

**Walking to eat in the street of Alexandra-Analysing
the effects Jozi@work has on street reclaimers.**



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Abstract

In the year 2014, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) began implementing the jozi@work programme in a number of municipal sectors. Jozi@work is a solid waste management initiative which aims to rectify the inequalities that were historically written into South Africa's socio-economic fabric by the apartheid system. It did this by contracting co-operatives (coops) and Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in various Johannesburg Townships to provide solid waste management services such as cleaning the streets, separating material at source (S@S), collecting and transporting litter (Jozi@Work: Developmental Service Delivery, 2015). This study investigates how street reclaimers in Alexandra Township were affected when jozi@work was implemented in the streets where they worked. The main research question for this study is “How has the implementation of jozi@work in the Township of Alexandra affected street reclaimers working in that area?” Based on 10 days of fieldwork over the course of two months, this paper argues that exclusion of street reclaimers from jozi@work programme has impacted negatively their livelihoods and social relations because it brought non-waste pickers to pick in the areas where they worked which created massive competition to street reclaimers.

Keywords: waste, street reclaimer, waste picker, livelihood, Jozi@work, solid waste management, recyclables, and gender.

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List of Acronyms

ArcGIS - geographic information system (**GIS**) for working with maps and geographic information.

CoJ- City of Johannesburg

COOPs – Cooperatives

CSIR- Counsel for Scientific and Industrial Research

DEA- Department of Environmental Affairs

DST-Department of Science and Technology

RDI- Research, Development, Innovation

S@S- Separation at Source

SMEs- Small Medium Enterprises

Chapter 1- Introduction

On the other side of the street in Alexandra Township, there was a man pulling a stacked trolley of recyclable materials Sunburnt, depleted, sweating and breathing vigorously, with his head bowed between his outstretched arms, he halted to assuage the agony on his back and take a sip of water. He continued to move up the steep slope and disappeared from view. This man had followed this same route for years. However, one day when he returned, he discovered individuals wearing a uniform, working in his streets, he got invigorated in light of the fact that he could recognize them. In his mind, he supposes the people were helping him to rescue recyclables as the majority do for different cleaning campaigns. However, he got dismayed to learn they were procured by jozi@work.

Jozi@Work is a co-production programme launched by the City of Johannesburg on the 30th of September 2014 in Eldorado Park. The City describes it as a “*hand up*” not “*hands out*” initiative to remedy inequalities that were historically written into South Africa's socio-economic fabric by the apartheid system (Jozi@Work: Developmental Service Delivery, 2015). It aimed to achieve this by contracting an estimated 1 750 new and existing community-level cooperatives and enterprises that would become self-sustaining in future (Jozi@Work: Developmental Service Delivery, 2015). Considering that jozi@work has been implemented in the very same areas where street reclaimers work, the prevailing question arises as to how it has affected them?

Rationale

This research report deals with solid waste management, more specifically street reclaimers and their formal sectors competitors' jozi@work. Street reclaimers are people going through bins (public and households) looking for goods they can use for personal purposes or sell. They play a vital role in contributing to the environmental sustainability by reducing the amount of waste that goes to the landfills and providing better inputs on the process of recycling. In a way, they are rendering municipal services for free because their job saves the municipality lot of money (Samson, 2008).

Considering that jozi@work has been implemented in areas where street reclaimers operate, this creates huge competition for street reclaimers and also ruins their relationship with people they are collecting material from. The above-mentioned scenario is not only seen as a denial of livelihood for the poor but also as an enclosure of waste from both street reclaimers and the public (Samson, 2009). It is also privatization of public spheres which deprive street reclaimers their constitutional rights to be in the city which are the right to access city resources and opportunities (recyclable materials) (Mitchell, 2003)?

This report seeks to analyse the effects jozi@work initiative has on street reclaimer's livelihood and social relations with the community and their counterparts because it is important to identify and understand these issues as they can be taken into account for developing S@S programmes or trying to integrate reclaimers into municipal programmes. The unearthing of these challenges through the study will contribute towards the growing literature debates of politics and the effects of urban recycling in South Africa Township.

Background

The study was taken in Alexandra Township, Gauteng province of South Africa. Alexandra Township is located around 16 kilometres from central Johannesburg, nested amongst Johannesburg's mainly white north-eastern suburbs (Mahlali, 2009). Large parts of the township have the appearance of a slum area, and are, after 90 years of existence, in dire need of upgrading (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). The area is characterized by low socio-economic status, diverse cultures; congested informal household structures, overpopulation, and poor service delivery. Freedom of movement in the area, in general, is inhibited by high levels of crime and violence. The majority of people occupying the spaces are unemployed illiterate black people, disadvantaged by colonialism and apartheid (Bozzoli, 1998). Considering the area's disadvantaged socio-economic background, there are low job opportunities and as a result, most of the inhabitants salvage recyclables as an innovative way to support themselves and their families while keeping the streets clean. Furthermore, the CoJ has created job opportunities for this area by partnering with Pikitup to create programmes like separation at source S@S and jozi@work which will address poor waste management practices. Jozi@work in Alexandra was contracted under the certain agency but due to an election of a new major, the previous agency was replaced by Boitumelo Environmental Solution which started 1 October 2017 and will end on the 31 December 2017. They provide services such as street cleaning, cleaning of illegal dumping spots, education and awareness, and recycling of general waste. It hired 556 actual employees and operates as follows: Day shift commences from Monday to Sunday commences at 7:00 and ends at 15:30 with one hour lunch break and Night Shift from Monday to Sunday commencing at 19:00 and end at 4:00 with one

hour meal break (see table 1 in the appendix). Alexandra was selected as the outer most practical area to conduct this research because it has the most functional Jozi@work initiative. Moreover at the time of doing the research jozi@work in Alexandra was one of the few areas where it was still functioning.

