

#3RD URO LAB REPORT

GOVERNANCE, URBAN YOUTH & TRANSFORMATIONS

City planning, oppositional voices
and spatial claims in the
Braamfontein district, Johannesburg



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Table of content

Introduction: Urban Orders and the 3rd URO Lab	4
The Braamfontein district – a contested space	6
Organizing and preparing the 3rd URO Lab.	10
The 3rd URO Lab	13
Key findings and discussions	17
The three URO concerns	19
Urban Orders reconsidered: The ‘local’ as a strategy rather than place	22
Perspectives from participants	25
City & Braamfontein Citizenry – Tunde Oluwa, architect and studio lecturer	26
Contestations of race, space, place and time: reflections of a #FeesMustFalls activist – Anzio Jacobs, student and activist	28
Braamfontein: The view from my window – Contestation: conflict, co-existence or collaboration? – Lone Poulsen, architect, urban designer and educator	34
Contested rhythms of Braamfontein – Olga Koma, student of Planning and Urban design	36
The next steps	38
Appendix: List of participants	39

Introduction: Urban Orders and the 3rd URO Lab

Urban Orders (URO) is a transdisciplinary research network consisting of collaborator teams in Aarhus, Berlin, Johannesburg and New Orleans, which focuses on the relationship between the appropriation of urban spaces and new forms of urban citizenship.

Taking 'urban order' to signify a dynamic regularity in the relationship between social life in the city and its physical environment, which has emerged without overall regulation, control or use of force, the aim of URO is to develop new transdisciplinary methods for harnessing the potentials of existing urban orders as a basis for creating viable and democratic cities.

With URO, we argue that global cities today contain multiple and overlapping forms of urban orderings, which, if properly examined, might serve as a basis for making sustainable urban development based on civic participation, flexible physical planning schemes and a truly transdisciplinary dialogue. Still, while a praxis-oriented understanding of such urban orders is vital for developing viable and inclusive cities, it rarely - if ever - guides urban planning and city management today. With URO, it is our ambition to change this agenda.

The core activities of URO center around four 'URO Laboratories' (URO Labs), which occur from 2015-17 in all four collaborator cities. Organised by local steering groups, each URO Lab explores empirical cases of urban orderings. Based on insights from these four case-studies, our aim is to harness the potentials of the different 'urban orders' for developing a new transdisciplinary approach to global urban development focusing on civic participation, co-design and flexible physical planning.

The 1st URO Lab was held in Aarhus in May 2015. Focusing on the ongoing upgrading of the Gellerup Park on the western outskirts of Aarhus (the largest urban upgrading project in Denmark), the aim of the 1st URO Lab was for the participants to collectively discuss the contested status of the area's urban youth in relation to the use of outdoor spaces and, on this basis, consider new ways of harnessing the Gellerup Park's potentials for developing a more integrative urban environment. The 2nd URO Lab was held in Berlin 26-28 May 2016 and focused on the contested urban orders of the Görlitzer Park - a public park in the neighborhood of Kreuzberg in Berlin. Based on the two first URO Labs, we produced two detailed reports that outline the planning, realization and main findings from the events. They can both be downloaded from our project website (uro.au.dk)

The 3rd URO lab was held in Johannesburg 2-4 November 2016. It had a focus on Braamfontein, a neighbourhood in the central city, populated by a multiplicity of people, among whom the students of Wits, University of Witwatersrand, are a significant group. Simultane-

ously a vibrant shopping area, campus and Business Improvement District, Braamfontein is witnessing a tension of gentrification, student protest and remnants of the racial segregation from former times. Just recently, Braamfontein has witnessed a clash between police squads and the #FeesMustFall-movement, protesting government legislation on education fees. The conflict has involved, directly or indirectly, a cluster of actors and stakeholders such as the Developer firm Liberty, the property owners South Point, the university itself, students, urban planners, local politicians and corporate investors, who all contribute to keep the neighbourhood in a constant tense state, where access to public space has become a complex issue, among others.

This report describes the 3rd URO Lab from its inception and planning to the actual realization. It outlines the main findings and suggests ways of refining our understanding of urban orders.

The Braamfontein district – a contested space

The layout and planning of South African cities has been shaped by specific theoretical paradigms, which outline streetscapes, urban aesthetics and infrastructural systems. As such, they have allowed a certain texture and feel to influence the daily rhythms, social interactions and repetitive movements while also allowing for certain depictions and imageries of South African cities to assert themselves with particular acuity and force. To be sure, the Braamfontein district is no exception. Originally a farm owned by Gert Bezuidenhout, it was bought by the Republican Government in 1887, thus effectively converting the area into a north-western extension of the city of Johannesburg. During the colonial, apartheid era, the area was progressively developed, not least because of its proximity to the downtown region of Johannesburg. In 1913, the Native Land Act was passed, which cemented apartheid ideology zoning the area for whites only. This divisive strategy was further supported by additional regulations and legal measures, such as the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, and enforced in extremis by the Group Areas Act promulgated in 1950, which resulted in intense segregation and control of tenure and occupancy on the basis of race.

By 1970, city planners were faced with the difficult challenge of choosing either to protect the existing land uses consisting of open spaces, educational institutions (primary, high and tertiary institutions: Parktown, Helpmekaar schools, the University of Witwatersrand) and public facilities, such as the Hospital complex and the Children's Hospital, Teachers Training College, Agricultural Showgrounds or instead open the area to intensive market-driven exploitation. They opted for a process, which took form of an Action Area Plan, that has been a negotiation between public and private interests, very much depending on the availability of public funds. The Action Plan had four objectives: identification of sites to be planned as whole and in detail; coordinating public and private development activities through the provision of a University, Province and developers growth guide for the preparation of more detailed proposals; enabling local planning authority to undertake a more inclusive environmental plan for the area; and to provide information regarding principal features of development and ten year implementation plan to the public and all stakeholders. The precinct saw little direction in the 1980s and experienced area degeneration in the late 80s early 90s due to white inner city flight. These in turn were part of the political developments in the country which affected the greater city of Johannesburg. Shortly after the first free election in 1994 and the ANC as the ruling power, major urban redevelopment projects were initiated to overwrite or adjust the urban footprint the apartheid administration had created.

Since then, the development of the Braamfontein district has occurred in and through a tense oscillation between a pressure for student accommodations and a demand for unrestricted room for manoeuvre from investors and real estate agents. During the intense conflicts that

followed the implementation of an increase in educational fees in 2016, it became clear that this tension is still seriously affecting the spatial organisation and socio-cultural dynamics of the Braamfontein district today.

