paid to collect recyclables?	57 (75%)	17 (22.4%)	-	2 (2.6%)	1
27. Does your household separate recyclables from waste?	66 (86.8%)	10 (13.2%)	-		1

Table C2 (n=77)

Question	Owner	Tenant	Other	Missing
1. Are you a:	60 (77.9%)	15 (19.5%)	2 (2.6%)	-

Table C3 (n=77)

Question	Less than a year	Between 1 and 5 years	Between 5 and 10 years	More than 10 years	Other	Missing
2. How long have you lived in Bordeaux?	7 (9.1%)	24 (31.2%)	18 (23.4%)	24 (31.2%)	4 (5.2%)	-

Table C3 (n=77)

Question	Positive	Negative	Prefer not to answer	Missing
11. Is your perception of reclaimers in general:	64 (83.1%)	9 (11.7%)	4 (5.2%)	-

Table C4 (n=77)

14. What contributions do reclaimers make?	Count
Economic	35 (46.1%)
Environmental	66 (86.8%)
Improve safety	7 (9.2%)
Keep the area clean	37 (48.7%)
None	3 (3.9%)
Other	3 (3.9%)

Table C5 (n=77)

15. What problems do you have with reclaimers?	Count
They are a security threat (bring crime)	18 (32.7%)
They make a mess	20 (36.4%)
They are unreliable	5 (9.1%)
They may not be South African	1 (1.8%)
They are a nuisance	4 (7.3%)
They are not organized	10 (18.2%)
None	1 (1.8%)
Other	19 (34.5%)

Table C6 (n=77)

18. Ideally who should collect recyclables in Bordeaux?	Count
Pikitup	18 (23.4%)

Reclaimers	30 (39%)
Whole Earth	2 (2.6%)
Eco Monkey	1 (1.3%)
Other private company	4 (5.2%)
A cooperative	12 (15.6%)
Other: Anybody	4 (5.2%)
Other: All of the above	3 (3.9%)
Other	3 (3.9%)

Table C7

20. Who should pay reclaimers?	Count
Municipalities	52 (76.5%)
Residents	10 (14.7%)
Industry	22 (32.4%)
Other	7 (10.3%)

Table C8

29. What do you do with your recyclables?	Count
Give to reclaimers	49 (68.1%)
Give to Whole Earth	6 (8.3%)
Give to Eco Monkey	1 (1.4%)
Give to school	5 (6.9%)
Give to church	-
Give to Pikitup garden site	15 (20.8%)
Sell at a buyback centre	1 (1.4%)
Other: Pick n Pay bins	3 (4.2%)

Table C9 (n=15)

30. If no, why don't you separate recyclables?	Count
It is time consuming	5 (33.3%)
It is not our responsibility	-

We are not paid to do this	-
Don't see a reason	2 (13.3%)
Other	8 (53.3%)

Table C10

In terms of improving relationships with and perceptions of reclaimers how important are the following (scale: 1=not important at all; 5=essential)						
	1	2	3	4	5	Missing
21. Presentability (a uniform) (n=76)	8 (10.5%)	5 (6.6%)	16 (21.1%)	19 (25%)	28 (36.8%)	1
22. Ability to have a conversation or interact with reclaimers (n=76)	2 (2.6%)	6 (7.9%)	28 (36.8%)	19 (25%)	21 (27.6%)	1
23. Awareness and education about reclaimer's work and lives (n=75)	2 (2.7%)	2 (2.7%)	17 (22.7%)	22 (29.3%)	32 (42.7%)	2
24. Familiarity (seeing the same faces every week) (n=76)	2 (2.6%)	3 (3.9%)	12 (15.8%)	23 (30.3%)	36 (47.4%)	1
25. Identification	5 (6.6%)	1 (1.3%)	10 (13.2%)	21 (27.6%)	39 (51.3%)	1

(wearing a
name badge)
(n=76)

Table C11

7. If no (not involved in collaboration) why not? (n=33)	Count
I already recycle with someone else	8 (24.2%)
I already recycle with Whole Earth	5 (15.15%)
I don't know about the collaboration	11 (33.3%)
I don't recycle	3 (9%)
Other: I do recycle paper specifically	1 (3%)
Other: I find it cumbersome and not particularly user friendly	1 (3%)
Other: I stay in a complex where recycling is taking place	3 (9%)
Other: In the throes of moving next door. Once done, will participate	1 (3%)

Table C12

12. Can you describe your perceptions of reclaimers in 1 word?
Worthwhile
Impressive
Making a difference
Great
Humbling
Committed, phenomenal
Helpful
Inspired
Positively awesome
Fantastic service
Provide a great essential service at no cost to ratepsters
Hard work
Working
Assisting
They are dangerous for traffic and unnnecessary - they could reclaim at the city dump
Hard working
They generally not well dressed and can be mistaken for suspicious criminals as criminals sometimes pretend to be recyclers.