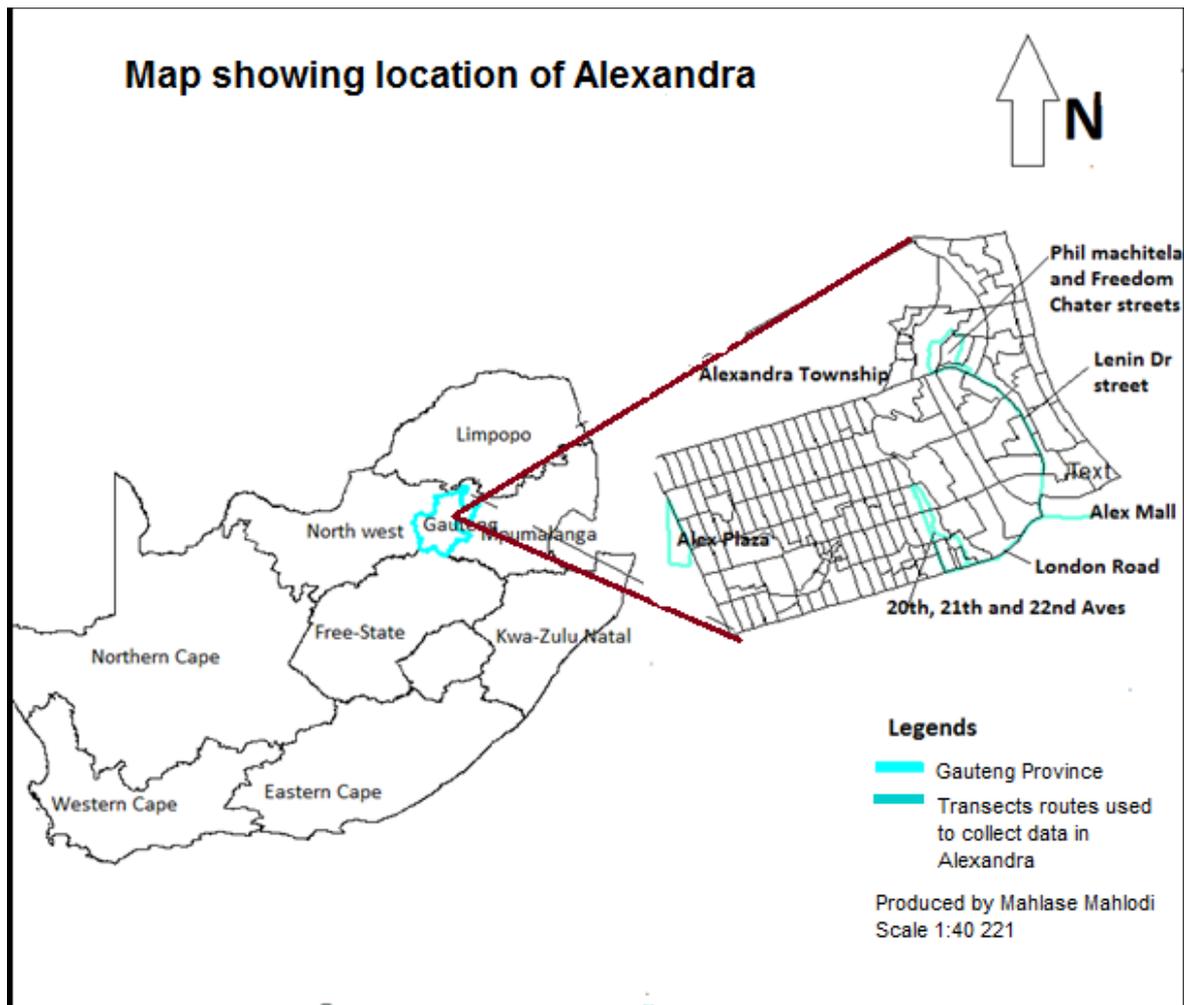


Figure 1 illustrates study site of Alexandra within the borders of Gauteng province, South Africa.

Research question

This research report analyses the effect Jozi@work has on street reclaimers by answering the following research question: How has the implementation of Jozi@work in the Township Alexander affected street reclaimers working in that area? Moreover, sub-questions were developed in order to guide the main research questions, how have street reclaimers in Alexandra been affected by Jozi@work, how have street reclaimers in Alexandra responded to Jozi@work initiative and how street reclaimers in Alexandra view Jozi@work?

Overview of the proposal

This section outlines the content and structure of the research report, chapter 1 has an overall introduction to the proposal and background. Chapter 2 presents literature relevant to the study which encompasses the theories and academic. Chapter 3 describes research methodology which includes methods table and describing all the methods used, participants targeted to and why these particular methods were chosen. Along with that is a discussion on the limitations associated with the use of all the methods. Chapter 4 discuss and analyse in detail the findings of the research and lastly, chapter 5 will summarize key arguments along with the finding of the research possible areas for future research and references will follow.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

A literature review is an evaluation and critics of papers on the topic a scholar engage (Kralik *et al*, 2006). This literature review engage with different academic debates and theories informing the following themes: Conceptualization of waste, street reclaiming and reclaimers, gender and street reclaiming, waste enclosure and livelihoods

Conceptualization of waste

Conceptualization of waste is very complex, as the term means different things to different people. For this reason, it is difficult to have a standard definition of waste. Moore (2012), in her review of literature about waste, identifies four different aspects of waste - waste as a resource, commodity, filth and something that has lost its value. Although waste is assumed to be something that has no value, it can be defined as a resource because it can be recycled, reused and sold back in the market whilst as defining it as the commodity is putting the monetary value on waste and assign some property rights around its services. On the contrary, it can be seen as filth and something that lost its value especially by people who have no interest in using that object again (Moore, 2012).

Ackernman and Mirz (2001) establish that waste dumps are often located in the peripheries of cities where poor communities are likely to reside and that waste is from the rich neighborhood. This is arguably a direct reflection of the way society conceptualizes waste as something of the poor, filthy and not to be associated with. Whitson (2011) also argues that change in place of waste dumps has a major influence on society's attitude towards the way they

perceive waste. This is because the change in places of waste (landfills) allows people to consider new ways of relating to waste and people working with it. The reason being they will start to notice the number of people working with waste and the importance of working with it. However, for those who are not living or relate to waste, they will consider it as filthy and dirty (Whitson, 2011). Also, they find it difficult to separate waste and people working with waste materials, they are often seen as one entity (Whitson, 2011).

Street reclaiming and reclaimers

In a context where one is not sure whether they will go to bed with a full stomach due to limited employment in the formal economic sector, is not surprising when a lot of people opted to street reclaiming as a way of making a living (Samson, 2008). According to Samson (2008), reclaimers are people who make living by salvaging recyclable materials from dustbins on the streets and residential areas especially in the Townships where recyclables are not enough in the dustbins; they either sell or keep the material for personal purposes.