The area is home to a number of important Johannesburg landmarks, including the University of the Witwatersrand, the Johannesburg Metro Centre (the Civic Centre), Johannesburg Park Station and the Constitutional Court Precinct. Several international corporations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), political parties and trade unions are located in Braamfontein alongside a growing number of student-oriented retail, entertainment and accommodation establishments. Many Wits students live in Braamfontein's student accommodations, many of which are owned by the residential provider South Point. South Point is a property company that was established in 2003 in order to face the increasing need for student accommodation in South African cities. According to their website, the company states that South Point "provides well-positioned accommodation that is within walking distances to universities and to public transport," a sentiment that is certainly accurate in the case of Braamfontein. Home to numerous colleges and students, more than 5000 or so accommodated by South Point alone, as Mail&Guardian Newspaper states in a special report in 2016, the Braamfontein is widely considered as the student hub of Johannesburg. 'Play Braamfontein', a relatively new property development company, is responsible for the 'Neighbourgoods Market' and the trend-setting development along Juta Street consisting of boutique shops and numerous galleries. These considerable socio-spatial transformations have taken place during the last 15 years as public and private agencies have strategically invested in Braamfontein as an attractive and welcoming hub for tourism and commerce.

The recently revitalized area is now home to some of the city's most popular eateries and entertainment venues. For locals and tourists alike who want to have a flavour of Johannesburg's young trendy urban culture Braamfontein has become a go-to neighbourhood. Still, while the area is obviously student-dominated, it may not be student-oriented. The student life is often separated from that of the visitors and non-residents who can afford a lifestyle much different than that of the average student. This is evident in the case of the Orbit, a live music venue and bistro jazz club, which is rather pricey for the average student, or the neighbourgoods market, a weekly pop-up eatery with a range of stands on the first floor of a parking garage which offer menus outside of the average student price range. It thus tends to attract young urban professionals from other suburbs that enjoy Joburg city life in this safe, controlled, and 'edited' version on the weekend.

While the regeneration efforts have contributed somewhat to the safety and cleanliness of the area, many students feel that the majority of the new developments has not been to their advantage. An example is the newly constructed Wits Art Museum (WAM) Café, which

was designed with large glass windows which would function as a portal between the Wits campus and the community. Colloquially known as an Olives and Plates establishment (read: expensive!), the concrete modernist design is generally perceived as being more intimidating than inviting. Hence, while the new wave of businesses in Braamfontein have undoubtedly profited from the modern socially-inclusive urban culture brought about partially by the growing student population, the area has been up-scaled and aesthetically designed in such a way as to exclude the majority of that very group of urbanites.

A number of interacting stakeholders take part in the ongoing negotiations about the development of the Braamfontein district: the students, the university (both as public institution and as investor), local businesses, the developer firm Liberty and the Braamfontein Improvement District project team. In a sense, the recurring contestations keep the district in a kind of tense equilibrium or "lock-in" where overlapping and contradictory interests and strategies constantly prevent each other from full realization. This spatial ordering complex includes weekly "festivals", where individuals and groups from other parts of the city come to the district to celebrate counter-cultures but only to disappear again when shops and bars close. This rhythmicity is an essential part of the contestation and ambivalence of Braamfontein.

The largest stakeholders in Braamfontein are Wits University and the City of Johannesburg and both will be undertaking major development projects in the district over the coming years. Currently, Braamfontein is a key site of a number of contrasting visions for the city's future development. Wits University is focusing on improving the number and quality of student housing in Braamfontein by developing new design models that accommodate the everyday realities, lifestyles and expectations of the student population. At the same time, concerns are being raised about the impact of the ongoing gentrification of Braamfontein on students and businesses in the area. At the core of the debate about the gentrification of Braamfontein is a struggle between the developers and residents and students living in the area. Crucially, however, Braamfontein does not have an organized community with deep historical roots to actively oppose the developers. That is probably one of the reasons why the recent conflicts have become so intense and, at times, violent.

The notion of who has the rights to the Braamfontein district, and the youth's perceptions on what the area's future should be, given its tipping point on the gentrification balance scale. The recent #FeesMustFall campaign at Wits and other universities has highlighted the need to conduct deep introspection about the institutional inequalities at work within the University, as well as the spatial inequalities on its doorstep, calling for a new sensitivity to exclusionary processes that may be underway. This was after on 19 September 2016, Blade Nzimande's (Minister of Higher Education) announced a fee increase from 0 - 8%, which led to national protests and a shutdown of Wits University by the end of this week, when petrol bombs were

located on campus, representing a threat to students, admin staff and academics, as well as to the public around the edges of the Wits urban campus. The key role and responsibility of the academic institution is to protect student interests, thus the creation of places or events that are truly inclusive and welcoming to a wide array of gender, racial and ethnic classes, and ages, and the potential to have sustained organisation and political influence from within a transient community.

Organizing and preparing the 3rd URO Lab

It became evident that the organization of the Johannesburg Lab itself became formed by the history, access and disruption of urban space. After considering a number of key sites and locational areas, for the activities, the local team chose Braamfontein, a quarter strongly influenced by the presence of Witwatersrand University, the City of Johannesburg administrative centre, but also by new business and consumption spaces. The quarter's line of understanding, Jorissen Street, is anchored by two points, the Origins Centre on the west and City of Joburg's Council Chamber on the east.

The transdisciplinary context of the workshop and the focus on multiple stakeholders and self-organization is very relevant for choosing exactly this area. Complex processes play themselves out in the streets of Braamfontein, and just at the time of the workshop there was a temporary climax of conflict. The student uprising against education payment, #FeesMust-Fall, access to what the students branded 'free, quality, decolonised education,' clashed with police just days before the seminar, and if the area was already a conflict zone analytically, now the fight was enacted in the streets. This affected the preparation, and thus the dossier that circulated focused on this particular fight. On one hand, this was an analytical problem, since the spaces and urban orders of Braamfontein was far more complex than the two-sided street fight, but on the other hand, the intensity involved in the specific conflict played on exactly the complicated components and histories involved.

The visible actors in the conflict were the students, protesting against the annual rising university fees and a lack of appropriate and affordable accommodation, meaning both the university and the national government, embodied by police squads. Less visible in the immediate conflict was actants such as the consumers that has been taking over more of Braamfontein in recent years, the tech corporations that has moved in, the developers that has made a business of the quarters' gentrification or the architects that in decades has worked with it. Thus, in the preparation we tried to balance the clear and present conflict against the more subtle parts of Braamfontein's contestation, for example by inviting a broad panel of stakeholders to speak.

Due to the conflict, there were security issues which posed limits for the practicalities, but the choice of the Origins Center at the southwest of the area worked out, both as it was connected to the university but not directly affected. The Origins Centre is located at the midpoint of the university 'citadel's wall' intersection between outside and in, desire and privilege, the city and university. Daily security checks reminded us though, that the contestation concerning Braamfontein was both present, but also reaching beyond the area in time and space. Some overarching themes in this could be the neoliberal policy that Johannesburg – along with

other cities – has followed since the 1980s, which has gentrified parts of the city, causing problems for the students in Braamfontein who experience a displacement as prices are rising. This process is interlaced with the education policy of South Africa, where student fees are part of a larger roll-back on the promises, many felt ANC posed with its advent to power about free education. This political situation quickly became racialized, since the largest group affected by education pricing, access to opportunity, are black students. The bone of the contention from the students is that they are demonstrating against an educational system they regard as a violent barrier, which excludes the majority of people by closing the doors of education to poor and black potential students, depriving them of access to urban opportunity and meaningful participation.

