13 Are Johannesburg's peri-central neighbourhoods irremediably 'fluid'? Local leadership and community building in Yeoville and Bertrams

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Johannesburg's inner city is a convenient **symbol** in contemporary city culture for urban chaos, unpredictability, endless mobility and undecipherable change – as emblematised by portrayals of the infamous Hillbrow in novels and movies (*Welcome to our Hillbrow*, *Room 207*, *Zoo City*, *Jerusalema*)¹ and in academic literature (Morris 1999; Simone 2004). Inner-city neighbourhoods in the CBD and on its immediate fringe (or 'peri-central' areas) currently operate as ports of entry into South Africa's economic capital, for both national and international migrants. These neighbourhoods are characterised by a degree of urban decay that has earned them labels such as 'slums' and 'sinkholes', and perceptions of being in need of 'urban management' and the reaffirmation of 'law and order'. Some of these areas have attracted specific attempts at urban regeneration led mostly by the municipality, followed or not by private investment. They are all marked by a level of informality in housing and in economic activities, which is often a condition for low-income migrants to enter the urban labour and housing markets. This port-of-entry function has consequences in terms of urban management and governance.

Looking beyond extreme visions of chaos and 'no-go zones' for the state, which are certainly not true of contemporary Johannesburg, scholars have highlighted the difficulties of community participation and local governance. Abdumaliq Simone, in a piece entitled 'People as Infrastructure' (2004), implies that it is only the people who can be relied upon to build the city. However, he simultaneously highlights the fluidity of their social networks and belongings, their impermanence, multiplicity and contradictions – which render the usual community participatory formula ineffective as no resident can be placed

into a single category or identity group. Lipietz (2004, 2008), adopting the perspective of a well-intentioned municipal council, shows the conundrum in which such authorities are caught, and the often insurmountable obstacles for local government when it comes to implementing the progressive and participatory aspects of inner-city policies. Dinath (2013) mentions the inappropriateness of municipal institutions for dealing with the dynamics of fluidity and transience that have characterised Johannesburg's inner city since its creation.

Several other case studies on inner-city neighbourhoods (Bénit-Gbaffou 2008; Harrison 2002; Katsaura 2012; Matjomane and Bénit-Gbaffou forthcoming; Molefe 2007) reveal the challenges of community participation in urban governance from a civil-society perspective, be it around housing, public space or the management of informal trading. Sharing the Simonian fascination with the diversity of individual trajectories of inner-city residents and their strategies of visibility and invisibility, authors such as Kihato (2011 and Kurgan (2013) nevertheless stress the ordinariness of migrant residents' aspirations, desires, dreams and daily lives, noting that these could possibly form a basis for building new urban inner-city communities, although it is unclear who would drive such collective processes. Others such as Winkler (2006, 2009) highlight the importance of 'bridges' – NGOs that have a degree of expertise in brokering the uneasy relationship between an unstable and fragmented civil society and an inexperienced state – at least as insofar as community participation is concerned in such complex neighbourhoods. Many deplore the disappearance of the Action Committee to Stop Evictions (ACTSTOP), the powerful anti-apartheid social movement that fought for the rights of inner-city tenants in the 1980s (Gerhard and Glaser 2010; Morris 1999), and wonder why no equivalent movement has emerged in the post-apartheid era, even though rights-based NGOs such as the Centre for Applied Legal Studies and the Socio-Economic Rights Institute, which fight court cases against the eviction of inner-city residents, could provide a platform for such movements to emerge (Molefe 2011; Tissington 2010; Wilson 2011).