Historically street reclaiming has been seen as an act of outcast and marginal groups like migrants, which nobody wanted to be associated with (Madina, 2003). It is not surprising that the patterns are still in existence today, as current street reclaimers face challenges of identity as workers because organizations do not see them as such (Madina, 2003). They are more aligned with business associations which government usually does not enforce laws to protect and advance their interests. Hence mostly do not have social protection. Drawing from Samson (2009), the South African government along with municipalities do not want to regulate waste picking and this militates against any prospects of their

improvement. This is also viewed by Scheoman and Sentime (2011) when they argue that many municipalities consider street reclaimers to be a nuisance that marries the image of the city, hence they are trying to get rid of them. As a result of this kind of behaviour, state portrays most labour laws do not operate in the interest of the street reclaimers or other informal workers which hamper protection against risks and injury as well as job security (Theron, 2003, 2010). Samson (2008) draws our attention to the fact that some municipalities enclose the waste and such efforts are seen as a denial of a means of livelihood to the poor. At the end of the day, this directly increases the unemployment levels; as a result, some have resorted to illegal entry. Samson (2005), also argue that privatization one of the biggest enemies to waste pickers as it promotes big companies at the expenses of the informal waste pickers whose income is reduced and job security and their social relations are threatened. In the same vein, the use of technology particularly the mechanism of producing methane gas for electricity generation is a threat to waste picker survival (Samson, 2013). However, as cited by (Medina, 2000), the waste to energy conversion schemes suffer serious limitations in that Third World countries want to use capital-intensive approaches to waste management in a top-down approach for the benefit of the formal sector yet they waste foreign currency and lack capital. The solution presented by (Medina, 2000) developing countries should engage in waste management programs that create employment, protect the environment, promote community participation and accommodate informal refuse collectors so as to avoid foreign currency expenditure. Despite the scientific appeals, indicated in Achankeng (2003) and globalrec (2013) that waste to energy conversion actually leads to more

greenhouse gas emissions, reduces employment for the reclaimers as well as continues to deplete natural resources. In comparison with recycling, it is environment saving despite the fact that 70% of the waste in developing countries is organic. They work with recyclable materials which are dirty and filthy and as such, they are treated with disdain by officials who work unfavourably against their formal inclusion within solid waste management systems (Dias, 2006, 2009, 2013; Medina, 2007; Samson, 2009).

Gender and street reclaiming

To understand different perspectives of gender and street reclaiming, one has to appreciate that the role gender plays in informal waste picking is significant, particularly the way culture and tradition constructed gender in relation to waste management, it has managed to shape the roles of men and women in waste management systems and society today still play by those rules (Dias and Ogando, 2015). The spheres of informal waste management are not only gendered but also classed and women, specifically of colour, are always vulnerable to social inequalities and injustices. With that being said, it is not surprising when women are generally subjected to worse environmental conditions than men, the reason is women are more likely to be poorer than men and are exposed to worse environmental setbacks evident to poverty (Ntuli, 2016).

As a consequence, their primary reason for salvaging recyclables is acquiring financial stability to support their families (Samson, 2015). Even though one can argue that most informal recyclers, regardless of their gender, experience poverty but undoubtedly, women and men experience this differently, and women experience additional layers of disadvantage, discrimination, and exclusion. (Dias et al, 2015).

Given the way culture has shaped peoples' perceptions towards waste management, it is not surprising when there are trust limits between male and female reclaimers. Hence, instead of female reclaimers requesting assistance from another male reclaimer, they focus on the need for transport to ensure that their safety is guaranteed when traveling long distances to recycling buyback centres (Dias and Ogando, 2015). It is vital that gendered implications are recognized in study as women face different realities related to safety, motherhood and sexual harassment in these spaces of informal recycling (Dias and Ogando)

Waste enclosure

The waste enclosure is the privatization of waste management systems in a way that people working for informal sectors like street reclaimers have limited or completely no access to waste (Sharholly et al, 2008). This approach, however, is a strategy of 'accumulation by dispossession' where the state conspires with the capitalists and strip ruthlessly of the common resources and the vulnerable people. As Pulido (2000) supports, the poor, marginalized always have to suffer, and in this case, it is street reclaimers and the formal sector gain from privatization. Samson (2008) indicated that such efforts are seen as a denial of a means of livelihood to the poor which increases the unemployment levels; as a result, some resorts to illegal means like stealing.

In the same vein, Schindler argues that the same processes are unfolding in the street of Delhi as there are private companies that took over the door to door collection from street reclaimers (Sharholly et al, 2008). Not only are street reclaimers threatened by a policy shift that limits their access to waste, the competition that is unfolding in daily basis threatens their income, job security

and their social relations with their counterparts and the community (Sharholly et al, 2008). Considering that both community and street reclaimers are being captured, who has the ultimate right to the city (Mitchel, 2003)? What about the common people (street reclaimers) who cannot afford and rely on the waste to sustain their lives?

Livelihoods

Livelihood approaches are mostly employed within the human development literature in relation to poverty. The term itself is extremely subjective anyway it can most be characterized as methods for securing a living (Chambers, 1995). These methods relate to a more extensive comprehension of the essential needs approach as this idea have created and augmented since its presentati on at the International Labour Organization's World Employment Conference in 1976 (Chambers, 1995).The basic needs approach is criticized for its oversimplificati on of poverty issues and its narrow scope of development. At the same time, it can be argued that the basic needs approach points towards the inevitable connection between economic growth and human development. Todaro and Smith claim that economic growth is a precondition for human development, as improved quality of life is attained through covering basic needs. They support their case by referring to Goulet who states that one needs to "have enough in order to be more" (Todaro, 2003, p. 21). The materialistic view of livelihoods can be related to waste through the informal waste workers industry. The labour intensive nature of waste collection and recycling in developing countries may provide employment for the poor and unskilled (Barr and Mafuta, 2007). Millions of poor people in the developing world, and especially in

developing cities, make a living from informal waste handling (Ahmed and Ali, 2004). However, the aspect of livelihoods focusing on a basic needs approach will not be utilized in this research. In recent years the basic needs approach has been substituted for a basic empowerment approach, focusing more on empowerment and “capabilities” that needs (Chittoor, 2012). Capabilities relate to a individual’s freedom to lead the life they value, emphasizing the close connection between deprivation of income and deprivation of capabilities (Sen, 1999). Furthermore, a person’s possibility to live the life they want depends on opportunities, which are determined by the arrangements and circumstances within which the person live and act. That is to say; livelihoods are only good if they are secured in the long term.

This section reviewed different theories of conceptualization of waste, street reclaiming and reclaimers, gender and street reclaiming, waste enclosure and livelihoods, allowed them to speak to each another in a way that they provided distinct understanding. In essence it concludes that waste exists, it is defined as the materials that individuals decide they do not want in their space, the opinions of a human being shape what they regard as waste in their spaces, this is the reason we see a person throw of certain material whereas another individual uses the same material to survive. Moreover, waste is seen as the livelihood of street reclaimers and a common resource of the city that people can use to sustain their lives. However, somehow the government always finds a way to capture their rights to the city.