These issues was part of the workshop on different levels. Student voices, which ranged from students who engaged with the area from different perspectives such as the course learner, Braamfontein dweller and activist), were invited, as well as key stakeholder Braamfontein voices from housing developers, precinct urban designers and planners, and the Wits University who is the largest property owner in the area. We heard interesting stories of corporations moving into Braamfontein without meeting their promises of building student housing, and tried to follow these by inviting the corporate stakeholders and the City of Johannesburg, who is a key player and stakeholder in the precinct, but without luck.

Where in the Berlin workshop we had been using breakaway groups for investigating the area, here we chose to do a walk around the study area for the whole group. Initially it was partly for security reasons, and we imagined that we would need a vehicle all through the area, but since fighting calmed down just before arrival, we walked around which worked really well. The immense complexity of the area was striking from a sidewalk and street viewpoint, and started with a inner campus walk. This was followed by walking the line of Jorissen Street in a easterly direction to the Constitutional Hill precinct, located at the apex of the Braamfontein watershed ridge. From there, the walk went south towards the inner city, whereby the pedestrian, ground plane perspective consisted of various cross sectional street rhythms, made up of the following: King George Street articulated by high-rise with labyrinths of market stalls on ground level; the cacophony of sounds on Small Street Mall; gentrified street food spots; spaces defined by run-down concrete and dilapidation; minibus taxi ranks, South Africa's answer to public transport; culminating at global eco-spatial articulation and expression – a mall. The walk also included scenes from above, with the trip ending at Top of Africa destination, the Carlton Centre building, from where most of the metropolis is visible.

One pervasive theme that we had not planned for was decolonisation. It came up frequently and especially the students embraced the notion as a way of understanding how complex emancipatory and appropriative practices can be in everyday life. The theme was one

among many though, that came up during the last session of summing up the actors and issues of Braamfontein, and the procedures of this – going from a basically open space process, to group discussions, and back – has now been tried throughout all the workshops, and seemed to work well.

The 3rd URO Lab



The third URO Lab brought together a variety of stakeholders with many different backgrounds, including architects and urban planners, university students and university staff. Given their different investments in Braamfontein, many issues and agendas were at stake, and since the URO Lab proved to be the first event ever to bring all the stakeholders together in a dialogue, the discussions seemed very intense and, most importantly, necessary. The URO Lab departed from an overarching research question on *How does an urban area become contested?* and was divided into three workshop days, each with their own sub-questions to be explored.

The first workshop day departed from the sub-question *How does space frame contestation?* In order to explore this, the program presented the perspectives of urban planners, who brought focus to the physical, architectural and spatial means of transforming an area like Braamfontein. Their presentations served as a starting point for a critical discussion of such planning and transformation, which has come to exemplify the increasing gentrification of

inner city Johannesburg. Issues of diversity, access, belonging, dignity and inequality were brought to the table and illustrated historical and contemporary components to how Braamfontein as a space frames contestation. Architect Tunde Oluwa's talk brought this debate to another level as he suggested going beyond "spatial gymnastics" and involve more sensitive issues such as identity, culture, fear and power.

The second workshop day started out with a city tour around Johannesburg. Walking the streets of Braamfontein was intended to visualize some of the previous day's discussions, while the city tour as a whole served as a spatial contextualization, which allowed the participants to experience Braamfontein in relation to other city districts. The afternoon session, on the other hand, was aimed at turning the previous discussion upside down by asking *How does contestation frame, condition and affect space?* Starting with a conversation between Achille Mbembe and Mphethi Morojele, this topic was explored through the concept of *habitability*, capturing how contested aspects of the urban structure prevent Braamfontein from being a habitable space for its people. The following discussion revolved around the demand for decolonization of space, institutions and education in order to affect the habitability of Braamfontein. The rest of the afternoon was dedicated to inputs from a variety of different stakeholders, which reflected the multitudes of takes on and standpoints towards the notion of habitable spaces.

The third workshop day had two pillars, one of them dealing with the sub-questions *How is a contested space enacted, lived and transformed?* The different talks presented that day examined this question by forefronting the perspectives of individual students and their lived experiences of Braamfontein. The talks unfolded how particular examples of contested planning and urban aesthetics enact particular kinds of behaviour, and the speakers all pointed towards the importance of civil society in order to turn contestation into transformation. The other pillar of the workshop day was the actual workshop part where participants were encouraged to brainstorm on the key terms and main actors of the URO Lab, in order to unpack its central issues and formulate a concrete workshop outcome.

URO's participation



As a main collaborator, the participation of the URO team also had an impact on the course of the workshop. One of the contributions of the URO team was the presentation of the two previous URO Labs in Aarhus and Berlin, which served as an introduction to the Johannesburg URO Lab. The point was to highlight some of the issues and themes that they all three have in common. Furthermore it served as a model for how the workshop should facilitate a dialogue between formal and informal stakeholders, ending up in a discussion of existing urban orders and how such urban orders can provide a basis for creating democratic cities. Another structuring device, presented by the URO team, were the short sum ups every morning and afternoon, which kept the broad and lively discussions tied to an overarching framework and purpose. However, already halfway through the workshop, it became clear that it would be difficult to direct all the discussions towards the URO problem thesis – being able to simply raise their voices and getting the time to talk turned out to be the main goal for many of the participants.

As a result, the final workshop wrap up might be considered as 'another beginning' of the intense debate as opposed to a conclusion, a re-arrangement of priorities, powers and protagonists. The identification of shifting hierarchies and layers in the process of city transformation and the recognition hereof by powers in place seemed to be the most pertinent challenge to address. "Tools" that were expected to be developed as how the debated urban orders could come into play have (maybe unknowingly) been identified and demonstrated through the process of the workshop itself. This would be the development of the art of dialogue, that includes speaking, listening and the search for decisions arrived at through consensus, in African cultures also referred to as 'lekgotla' or 'kgolta'. In Southern African english, these are loan words for 'court' and describe a public meeting where anyone is allowed to speak and may not be interrupted while 'having their say'. Consequent decisions are always communal. The piece navigating epitome 'ntwa kgolo ke ya molomo' (a Setswana saying that the highest form of war is dialogue) describes this process that has been tried (and failed) several times by Wits University. As highlighted in the participant perspectives, the urban orders workshop was one of the few platforms succeeded to deal with the situation.

Key findings and discussions

The previous section broke down the structure, leading questions and challenges of the workshop. Pursuing the idea of the need for a 'lekgotla', referring equally to as much a place and as a process for dialogue around contestation of and space in the local context of Braamfontein, Wits, Johannesburg and South Africa, the following themes and positions have evolved for further debate out of a long list of keywords and issues that were collected in a brainstorming session.

The main key themes were:

- notions of power and resistance
- the power and empowerment of local practices
- notions of scales and power structures
- notions of dignity, access and the common
- notions of belonging

Suggestion 1

Explore a common dream for Braamfontein - the development of a holistic process for recording existing desires and translate them into realistic imaginaries, with all the contradiction included in the phrasing. This relates to top down and bottom up design, planning and governance.

Suggestion 2

Create spaces of contemporary belonging that relate and adapt to diverse identities over time.