In this chapter, without denying the weakness and fragmentation of civil society structures in the inner city, I aim to add nuance to this pessimistic vision through two case studies of peri-central neighbourhoods. Extended ethnographic research in both areas has allowed me to develop an understanding of a degree of continuity in the apparent (and real) mobility of the residents and in the fluidity of their collective mobilisation. Theoretically, I have always been both fascinated and irritated by the use of the concept of 'fluidity' to describe African cities in general, and port-of-entry neighbourhoods in particular. *Even though mobility certainly affects urban dynamics and power relations to a great extent, and I am fascinated by the mosaic of contradictory and shifting facets of the city (none of which captures it all), I struggle to reconcile this quite fashionable notion of an inexhaustible and always recomposed urban reality with evidence of the permanence of power structures.* How can one not be struck by the brutal reproduction of power inequalities and systems of dominance – by the permanence of local patrons, bosses and other leaders who might reconfigure their power bases, political capital and identity politics, but remain in positions

Demographic indicators	Greater Yeoville	Greater Bertrams
Households with monthly income < R1 600	44%	50%
Unemployment narrow / broad	34 / 38%	39 / 41%
Moved in less than five years ago	40%	29%
Tenants	80%	88%
Living in 3–4-roomed units	42%	27%
Afrikaans speaking	1%	9%
English speaking	20%	25%
Zulu speaking	37%	28%
Non-SA language speaking	8%	11%
SA citizen	87%	91%
Black	87%	67%
Coloured	3%	9%
Indian	2%	11%
White	8%	13%

TABLE 13.1: The demographics of the peri-central neighbourhoods of Yeoville and Bertrams

Source: Stats SA (2003)

Note: Greater Yeoville refers to Yeoville, Bellevue and Bellevue East. Greater Bertrams is Bertrams and Judith Paarl.

of power in these transient areas? The notion of fluidity seems to equate to an absence of power structures and the optimistic, democratic (?) possibility that anyone might reach the top (or the bottom) at any given time, but this is certainly not what I have witnessed while questioning issues of governance, power and inequality in the city.

Although I am generally pessimistic about the (limited) fluidity of power structures, my approach in this chapter is relatively optimistic in terms of urban governance and the *possibility* of building community vision and leadership in these transient neighbourhoods. Following Chipkin (2005), who highlights that an emphasis on inner-city residents' 'fluidity' runs the risk of sidelining them as possible partners in an urban regeneration policy, but also not underestimating the challenges of working in complex inner-city environments, I reflect on local leadership and community building in two peri-central neighbourhoods, Yeoville and Bertrams.²

Both neighbourhoods are old suburbs dating to the early twentieth century, and were initially built for relatively low-middle-class white residents (even partly working class in the case of Bertrams) – plot sizes are smaller than those in the neighbouring suburb of Observatory, for instance. Their urban fabric consists mainly of detached and semi-detached

FIGURE 13.1: The urban fabric of Bertrams.

FIGURE 13.2: A typical Yeoville residential area showing a mixture of low-rise buildings and early twentieth-century houses.

houses, as well as low-rise buildings, often with the distinctive art deco architectural traits that are sometimes seen as offering some potential for urban regeneration.

Their population, today predominantly poor and black, is quite diverse (Table 13.1). In Bertrams, for example, Indian, coloured and Afrikaner minorities (Rule 1989) live in the municipal houses formerly reserved for poor whites (Parnell 1988). In Yeoville, the racial profile is more homogeneously black but socio-economic diversity is higher. Both areas are characterised by high levels of national and international migration as well as residential mobility.

Tenants form the majority of the population and a high proportion of residents have lived in the area for less than five years. Both areas are ports of entry for migrants into Johannesburg, who rely on migrant and kin networks, and for whom the priority is to find a space and a money-making activity in the city. Both areas offer affordable housing in close proximity to the city centre, although conditions are not always decent (Doerman et al. forthcoming; Mayson 2011). Both areas have a number of so-called 'bad buildings' characterised by a lack of maintenance, overcrowding and a lack of access to basic services. Acute forms of violence and exploitation sometimes occur, fuelled by uncertain, contested or absent ownership. However, as noted, unlike in inner-city neighbourhoods, the urban fabric consists mainly of small buildings and individual housing units (Figures 13.1 and 13.2), often subdivided and sometimes densified with backyard rooms. This is both an advantage – for instance, in terms of scale of the problem for unmaintained and unserviced sectional titles – and an inconvenience, since social housing institutions emphasise the need for a minimum number of units to create economies of scale when refurbishing inner-city housing stock (Charlton forthcoming).³

