Bachelor Thesis

Neoliberalism and urban sustainable governance in cities of Sub Saharan Africa

A case study of Johannesburg and Kigali

BSc Public Governance across Borders

University of Twente

and

University of Münster

Enschede, 30.06.2021

Lorenz Backmann
2404729
Supervisors:
Dr. Claudio Matera
Dr. Le Anh Nguyen Long

Wordcount: 11986

Abstract

This bachelor thesis aims to explore the extent to which neoliberalism is reflected in urban sustainable governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the course of a discourse analysis, two policy papers, The Kigali City Master Plan and The Johannesburg Integrated Development Plan, are examined. Here, the argumentations and discourse fragments are elaborated and then examined for patterns of neoliberalization. The initial assumptions of many theorists that neoliberalism now dominates every sphere of society are only partially confirmed. The discourse in Kigali exhibits a high degree of neoliberal characteristics, while in Johannesburg economic issues are dealt with under the principles of neoliberalism, but the main discourse revolves around the solution of social problems. Although the discourses of both cities show strong similarities, especially at the beginning, there are clear differences when it comes to the presentation of concrete strategies and priorities. These results make it clear that previous assumptions about the hegemony of neoliberalism need to be further investigated when new factors are taken into account.

1. Introduction

In the last thirty years, almost all social, political and economic spheres have been restructured globally according to neoliberal principles. The concept of neoliberalism is not clearly defined, however, the theory is constantly in flux (Jessop 2002). Initially, it assumes that general human prosperity is gained through individual entrepreneurial freedoms and capabilities, which is enabled by the state through an institutional framework characterized by free markets and trade, privatization, secured private property rights, and freely movable capital (Brenner & Theodore 2002; Ptak 2008). Today, this political-economic approach permeates virtually all spheres of human life, which are subordinated to economic categories. It has also emerged in the field of public management. During the 1980s and 1990s, this doctrine spread from Western countries to the global South and also took over the almost simultaneously emerging debate on sustainability; economic growth and market orientation are often prioritized in policies aiming at sustainability and this raises questions about how extensively social and environmental aspects are falling behind (Bailey 2007).

Since over half of the world's population is now living in cities (UN 2019), public discourse on sustainability has grown enormously in importance within urban spaces. The role of cities as a stage for local, national, and global negotiation processes has increased, forming a focal point for the spread of neoliberal approaches. While they are the anchor points for capital accumulation, cities are also the areas where the majority of humanity lives, with a predicted upward trend. The African continent in particular is contributing to this trend; While 42,5 percent of its population lived in cities in 2018, this figure is expected to rise to 58,9 percent in 2050, making it the fastest urbanizing region in the world (UN 2019). Although urbanization is often seen as a major challenge, the process itself is not necessarily a negative development. It can help improve the supply of basic necessities such as water or education and provides a space for innovation and development through a diversified labor market and international interaction (Carmody & Owusu 2016). According to some studies, this potential does not seem to be realized in African cities, which lack integration into the global economy due to their dependence on the export of resources and agricultural products. This results in poor public services and inefficient infrastructure management (Freire, Lall & Leipziger 2015; Sangraula, Cheng & Ravallion 2007).

The global shift to urban sustainable governance in recent years indicates an attempt to provide a holistic framework that promotes the vitality of cities in the long term and is based on the

collaboration of government, administration, business, academia, and civil society (Smith & Wiek 2010). This framework sees cities as an essential link between technology, citizen behavior change, and sustainable policy-making. To cope with the aforementioned developments, the governments of big African cities like Johannesburg and Kigali have developed plans over the past decades to make their cityscape more sustainable. It remains unclear whether these are aimed only at economic success and global competition and to what extent social and ecological grievances are being addressed. In the academic debate about neoliberal ideology in the African context, some see its approaches as an opportunity to lift the area declared the most underdeveloped on earth out of poverty (Lumumba-Kassongo 2005; Froning 2000; Freeman 2007). Others consider it only as an interest of industrialized countries to secure their access to resources, while Africa's population remains largely marginalized (Harrison 2005; Bolesta 2007; Bekelcha & Sefera 2019). Critics further argue that the economic policies and conditions for World Bank and IMF support, which have been implemented with the primary goal of reducing poverty in African countries through the liberalization of national economies, have ultimately had dire effects on the most vulnerable within the populations and have increased commodification from basic necessities (Ezenou 2008; Nigatu 2010; Tewdros 2011).

Most publications on urban sustainable governance refer geographically to the global North (Heijden 2018). The minor part dealing with the global South is almost exclusively limited to how neoliberalization has shaped mega-cities in Asia and South America, lacking scholarship on the impacts on cities in Sub-Saharan Africa (Afenah 2009). Therefore the thesis deals with the question to what extent the neoliberal paradigm is reflected in urban sustainable governance in cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. This research seeks to fill a gap in the field of critical urban studies. While the neoliberalization of cities and the neoliberalization of sustainability are topics that have received critical attention in academic debates, the interplay of both processes in urban governance has rarely been touched upon. The knowledge gained through this research serves to broaden both general understanding and critique of the hegemonic nature of neoliberalism in areas such as urban sustainability, especially in the African context.

1.2 Research Questions

The proposed bachelor thesis aims to expose the ideological strive behind policies with the target to create a sustainable environment in urban spaces in Sub-Saharan Africa. The research

helps to identify the neoliberal political economy approaches of policy-makers and to investigate the hegemonic nature of economization in the field of urban sustainable governance. Using critical discourse analysis, a case study is conducted that examines urban development strategy papers of Kigali, Rwanda, and Johannesburg, South Africa. Thus, the main research question is:

To what extent is neoliberalization reflected in urban sustainable governance in cities of Sub-Saharan Africa?

Within the main research question, three sub-questions guide the analysis and gain a deeper understanding of the process of neoliberalization:
First, this research will try to identify the factors that constitute neoliberalization in general, but especially in terms of urban spaces and the african continent. I will clarify if and how this process is reflected in policies that aim at sustainable development in Kigali and Johannesburg. Besides the extent of the process, I will also examine the relationship of neoliberalism and the political and historical background of the respective areas. The following sub-questions are posed:

(1) What are the key characteristics of neoliberal urban policy?

(2) How can neoliberalism be traced in the discourse of urban sustainability in Johannesburg and Kigali?

(3) *How do the political environment and historical circumstances influence the process of neoliberalization and the policy-making around sustainability in Johannesburg and Kigali?*

1.3 Outline of the Study

To answer the main research question and to answer sub-questions 1 and 2, the next chapter introduces the development of the concept neoliberalism in general, then specifically in Sub-Saharan Africa and its impact on cities and urban sustainable development. Subsequently, the method of this thesis is presented in the third chapter, followed by the explanation of the case selection, its justification and a description of the chosen data. The fourth chapter presents the analysis of this thesis, delivering the components for important insights to approach the

discussion, interpreting the analyzed data and positioning it within the context of chapters 2 and 3, answering sub-question 3. The concluding remarks of this thesis provide an answer to the main research question, discuss the limitations of this research and finally suggest possible starting points for further investigation.