Chapter 3- Methods

Methods are tools that enable one to access necessary data to fulfil a purpose, in this case, is to answer overall research and methodology is the ways in which research will be carried out which include assumptions and values. For this reason, it is important that researcher chose, directly and indirectly, methods that will help in addressing research question adequately (Mouton, 1996). Methods used for this research were chosen based on their ability to engage thoroughly with research sub-questions which in turn will contribute towards answering the overall research question. The sub-questions and methods used for the purpose of this research will be presented in table two below.

Table 2 illustrates in detail sub-questions, methods and participants used for this research

Sub-question	Methods	Participants
How have street reclaimers in Alexandria been affected by Jozi@work?	-Semi-structured interview -Timeline interview	Street reclaimers
How have street recalimers in Alexandria responded to Jozi@work initiative?	-Semi-structured interview Individual mind-mapping and brainstorming	Street reclaimers
How street reclaimers in Alexandria view Jozi@work?	-Semi-structured interview -Mind map	Street reclaimers

I started the research on the 7th July 2017 around 10:13 a.m. I met street reclaimers at Alexandra mall and we went to the Buyback centre where they frequently sell their recyclables. When I got there I was very nervous given the reputation of the place but the street reclaimers were very welcoming and that made me comfortable. However, towards the beginning of the interview, some street reclaimers were very reluctant on sharing information but they started to be comfortable as they realise that the research is a good course. The research was conducted for 10 days over the period of 2 months in Alexandra, specifically around the mall; plaza, Jukskei River, and Rasta village (see figure 2 in the appendix).

I decided to split my interview process into two phases, the first phase consist of timeline interviews which were conducted in the participant homes (Rasta village) and the second phase took place at much later stage on various places including Alex mall, plaza, Jukskei River. I did not have a set number of informal recyclers that I expected to interview, I had planned to interview as many street reclaimers as I could. I did exactly that and ended up stopping after the 15th street reclaimers. The interviews were conducted in four vernacular languages (Setswana, isiZulu, Pedi, and Sesotho).

Mapping

Maps are usually described as a visual representation of different aspects of space and place (Hanna, 2010). Therefore it is important to incorporate components of mapping, especially when establishing study site of Academic research. According to Lefebvre (1991), a mapping is essential as it indicates that the states, spaces are socially produced and how spaces are represented is thus a result of how they are experienced. It also gives an insight into the extent the project cover, where the

activity took place so that people who do not know the place can be familiar with it (Lefebver, 1991). For the purpose of this study, ArcGIS, Google Earth, and Paint were used to show the location where research took place

Sampling Techniques

Sampling plays important role in the trustworthiness of the data collected from fieldwork. Bearing in mind that this project is a qualitative study, the sampling methods that are pertinent according to Marshall (1996) are judgment and snowball sampling. Judgement sampling is the primary sampling method used to select the most conducive sample to participate in the study (Marshall, 1996). The selection was based on suggestions offered by my supervisor, and evidence from the study itself which suggests the need for specific groups of people i.e. street reclaimers in Alexandra. An advantageous aspect of this sample is that it leads one to the snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling was used to gain access to more participants suggested by the already selected participants (Marshall, 1996).

Timeline interview

As illuminated by Adriansen (2012), timeline interview is a qualitative method used in and relate life events between set periods of time to answer the research question. When using this method (particularly targeted at the street reclaimers) I chose the year of birth as a starting point and year of an interview as an endpoint, followed this, I have asked participants to answer various life events from the time they were born until the year of the interview (Adriansen, 2012). The advantage of using this method is that it gives a detailed personal account of the participant's life while building a better understanding of the different situations

that may have led to the participant's present-day life experiences (Adriansen, 2012). From the above-mentioned viewpoint, issues that the participant identified as important in his/her life chronologically will be revealed and this brought some of the issues that were initially overlooked.

In essence, this method was used to listen to the story of several street reclaimers from where they were born and what circumstances led them to be recyclers, particularly in South African Township for one street reclaimer who is a foreigner to Gauteng Province. This contributed greatly to the understanding of some of the underlying issues that Jozi@work might have caused.

Semi-structured interview

A semi-structured interview is open-ended interview following a general script and covers a list of topics selected by the interviewer (Bernard, 2006). This method proved to be highly advantageous under the time constraints that were, encountered, where there was only one opportunity to interview a particular person. For this project, the interviews were conducted in isiZulu, Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, and English but also varied in content and complexity depending on a personality of an individual and only 3 street reclaimers interviewed.

Semi-structured interviews follow the general feel of an unstructured interview with an interview guide being the only crucial difference between the two (Bernard, 2006). An interview guide is a list of all the topics that need to be covered in a particular, it will be used in conjunction with an interview schedule and it dictated the order and structure of the interview process (Bernard, 2006). The advantage of semi-structured interviews along with an interview guide and schedule is that it showcased competence and preparedness during an interview while

allowing room for free flow discussions with the participants. This method was used to acquire in detail the effects Jozi@work had on street reclaimers and how they responded to the effects.

Focusgroup

Focus interview is a group interview of approximately 3 to 10 people sharing similar interest and the interviewer aid discussion between the participants. For the purposes of this research, focus interview was seen as an important tool to see how certain matter is viewed or debated by a particular group of people and also it allows a researcher to access different communication forms which people use daily. In a focus group, people may help each other to recapture past events (Secor, 2010). However it was unfortunate that we could not conduct this kind of interview as there were a lot of insecurities (*trust issues*) amongst the participants and as a result, they were coming one by one in the Wonderful's Buyback Centre which made it difficult to form a group.

Policy document conducted

The fundamental policy approach for this research report is distributed in 2015 by the City of Johannesburg and is titled "Jozi@Work Developmental Service Model". The strategy plots the monetary allowance allotted for the activity; the significant partners engaged with administering the activity; the destinations of the activity; its significance and what issue it expects to illuminate; the prerequisites to be a piece of the program; the spots the program will be situated in and the span the program will continue for. It filled in as a helpful archive to provide some context on the aims of the initiative which were attested on the findings.

Data analysis method

Ground theory

This strategy for information investigation was created by sociologists as comprises of a progression of methods connected to distinguish subjects and ideas which can be connected to formal theories (Bernard, 2006). Furthermore, it helps an information examiner to immerse and "ground" him or herself inside the information in order to recognize a few examples of the transcripts of the information (Bernard, 2006). The initial step that was taken was to feature and note down themes that relate to the major topics of the study. Following that procedure, organizers were made for each subject that was identified, to which significant quotes were then designated. Once that procedure was finished, the information examination table gave by the supervisor was utilized to begin perceiving how the information fits together with the fundamental arguments, key findings and other theories were identified. This strategy turned out to be compelling in light of the fact that it even gave a structure to the outcomes and discourse area which, as can be noted in that segment, contains the topics that were recognized and every one of the quotes and writing related with a specific key finding.