Suggestion 3

Develop specific recording and mapping devices to visualize patterns of movement of bodies and appropriate space accordingly.

Suggestion 4

Re-inventing the urban social conduct to support access and dignity. This requires a change of mindset that depends on actions and visible change. New or different aesthetics that might help to live with each other in different ways (songs, theatre etc)

Suggestion 5

Visualisation of how power is enacted in different contested spaces in Braamfontein of the everyday and develop a counterproposal of imaginaries of micro politics that break away from the contested status quo.

Suggestion 6

Creating visibility and the chance of encountering otherness - designing mixed use and shared spaces that are not privatised or exclusive but empower interaction.

Suggestion 7

Integrating the idea of the critique into the everyday through literal place and process. This is with reference to Foucault's position that "critique might allow us not to be governed that much".

This debate has continued slowly, if not in Braamfontein, certainly within the institution. In August 2017, nearly a year after the workshop, the School of Architecture & Planning is preparing their own lekgotla and will address some of the issues and concerns raised in the three days of debate in November 2016 in the traditional court proceedings. The outcomes remain open, no consent has been reached at the time of finalising this report.

The three URO concerns

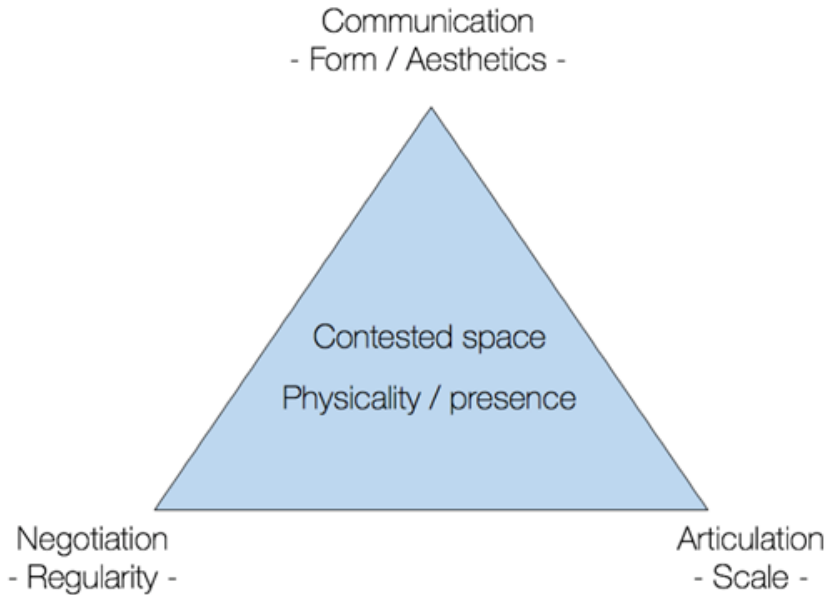
The URO project design is based on an overall ambition of harnessing the potentials of existing urban orders as a basis for creating viable and democratic global cities through a truly transdisciplinary dialogue. In order to experimentally maintain this transdisciplinary dialogue, we have set ourselves the challenge of formulating three 'URO concerns', which are of particular importance when seeking to harness the potentials of existing urban orders. After each URO Lab, we collectively re-visit the URO concerns already identified in order to discuss whether they need to be reformulated or maintained.

Based on our collaborative work during the 1st URO Lab in Aarhus, we identified three URO Concerns, which were used during the 2nd URO Lab in Berlin to orient the discussion and to challenge our preconceived ideas about the dynamics and workings of particular urban orders. Below we mention these only schematically but encourage readers to refer to the #1 URO Report for further discussion of these crucial issues (The report can be downloaded from uro.au.dk) :

1. *Who Governs the City?*
2. *Who Owns the City?*
3. *Who Lives in the City?*

During the discussions at the 2nd URO Lab in Berlin, we realized the need to develop these further in order to capture the range of scales that urban orders operate through. In a sense, the three URO Concerns that we defined after the 1st URO Lab narrows in on the concrete empirical situation but it does not necessarily capture the broader analytical implications.

Hence, based on our discussions and reflections during and after the 2nd URO Lab in Berlin, we developed a model, which incorporates three URO concerns that we have identified as being of particular importance for capturing the dynamics of urban orderings (See Model 1 below and also #2 URO Report for further elaboration).



Model 1: The URO Triangle

With this research project, we are focusing on the relationship between urban rights and the appropriation of public or private spaces in relation to concrete geographical locations in different urban settings. At the centre of the analysis is therefore a particular contested urban space that reflects a unique physicality and a form of presence that can be identified and examined. This might pertain to the everyday use of public or private spaces but could also refer to movements and flows through interweaving infrastructure circuits or to manifest contestations over rights to marginal and informal areas and even to the planning of new cityscapes in projected zones of the city.

In order to examine the urban orders that operate in and through concrete contested spaces, we suggest to focus on three interrelated issues or concerns: Communication, negotiation and articulation. It is through an intricate interplay between these three factors that provisional urban orders may be established and take effect.

1. *Communication.* Contestations and attempts at appropriating spaces are communicated by means of particular media through which they acquire effec-

acy, directionality and force. It is thus through communicative processes that spatial contestations attain social expression and affect or even condition the formation of particular urban orderings. Crucially, communication requires particular aesthetic forms in order to serve as shared vehicles for articulating contestations over space: building structures, language, images, fashion, blueprints, design etc.

2. *Negotiation.* Spaces are contested when their meaning, function and usage are disputed by different parties and actors, who are connected through their conflicts of interests. While disputes may flare up momentarily, the tendency is for these to endure over time and acquire a kind of rhythmic regularity whereby different normative repertoires are repeatedly activated by different opponents in their negotiations with adversaries and collaborators.
3. *Articulation.* In order for spatial contestations to stabilise as particular urban orderings, they need to be articulated across different scales. Scaling is the act of framing or dimensioning the urban space and it is necessary in order to acquire a particular point of view; e.g. as citizens moving through a public space or as planners imagining the optimal usage of inner-city highrises. Articulation across scales thus occurs when a particular contestation 'travels' from one scale to another, say, when a dispute between residents regarding the gentrification of their neighbourhood becomes a political debate that activates broader ideological repertoires.

At the 3rd URO Lab in Johannesburg, we maintained the analytical framework that we developed during the 2nd Lab in Berlin and used it as reference point for. During our conversations with local stakeholders, it became clear to all of us that all three issues were of utmost importance and productively captured the main tensions that marked the contested space of Braamfontein.

Urban Orders reconsidered: The 'local' as a strategy rather than place



Despite many differences, in all the cases we studied in the URO Labs so far, we encountered a crucial dynamic at play, we called the 'spatialization of the social'. This dynamic refers to

the multiple strategies of various actors to territorialize social conflicts to specific geographical locations, be it the "ghetto" of Gellerupparken in Aarhus, the "dangerous spaces" of Berlin Kreuzberg, or the rapidly gentrifying areas around Wits University in Johannesburg. While these localizations allow various actors to frame and tackle the "problems" in specific ways, aiming to address a larger social dynamic via local strategies and interventions can only be partially successful – if at all.