2. Neoliberalism as an everyday experience

2.1 Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is fundamentally based on the assumptions of economic liberalism or as Harvey argued, on "*embedded liberalism*" (2007:3), but criticizes the *laissez-faire* attitude in particular. *Laissez-faire*-liberalism established itself in the course of industrialization and advocated a free market economy with minimal government intervention to achieve optimal economic results. This freedom of market actors would create a selfish, but rational decision-making pattern between supplier and consumer, while the state is tasked to solely administer education and protect life and property and guarantee or constitute the regulated process (Ptak 2008). As a result, the legitimacy of the state is measured by market factors and the state acts as a manager optimizing global competition. The relationship between the state and the economy is thus tilted; it is not politics directing the economy, but the other way around (Mattiseek 2008; Demirovic 2008). In the decades that followed, neoliberal doctrines implied deregulation of state control over industry, restrictions on workers' organization, tax reduction, reduction and privatization of public and welfare services, expansion of capital mobility, and intensification of locational competition, first adopted by democratic Western countries and through institutional arrangements such as the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) eventually spread across the globe (Brenner & Theodore 2002; Ptak 2008; Harvey 2007).

Neoliberalism is characterized as a process similar to globalization which is constantly changing and evolving. Peck and Tickel distinguish between the so-called "roll-back" neoliberalism of the early years, which was aimed at the "*active destruction of Keynesian-welfarism and social-collectivist institutions*," and the so-called "roll-out" neoliberalism, which was "*on the purposeful construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms modes of government and regulatory relations*" (2002: 4). This advocating for individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills, free trade, free markets, and strong property rights is marked by outstanding dominance of the economic side, prioritizing the political economy over political philosophy (Harvey 2007;

Arvanitis & Mikelatou 2017). According to Foucault, neoliberalism has evolved from an ideology to a hegemony fostering techniques of governmentality, in which the population is regulated and organized not only by the state but, also by modern institutions, technologies, and agencies to objectify the entire social environment and all individual life according to political-economic rationality (Foucault 2000). This hegemonic discourse of neoliberalism leads to the image that the greatest possible growth of competition and productivity is seen as the only goal of human activity. This kind of power operates in many ways on the state and the individual level "*not through imposition or repression but rather through cultivating the conditions in which non-sovereign subjects are constituted*" as entrepreneurial, self-reliant, rational-economic actors (Hart 2004: 92). Dardot and Laval describe neoliberalism as an existential norm that encourages everyone to live in a world of generalized competition, thus adapting social relations to the market model and justifying inequality. In the last decades "*this existential norm has presided over public policy, governed global economic relations, transformed society, and reshaped subjectivity.*" (Dardot & Laval 2013: 3). Even problems that were once seen as societal are now attributed to the individual. Poverty or environmental degradation are supposed to be combated with the support of personal development and self-management, and they are presented as a cost to the economy rather than an effect of inefficient regulation (Hamann 2009).

2.2 Neoliberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa

Speaking of Africa as a whole, it is important to note that the emergence of neoliberalism has not occurred in the same way in every African country (Konings 2011). Only general trends are highlighted below, acknowledging that the diversity of the individual evolutions in each country would go beyond the scope of this paper.

The first large-scale form of neoliberalism in Africa was the introduction of *Structural Adjustment Programs* from the early 1980s onward, which served as a doorway to implement the neoliberal paradigm in African markets, later replaced by *Highly Indebted Poor Countries* initiatives and the *Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* in the 1990s (Konings 2011). These programs had a similar doctrine, namely the liberalization of the economy. The core elements of the programs were to remove price subsidies in internal markets and quotas and to allow exchange rates to run freely, as well as policies that implied, for example, privatization, tariff reduction, fees for public services with the goal of macroeconomic stability, competitiveness, reduced factor costs, and clearer rules and training (Ezenou 2008; Carmody & Owusu 2016). Even though in many

countries the overall economy grew between 1970-1995, the poorest and most disorganized members of society have been affected. In Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, per capita protein intake declined by 20-25 percent and the entire SADC area deteriorated sharply in terms of under-five mortality, life expectancy, and malnutrition. The idea of attracting private investors through public-private partnerships, outsourcing, and privatization of public services also led to the exclusion of the poorer part of the population (Bond & Dor 2003).

Until then, the neoliberal agenda had been largely economic. Due to the lack of success of the programms, including corruption and inefficiencies, the concept of *Good Governance* was introduced by the World Bank, which was supposed to eliminate economic and political flaws through efficient public administration, the establishment of the rule of law, and a capable judiciary, and transparency. International development assistance has thus been dependent on macroeconomic performance as well as aspects of democracy and governance, and neoliberalism in Africa has established itself as a doctrine to promote transformation through institutional, political, and economic reforms but everal researchers have provided evidence that neoliberal reforms have failed to affect socioeconomic progress and increase overall well-being (Engberg-Pedersen et al. 1996; Ezeonu, 2003, 2000; Okolie, 2003 Mkandawire 2005; Ferguson 2006; Harrison 2010).

After 2000, focusing on macroeconomic changes was partly replaced by social engineering at the institutional, social, and individual levels. This is characterized by "*remaking state institutions, legal reform, encouraging a certain kind of civil society, promoting customer-like attitudes toward public services, putting more development practice into the hands of private companies, and promoting entrepreneurial behavior through IT, training and microfinance*" (Harisson 2019: 9). Overall, the African continent has so far experienced a virulent implementation of neoliberalism. Reforms have produced intervals of growth, but mostly in only a few areas such as export price increases, large investments, and some very specific parts of the economy (Bracking 2016). This has led to some improvements in living standards and extreme poverty, but also a rise in corrupt enrichment strategies by individuals, wealth flowing outside the country, depletion of natural resources, and heavy dependence on international aid and validation (Harrison 2019). As a result, important economic centers in these countries are now dominated by foreign multinational corporations, and democratic governments that have only achieved this status in recent decades have been severely weakened (Lumumba-Kasongo 2005; Getchew 2010; Tewdros 2011).

2.3 Neoliberalization of cities

The hegemonic idea of economization also dominates urban discourses because cities, like states, have been reduced to a certain extent to their function as economic locations; The goal of the "entrepreneurial city" is now to increase the attractiveness for job-creating companies and high-income households, while social tasks are marginalized in urban policy-making (Volkmann 2007; Heeg & Rosol 2007), *"embedded within a highly uncertain geoeconomic environment characterized by monetary chaos, speculative movements of financial capital, global location strategies by major transnational corporations, and rapidly intensifying interlocal competition"* (Brenner & Theodore 2002: 387).