Ethical consideration

Ethics are associated with morality and values; mostly with a societal matter in a way that they indicate whether something is wrong or right (Babbie and Mouton, 2007). In this research, the researcher adhered to the general agreement of a participant. In a way that the objectives of the research were explained to the participant in detail before the interview took place and no minors (people under the age of eighteen) were interviewed. Also, the participants were ensured anonymity and confidentiality

were possible and written consent was obtained from every participant prior conducting the interview.

For this reason, it was essential to follow the ethical procedure as it boosts credibility and reliability of the research as the majority of qualitative researchers tend to become more political. Therefore as a researcher who hopes to unearth new ideas or contribute knowledge, it is important to conduct research with a high level of integrity regardless of power and social dynamics surrounding it. When the research moral compass is being compromised in any way, form or shape, it influences negatively the lives of participants and people reading it. In complying with what has been indicated above, acknowledgment for this research was credited through citations and references list at the end of the report.

Limitations

The main challenges of any qualitative research are finding and recruiting participants from the target population. As a result of this research format, I do not think I was able to randomize my sample population which might have reduced variation in collected data. However, I resorted to self-directed or snowball sampling and it did not limit my potential pool of respondents. Moreover finding few street reclaimers on the streets of Alexandra increased my response rate overall and increased variation in collected data.

The interviews were carried out in English, Tswana, Sotho, and basic Zulu, Xhosa and Swati; however vernacular languages do not have enough direct translation for most English words. In addition, most street reclaimers were not comfortable in responding with vernacular language because they felt like I will undermine their

intelligence as they think English is a measure of intelligence. The simplifications of those words might have been limited. Moreover, I was unable to conduct the focus group with both street reclaimers and Jozi@work workers as I initiated intended, which might have been excellent sources on the themes of the research.

The interviews were conducted in between street reclaimers working hours and in most cases, they have given brief responses as they were in a hurry to carry out their work, which then became a disadvantage because most things were omitted. Going back to collect data after their working hours were very challenging as some will be busy with their personal commitments.

Chapter 4-Results and discussion

Who are street reclaimers in Alexandra?

Street reclaimers in Alexandra refer to themselves with different names such as [Bakgerezi- which is a township slang meaning those that reclaim recyclable material for living and Bashomi- which is a Pedi, Tswana or Sotho word meaning workers. There is also the level of recognition you get when you're being referred to as "Bashomi" because most of the time when people are being called "bashomi" is either they are doing work for a good cause or working in the formal sector]. They salvage recyclables from the bins on the streets, retailers, and households. However, their access to the majority of retailers and households depends on the type of relationship they forge with the owners.

Many start salvaging recyclables early in the morning around 3-6:30 a.m. with their fellows, to avoid congested traffic which can lead to fighting with pedestrians, motor drivers and each other in worse cases. When they are in groups, they get to resolve matters better and also, get to play around with their trollies on their way to Bayback Centres. This may be to pass time or entertain people on the road in order to avoid fighting with other people.

Street reclaimer #1, 10/07/17

“As bokgereza, we wake up early in the morning around 3 or 4 a.m. to collect recyclables. The reason we wake up early is to avoid traffic and to get sunburnt. It is also easy for me to do it in the morning as I walk with my friends and on our way, we get to entertain or show both pedestrians and motor drivers with our trollie skills”

Another street reclaimer who salvages recyclables at different times than others because of the support they receive from relatives and neighbours.

Street reclaimer #2, 10/07/17

"I don't have to wake up early in the morning (6 to 8 a.m.) as people from my streets and relatives keeps material for me and I have equipment i.e. trolley to transport the material which makes the process efficient and effective"

We also asked how they reclaim recyclables every day in order to get a better understanding and insight of what they are doing on the daily basis.

Street reclaimer #3, 10/07/17

"We salvage recyclable every day from different places depending on where the Pickup truck is going to collect. At most times we salvage recyclables where Pickup truck collects but we get there before it does. This is our only way to get access to a lot of household's bins. However others had forged relationships with retail stores or households owners, they do not have to wake up early to collect recyclables. Where else us who are complete strangers, have to greet and ask for permission every day"

We asked about the kind of protective gear they use to handle health risks waste poses as the majority of Informal waste pickers are exposed to contaminants and hazardous materials, from faecal matter and medical waste to toxic fumes and chemicals. For street reclaimers is worse as they take collected recyclables home to

sort or store and they might introducing dangers to the home. Furthermore, lack of protective gear and poor access to health care aggravate these risks.

Street reclaimer #4, 10/07/17

“I do put on gloves but most of the times I don’t because they are too big and I do not have time to adjust them every time I pick up something. Most of the times I reach materials with my bare hand” (see figure 3 in the appendix).

However, others seem to understand the implications waste can have on their health. Different reclaimer said

Street reclaimer #5, 10/07/17

“I do not have enough money to buy equipment. The money I make from recyclables is for essentials like food, clothes and other possessions. However, I wrap my hand with plastic whenever I touch waste”

Overlap of Jozi@work and street reclaimers

Jozi@Work is a co-production programme launched by the City of Johannesburg on the 30th of September 2014 in Eldorado Park as a *hand up*” not “*hand out*” initiative to remedy inequalities that were historically written into South Africa's socio-economic fabric by the apartheid system (Jozi@Work: Developmental Service Delivery, 2015). Moreover, it provides sustainable business and employment opportunities, in various aspects of the service provision sector, to encounter unemployment by assuring self-sustaining future to all co-operation and enterprises they have collaborated with (Jozi@Work: Developmental Service Delivery, 2015). In Alexandra, it has hired unemployed people to sweep the streets,

collect bins and separate recyclables at source and youth seem to form an integral part of the project.

Considering that the initiative did not consider street reclaimers and it has been implemented in areas where they salvage recyclables, the results have been ironically understood and felt by street reclaimers. It has been proclaimed by most as being disempowering and dividing, which have discredited the relationship between street reclaimers, the City of Johannesburg, and Jozi@work workers. Thus, the majority of street reclaimers who participated in this study stated that Jozi@Work is biased against them. They argue that they fit the essential criteria required to participate in Jozi@work and that they were already doing the work that Jozi@work is now doing. Instead of contracting them, Jozi@work recruited completely new people who had never worked as reclaimers. They could not try to participate, as according to them none ever approaches them to contact them, not to mention help them to begin their own cooperatives.