Useful
Mixed perception, I guess. A bit negative, as my old school thinking believes that more people in and around the suburb (of any kind) increases the likelihood of crime. The new school part of me knows that the reclaimers are just trying to make money for themselves and their families, through something like recycling, which benefits everyone and the environment.
Hardy
helpful
Hard working
Complexity
Unstable
Helpful
Messing
Hard working
Optimistic
Hardworking
Effiecient
Helpful
Opportunists
Resourceful
Recycle
Perfect
Cooperative
Untidy
Helpful, proactive, vital service
Resourceful
Hardworking
Necessary
They provide a much needed service and doing their best to earn a living.
Productive
Good.
Hard working
entrepreneurial
Busy
Dodgey
Grateful
Initiative
Helpful
Tough
Positive
Positive
Helpful
entrepreneurial
Unsure
Resourceful
Still new so don't really know. Initially I was apprehensive about them as they know when I leave home on certain mornings
Hardworkers
Hardworking
Impressive
Useful
Good people
industrious
Symbiotic

Table C13

	26. Who is responsible for taking out the trash in your household? (n=77)	28. If yes (you do separate recyclables from waste) who is responsible for separating materials? (n=71)
Self	47 (61%)	52 (73.2%)
Female adult family member	15 (19.5%)	20 (28.2%)
Male adult family member	14 (18.2%)	14 (19.7%)
Male child	1 (1.3%)	3 (4.2%)
Female child	1 (1.3%)	9 (12.7%)
Domestic worker	32 (41.6%)	18 (25.4%)
Other: everyone in the household/combination	6 (7.8%)	10 (12.9%)
Other: no one	-	1 (1.4%)
Other: We would like to start doing this	-	1 (1.4%)
Other: landlord	1 (1.3%)	-
Other: gardener	2 (2.6%)	1 (1.4%)

D: Participant Information Sheets and Consent Form

PIS for Reclaimers:

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Ruby Schalit and I am a Masters student in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I am required to undertake a research project, and I am investigating the activities and perceptions of reclaimers (otherwise known as 'waste pickers') in Bordeaux. The aim of this research project is to find out the relationship between yourselves and the residents, and whether and how this is changing with the emerging partnership between the Resident Association and the African Reclaimer's Organisation. This research is purely for academic purposes.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. The interview will take place at _____ on ___/___/2019. As a reclaimer, I believe you can help me to understand how and why this collaboration with residents started, how it has contributed to the legitimacy of your work, and how your interactions with residents may have changed over time. This interview will involve answering a few questions, once-off, and will take around 30 minutes. With your permission, I would like to record the interview using an audio recording device. With your permission, I would also like to take photographs/video recordings to capture the nature of your work and experiences, if relevant and to the extent that it adds value to my research.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview and questionnaire will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,
Ruby Schalit

Researcher: Ruby Schalit | 1969864@students.wits.ac.za
Supervisor: Melanie Samson | Melanie.samson@wits.ac.za | 011 717 6515

PIS for Residents:

Dear Sir / Madam,

My name is Ruby Schalit and I am a Masters student in Development Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. As part of my studies, I have to undertake a research project, and I am investigating the activities and perceptions of reclaimers (otherwise known as 'waste pickers') in your area. The aim of this research project is to find out the relationship between yourselves and the reclaimers, and how this is changing with the advent of their new project in your area. This research is purely for academic purposes.

As part of this project, I would like to invite you to take part in an interview. The interview will take place at _____ on ___/___/2019. As a resident, I believe you can help me to understand how and why this collaboration with reclaimers started, the general recycling habits in Bordeaux, and how perceptions of reclaimers may have changed over time. This interview will involve answering a few questions, once-off, and will take around 30 to 40 minutes. With your permission, I would also like to record the interview using an audio recording device. If relevant, with your permission I would also like to

photograph or video-record recycling activities or interactions between yourself and reclaimers, to the extent that it adds value to my research.

You will not receive any direct benefits from participating in this research, and there are no disadvantages or penalties for not participating. You may withdraw at any time or not answer any question if you do not want to. The interview and questionnaire will be completely confidential and anonymous as I will not be asking for your name or any identifying information, and the information you give to me will be held securely and not disclosed to anyone else. I will be using a pseudonym (false name) to represent your participation in my final research report. If you experience any distress or discomfort at any point in this process, we will stop the interview or resume another time.

If you have any questions during or afterwards about this research, feel free to contact me on the details listed below. If you wish to receive a summary of this report, I will be happy to send it to you. If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the ethical procedures of this study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical), telephone +27(0) 11 717 1408, email hrec-medical.researchoffice@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,
Ruby Schalit

Researcher: Ruby Schalit | 1969864@students.wits.ac.za
Supervisor: Melanie Samson | Melanie.samson@wits.ac.za | | 011 717 6515

General consent form:

Consent Form to Participate in Research Project:

Title of project: “Separating together: using insurgent recycling to secure legitimacy for reclaimers.”

Researcher: Ruby Schalit

I, ……., agree to participate in this research project. The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve.

Please place a tick in the box below if you agree. I have been informed of:

□ the reasons why I was selected to participate in the research project
□ the nature of my participation in the form of an interview
□ the place and duration of the interview
□ the voluntary nature, refusal to answer, and withdrawing from the interview
□ no payment or incentives
□ no loss of benefits or risks
□ my identity will be kept anonymous
□ the information I provide will be kept confidential
□ how the information will be used and disseminated

(please circle the relevant answer)

I **AGREE / DO NOT AGREE** to participate by undertaking the interview

I AGREE / DO NOT AGREE to audio-recording of the interview

I AGREE / DO NOT AGREE to my premises/surroundings being photographed.

…… (signature)
…… (name of participant)
…… (date and place)

…… (signature)
…… (name of person seeking consent)

…… (date and place)