Brenner and Theodore (2002) further argue that local economies, through deregulation, privatization, liberalization, and fiscal austerity, provide geographic targets for policy experiments such as enterprise and empowerment zones, local tax abatements, urban development corporations, public-private partnerships, and new forms of local boosterism. These progresses result in normalizing unequal spatial distribution and continuous regulatory restructuring, isolating local challenges and making local progressive alternatives in the market environment vulnerable to social undermining (Peck & Tickel 2002) and are replicating the powerful effects of interurban competition (Harvey 2007). Cities are seen as centers of economic growth and drivers of innovation and international competition, which also implies that welfare programs are expensive and should be dismantled and policies should focus on moving people from welfare to work, i.e. linking social policy to the labor market to produce productive citizens and ensure sustainable development. In the case of African cities, however, this has more far-reaching consequences, as a large proportion of their populations earn their livelihoods in the informal sector, linked to the general structure of the political economy (Carmody & Owusu 2017). As a result, a part of the population is both included in consumption and production in the sense of global capitalism and excluded from public services. This so-called functional dualism serves the nature of (underdeveloped) capitalist accumulation (Portes & Walton 1981; Castells & Portes 1989). To live up to the image of the entrepreneurial global city and at the same time combat high levels of informality, many African cities are trying to lift the conditions of the informal sector into the formal one, for example through special economic zones or financial services centers (Cross 2010). These are in turn exclusive in the sense of

spatial distribution but also inclusive in the sense of globalizing functional dualism (Cormody & Owusu 2017).

To sum up, typical characteristics of the neoliberal urban shift in Africa summarized from the academic debate can be grouped into five main points:(1) Supporting entrepreneurship and competition; e.g. producing incentives for entrepreneurship, investment, and growth, (2) De-regulation; e.g. lowering barriers to speculative investment in the real estate market, restructuring the labor market; (3) Privatization; e.g. privatization and competitive contracting of public services, creation of privatized, customized, and networked urban infrastructures; (4) Restructuring the institutional frame; e.g. public-private partnerships, rearrangements of responsibilities; (5) Formalization of the informal sector; e.g. introduction or promotion of special economic zones.

2.4 Neoliberalization of urban sustainable development

The neoliberalization of cities also shapes sustainability policymaking. Originally, the discourse of sustainability emerged as part of the radical critique of capitalism in the 1970s. From this perspective, capitalism does accelerate growth and increase prosperity, but is a threat to ecological sustainability, a precondition for all economies, and increases inequality. The neoliberal paradigm, however, has absorbed this critique and incorporated it as a principle in its own right, equivalenting ecological and social problems with economic ones. Economization or neoliberalization has become the driver for achieving social and environmental sustainability (Tulloch & Neilson 2014). Since the 1990s, the neoliberal discourse of sustainability has emerged as a dominant principle of urban governance and has been shaped by attributing cumulative environmental consequences to the behaviors and choices of individuals and by representing the environment in economic terms such as natural goods and capital (Baldwin et al. 2019). Ciplet and Roberts (2017) show that regimes of international sustainable governance place an increasing focus on market mechanisms and private actors to address social and political problems. Drawing on Gramsci's view, they argue that private market dominance hegemonically depoliticizes the decision-making process and presents it as an objective and neutral norm, while discussions of equality and justice are presented as normative and value-laden . Looking at the local level, Beal (2013) and Tretter (2014) examined the neoliberalization of urban sustainable policies. Both conclude that the investigated sustainability policies attempted to generate a win-win situation for environmental and economic perspectives,

to increase competitiveness and mostly aim to meet the demands of the middle and upper classes of the population ensuring a sustainable return on investment rather than promoting environmental protection.

3. Neoliberalism as governmentality

Foucault analyzes neoliberalism as a form of biopolitical governmentality, political rationality concerned with governing the population and individual behavior in terms of "*the internal rule of maximum economy*" (Foucault 1978: 318). With the concept of governmentality, Foucault offers a framework to examine different forms of action and fields of practice that targets the control and management of individuals and collectives in versatile ways (Kammler, Parr & Schneider 2014). The concept of power is the core of Foucault's scientific work and political theoretical concepts, which finds great reception within all humanities and social sciences. Power is seen as a productive force that is not a top-down process, but rather a circulation (Foucault 1978). Foucault dissolves the long-standing division and idea of the controlled and the dominator.
"The reason that power prevails, that one accepts it, is simply that it is not only upon us as nay-saying [sic!] violence, but permeates bodies, produces things, causes pleasure, produces knowledge, produces discourse; it must be conceived as a productive network that covers the whole social body and not so much as a negative instance whose function is to oppress" (Foucault 1978: 35).

In his analysis of liberalism, Foucault focused on West German ordoliberalism and the later emerging American neoliberalism of the Chicago school, recognizing that both forms were interventionist and critical responses to particular forms of governmentality. In Germany as an answer to the extreme state power of the Nazi regime and in America to counter the spread of the welfare state and to influence market mechanisms (Hamann 2009). In this respect, both schools were forms of critical governmental reason or political rationality that theorized government as intrinsically self-constraining because of its ultimate responsibility to bolster the economy. The emergence of political economy in the liberal paradigm inverted the relationship between the economy and government (Foucault 1978).

Oskala, reviewing Foucaults theory, argues that neoliberalism was not only achieved by a few key actors but also resulted in *"[...] much deeper structural and systemic changes in our conception of the political and the practices of governing"* (2013: 53) as well as a construction of

a “*particular kind of social and political reality*”, through which individuals see the world around them, affecting personal political rationality and self-understanding (2013: 54). Foucault argues that knowledge and truth are never objective, as power structures are interdependent, those in power and what one or a population perceives as truth and reality. Following that, neoliberalism procures the idea of economic neutrality. Significant here is that the market or economic competition between individuals is not a natural given with self-evident or intrinsic law, but rather its values and principles are actively institutionalized, maintained, and changed in all spheres of society (Foucault 1978). Furthermore, neoliberalism within the Foucauldian context is understood as a *“[...] powerful mutation of biopolitical governmentality.”* (Oksala 2013: 61). The central biopolitical value of life can be seen as the modern goal of good governance. The hegemony of neoliberalism is equipped with biopolitical tools to ensure this value of life, going hand in hand “*with securing economic objectivity and neutrality as truth through biopolitical control.* (Oskala 2013: 66)

“Neoliberalism has successfully advocated biopolitical values and ends: the right to one’s body, to health, to happiness, to the satisfaction of needs.” (Oksala 2013: 63). Hamann, who summarizes this under the concept of *homo economicus*, gives the following example: Instead of interpreting a money earner as someone who has to sell his labor power as an abstract commodity, neoliberalism describes salary as an output of human capital, consisting of individual qualities and skills acquired through investment in education or training. This construction of the wage earner no longer analyzes processes within the economy but rather "*the strategic programming of individuals' activity*" (Foucault 1978: 223). In this *dispositif* of neoliberalism, inequality is seen as a social phenomenon in the sense that the social situation of the individual is perceived as an effect of one's choices and investments. As Brown argues, *homo economicus* does portray a citizen as a rational and deliberative entrepreneur, responsible for his or her situation. *"A fully realized neoliberal citizenry would be the opposite of public-minded; indeed, it would barely exist as a public. The body politic ceases to be a body but is rather a group of individual entrepreneurs and consumers [...]*” (2005: 43). For Bourdieu, this institutionalization of entrepreneurship and competition, previously attributed to the relations of groups and companies, is now extended to all individual behavior and has an impact on collectivity and solidarity (1998).