Street reclaimer #2, 10/07/17

"I think initiatives like Jozi@Work are very important when addressing solid waste management in the Townships. The problem is that when such initiatives are being executed in our reaches, they do not consider us, they hire people who have been sitting at home doing nothing."

Moreover, the "cooperatives" contracted under Jozi@Work, distinguish themselves as cooperatives yet rather as organizations (SMEs) and they are in certainty enlisted all things considered (Ntuli, 2016). The Jozi@Work approach (The City of

Johannesburg, 2015) states that the program permits the inclusion of privately owned businesses; nonetheless, offering chances to privately owned businesses nullifies the aim of the programme which is to close the socio-economic gap created by apartheid. The reasons being the majority of tenders issued under Jozi@work are privately owned and this is by all accounts encouraging the formation of the black bourgeoisie, which is increasingly adding to inequality within the black population (Iheduru 2004).

Thus it is not surprising that the project has unfolded huge competition that threatens street reclaimer's income, job-security and social relations with their counterparts and community members. When asked street reclaimers about the essence of competition Jozi@work has created, they responded as follows:

Street reclaimer #6, 10/07/17

"Jozi@work has created a lot of competition for us (street reclaimers) as their workers also sell material at the same places where we sell recyclables. These results in the market being flooded with similar products and ultimately the prices for that material drops or will drop. The situation is very painful as they are making money from Jozi@Work and selling recyclables, while we cannot make enough money to put food on the table"

Another street reclaimer shared the same perspective

Street reclaimer #7, 10/08/17

"I have been reclaiming since 1990, at first it was very easy to get enough material for a day. Like I will just make one trip and sell material of about R200 maximum, however, the existence of Jozi@Work has not made things easy for us. It is really bad like the competition between us (street reclaimers) and Jozi@Work has led to dropping of prices of certain material e.g. plastic, paper etc. on various Buyback centres, as results, we started salvaging recyclables with better sale prices and it is not easy to get material with better sale prices."

The idea of excluding street reclaimers from municipal solid waste management initiatives such as Jozi@work can be seen as the use of capitalism to out-compete street reclaimers. Samson (2015) argues that capitalism has become unable to further accumulate through the enclosure of waste in the landfill. Hence it has sought out other resources (going to the streets) in the solid waste management spheres. The above-mentioned concept provokes Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession, in a way that the exclusion of street reclaimers and nature of competition that Jozi@work has created is seen as "waste enclosure" because it has resulted in most street reclaimers having limited or completely no access to waste (Sharholly et al, 2008).

Samson (2008) Indicated that such efforts are seen as a denial of a means of livelihood to the poor. At the end of the day, this directly increases the unemployment levels; as a result, some have resorted to illegal entry like stealing.

Moreover, it is also robbing their intelligence "epistemic dispossession" hence they are seen by society as waste potentials (Samson, 2008).

In the same vein, Schindler argues that the same processes unfolded in the street of Delhi as there were private companies that took over the door to door collection from street reclaimers (Sharholy et al, 2008). Not only are street reclaimers threatened by a policy shift that limits access to waste, the competition unfolded in daily basis threatened their income, job security and their social relations with their counterparts and the community(Sharholy et al, 2008).

Relationship between street reclaimers and community members

Street reclaimers salvage materials from open spaces retail locations and households (Schenck and Bleeuw, 2011). The relationship they have with community members is therefore of crucial importance as it decides whether they will have enough recyclables or not (Samson, 2010). However, the formation of Jozi@work initiative has created divisions and confusions between street reclaimers and community members moreover within street reclaimers themselves. Having interviewed numbers of street reclaimers, they have identified three different ways that Jozi@work had affected the point of view of community members towards them.

The first is that community members are confused as to who to support between Jozi@work workers and street reclaimers as both stakeholders want the same material, which they have historical relations with the reclaimers, but the Jozi@work people are also from Alexandra. When street reclaimer does not get recyclable from community members it feels as if they are not supportive and on the other hand they

want Jozi@work people to do the Job they are being hired to do as they cannot be paid to do anything. In addition, they want the project to be a success to a point where it absorbs a lot of people including other community members and street reclaimers as other wanting the benefits of participating in the initiative like getting plastics.

Street reclaimer #8, 10/07/17

"Truly community members are befuddling, some of the time they bolster what I am doing yet different circumstances they don't. In any case, the ones in my road bolster me despite the fact that isn't a regular thing since they know the activity keeps me far from taking their things like gadgets, garments and so on. They comprehend that my activity keeps me far from carrying out wrongdoing however on the hand they don't need to bolster Jozi@work as their family, long-term companions work there."

The second perspective was guided by behavioural improvement observed by community members on street reclaimers, particularly the ones they personally knew. Thus they tend to show their support by allowing them in their personal spaces to salvage recyclable materials. In addition, other community members encourage them to get involved in community volunteer projects (cleaning near Jukskei River during Mandela Day) to change all negative views around their names.

Street reclaimer #2, 10/07/17

"Most community members think employment that I do is imperative as I keep nature clean and meanwhile I make living. Greater part keeps material for me as they see the change in my life and my children's lives like now they can see my children are appropriately bolstered. They can eat at, unlike before where we use to request food or they will dependably eat in the neighbours. Some go similarly as getting recyclables from their work environments or heading off to their companion's homes to salvage recyclables for me"

Other reclaimers shared similar experiences:

Street reclaimer #5, 10/07/17

"Most people, community members, appear to demonstrate a great deal of help since they've heard that salvaging recyclables keeps me far from awful things. Also, it has manufactured a solid connection amongst me and my neighbours as they can believe me enough to get in their yards and salvage recyclables or does other work like planting or settling things."

On the contrary, certain community members do not show any respect, support and appreciation toward street reclaimers and their job, as they associate them with all sorts of criminality because of their dirty attire and lack of identity. Hence one can argue that is the reason majority of people across the world perceive them as an outcast that marred the image of the city, therefore nobody wants to be associated with and it is not surprising as this problem has accelerated since Jozi@work started operating in the area. It also seems as if ignorance and lack of support from some

community members towards how street reclaimers operates, pushes them over the edge to participate in illegal activities

Street reclaimer #8, 10/07/17

"Since Jozi@work came, community members have not been steady by any means. They don't permit us inside their yards, we salvage material the outside, in some cases, we find material inside their yards and we simply gather despite the fact that is without their permission. However, Jozi@work workers are permitted to get in their yards and now and again when I didn't get enough material I add on to the one from Jozi@work plastics."