While affected by poverty, low income levels and a lack of formal employment (see Table 13.1),⁴ both areas are marked by the important development of informal activities – sometimes as an entry point into the labour market and sometimes as an entrenched, long-lasting activity (Karam and Rubin forthcoming). These informal activities have a strong visibility in Yeoville, a vibrant commercial area where street trading in the main street, Rockey-Raleigh, and informal restaurants, salons, shebeens and spaza shops in the residential areas abound. Informal activities are more hidden, less regular and possibly more subterranean (Farouk 2006) in Bertrams, which has a less structured civil society with a less diverse range of commercial activities (see Figures 13.3 and 13.4).

Both neighbourhoods have experienced some urban regeneration led by the municipality through focused public investment on very specific spaces: Bertrams Road and its surroundings in Bertrams, in the context of the 2010 World Cup; and Rockey-Raleigh Street at the end of the 1990s and between 2005 and 2009 (see Figures 13.5 and 13.6). Urban regeneration efforts are moving eastwards, having focused first on the western part of the CBD through the regeneration of the Newtown Cultural Precinct and the 'financial district' (Beavon 2004; Dinath 2013; Lipietz 2004). Yeoville and Bertrams, eastern peri-central areas, represent a timid 'jump' of urban regeneration over the difficult-to-regenerate intermediate areas: the industrial neighbourhoods on

FIGURE 13.3: Bertrams Road, dividing Bertrams (on the left) from the Standard Bank Arena sports precinct (to the right of this image).

FIGURE 13.4: Rockey-Raleigh Street, the main commercial street in Yeoville.

FIGURE 13.5: Urban regeneration and sites of resistance in Bertrams Road and its surroundings in the context of the 2010 World Cup.

Source: Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008

the south-eastern part of the centre (Rogerson 2004) and the derelict residential areas and crime hot spots of Hillbrow-Berea to the north-east (Lipietz 2004). Focused public investment was aimed at leveraging private investment, which happened to some extent but failed to materialise at a massive scale – certainly not in Bertrams, but possibly more so in Yeoville given its greater social diversity, commercial attractiveness and cultural dynamism (Figure 13.6).

However limited in scale, the urban regeneration process has been and is significant in both areas, despite sometimes being very rapid, non-negotiated and neglectful of local residents. This was especially the case in Bertrams, which in 2009 received an urgent facelift in preparation for the 2010 World Cup. As the stadium's poor neighbour – indecent in the eyes of international visitors – the World Cup was a way of fast-tracking urban intervention (Bénit-Gbaffou 2008). Some of the intervention focused on longer-term

FIGURE 13.6: Trends for regeneration in Yeoville on Rockey/Raleigh Street and in residential spaces

Note: TUHF = Trust for Urban Housing Finance

Source: Bénit-Gbaffou (2011a). Cartography by Aasif Mangera and Claire Bénit-Gbaffou

investment in public infrastructure, transport being the most visible part of this policy and the investment that has had the biggest impact on low-income residents' lives (see Chapter 21). In Yeoville, one municipal intervention in the late 1990s led to the banning of street trading and its attempted⁵ replacement by a market. Traders testify to the forcefulness of this displacement, which was experienced as traumatic, and community members still denounce the utter lack of consultation and participation in the neighbourhood. However, subsequent municipal involvement (still focused on the main street) took on the upgrading or creation of public spaces and facilities (recreation centre, public library, swimming pool) in what has been called the 'civic node' in ways that are celebrated by residents (Figure 13.6). In both neighbourhoods, however, public endeavours for regeneration have created some social turmoil: actual or potential eviction of the poorest (from housing in Bertrams; from trading space in Yeoville), and increased competition for resources that

has often crystallised along South African/foreign residents' fault lines (Bénit-Gbaffou and Mkwanazi 2012).