4. Data and Methodology

4.1 Discourse analysis

To answer the central research question, an analytical instrument is needed that systematically examines the object of investigation; namely, the impact of neoliberalism on the discourse within urban sustainable policies. Discourse analysis is one of the few ways to unpack it. According to Fairclough's (1993) theory of discourse, language is a practice, socially and historically embedded, that expresses identity, ideology, relationships, knowledge systems, and beliefs. Accordingly, discourse, which is expressed through all kinds of text, can exert power because it can change, reproduce, or create social structures. They are also institutionalized through policy or regulation even if society has other, reciprocal or opposing, changing ones at the same time (Fairclough 1993; Mendoza & Dorner 2020). In many cases ideologies provide the basis for discourses and other social practices as "*particular ways of talking are based upon particular 'ways of seeing'*" (Fairclough, 1985: 749).

According to Thompson , for the analysis of ideology, the analysis of language is important, as it is through language that "*[...] meaning is mobilized in the interests of particular individuals or groups*" (1984: 73). Critical discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary approach combining linguistics with social theory, with particular attention to power relations and domination (Fairclough 1995) or the legitimation and perpetuation of unequal power distribution (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1997; Jäger, 2001), exposing ideological constructs, denaturalizing common sense, and uncovering conventions taken for granted. Power relations can be conditions of discourses, but can also be an outcome of them if they generate normative, normalizing, or legitimizing interpretations (Traue, Pfahl & Schürmann 2014). From a discourse, it can be deduced, from the point of view of the respective contributors, who or what is liable for a problem, who is responsible for its solution, and which instruments are suitable for this. Therefore, it serves to understand the construction of political identities, narrative interpretations of political processes, and the struggle for interpretative hegemony (Zimmermann 2010). In the analysis of this work, the selected textual data is examined according to this principle. Critical discourse analysis can be applied to various dimensions of texts, but this work deals exclusively with the content. Due to the scope of this work, dimensions such as orthography or grammar are not included. In the analysis, the argumentative content of the texts is analyzed and

discursive fragments are elaborated. These will be compared with the findings on neoliberalism elaborated in the previous chapter in order to answer the research question.

4.2 Case selection

As one of the economic centers of Southern Africa, Johannesburg attracts many people looking for a better life and opportunities to learn and live. In urban literature, Johannesburg is seen as a model of urbanity in the global South (Harrison, Gotz, Todes & Wray 2014). However, this urban cosmopolitanism is accompanied by great inequality, and the city has even been declared the most unequal in the world. Since the end of apartheid, which is indisputably the basis for persisting inequality, the various levels of government have been trying to counteract and make the city more sustainable (Abrahams & Everatt 2019). Under the apartheid regime, a strong fragmentation of local government took place and its municipalities had strong growth agendas (Robinson 2008). In 2000 the *African National Congress* (ANC) established a controlled central metropolitan authority for Johannesburg, which, after a period of many neoliberal policies, placed a stronger focus on redistribution (Todes 2012). Although decisions are made centrally in this body, it has been subdivided into administrative regions with the task of overseeing the management of these regions. To be responsive to diverse local needs and social structures, ward committees were established, led by elected local politicians (Winkler 2011). In the following years, the service delivery of e.g. water or electricity improved enormously, but spatial inequalities strengthened. The dominance of the ANC is also significant here. Although politicians who are not part of the ANC were also elected in these wards, the ANC as a party has a similar structure to the government (e.g. ward branches), which ensures their proximity to the civilian population, promotes local democracy, but also exhibits strong forms of clientelism (Benit-Gbaffou 2012). The structure provides an efficient bridge between lower and higher levels of government but also evokes a top-down approach. Overall, the centralized government structure in Johannesburg seems to be characterized by a closeness to the civilian population and its interests, but the dominant role of the ANC and how this affects the representation of interests is unclear.

The second case to be investigated is the Rwandan city Kigali. Since the genocide 1994, Rwanda has experienced rapid urbanization and Kigali has been steadily modernized as strongly as not many cities (Goodfellow & Smith 2012) fostered through the formation of business complexes, infrastructure projects, and improvements in public services. Kigali is also

considered one of the cleanest and most attractive cities in Africa (Malonza & Ortega 2020). At the same time, like so many other cities, Kigali is experiencing problems with growing informal settlements with incomplete access to urban services, as well as poverty and unemployment, which the local government seems unable to address (Manirakiza, Mugabe, Nsabimana & Nzayirambaho 2019). As part of the post-genocide reconstruction strategy, Rwanda, and Kigali in particular, have engaged in programs of privatization (e.g. in the housing and health sector) and regulation of the labor market, which, together with rapid urbanization increased informal settlements and informal labor, negatively impacting the health and well-being of citizens (Baffoe, Ahmad & Bhandari 2020).

After the reconstruction phase and subsequent political instability in Rwanda, the year 2000 is considered a turning point. After internal changes and resignations within the government, the ruling party *Rwandan Patriotic Front* (RPF) and its incumbent President Kagame were able to consolidate their power (Reyntjens 2004). This brought clarity to the vision of Rwanda's politics, governance and development. Key was the implementation of Rwanda's decentralization program, which technically and formally transferred power and resources from the national to the local level (Goodfellow & Smith 2012). However, it seems to be a way of the RFP not to legitimize but rather to supervise local administrative structures (Purdekova 2011). At the same time, laws were enacted that enabled the government to suppress criticism and political dissent and thus significantly consolidate its power (Human Rights Watch 2008), with the consequence that locally active political parties are restricted and the RPF elite has few obstacles in implementing its vision for Kigali. The Master Plan program, launched by the government in 2007 with the consultation of experts from the USA and Singapore, aims primarily to create a model city that attracts investment, along with environmental conservation, public order, and social harmony. After the first publication in 2007, members of international organizations described the plan as elite-driven with little relevance to poverty reduction (Goodfellow & Smith 2012).