We termed this phenomena "the local trap", inspired by the work of Purcell and Brown (2005), who critically engaged with the growing assumption by scholars, planners, politicians and the general public, that the local level is inherently good or more desirable than other scales. We expanded this notion to address strategies of local actors that aim to construct and resolve complex issues on a local level. Building on the acknowledgement that places change over time based on the variety and dominance of practices invited and allowed for whereas the proclaimed identity of the place becomes the strategy of the local. These strategies of localization can be regarded as a feature of neoliberal urban politics around the globe, allowing decisions and strategies to be transferred to the level of districts or neighborhoods by-passing general concerns. As these dynamics not only allow for new forms of governing and local activism, but continuously produce forms of exclusion and stigmatization, the analytical question of, how and by whom the "local" as a scale and field of action is produced and transformed, becomes crucial for our collective aim to develop a methodical approach to analyze urban orders.

While these strategies of localization are important to understand, we as scholars should be carefully not to fall into the same ontological trap. This means to avoid several pitfalls that bears the danger to distort and partially blind our analyses.

1. We have to keep in mind that scales, such as the *local*, the *global* or the *national*, are not given but the result of complex processes of socio-political construction. This means that the level of the local has no inherent functions, effects or qualities per se. It does not explain anything but has itself to be explained. Being contingent, what the *local* refers to in each context is the practices i.e. the outcome of struggles and alliances between particular groups and actors, for example politicians, NGOs, administrations, police or the media. These actors mobilize this scale to reach specific ends, shape discourses and allow or inhibit specific practices. Addressing these practices of localization are crucial to understand how urban orders are maintained and contested.
2. Addressing the *local* as a contested category means to understand how these localizations are both stabilized and transformed over time. For example, only in recent decades, in many regions, state functions have been transferred to local govern-

ments who then adjusted these policies for their individual needs. Among others, this is brought about by new socio-economic paradigms of accumulation and production, with cities now being understood as progressive and competing economic actors in a global market of ideas, people and innovation. Furthermore, localizing state functions can also be understood as a way of managing and pacifying discontent brought about by these new economic restructurings. These phenomena highlight how the local is in constant flux and always a temporary arrangements. Therefore, addressing how and by whom these scales are maintained and intermittently stabilized is key to understand the underlying tactics of urban ordering.

3. The performed identities (strategies) of localization are tied to the practices, interpellations and makings of specific “local groups”, such as residents, neighborhood communities, visitors, newcomers or foreigners. In defining who is external and internal, the local, like every scale, becomes an instrument of inclusion and exclusion. Mobilizing the local allows to define actors to define who belongs and who does not, which subjects and groups are locally desired, tolerated or marginalized.
4. We have to understand these various scalings as inherently relational. What is considered a *local scale* is highly dependent on the formation of other scales, such as the city, region, national or global scales. These various scales are strongly tied to one another, thereby stabilizing or contesting each other. Mobilizing the analytical aspects sketched out above, one needs to ask why and for whom a particular form of scalarization is considered more plausible or more manageable than other ones, for example, why the “local” refers to neighborhoods and not city districts etc.

Keeping these aspects in mind, understanding how strategies of localization become mobilized by whom and to what end bears the promise to gain a deeper understanding of how urban orders are produced, maintained and contested.

Perspectives from participants



City & Braamfontein Citizenry – Tunde Oluwa, architect and studio lecturer

In exploring the concept of Urban Citizenship I will briefly look at three areas of the urban expression of Braamfontein:

Braamfontein as a THRESHOLD

Braamfontein as a UNIVERSITY PRECINCT and
DE-COLONIZATION of citizenship.

Formal 'citizenship' points towards a relatively passive interpretation of the word based on legal status or documentation. Citizens are passive recipients of the state's provision of facilities.

Also implied in the word, citizenship, is a certain level of exclusion; restricted rights, barring of access and of course absence of protection to *non-citizens*. *But supposing one is a citizen yet experiences all of the above negative responses?* Too often large sections of the urban poor find themselves left behind as the state's inability - to cope with the uneven growth of today's urbanization - is exposed.

Urban Citizenship is the process through which alienated groups contest the status quo and conventional solutions. It recognises that there are multiple perspectives. It encourages partnerships between the various players, including the state.

Urban Citizenship:

- Promotes inclusion rather than exclusion;
- Is expressed through activism rather than legal documentation;
- Acknowledges the right to be different, rather than looking for the common denominator;
- Rights are asserted by the groups themselves; rather than granted by the state;
- People treated as collaborators as opposed to passive beneficiaries;
- Recognizes multiplicity rather than seeking one vision;
- Influence is not restricted to national boundaries.

Ultimately Urban Citizenship will cross borders and incorporate like-minded activists across the globe who will form functional collectives to fill the yawning gaps left by Formal Citizenship.

Braamfontein as a Threshold;

Although difficult to compete with Jo'burg in terms of its historic architectural gems and the sheer vibrancy of that most African part of the city; Braamfontein has its own - not so secret - weapon. That of course is the University of the Witwatersrand.

The location of Wits here, guarantees a captive market which the vigilant entrepreneur can capitalise on. A case in point are the providers of student accommodation who are thriving and growing, even in these times of post global financial crisis.

So Braamfontein is ceasing to be just a threshold between the CBD and the suburbs; and we do not expect Wits to move any time soon.

Braamfontein as University Precinct:

The presence of Wits offers Braamfontein alternative opportunities in urbanization. Unfortunately Wits itself is now considered:- alien, excluding, unfriendly, to a substantial majority of it's clients.

Addressing the sense of displacement felt by many students is a major task. This is because the dynamics are not so tangible, and go beyond mere spatial gymnastics. Issues of identity, culture, fear and power are at the fore.

De-colonisation of Citizenship

While for some, de-colonisation sounds like a painful medical procedure; for others it invokes words such as: change, hope, progress, future.

The systems, processes, education we have received from the west were not designed to address our eco-system. They were designed to support the colonial world and not to find solutions to the different challenges we face here.

I contend that if you Live, Work and Love in this ecosystem - no matter your previous allegiance to the status quo, and no matter your concerns and fears that you may be left behind in the changes - we all need to realise that the old system has now run its course - *'it is no longer fit for purpose'*.

And so I implore us all;
take your medicine with a smile,
and De-colonise it.

Contestations of race, space, place and time: reflections of a #FeesMustFalls activist – Anzio Jacobs, student and activist

It is with great appreciation that I write this, few platforms exist in the space of architecture and planning that allow for robust engagement on the issues that the 2016 URO Lab Joburg allowed for. In consideration of the conversations that took place on the first and second day of the workshop, this response accounts for the spatial contestations within the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), and indeed those that spill out into the streets of the Braamfontein precinct which are not mutually exclusive, and may be seen as a microcosm of South African Society at large.