These regeneration efforts take place in unequally structured civil societies. Even if some deplore the fluidity and fragmentation of Yeoville's community-based organisations (Harrison 2002), its civil society is extremely dynamic (Bénit-Gbaffou 2006; Farouk 2008; Katsaura 2012; Mkwanazi 2011), as suggested by the dense list of community-based organisations and NGOs regularly updated in the local newspaper *Yeovue News*. The latter is edited by a key local leader who formed his own NGO after successive attempts at running or developing community organisations. New leaders emerge, but some community figures have been active in the neighbourhood for decades and have gained a strong, if regularly contested, legitimacy at the local and sometimes supra-local levels (Bénit-Gbaffou et al. 2011).

Bertrams is similarly characterised by a mix of long-standing local leaders (some of whom have been anti-apartheid activists as members of the South African National Civics Organisation [SANCO] and ACTSTOP) and newcomers. Possibly due to the higher levels of poverty, urban decay and political violence (in an area contested between the African National Congress [ANC], the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Alliance; see Bénit-Gbaffou 2008), Bertrams' civil society is more prone to competition between leaders for resources, splits in organisations, short-lived alliances and forms of political fragmentation.

Having set the background for these two peri-central neighbourhoods, which present some similarities but also significant differences, the comparison I will develop in the remainder of this chapter focuses on a specific and significant object of study: the way different local leaders build inclusive or exclusive communities in the context of urban regeneration and diverse neighbourhoods. I look at various local leaders and expose the constraints they face, but also the room they have to manoeuvre when building local communities in a context of poverty and urban regeneration, diversity and competition.

Six local leaders in peri-central neighbourhoods

A ward councillor in Yeoville – reflecting one's constituency?

Nosipho⁶ has been a councillor in Yeoville for several terms. A former exile herself, she has in public meetings repeatedly emphasised the contrast between South African residents and 'foreigners', whom she presents as selfish, uncaring for the area and the community, and whom she accuses of taking advantage of the neighbourhood to the detriment of 'locals'. She has used a variety of means to legitimise an 'exclusionary' identity for Yeoville – direct xenophobic utterances, indirect tolerance for hate speech (in the name of freedom of expression), more subtle body language and language policy (Bénit-Gbaffou and Mkwanazi 2012).

An ANC branch leader in Bertrams –

unable to criticise the Party or the foreigners, an untenable choice

Adams, a South African Communist Party activist and trade unionist, calls for an international federation of workers across boundaries. However, when residents express their anger and frustration in ANC public meetings using xenophobic utterances (in the context of evictions accelerated by the 2010 World Cup pressure on urban regeneration), he and the ANC branch find it difficult to fully deconstruct the migrant scapegoating process. They call for tolerance ('they are our brothers'), pragmatism ('we can't prevent them from coming; let us rather manage them'), and blackmail ('think of South Africans overseas; don't target foreigners here for fear of retaliation') but fail to respond to residents' anxieties through a critical debate on urban policies and regeneration, which in this case are negatively affecting the majority of local residents.

A civic leader in Bertrams (Seventeen Houses) –

clientelist links rather than community surge against eviction

Mama Khetile, a former SANCO and anti-apartheid activist, is the civic leader of the hundred or so residents living in the 'Seventeen Houses' next to the Ellis Park Stadium. The council houses were constructed as a 'community' but contrast with the high-profile sport facilities of the rest of the precinct and face recurring threats of demolition. Having successfully resisted the Rugby World Cup-related demolition attempt in 1995 – with the cry 'we just voted you into power, how can you evict us?' – she had to fight again in 2009 when the same threat emerged around the 2010 Soccer World Cup. Calling on the Centre for Applied Legal Studies for support against the City of Johannesburg, she eventually dismissed the Centre in strong terms, accusing them of racism and undermining the nation. The city gave up the demolition plan, most likely as a result of a clientelist agreement between the civic and government/party, under the threat of legal action from a powerful NGO. Although a successful outcome for the residents, the end result has undermined solidarity with any other group facing similar threats of eviction (Bénit-Gbaffou 2011b).