The argument from this section is that the way space is experienced determines who access it, as one can see that community members have shaped their households in relations to how they appreciate themselves and others (Lefebvre, 1999). This is why certain community members permit Jozi@work workers in their households to do the very same job as street reclaimers. However one can argue that perhaps the owner's sees their household as a space that is not for people they perceived street reclaimer to be: informal, dirty and needy. This goes on to show that uniform and spaces have the directly proportional relationship, as most community members associate it with formalizations and those without are being criminalized or disregarded. Therefore when you wearing a uniform the possibility of being allowed in someone space is very high as opposed to when you don't.

The above street reclaimers were asked what they would like to inform society about their work and how their corporation will make things easy and effective for them.

Street reclaimer #8, 10/07/17

"They started by saying that the distrust and lack of cooperation between them and community make their work less effective and efficient. As they take community members as the doorkeepers of recyclable material, therefore limited access into their spaces will result in them getting less material. Furthermore, they would like to start over and build the strong trustworthy relationship with the community as they think the reason Jozi@work manage to exclude them from their systems is that of the way society constructed them to be."

Response to the competition (Bounce-back or around)

In addition to a difficulty of street reclaimers procuring recyclables to meet basic daily needs due to competition, Jozi@work had created. Street reclaimers responded to the implementation of Jozi@work in Alexandra Township differently due to their different personality and experience they have acquired in the spaces of solid waste management. Moreover, different strategies were employed (violence, Temporal, spatial displacement within Alexandra Township, spatial displacement outside the city) to continue to access materials.

Some of the street reclaimers mentioned that disputes with Jozi@Work employees have become extremely aggressive and extremely ruthless. This is as a result of them having to resort to stealing from the Jozi@Work employees just to be able to make enough money for supporting their families, one of the recyclers mentioned

Street reclaimer #11, 10/07/17

"We don't get anything any longer so now when they put their plastics loaded with recyclables in the road corner, where the truck comes to lift them up, we need to sit tight for them to leave at that point take the plastics previously the truck comes. Truly that isn't right; however, I need to do it, since I can't locate my own recyclables in peace. When they discover you taking their plastics they beat you up."

Other street reclaimers employed temporal strategy by learning the schedule of Jozi@work in order to access waste without engaging in violence and hostility.

Street reclaimer #12, 10/07/17

"We comprehended that fierceness doesn't help, we started to twist up evidently buddies' drivers' and observed how Jozi@work functions, and as from the workers start endeavouring to the time's trucks comes to assemble the plastic pack. We comprehended that they don't get canisters reliably, they assemble containers on Tuesday and Friday around our range and Wednesday and Thursday on various parts of Alexandra. We will wake up from the get-go those days that they are assembling and experience each one of the canisters beforehand the trucks."

One female street reclaimer gave us an insight into reasons behind the different strategies and tactics that street reclaimers employed to solve the competition.

Street reclaimer #12, 10/07/17

"With us 'female', we don't draw much in contentions and savagery on the grounds that there is a considerable measure in question here "my children and other individuals" however men, particularly the ones that salvage recyclable for smoking purpose reacted with viciousness like they will physically and verbally battle with Jozi@work labourers for recyclables"

Hart (1973) argues that in the urban economy of developing countries, illegitimate means of securing an income are inevitable especially in the informal economy. This is exemplified by the street reclaimers cited above in light of the fact that when he and different interviewees who validated this, have come up short on alternative methods for survival. They resorted to taking recyclable material from Jozi@work plastic however they would prefer not to be criminalized, yet it impacts on how community members see them which is adverse to their work since they rely on them and shared trust as a way to get recyclables.

On the other hand, others street reclaimers reacted emphatically to the circumstance since they comprehend that they rely on community members and shared trust as a way to get recyclables. They attempted to connect with community members by reporting illegal activities in the area.

Street reclaimer #5, 10/07/17

"There was this other woman that was persistently being physical abuse by her significant other. She couldn't leave the husband as they were financially depending on him and also she did not want her kids to grow up without a father figure. Until one morning when he set her on fire, we were the first people who heard her yell and we went in to help and call the police. Since that day, she has been supporting us along with other community members"

Another street reclaimer shared the same view from the one above

Street reclaimer #2, 10/07/17

"I recall my early day of salvaging recyclables, I ran over a dead kid body in the landfill. I called few people and police. Larger parts of people were floored by the things we face in order to put food on the table. Furthermore, some know very well that this story is close to my heart as I am struggling to have babies. From that point forward, I get access to their homes to salvage recyclables"

Migrate and recover

Street reclaimers perceive waste as a common resource and is a key segment to guaranteeing a full and conventional life for their living in the city, especially the poorer (black street reclaimers) since they are frequently influenced by social and spatial prohibition and underestimation procedures, for example, privatization of public spaces (Michell, 2003). In many urban areas, people are not able to find jobs in the formal economy and reclaiming become as a way to generate an income (Samson, 2008). However, implementation of Jozi@work in areas where street reclaimers works are being viewed as a strategy of restricting individuals to get common resource “waste” that the city produced and this isn't just observed as the denying the poorer with the assets that the city offers (Samson, 2015). Additionally, it demonstrates that their rights to the city have been encroached (Harvey, 2008).

Street reclaimer #2, 10/07/17

"A couple of individuals tend to move beginning with one place then onto the following remembering the ultimate objective to get enough recyclables to offer, as there was this other woman, at first from Limpopo. She used to do trollies here yet on account of high and intense competition that enables her to help her youngsters; she moved back home where there is no competition at all and she is enhancing the circumstance that she was here. I am similarly considering moving is as of late that I don't know where to go"

Displacement of this woman from the city due to limited access to waste created by the competition created by Jozi@work, it is seen as the denial of the poorer (majority) with the resources that the city offers which in turn encroaches her rights to the city. The right to the city is a new outcome of collective thoughts that epitomizes an alternative framework to re-think cities and settlement patterns based on the principles of equity, democracy, social justice, and sustainability. It also perceives the city as the commons that all inhabitants have right to belong, to equally access all the resources and services that the city offers (Mitchell, 2003). This includes goods and opportunities of their living environment; as well as taking part in the making of their city or human settlement.

Conceiving the city as a common good, is a key component to ensuring a full and decent life for people living in the city, particularly the poorer because they are often affected by social and spatial exclusion and marginalization processes such as privatization of public spheres (Michell, 2003). In most cities, recyclable materials are perceived by the poor or people who could not find jobs in the formal economy as the common resource which they sell or keep for purposes in order to sustain their lives. (Samson, 2008) However, privatization of waste limit people to access the common resource called waste and this is seen as the denial of the poorer (majority) with the resources that the city offers (Samson, 2015). Moreover, it shows that their rights to the city have been infringed (Harvey, 2008). Now the question arises as to who has the right to the city when inhabitants are constrained to participate in the resources that keep them going in the city?