The #FeesMustFall (#FMF) protests ravaged the country and shook Wits to its core, when it demanded free quality and decolonized education during 2015 and into 2016. The protests premised on salient issues which arose in the student movement of 1976, the Soweto uprising, and movements thereafter sought relief along the lines of racial divides, but through articulating a call for decolonised[1] education simultaneously sought a remedy for a system inconsiderate of the intersectionality[2] of its constituency. The choice here of the word intersectionality insisted on the consideration of students across lines used to oppress, these inclusive but not limited to race, class, culture, gender and sexual orientation. While the latter may not seem as pertinent as the others, all of these intersections have bearing on the lived experiences of students, qua the citizens of an urban setting. While Wits as a university may be a microcosm of Braamfontein, qua Johannesburg and the rest of South Africa, it simultaneously illustrates on a micro level macro issues which require address. These include but are not limited to a call to decolonize the ways in which the institution functions and how the space of Braamfontein by extension is imagined. We briefly addressed in workshop what it would look like to rid ourselves of the barrier around our privilege as an institution, but could only briefly touch on the issue of the barrier which does not simply exist as a spatial one, but as an imagined one too, barring access. It is in this conversation that we hope to understand the contestations of the space at large.

Contested Race

Several points will be raised which had some participants in the workshop visibly uncomfortable; they are being revisited and will be centred on a seemingly dirty word, **race**.

As a precursor to this conversation on race, it is important to make a distinction between White as a racial category, and whiteness, an ideological one. The racial category seems to be at the heart of the discomfort in this conversation, as the two are not always articulated as mutually exclusive. White in the South African context at least refers to a racial grouping that enjoyed privilege during the Apartheid era, dare I say continue to enjoy it in a post-Apartheid,

Apartheid South Africa. That White is an exclusionary racial category entrenched through colonial rule as superior to its *other*, black. Notice how the two differ, in that I write White here capitalising the 'W' because this category is definitive, whereas the use of the small 'b' captures a less definitive category of a messy *other* inclusive of Indian, Coloured, Black and even Asian by South African definition of black as a racial category. This explanation is by no means new it has been discussed several times over, however, during the #FeesMustFall protests new life was breathed into this explanation, as it could now be seen in practice. Whiteness refers to the ideological difference that is entrenched as result of colonisation. It is the attitudinal embodiment of a colonial mind-set that subconsciously and consciously claims dominion over the *other*. It is the inability to recognise privilege because it is so intrinsic to one's being. It is indeed also a tool of the master's house, which *others* occasionally use to come closer in proximity to the master. In the case of #FEMF, many 'privileged' students have been accused of hooliganism, or thuggery while they use those same tools to dismantle the house of the master, this conversation cannot ever be an easy one.

Contestations of space, place and time

In lieu of the distinctions made above, contestations can be articulated in 3 categories namely; contestation of space, time and place. This segment speaks broadly within these categories, but does not delve into them individually due to a lack of time. In the contestation of space, we deal with the physical, both in the institution (Wits) and outside of it (Braamfontein). We need look at how the space is read and understood as violent and also at its contestation. At this juncture I would like to share my own story as case study, and for purposes of the conversation, implore the reader to consider how this story articulates such contestations.

Coming into the institution in my first year, I was bright eyed and bushy tailed, I walked through the corridors of the institution in wonder of being in a prestigious institution. Far from woke[3], and enthusiastic about being a student on west campus, I found myself indifferent to clear racial clusters during breaks and in classes. I struggled financially and worked three jobs in order to make ends meet. I lived in an outhouse in Yeoville where I would watch the family in that space have lavish dinners while I ate stale bread and drank black tea. A year and a half later I received a financial exclusion. The one thing I wanted most, an education, I could not have. It was at that point that I started to notice the inequalities around me. When we are interpolated into a system of oppression which had me believe that it was the norm, it is difficult to see otherwise. I started to reflect on things that had always angered me, but that I could not articulate until I personally had experienced them. I started to notice how white students had enjoyed the privilege of studying at home, while I did not have that option because I did not own a laptop. I noticed how the walk from Yeoville to Braamfontein to save money I would have used for taxi fare resulted in me being tired by the time I arrived at Wits for my classes and so unable to concentrate. I noticed how the buildings I was surrounded

by during the time I was allowed on campus didn't reflect a single name I could identify with. That the institution itself was so far gone that it didn't care that this was how I lived. When I looked around me on west campus, I saw blatant disregard for the seemingly invisible workers. How students would throw trash on the floor next to a bin and watch womxn[4] old enough to be their grandmothers quickly pick it up. I noticed how black academics used the most inaccessible English to teach so that they could be legible to their white peers and students as learned. I starved while I watched others throw away half eaten cartons of food. My heart sunk many times during those last few weeks at Wits. I feared that I had reached the end of my academic road, as I was simply not of the means to afford an education in the institution I so badly wanted to study in.

For myself and many others in the #FMF movement, we look at the solution as being intrinsically linked to the discussion on race; the two cannot be mutually exclusive. As said in workshop, race and class seemed to be collapsed into one category in South Africa, whilst this may be true; it is not always the case. As mentioned above, some in our society use their class status to gain proximity to whiteness, qua the master's house.

Would it be so incomprehensible for us to consider reimagining what we currently see space as? Could we decolonise spaces first in our imaginations, before we start decolonising places in our realities. The project that the students of this generation have undertaken to address is concerned with finding sustainable ways with which to realise this alternate reality where free education is possible, as pointed out earlier, this is a hallucination concerned with space, place and time, however the concept of hallucination as described by Leigh-Ann Naidoo, refers to a different time in which students imagine their realities. I can only pose questions which may or may not be rhetorical. If there are no answers, we need to start to think (re) imagine, how to answer them. Again as articulated in the workshop by myself, we cannot afford to (re)imagine space from a place of white privilege, because that privilege assumes that little is wrong as a starting point. Fortunately for us many writers, theorists and philosophers who believe that we are capable of learning new languages[5]; NoViolet Bulawayo in *We Need New Names*[6], Frantz Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* [7], Steven Bantu Biko in *I Write What I Like*[8], to name a few.

What if dignity took the semblance of allowing soap box spaces where all are able to air their views without restrictions on the time, space and place which they are articulating themselves in (within reason of course)? What would it look like to hallucinate spaces as circular, so that they resembled traditional spaces which allowed for equal participatory conversation? What would it be to hallucinate different ideas for teaching - not from the front but from the floor? Would it be so far-fetched that the planning of buildings allowed for communal spaces sheltered from the rain, for students to eat without being drenched? Is

there a way of architecturally incorporating African forms of architecture into future projects? What we are hallucinating, is a university that is cognizant of our socioeconomic differences such that it provides for those.

The process of decolonisation is one aware of oppressions in order to provide redress. For a student who does not have money for food, sitting in an area such as the matrix is a painful experience where said student is given little choice but to face their lack of resources while they are confronted with those who are of the means to enjoy such space. It is the difference of being able to drive to campus from a couple of kilometres away in your own car and catching two taxis and a bus to get to Wits that reifies such divides. Imagine how students calling for a decolonised institution feel when their residences are being demolished in favour of parking space, surely on a human level their disgruntlement can be sympathised with. The contestation of the space comes in meagre forms. What wordsmiths would call these Weapons of the Weak[9]. It is using the library lawns to play soccer instead of being seated on the grass where you are allocated space on the floor to eat. It is making use of the benches in front of Umthombo for political education rather than a quaint hangout, where you are able to articulate your suffering in song, and perform your poverty for others to sacrifice their change in order for you and ten friends to have lunch. It is in the anger of defacing property forcing it to change through use of graffiti to carve your history into it. It is painting the face of Solomon Mahlangu on a building which is named after him so that others don't forget. It is contesting the boundaries of the institution through disrupting normalcy that the foundations of privileged spaces are articulated, by occupying, protesting, chanting and toy toying that we breathe new life into the brittle bones of a white supremacist institution.