A civic leader in Bertrams (Priority Block) –

benefactor or crook: the Janus face of local leadership

Joseph is a community leader in the 'Priority Block' mobilisation. The block has been earmarked by the Johannesburg Development Agency for redevelopment, implying the relocation of residents, purchase of the buildings and resale to private developers. Presenting himself as a defender of 'community' interests, he warns against the Centre for Applied Legal Studies and the option it opens for resisting relocation, describing the NGO as 'bad-intentioned, crooks, hijackers'. He seems to enjoy access to information about the process, distributes application forms and spends large amounts of time with each family. He has in fact been hired by the Johannesburg Development Agency to encourage temporary relocation to an inner-city building: for each family relocated, he gets a financial reward. Again, the process leads to fragmentation and hinders the emergence of a broader anti-eviction front.

A trade unionist in Yeoville – building a ‘community of micro traders’:
the non-question of nationality

Eric, a trade unionist and micro trader, has been spearheading actions in Yeoville to resist various attempts by the city to eradicate informal trading (the bulldozing of spaza shops in 2005; the ongoing harassment of street traders in Yeoville main street since their banning in 1999 with the creation of the Yeoville market). Going against political pressure from councillors and civic leaders to ‘South Africanise’ the market and grant a restricted number of legal stalls in the street (which would lead to competition and xenophobic tensions between traders), Eric has been building micro traders as a ‘community’, ignoring the question of nationality as an artificial divide between street and market traders. The ‘community’ he is attempting to build includes ‘a people’s economy’ where the focus is on how to facilitate the lives and livelihoods of people in need, how to capitalise on initiatives and energies to compensate for the failure of formal employment, and how to live in harmony in a neighbourhood where demand for goods is increasing.

An NGO leader in Yeoville – pushing for a pan-African celebration of Yeoville
(but what is pan-Africa?)

Martin, a former ANC and civic leader, heads an NGO in Yeoville calling for the redevelopment of Yeoville along the lines of better management and law enforcement, and as a tourist destination. He sees the diverse, pan-African identity of Yeoville as a potential drawcard for local, national and international tourism. Through editing a local newspaper and participating in many municipal, public and civic meetings, where he pushes this agenda relentlessly, Martin hopes to build this alternative future for Yeoville. His view is different to Eric’s, as he offers a more middle-class vision of a regenerated neighbourhood.

I wish to make three points about this collection of portraits. The first is that local leaders are working under specific sets of constraints: city policies, party politics, and constituencies’ demands and expectations. Some leaders (such as the ward councillor and the Party branch leader) are elected by local citizens and need to strategise accordingly. They have to take into account the often strongly expressed xenophobic feelings of their voters, who constitute only one part of the neighbourhoods’ residents, albeit the voting part. It is difficult for these leaders to discard or completely dismiss local political issues. To some extent, this is the essence of democratic accountability: local leaders need to be accountable to their constituencies – they must address and respond to their demands, claims, frustrations and anxieties. However, there are several ways of ‘responding’ to these publicly expressed demands. Echoing or even deepening xenophobic feelings by legitimising them, or taking them at face value as the root cause of the local issues, are not the only ways of responding.

Other leaders (such as the two Bertrams civic leaders, who lack both an official political position and formal or stable employment) are struggling to survive and constantly need to balance their community activism with short-term, survivalist strategies. These strategies

involve a degree of bribery but also forms of political clientelism, as these struggling leaders cannot afford to sever their links with political patrons, even if it is at the expense of the 'communities' they are serving.