Gender implications on street reclaiming

The spheres of informal waste management are not only gendered but also classed and women, particularly of colour, are always susceptible to social inequalities and injustices. With that being said, it is not surprising when women are generally subjected to worse environmental conditions than men, this is because women are likely to be poorer than men and are exposed to environmental problems evident to poverty (Ntuli, 2016). Moreover, they are more vulnerable to social injustices given the way spaces are gendered (Dias et al, 2015). Hence their motivation behind their work is acquiring financial stability to support their families but one can argue that most informal recyclers, regardless of their gender, experience poverty but undoubtedly, women and men experience this differently, and women experience additional layers of disadvantage, discrimination, and exclusion (Dias et al, 2015). When street reclamer asked how the nature of competition Jozi@work has created, affected women, she replied as followed.

Street reclamer #12, 10/07/17

"I was inspired by my kids to join this recycling business. They used to salvage recyclables on weekend to make pocket money that is when I have realized that there is potential in this industry. However, mid-2014 things have changed as Jozi@work was fully functioning. There were no more material anymore due to high competition Jozi@work has created and as women salvaging recyclables to support my kid's things became very difficult. I had to get my kids to help on weekends in order to be able to put food on the table, though I am exposing them to a very hostile environment as they are fights amongst us as well"

One male street reclaimer shared the same perspective as the women above; however, his point was more on how the nature of the competition seems to favour males than females.

Street reclaimer # 5, 10/07/17

“The nature of the competition is not women-friendly, most people steal from them and they have to work long hours to put food on the table. Majority of these women are breadwinners, they salvage materials to support their families and prolonged working hours rob them time to do their mother duties”

The nature of the competition favours males over females as the majority of women in these spaces are poor single parents. The hectic schedules jeopardize their personal relationships, particularly motherhood-ability of a mother to nourish children. Moreover, power dynamics and complexities created trust boundaries or issues between male and female street reclaimers. The above-mentioned statement speaks to the theory of survival of the fittest, women appear to form the weakest links of nature due to the way society constructed them to be (doing household work that does not require toughness or robustness). Hence a lot of their male counterparts find it easy to steal their recyclables. That is the reason female street reclaimers do not request assistance from their male counterparts. They focus on working on weekends with their kids, in groups with their fellow females or hiring transport when traveling long distances to recycling Buyback centres.

Chapter 5-Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that jozi@work has affected negatively street reclaimers working in Alexandra Township as they were excluded from participating in the projects and this resulted in limited access to waste thus less income. Furthermore they started to fight over recyclables and that led to certain community members not giving them material. One of the street reclaimers even admitted that he resorted to substance abuse and alcohol as a result. It might appear to be broad; in any case, this is the truth that numerous street reclaimers look because of being totally ignored and put down for the work they do by some of their community members, the municipality, and the important player's waste management. From this point of view, I recommend that future studies explore ways in which dialogues can happen between all stakeholders of waste management (informal sector included) and also, monitoring and evaluation of the effects (social, environmental, physiological, emotional and economical) of any solid waste management initiatives can poses on the environment before, during and after the operation.

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Appendix

Table 1: illustrates the number of service providers that Boitumelo waste took over.

WARDS	Cooperatives	COOPS	STAFFING	Number of Households
32	Molwedi Catering and Cleaning	1	35	5973
75 & 91	Abashana Construction & Projects (Pty) Ltd	1	57	5973
76	Remarcable waste management Solutions	1	35	5973
81	Mbinga Farming Cooperative	1	35	5973
105	Tabana Skip Waste	1	67	10446
107	Mveletzo Cooperative	1	35	5973
108	Elijan ad Daughters	1	35	5973
109	TMT Trading and Projects	1	35	5973
116	Wisdom Unlimited Projects Cooperatives	1	35	5973
RCR	Zenzeleni Cleaning and Transport Services (Pty) Ltd	1	45	53758
		10	414	58230

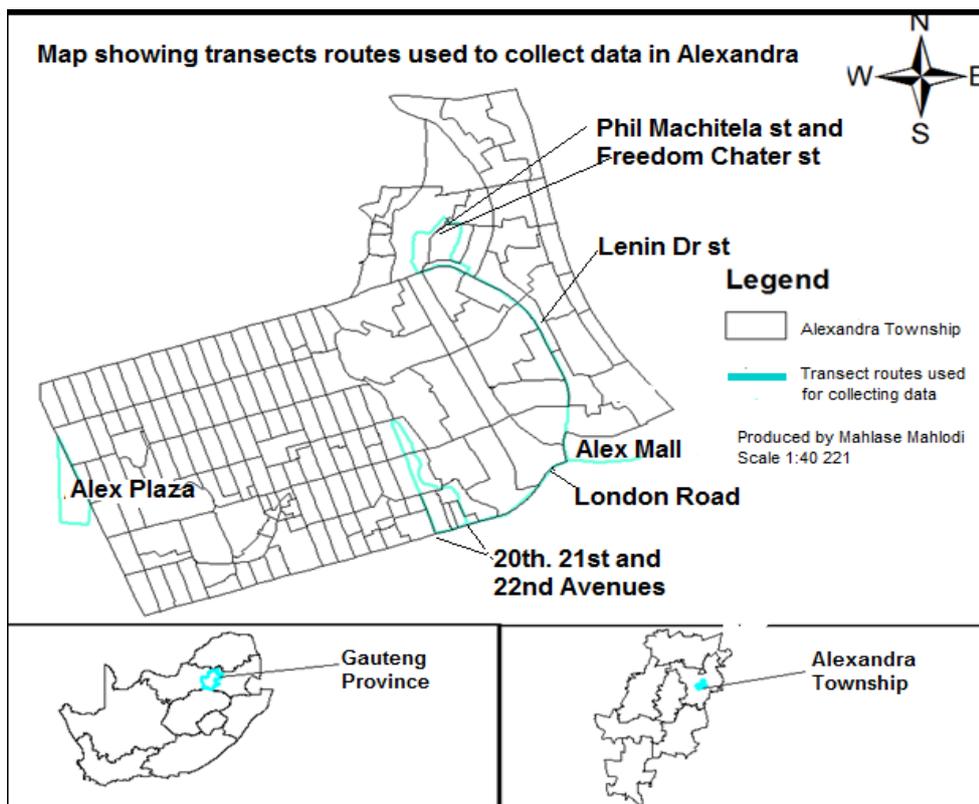


Figure 2: illustrates Map showing transects routes used to collect data in Alexandra.



Figure 3: illustrates street reclaimer picking recyclables with bare hands, Alexandra Tsutsumani village.