Where the cracks in the pottery of Wits start leaking the problems of the institution in micro-cosm bleed into the streets of Braamfontein where fuel is added to an already angry cohort, here they are joined by their peers who can't afford to be inside the institution, but who can only glimpse into the institution they can never attend.

Contested Conclusions

Swartz, Harding and De Lannoy[10] write about the quiet violence of dreams. In sum, the paper conveys that thwarted spaces such as South Africa, due to the massive socioeconomic disparities have youth in particular, affected psychologically by a system which makes them legible as citizens, but through that same system entrenches socioeconomic differences. It is through such difference that they argue, said youth react through two methods of belonging which are influenced by structural and symbolic violence; those being dreaming and *ikasi style*[11]. It is through such subversion that these youth are able to gain access to the socioeconomic status they seek. It is through their goals and aspirations, here captured as *ikasi style*, that we see their exclusion as an integral to understanding citizenship, which appears

to be oppositional to their lived experiences of exclusion. Swart et al, employ the writings of several authors to articulate that it is through these youth who are 'wounded' that we begin to understand the behaviour of township youth (and for purposes of this conversation, black youth general), in that their denial of dreams of belonging qua integration into the dream of a rainbow nation being denied, results in exclusion experienced through the narrative of a racialized past, which is ongoing in the present and therefore is compounded in a nation desperate for unity in spite of such divides. It is through such studies that the conversations had in URO Lab Joburg are reified. The contestations of space, place and time, are experienced first-hand in our day-to-day interactions with Wits as well as Braamfontein students, however, those same students come from a rainbow nation, which even through its yearning to be diverse, is not able to accommodate blacks or blackness which are disruptive to the status quo. It is in the moments in which youth such as those who form part of this movement, and those who are awakening and becoming woke, that we begin to dismantle the master's house. It is in these moments where we use the master's tools to build dreams. It is through those dreams that we are able to hallucinate a different place, space and time, in which we are able to enjoy the beauties of being African in space that reflects the diversity of our people. And though these hallucinations may be flawed, our dreams of a better future are flawless.

[1] Decolonization here refers to all forms of oppression 'falling'

[2] Crenshaw, K. (2016). *Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color* wrote:

Yet intersectionality might be more broadly useful as a way of mediating the tension between assertions of multiple identity and the ongoing necessity of group politics. [In synthesis her study suggests that the term refers to the overlapping or intersecting social identities and related systems of oppression]

[3] Colloquial term used to describe coming into a state of social consciousness

[4] Womxn used to avoid use of the suffix men

[5] Oxford Dictionaries | English. (2016). Wrote:

The method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way. [It is a] system of communication used by a particular country or community.

And indeed in this instance, the language being referred to is that of blackness, the unequal *other*, and black pain.

[6] Bulawayo, N. (2013). *We need new names*. New York: Reagan Arthur Books.

[7] Fanon, F., Sartre, J. and Farrington, C. (1965). *The wretched of the earth*.

[8] Biko, S. and Stubbs, A. (1979). *I write what I like*.

[9] Subtle but powerful forms of everyday resistance

[10] Swartz, S., Harding, J. and De Lannoy, A. (2012). Ikasi style and the quiet violence of

dreams: a critique of youth belonging in post-Apartheid South Africa.

[11] Markers of social inclusion; violence, sex, alcohol and substance abuse, music, recreation fashion as well as other diversions

Braamfontein: The view from my window – Contestation: conflict, co-existence or collaboration? – Lone Poulsen, architect, urban designer and educator

Braamfontein, in my opinion, is one of the most integrated, mixed-use, diverse and integrated neighbourhoods in the City of Johannesburg. The view from my office exposes me to a vibrant 24/7 environment comprising a vast range of land and occupation uses, as well as, a diversity of populations including daily commuters, office workers, migrant workers, immigrant life seekers, scholars, students, local residential communities and the homeless.

An eclectic mix of uses commercial enterprises: retail outlets including spaza shops and high end fashion chains; large and small private offices, professional practices, NGO organisations; civic institutions and municipal entities; large corporate companies; financial institutions; places of entertainment and restaurants catering to all tastes and incomes; art galleries and cultural museums; hotels; places of worship of many denominations; funeral parlours; residential facilities accommodating students, low income households, migrants, young and trendy professionals and homeless communities; educational facilities from pre-primary to tertiary colleges and universities; all co-exist side by side in a dispersed but integrated manner.

Braamfontein is home to many creative and innovative minds from artistic and cultural endeavours such as art galleries and museums, WAM, the Origins Centre, the Civic Theatre and Johannesburg Dance Company; Constitution Hill, the annual Grayscale Graffiti Festival and guided walks of the street art scene; to highly technical digital enterprises like the Tshimologong Innovation Hub

Park Station and surrounding bus and mini-bus taxi ranks become the gateway to the inner city of Johannesburg creating the largest transport interchange in the city for daily commuters, long distance national and international travellers and migrants. Services include Metrorail, Sanrail and the Gautrain; the Reya Via rapid bus system and metro bus routes; national and intercontinental bus services; numerous mini-bus taxi ranks serve daily commuters, inter-city and long distance taxi routes; and petrol stations in the area act as informal taxi and bus ranks.

The built environment is made up of different scales of buildings that reflect the history of Braamfontein from the original single storey buildings, to medium density mixed use buildings, to high-rise commercial and corporate office blocks and campus-like complexes that sit in space surrounded by public or private landscaped gardens. Together they create a diversity of urban experience from defining streets edges within the concrete jungle to creating green lungs in the dense urban fabric.

Braamfontein has been undergone a number of urban regeneration programmes over the

last twenty years each aimed at improving the public domain: realignment of pavements to accommodate pedestrians and parking more effectively; removal of informal traders perceived to be a nuisance; generations of street furniture and more recently the inclusion of bicycle lanes. These initiatives have not always resulted in more successful public spaces and follow up management and maintenance is sadly lacking. With the best intentions the most recent upgrades have resulted in inappropriate street furniture cluttering newly laid pavements and public spaces. The bicycle lanes are seldom used by cyclists, taxis use them as slip lanes, private vehicles park across them, and they are most successfully used by the trolley pusher recyclers. Privately owned public spaces are often appropriated by youth seeking places to meet after school and transform the under-utilised spaces into skateboard parks, performance spaces and perhaps some illegal activities. Subsequently, private owners fence off the space excluding the new found uses and shifting the activities to other 'left over' places, leaving behind a dead and useless space. These spontaneous activities indicate that often urban regeneration programmes do not fully understand the complexity of the mix of users and user needs that have infiltrated Braamfontein.