The thesis will use strategy papers adopted at local government levels that aim at sustainable urban development. Access to these documents is provided via the respective websites of the governments. The body of the study includes two strategy papers by the governments of Kigali and Johannesburg, namely *The Kigali City Master Plan* (KMP; 2020) and *The Johannesburg Integrated Development Plan* (IDP; 2020). The first is based on the program mentioned in the previous section and represents the third update. It was written by nine authors, each of them experts in different fields such as urban planning, transport planning, civil engineering or

environmental issues. The second is also reissued every few years, each respective government in Johannesburg must submit such a plan within a certain time after its election (Municipal System Act 32/ 2000). It is not clear who the specific authors of the plan were. Furthermore, due to the scope of this work, only chapters dealing with concrete visions and strategies were included in the analysis. Both plans contain chapters on timelines, national framework and appendices with data descriptions, which were not included.

4.3 Limitations

Discourse analysis of policy documents also has some methodological limitations. It relies on the fact that reality is created in the word or text. It assumes that social reality is constructed through discourse, idealizes meanings, and tends not to include non-semantic aspects of economics and politics. The object-constituting character usually cannot include the discourse-independent factors (Reed 2000). It does not include processes that manifest ideologies and do not occur through language or text. While this paper attempts to provide a background of the variables and cases investigated, a broad elaboration would be beyond the scope of the paper and thus discourse is examined here in a rather small context. Any form of interpretation and explanation of discourse is relative to and limited by the context in which it occurs. Furthermore, discourse analysis is "*[...] largely restricted to a tactical and localized view of power*" and it is very difficult to include institutionalized power relations that take place at a higher level of social organization (Reed 2000: 526). For example, this work does not do justice to the global north-south divide and the long history of colonialism and oppression on the African continent. In addition, the examination of some policy documents only offers conclusions about their authors, i.e., a specific group that exhibits authoritarian traits, as in Rwanda, for example, and not a picture of society as a whole.

5. Analysis

In the following, the two documents are analyzed chapter by chapter in chronological order. Some chapters have been combined in the subchapters of the analysis because their content pursues similar objectives and strategies or they complement each other. The following sections summarize the main argumentation strands and discourse fragments, underpinned with exemplary citations.

5.1 Kigali

5.1.1 Preface

The preface and executive summary of the KMP briefly describe the background and summarize the objectives of the project. The project's core aim is "*involving a large base of stakeholders*" (p. IX)[1], which is repeated in subsequent sections but does not mention what this process looks like or exactly which stakeholders are referred to. The overriding goal is the "*[...]growth of the capital and the transformation into a "world-class city*" (p. IX). The way to achieve this is to "*support the city's economic green growth and individuals' wellbeing, integrate all previous plans, improve local capacity through training and involvement of local planners [...]*" (p. IX) and " *[...] incorporating all recent projects and aligning it with market trends*" (p. IX). At the end of the chapter, principles are stated to guide the growth of the city, the economy, and the management of Kigali (p. XIV). These principles present a broad picture of incremental steps to guide urban growth in correspondence with economic growth, to create affordable housing and mixed and integrated neighborhoods, to support green growth and a sustainable and resilient infrastructure, with special attention to inclusiveness and equality, and to "*vulnerable groups like women, children, poor, old, differently-abled*" (p. XV).
The first two chapters describe the transfer of duties and responsibilities to non-governmental actors, especially through stakeholder involvement, without identifying them. Mostly economic growth is a prerequisite for environmental and social sustainability, and the image of the entrepreneurial city is prioritized. Through this and the training and capacity building of individuals, the well-being of the population is to be generated, along with a fundamental market orientation of all components of urban development. The needs of city dwellers are not mentioned, individuals are seen as self-responsible actors, the term "*community*" appears once (p. XI).

5.1.2 Visioning Kigali City 2050

Two key problems highlighted at the beginning are social inequality and informal settlements (p. 10). This factual presentation of development, without going into its causes, suggests naturalization, these developments are accepted as given, and the focus is on strategies to solve them. The same applies to ecological problems such as "*Encroachment of nature areas*",

[1] The page references in this chapter refer exclusively to the Kigali Master Plan 2050.

"*pressure of resources and carbon footprint*" (p. 10). In addition to these central problems it also highlights the lack of attractive areas for investment (p. 11). The direction taken to tackle these problems is presented as "*inclusive development [...] including gender, youth, vulnerable groups [...]*" (p. 11) with the challenges of affordability for citizens, funding and the lack of land. As another strategy regarding nature conservation, the relocation of people from the so-called wetlands is proposed, why they live there is not mentioned. The connection to affordable housing as a strategy against spatial segregation is not made directly, and the strategy to achieve inclusivity and equality is not described in this regard. The recommendation to promote green economy investments and green jobs creates the impression that environmental protection can only be achieved through simultaneous economic growth or marketization.

5.1.3 Founding Principles

"The intent of the Master Plan is to engage all stakeholders to create a sustainable, safe, inclusive and efficient community where the life and vitality can be enjoyed by all its residents and visitors alike" (p. 23). Kigali and its future is presented as a place to live for all people. Following the further course of the chapter, however, it becomes clear that the priorities lie elsewhere. The sentence "*[...] Kigali as the Regional Hub that will attract international investments to Kigali through improved connectivity, competitiveness, market expansion and enhancement of value chains.*" (p. 23) summarizes the argumentation that follows, parts of which appear repeatedly. In other passages, Kigali is described to become a regional and international centre that accelerates economic growth through promotion of " *[...] trade and market expansion through better allocation of resources across the region [...]*" (p. 24) as well as "*[...] cross-regional markets and services, attraction of foreign direct investments, expansion of trade and investments to enable deeper national and regional economic integration.*" (p. 24).

The section on "*Incremental Development*" argues that incremental development offers the possibility to regulate unplanned development and to ensure efficient infrastructure and service delivery, which is oriented towards market demands (p. 26). The same tenor is found in the section on "*Affordable Housing"*. It is argued that private land ownership is a problem to realize this principle, but it is not explained how this can be solved (p. 27). Instead, through land pooling, flexible zoning regulations, and the promotion of local construction materials, the government wants to actively support citizens in moving from informal to formal settlements, but the ultimate goal is to shorten the distance to "*the existing economic activities*" (p. 28). The

mixed-use approach for residential areas, which intends to create neighborhoods that are places to connect live and work in combination with infrastructure and services in one place, is also meant to bring citizens closer to employment opportunities (p. 30).

The section on the principle of "*Green Growth*" shows a similar direction regarding the previous presentation of the topic of sustainability. The authors assume that "*[...] there must be a balance between nature and human intervention*" (p. 31) and that through "*[...] rapid urbanization to accommodate the growing population and expanding economic opportunities, environmental aspects are often undermined*" (p. 31). Addressing all members of society to understand the dangers of exploiting nature not only for the ecosystem but also for the food supply of the population, is "*[...] the backbone for sustained economic growth*" (p. 31). The proposed strategies are the resettlement of people from ecologically sensitive areas, the protection and restoration of these areas and their development to improve food productivity and resource efficiency for economic gain, and the creation of green jobs (p. 32).