Finally, some leaders (such as the trade unionist and NGO activist in Yeoville) sit in more independent positions, politically and financially, and therefore are freer to develop new and alternative visions for the communities they are trying to build. But they still need to display some degree of loyalty to their political networks or funders – it would be misleading to see them as devoid of any form of political constituency, and totally free of political constraints in the strategies they choose. Unlike radical social movements, they are still part of a web of relationships with the dominant party, and have to craft whatever criticisms they make of government regeneration policies with care.

The second point is that in spite of these constraints, local leaders have a degree of choice in shaping their communities' vision and self-representation. This level of choice is what defines the notion of 'leadership', which is centred on individual agency, even if that agency works within a set of social structures (Stone 1995). Leaders need to construct their constituency and enter into transactions with its diverse components (some have called this 'transactional leadership'; see Burns 1978). And, to varying degrees, they have to convey, construct and realise their 'vision' – in this case for the neighbourhood – in what has been called 'transforming leadership' (Burns 1978). Visions for a community or a neighbourhood are not equally transformative. Some propose alternatives that differ radically from current conditions – leaders carrying such visions need to be charismatic and do an incredible amount of work to spread, share and extend these alternatives into their constituencies' world views. Other visions are a continuation of existing or dominant discourses and world views, and can be seen as forms of demagoguery. In this sense they are a form of 'transaction', pushing voters in the direction they are already taking, rather than of 'transformation': trying to shape alternative visions among local constituencies. The visions-cum-strategies presented above can be analysed as navigating between two extremes:

- 'Exclusionary' solutions: building local communities around the opposition between 'them' and 'us', scapegoating foreign migrants as responsible for local urban evils, or, even if calling for calm and tolerance, avoiding deconstructing xenophobic processes in ways that could lead to criticisms of urban regeneration policies. This often comes with a sense that the inner-city neighbourhood is not really 'home', as the township or the village is perceived as constituting 'home' for many South African residents. The reiteration that peri-central areas are temporary or transitional comes in handy when regeneration and eviction policies are under way;
- 'Inclusionary' visions: attempting to build a sense of 'living together' in the neighbourhood, sometimes embracing a 'pan-African diversity' as a local resource; trying to construct pride and a sense of belonging, rather than emphasising mobility – with the risk perhaps of underestimating the importance of the function of the neighbourhood as a metropolitan port of entry, and discarding mobile residents as 'not belonging' or not investing in the neighbourhood.

Very few visions-cum-strategies, however, manage to develop local communities around a strong and inclusive local identity. Few propose alternatives to xenophobia or to exclusionary regeneration. In this respect, the cases of Bertrams and Yeoville confirm⁷ how xenophobia and exclusionary regeneration are often two sides of the same coin. First, because exclusionary regeneration goes with forms of exclusion of the poorest and more marginalised groups (of which many migrants are a part). Second, because urban regeneration generally equates to what I call the public 'creation of scarcity' in terms of urban resources. The (necessary) processes of formalisation (of access to housing and trading space in this instance) at the core of the regeneration process are still failing to accommodate urban poverty and have not managed to (at least partly) reproduce the flexibility of informal solutions that mitigate residents' vulnerabilities (Mayson 2011). This publicly produced scarcity⁸ directly increases competition among local residents, with international migrants being the easiest scapegoats.