This diverse mix of uses and peoples leads to a contestation of space which sometimes results in conflict, sometimes engenders co-existence through mutually beneficial engagements or merely tolerance of each other, and sometimes leads to interesting and unusual collaborations.

Contested rhythms of Braamfontein – Olga Koma, student of Planning and Urban design

Introduction

The following seeks to address the question: How is a contested area enacted, lived, re-imagined and transformed? In order to begin unpacking the questions, I saw it fit to first understand the meaning of the words used in constructing the question i.e. contested; enacted; lived; re-imagined and transformed. By virtue of a contested space being enacted, that means it was preconceived and premeditated, and the manifestations of such are not new to our city but are universal as 'Form follows thought'.

Contested Rhythms of Braamfontein

In re-visiting Braamfontein as a contested space, I was startled by what seemed like a contestation of words "Contested Rhythms"- which is equivalent to a cognitive dissonance of urban theory in this case. According to the online Oxford Dictionary (English Oxford, 2017) contested in this case means to engage in competition to attain (a position of power). Rhythms, means a strong, regular repeated pattern of movement or sound (ibid). It is important even more so to understand the meaning of these words within the context of the site; its actors and thus in trying to reimagine the foresight. The actors within Braamfontein were identified as: Those that govern (ANC/ DA); those that own the means of production (Developers; Property owners and Business Owners); and a student community (made up primarily as Black and unemployed). Those that govern and own the means of production were classified as variables that are transient; and the Student community was classified as constant variables. The reason for this is because it then becomes easier to see who falls within the [Contested] part of the question and who falls within the [Rhythms]. It is therefore interesting to note the contestation between the actors, as the transients seems to wield power and influence over the constant variables (whose power has recently been demonstrated through the #Feesmustfall movement).

The identified actors seem to be clashing due to the fact that the Constant Variables feel marginalized whether spatially, socio-culturally and definitely economically; and they are being marginalized by a transient group whose interests seem exploitative (as they can up and go if and when it suits them). Right now one of the manifestations we are witnessed is evidenced through the #Feesmustfall movement which has to do with Access to high education. The situation has reached this point because (one can argue that) it was preconceived and premeditated by the Transients. As these are not new issues, but have been brewing for years. The fact that our history is that of exclusion in its cruelest form that saw the exclusion of the majority of the people from accessing certain strategically economic advantageous spaces, such as universities, or were not considered part of the urban fabric warrants the

conclusion that 20 years into democracy the *deliberate* enactment of policies have actually led to the reinforcement of injustice.

In answering the question of: How is a contested area enacted? For me the simple answer is that it is through the lack of a collective long term vision, misalignment of priorities, non-coordination, and the lack of communication. i.e. a failure in government and governance (whether it be elected officials or business or even society, we have all failed each other).

Re-imagining transformation

The way we begin to re-stitch our collective re-alignment perhaps is through our collective consciousness to recognize that we are most powerful when we are diverse; feel included; loved and respected. The reason I use such emotive words such as 'love and respect' is because then the answer takes root at the individual level. We hear almost daily of incidents of racism, and how we even need to legislate racism. At what point are we going to realize, as history has documented repeatedly, that Greed and Otherness only leads to the death and destruction of all. The practicalities of what needs to be done have been captured extensively i.e. Intergovernmental relations; public-private participation and coordination etc. Perhaps we need to firstly re-imagine transformation from the inside out, whereby we are not just finding loopholes to 'cheat' the system but rather we identify with our collective consciousness to realize places/ spaces that are indeed Accessible, Inclusive, and all share in the collective wealth. While forward planning is vital, so too is the need for strategic intervention by these equally strategic intermediaries within the urban space.

References:

English Oxford Dictionary (2017), INTERNET: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/contest>, last accessed: 24 May 2017.

The next steps

The 4th and final URO Lab will be held in New Orleans, Louisiana, in April 2017 and we are already in the process of preparing that event in collaboration with local collaborators from the Tulane Regional Urban Design Center. Finally, in August of 2017, we will organize a final international conference in Aarhus, Denmark, to discuss research findings from the four URO Labs and to plan a collective. Based on this conference, the URO team will publish a final volume summarizing all findings from the four URO Labs.

Appendix 1: List of participants

Ndumiso Davidson	CEO, South Point
Lone Poulsen	Poulsen Buccellato Architects
Sumayya Vally	CounterSpace
Olga Koma	Wits School of Architecture & Planning
Sarah Charlton	Wits School of Architecture & Planning
Kate Tissington	Wits School of Architecture & Planning
Moses Metileni	Wits School of Architecture & Planning
Steven Sack	Director, Origins Centre
Monica Albonico	Urban Designer
Thomas Chapman	Director, Local Studio
Martin Mzumura	Urban Designer
Yael Horowitz	Programme Manager
Prof Barry Dolwatsky	Director, Joburg Centre for Software Engineering
Ludwig Hansen	Director
Tunde Oluwa	Director
Mphethi Morojele	Director
Lemaseya Khama	Braamfontein City User
Anzio Jacobs	#FeesMustFall Coordinator
Mpho Matsipa	Researcher, Wits City Institute
Achille Mbembe	WiSER
Sarah Nuttall	WiSER
Tshego Moiloa	Moiloa Office of Architecture + Design
S'thembile Cele	Blogger
Mokgwetsi Phala	Director
Kelly Gillespie	Head of Anthropology
Daryl Glaser	Head of Department of Political Studies, Wits University
Refilwe Makaula	Assistant Director, Infrastructure Planning and Coordination
Eric Raboshakga	Assistant Director, Strategic Spatial Planning
Liana Strydom	Assistant Director, Strategic Spatial Planning
Sabelo Mahlangu	Wits School of Architecture & Planning
Herman Pienaar	Director, City Transformation and Spatial Planning
Veronica Klipp	Publisher
Fasiha Hassan	#FeesMustFall Coordinator
Tebogo Alexander	SABC Journalist and TV producer
Tumi Morule	Urban Actor
Lindiwe Manyika	Wits Transformation & Employment Equity
Rodney Buitendag	Liberty Workplace Management, Corporate Real Estate Services

Jabu Makhubu	Educator, University of Johannesburg
Finzi Saidi	Head of Department, University of Johannesburg
Lesley Lokko	Head of the Graduate School of Architecture Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture, University of Johannesburg
Emmanuel Prinsloo	Director, Campus Planning & Development
Marie Huchzermeyer	Wits School of Architecture & Planning
Barry Myburgh	Lecturer, Wits School of Electrical & Information Engineering
Morten Nielsen	Associate professor, Aarhus University – Department of Anthropology, Head of URO project
Mikkel Thelle	Associate professor, Aarhus University – Department of History, URO steering committee member
Leo Pedersen	Associate professor, Aarhus University – School of Engineering, URO steering committee member
Louise Fabian	Associate professor, Aarhus University – Department of History of Ideas, URO steering committee member
Peter Gall Krogh	Professor with Special Responsibilities, Aarhus University – School of Engineering, URO member
Stefan Höhne	Dr., Technische Universität Berlin - Centre for Metropolian Studies, URO member