Concerning the principle "*Resilient and Sustainable Infrastructure*", a balance between sustainability, quality of life, and economic growth is promoted. Investing in sustainable infrastructure would reduce carbon emissions, improve the standard of living in communities, and bring long-term economic benefits, according to the investment attraction (p. 32). About the last principle mentioned, "*Inclusivity and Equity*", all members of society are called upon to be included and treated equally. Placing articular emphasis on "*[...] vulnerable groups such as women, children, poor, people with disabilities, and senior citizens*" (p. 34). Concerning the labor market, it aims to create equal opportunities and rights for all residents, including the most marginalized, through jobs and "*economic opportunities"* (p. 35) It refers to equality of opportunity rather than true equality.

5.1.4 City of Excellence

The description of what is meant by a "*City of Excellence*" is found in this passage: " *[...] strives to create a city that attracts people to live, work, visit, learn from and replicate. It envisions a smart city, with vibrant economy, environmentally sensitive, well connected, and participatory and inclusive in its urban planning and management functions*" (p. 63). The core priority to achieve this are institutional and governance improvements, being *"the key enabling factors of integrated and sustainable management of the ongoing urbanization process*" (p. 63). It also

emphazises the importance of access to social services and jobs. In the following sections, the terms "*inclusivity and equity*","*quality of life*" and "*livable*" appear frequently as catalysts for economic growth and investment attraction. Phrases such as "*attractive to investors through inclusive and integrated urban planning"* or *"[...] strategies and provision of good urban infrastructure and services for the city to be productive and economically sustainable"* (p. 65) usually follow immediately. The ongoing discourse mainly revolves around managing the city's growth efficiently, with the goal of economic growth usually mentioned first, followed by social development and efficient governance. Inequality is mentioned again, accepted as naturally existing and is countered by economic growth (p. 66). The issue of affordable housing is mentioned, too, impacted by the distance to economic activities and private land ownership. A possible solution is seen in making the rental market more flexible, with two advantages: an additional source of income for landowners and a growing supply of affordable and formal housing (p. 67). After that, the initial goal of institutional and governance improvements is taken up again. Here, the focus is on collaboration with "*[...] public agencies, private sectors, NGOs, CSOs and other development partners*" (p. 69) and coordination of government levels. A technical advisory group, which has already been established, is mentioned here as a means of guiding and monitoring this process in the future and ensuring the proper involvement of key actors. Again they are not identifyed. (p. 69).

5.1.5 City of Mixed-Use Neighborhoods and City at Work

These two chapters of the master plan are closely linked to each other. First, the previously mentioned introduction of mixed-use and mixed-income areas is explained. Stating that unplanned settlements pose a problem for safety and the environment, distance from economic activities and jobs is stressed, too. Thus, unplanned settlements are not seen as a problem for the citizens living in them, but as a threat to the economy as a whole shifting the responsibility for being unsustainable to the residents (p. 72). The planned residential zones, "*[...] are proposed close to the major employment centers to provide housing options for workers close to their offices, workshops and other places of employment*" (p. 74) whose public and business facilities should "*[...] follow market trends, growth in population and overall demand at different locations within the neighborhood*" (p. 77). Land pooling is also cited, which aims to improve sustainable practices and increase production in rural areas (p. 79). The last section again promotes the participatory and bottom-up approach, this time explicitly mentioning the stakeholders to be involved; "*The meaningful participation of all stakeholders, landowners,*

tenants, unplanned residents, the municipal authorities, land professionals and community organizations - in planning and making decisions [...]" (p. 82). The chapter on "*City at Work*" promotes a small distance between the places to live and places to work. It also aims to solve the problem of gender inequality by promoting "*[...] women into the workforce, with work place in proximity to home*" (p. 88). Another problem to ensure small and medium enterprise's access to the market in the city is high real estate or land costs, which are caused by ineffective design and high construction costs (p. 89). As solutions, it states a stronger market orientation, the formalization of small and micro-enterprises, and the formation of mixed-use buildings, which are oriented towards the investment capacity of investors. (p. 89). In addition, it presents recommendations from real estate developers and landowners who generally call for more flexibility in the real estate market, public-private partnerships, incentives for investment, tax cuts, and market boosting (p. 90).

5.1.6 Green City

"*Green growth, which may be pursued along different paths and strategies based on the aspirations and context of each country, provides increasing economic opportunities, while mitigating environmental pressures*" (p. 98). This statement summarizes the context in which to achieve environmental sustainability, seeing it as an economic opportunity rather than a necessity to protect people and nature. A detailed description of the problems follows, including degradation, pollution, poor waste and water management, etc. It descibes the natural environment of the city, followed by outlining strategies characterized by a high degree of regulation. Waterbody and forest conservation areas are to be created, steep slopes are to be protected in a controlled manner (p. 115), and agriculture in the wetlands is to be reduced or made sustainable (p. 114) with a constant eye on possible disasters such as floods or landslides (p. 118). Furthermore, it is described that within the city, CO2 emissions from traffic should be reduced and green spaces should be retained or created (p. 119). The promotion of green jobs is mentioned sporadically. Overall the chapter focuses on nature conservation and leaves out the balance between growth and environmental protection mentioned at the beginning which are only partially addressed, e.g. the lack of green housing construction or industrial activities are not dealt with further.

5.1.8 City on the Move, Efficient City and City for Citizens

The chapters "*City on the move*" and "*Efficient City*" are both very clearly structured. The current situation regarding the transportation network, water and energy supply, waste management and ICT are explained in detail. In each case, an explanation of what can be improved is provided, followed by concrete implementation plans supported by data and maps.The discourse here has no particularities worth mentioning, but no information is given on the actors involved or on financing.

Kigali strives to be a place with respect for the needs of its citizens and is a place to live for everyone, "*It essentially focuses on provision of mixed-use neighborhoods, affordable housings, participatory rights to all its population to live in an inclusive environment, together with the development of public spaces and social facilities*" (p. 179). The discourse in the chapter is double-edged. The problems cited are again great social inequality and spatial segregation The response to this should be the expansion of social infrastructure, i.e. community facilities, public services, and community participation (p. 179). When describing the goals of this, things like *"wellbeing*", "*quality of life*", "*lifestyle needs*" and "*social inclusion*" are mentioned (p. 180). Finally, when it comes to concrete strategies, a high degree of marketization is evident, e.g. "*Overlay Zoning is a tool used by urban development authorities to provide flexibility to a land use zone so that it can take a development direction based on market forces*" (p. 182). Furthermore, it is mentioned that social infrastructure will be developed in the most effective areas, but it remains open which areas are addressed and whether parts of the population will be excluded since accessible land is provided to "*potential users*" (p. 182), while it is not clear whether it refers to everyone or to people who can afford it. This question is also not answered in the following sections dealing with healthcare, education, open spaces, sports, and opportunities for people with disabilities. There is a concrete discussion on how this infrastructure should be developed to achieve the greatest possible accessibility according to demand. In the section on education, it is explicitly stated that education plays a crucial role in inclusive urbanization, but is also there to meet "*future manpower demand*" and lead to the boost of economic development (p. 186).