As argued in this chapter, several reasons explain the absence of strong alternative visions to the counter-exclusionary ones among community leaders. The first is the challenge of how to criticise the dominant party and/or government policies. This challenge is especially fraught when in political office or when struggling for survival in a context where loyalty to political patrons is key. The challenge is less pressing but still exists in situations where local leaders hold more independent political and economic positions. A second reason is that demagoguery (encouraging already existing xenophobic feelings) is often easier and more immediately efficient in gathering political support (even if dangerous for local social peace) than transformative leadership, which requires deconstructing xenophobia and redirecting anger and frustration towards more constructive and longer-term inclusionary solutions. A third reason might point to the existence of a level of xenophobia among local leaders themselves, illustrating the growing gap between the top of the ANC hierarchy, which regularly reaffirms its commitment to non-racialism and inclusive values, and the lower-ranked members working at the local level. The latter's political experiences and education, combined with daily confrontations, often lead to tensions and frustrations. A fourth reason is the absence of a radical alternative vision for inner-city and peri-central neighbourhoods. Nuances aside, the personal visions, interests and positions of many local leaders are in fact in line with the current regeneration policies, which are considered necessary urban (re)developments despite the exclusionary but unavoidable side effects. Of the two alternative visions for peri-central communities presented here, only one attempts to redefine the terms of urban regeneration in order to accommodate the majority of the residents and limit the socially exclusionary effects of regeneration. It is the one spearheaded by the street traders' unionist, who attempts to shift the place of informality in dominant conceptualisations and framings of urban regeneration from the main driver of crime and grime, to be eradicated or seriously curtailed, to an understanding of 'the people's economy' and a quest for forms of urban management of informality that accommodate and consolidate residents' initiatives rather than destroy or displace them.

Returning to the initial debate on fluidity, governance and leadership in the peri-central

neighbourhoods of Johannesburg, I have highlighted a set of specific politics linked to the nature and functions of these neighbourhoods, where community building needs to take positions on a number of local issues: diversity, mobility, competition and urban regeneration. In spite of these constraints and challenges, I argued that there is space for community building by local leaders. Local leaders can adopt a variety of choices and positions to influence, if not drive, the type of community they want to see emerging. Rather than revolving around actual policy decision-making, in which local leaders have limited direct power in a centralised local government and dominant-party system, their agency and leadership can develop around using their political capital for framing and legitimising in local public spheres some of the terms of local debates, social interaction, conflict resolution, collective engagement and visions, which are at the core of any form of urban citizenship.

Notes

- 1 *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* by Phaswane Mpe, published in 2002 by UKZN Press; *Room 207* by Kgebetli Moele, published in 2006 by Kwela Books; *Zoo City* by Lauren Beukes, published in 2010 by Jacana; *Jerusalema* is a 2008 South African crime film written and directed by Ralph Ziman.
- 2 These reflections are based on intensive fieldwork in the two neighbourhoods (Bertrams 2007–2009, Yeoville 2010–2012) consolidated within the University of the Witwatersrand's School of Architecture and Planning, as well as research and teaching initiatives (under the name of Yeoville Studio) and supervision of several postgraduate theses.
- 3 Yeoville, however, has attracted substantial financial investment from the Trust for Urban Housing Finance (TUHF), supporting small-scale private landlords in regenerating existing buildings (see Figure 13.6).
- 4 Statistical data are based on the 2001 Census (Stats SA 2003) and are thus inaccurate and outdated, severely underestimating both informal activities and international migrants. The data are only partly complemented by ad hoc surveys undertaken by consultants to prepare for public regeneration.
- 5 Since then, street traders have reappeared along Rockey-Raleigh Street, in spite of the daily metropolitan police raids against 'illegal' traders. The market, having struggled to fill vacant stalls in its first year of existence, is now fully occupied, but market traders, especially those trading at inside stalls, are struggling to grow their businesses (Yeoville Studio, 'Yeoville Market: What are the Traders' Issues?' Series of posters, available at www.bit.ly/yeoville).
- 6 Not real names.
- 7 Misago et al. (2010) and Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2012) have shown a degree of correlation between areas of strong public intervention and the rise of xenophobic violence in Johannesburg.
- 8 It is very visible, for instance, in one of the municipal proposals to regulate informal trading in Yeoville's Rockey-Raleigh Street, which would lead to replacing more than 200 informal trading spaces (which traders have carved for themselves and where they are all currently making a living) with 50-odd legally demarcated trading sites.

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