5.1.9 Creative City

The last chapter of the master plan deals with the local character of the city, creativity, and tourism. On the one hand, it is argued that the support of creativity, the identification, and

celebration of culture, heritage, and tradition leads to emotionally satisfying experiences and a vibrantly safe and appealing cityscape. However, this goal is mainly seen as a catalyst for tourism and investment in the following paragraphs. This becomes apparent through passages such as: "*[...] vitality of city centers booms economic activity and business in the region and finally attracts tourists to the area."* (p. 179) or *"[...]transformation for prosperity by developing high value and competitive jobs and sectors"* (p. 179) as well as *"Improved productivity and competitiveness through diversified tourism, development of local industries e.g. handcrafts, high-quality services in public and private sectors including hospitality*" (p. 182). Even if the image of a city as a diverse and pleasant living space for its inhabitants is first created, it is implied that creativity and culture should generate productivity and competition.

5.1.10 Conclusion Kigali

If we look at the discourses identified in the previous chapters, we can see a wide disparity between visions and principles and the actual strategies and associated goals. Especially in the first two chapters and the introductions of other chapters, the image of an inclusive city is raised, concerned about the well-being of all citizens, with special attention to the most vulnerable of society and the great inequality. Individuals are presented here as part of a social group, with needs that the city should strive to meet. Affordable housing appears as a tool to get people out of bad living conditions. However, summarizing strategies and goals, most of them are applied under the guise of economic growth and the creation of an entrepreneurial city. The above principles are often used to attract investment, tactics such as affordable housing are based on market principles, and culture and tradition preservation are used to create competition. Furthermore, inequalities are accepted as a natural development to be addressed through economic growth and formalization or relocation from informal settlements. It also stands out that the individuals are blamed for the environmental consequences of these settlements; the way out is the creation of living space under market conditions and the spatial proximity to the workplace. The same is true for gender inequality, which is to be combated simply by pushing women into work. Individuals will be offered equal opportunities, and their success will depend on their commitment to training, education, and competition. Overall, the master plan subordinates most parts, though not exclusively, under the discourse of undisputed economic value.

5.2 Johannesburg

5.2.1 Introduction, Who we are, Key Strategies

In the following, the very important role of Johannesburg as a center for capital flow (p. 17)[2] and as a destination for people looking for improvement of their socio-economic situation (p. 22) is emphasized. The major problems stated are unemployment and the resulting social inequality (p. 20), spatial inequality, a result of apartheid, as well as generally weak economic growth, and gender-based violence, challenges regarding the supply of basic services (water, waste), health and the environment. In general, the authors focus on efficient service delivery, mentioning that this "*[...] depends primarily on sustainable economic growth and a distribution of the benefits of such growth*" (p. 24). It also involves the expansion of social assistance programs to provide a level of basic income security, particularly for those communities without access to economic opportunities. "*This social safety net is critical to combating poverty*" (p. 20). The problem of gender-based violence is also to be combated through educational programs and networking. However, there is no mention of equality through economic perspectives (p. 29). In the section dealing with nature conservation, the greatest threat to the environment is "*[...] carbon intensive economy due primarily to the industrial, energy and transport sectors"* and the consequences, namely *"[...] the impacts on society which are numerous and felt most directly by the large proportion of poor and vulnerable communities in informal settlements"* (p. 40), emphasizing who is most responsible for environmental damage and who is most affected by it.
The summary of the core strategies aims to create a "livable city" that is *"[...] responsive to the needs of communities"* (p. 42). In some parts, however, the importance of the economy is still underlined, for example, competitive trades in public infrastructure are to be promoted, regulations and taxes for investment are to be reduced or at least made more flexible, and ICT is seen as a catalyst for employment and growth (p. 43).

5.2.2 Managing the people's Contract & Strategic Framework

This section analyses the chapter dedicated to the needs of the people of Johannesburg. Firstly, the chapter places cities and communities at the heart of the agenda by stating: "*In a continued endeavor to emphasize bottom-up planning and to build sustainable communities, the City reformed its ward-based approach to the active citizenry to a more multi-centric*

[2] The page references in this chapter refer exclusively to the Johannesburg Integrated Development Plan 2020/21.

model….Asset-based community development is a way of thinking and an approach to development which focuses on strengths, abilities, opportunities, talents and gifts as a foundation or starting point for community development" (p. 47). The focus of this quote is on a bottom-up approach that builds on existing capacities and favors development from the inside out.

This is followed by a section showing the results of meetings with specific groups, namely the youth, women, formal business, informal business and people with disabilities, as well as with representatives of Johannesburg's wards, resulting in a detailed list of priorities that will serve as a roadmap for short-term and long-term strategies. The first priority is financial sustainability, which is about making service delivery and infrastructure sustainable and efficient, with a focus on optimal resource utilization, improved productivity and a customer-centric approach (p. 65). This is followed by the priority "*Good Governance*", "*[...] which focuses on creating a high-performing metropolitan government that proactively contributes to and builds a sustainable, socially inclusive, locally integrated and globally competitive Gauteng City Region (GCR)*" (p. 65). The focus is also on participation and corruption-free government. The next priority deals with the spatial segregation of the poor that still exists today and calls for integrated sustainable settlements to meet the basic needs of the citizen, as does the following priority, which again deals with sustainable service delivery. Here a win-win situation is presented: "*Infrastructure development will not only stimulate the economy and development, it will further facilitate accessibility of basic service to the citizens of the City*" (p. 65). The fifth priority, *"economic development"*, is seen as a key to poverty reduction, the strategies being investment attraction and support for small businesses and the informal sector, although there is no mention of formalizing it, but rather of ensuring that it too generates a sufficient living (p. 66). The priorities of "*Active and engaged citizenship*" and "*Smart City*" are largely consistent with the point about good governance, but with the addition of the use of technology. Words such as "*[...] accountability, accessibility, transparency, predictability, inclusivity and a focus on equity, participation and responsiveness*" also appear here (p. 67). The Sustainable Environmental Development priority assumes that economic growth and human activity in general pose a threat to the environment that needs to be regulated. It reiterates the government's responsibility to achieve this through its own operations and the support of communities and individuals. The last priority reflects previous actions on Covid-19 and highlights the most important challenges.

5.2.3 City Strategies to address City Challenges

Outcome 1: Improved quality of life and development-driven resilience for all

Poverty is the main issue identified in the broad category that *"[...] includes people working and living on the streets; unemployed; indigent households; youth; new and internal migrants; those in hostels, informal settlements; food insecure households" (p. 93).* The ultimate goal is to include the affected people in the urban economy and to provide them access to basic livelihood. This is to be achieved through economic opportunities and wealth redistribution (p. 93). Concrete proposals and strategies for improving the situation are mentioned. Under the guise of improved quality of life and development-driven resilience, it proposes the following: Expanded social support program; Food resilience program; Healthy life for all; Investing in spatial development; Building safe and inclusive communities; Advancing human capital; Addressing homelessness and landlessness (p. 94). The next major challenge addressed is security to create a "*Well-regulated, responsive city; Safe and secure urban environment and public spaces; Informed, capacitated active communities"* (p. 94-95). Due to a very high level of crime, a need for new laws, prevention, and observation is emphasized.
The last point is disaster and risk management. The authors give a long list of priorities, summarizing them as data analysis, evaluation of opportunities and capacities, information accessibility, knowledge creation at all levels of society, training and education, dialogue, technology improvement through investment, and collaboration (p. 98). A special role is attributed to "*[...]vulnerable communities such as informal settlements [...]*" (p. 98).

Outcome 2: Provide a resilient, liveable, sustainable urban environment – underpinned by smart infrastructure supportive of a low carbon economy

This goal mainly revolves around improving service delivery. The demand for services has increased while the government has not yet managed to meet it. The government's responsibility and will to *"[...] ensure that the right people are in the right positions to be able to serve our people with pride"* (p. 102) is acknowledged. The problem of spatial inequality is revisited here, with major issues consisting of fragmentation, jobs-housing mismatch, exclusion, gated developments and inefficient land use (p. 102). The strategy is to develop a polycentric city that guarantees proximity of residences to economic opportunities, ultimately *"[...] to adapt*

the current structural reality of the city into one that is more socially, environmentally and financially sustainable, efficient and equitable" (p. 104). Another strategy mentioned is inclusionary housing. Negotiations between the government and the private sector have resulted in regulations for the housing market that specify how and for whom housing space must be used (p. 108), following the City Transformation Roadmap. Here, the special role of Johannesburg's inner city is as a place of e.g. opportunity and inclusivity, employment node, connection to transport infrastructure, investment destination and cultural and knowledge center is highlighted (p. 114). The vision is very similar to the general one at the beginning of the plan: *" [...] A well-governed, transformed, safe, clean and sustainable inner city of Johannesburg, which offers high quality, sustainable services; supports vibrant economic activity; and provides a welcoming place for all residents, migrants, commuters, workers, traders, investors, and tourists*" (p. 117). The strategies also largely correspond to those of the general plan, although the aspect of inclusivity receives greater and more detailed attention. Affordability, basic infrastructure, and social services, are also core issues here, and the government is responsible for them (p. 118). However, the improvement of the transportation infrastructure is about the enlargement, the support of economic growth, congestion management, and safety (p. 118-119). Regarding the housing situation the main problems are insufficient space and informality, which give rise to the same strategies as at the beginning, with only safety and security being explicitly mentioned again (p. 120-121). "*Cities are being recognized as the key to growth, development, and stability*" (p. 124), with two consequences: first, urban sprawl and unplanned settlements leading to pollution, mainly water, and a carbon-intensive industry. Acknowledging that *"economic growth is strongly connected with the demand for natural resources"* (p. 125), the urgent need for strategies regarding air quality management is stressed. Tactics for this include collaboration with stakeholders to develop emission reduction strategies, regulation of emission producers, capacity building for management services, information, awareness, and empowerment of citizens, and support for innovation and science (p. 129).

Outcome 3: An inclusive, job-intensive, resilient, competitive, and smart economy that harnesses the potential of citizens

This chapter summarizes the strategies for economic growth and the smart city approach. *"Facilitating economic growth that creates jobs is the core objective, as a thriving private sector is understood to be a means of decisively and sustainably addressing unemployment, poverty,*

and inequality" (p. 129). The strategies mentioned are skill-development to generate competition, new market development, investment attraction, spatial linkage of housing and jobs, entrepreneurship promotion, and environmental sustainability (p. 130). The Smart City strategy moves around two goals *"[...] (1) to significantly improve living standards for all residents, with special attention to women and youth and the marginalized poor; and (2) to correct the historic spatial and economic inequities that continue to be barriers to the city's growth"* (p. 130). Technological innovation should invoke better service delivery, the principles under which the process should take place again revolve around citizen-centered, service quality, efficiency, sustainability, resilience, digital economic opportunities, as well as skill and talent development of citizens (p. 131).

Outcome 4: A high-performing metropolitan government that proactively contributes to and builds a sustainable, socially inclusive, locally integrated, and globally competitive Gauteng City Region.

This part of the plan is divided into three subcategories: The financial development plan, Joburg fiscal and budgeting outlook, and the capital investment framework. The former revolves almost exclusively around achieving financial sustainability within the city. Priorities include *"[...] equitable, fair, and affordable rates and tariff increases"* as well as*"[...] provision of basic municipal services"* and prudence in debt accumulation and reserve building (p. 133-134).
In the second section, the financial situation of Johannesburg is described, focussing on the impact on the health care system and the livelihood of the population (p. 138). The goal is for the government to generate economic growth through targeted investment in infrastructure. Moreover, "*the national government has taken the pressure off the consumers by containing tax increases and offering measures to improve the purchasing power of the workers"* (p. 141). Describing the priorities economic reorientation and recovery, tax increase, and stronger regulation of the producer-consumer relationship, public and private are set out as essential. In the beginning, the importance of economic growth is emphasized, but later phrases such as "*service delivery*," "*financial stability*" and "*regulatory*" predominate (p. 142-148).
This discourse is also reflected in the last section. While the first goal is economic growth through public and private investment, the ultimate goal is to combat spatial inequality (p. 151). Growth and urbanization should be effectively managed through: " *[...] state and private sector developments are overseen by the city through its development approval process" and "Through guiding public investment in bulk infrastructure and services the SDF will, in turn,*

guide private investment and development in the city" (p. 152). Here, the regulatory role of the government becomes clear once again.

5.2.3 Conclusion Johannesburg

The central discourse found in the plan revolves around service delivery and how to improve it for city residents. In particular, the importance of combating inequality and achieving a certain level of satisfaction with basic needs is emphasized. Inclusivity, sustainability, resilience, and stability are the core principles that recur. Economic growth is the means. In sections that deal specifically with this, growth is usually accompanied by productivity, competition, investment attraction, entrepreneurship, and skill development. On the one hand, this is affected by expanding regulation; the government wants to intervene actively in the process and steer it, and there is also frequent talk of a redistribution of wealth; the fulfillment of citizens' needs is central. On the other hand, the importance of ecological sustainability, which is associated with economic growth, is also made clear time and again; here, the focus is also on regulation and information, and education.
In general, social problems, such as inequality and poverty, are at the core of the entire plan, and economic strategies serve as a means to address them. Individuals are portrayed as community members, and their role as workers is only highlighted in sections that deal explicitly with the labor market.

6. Discussion

If one compares the discourses of the two plans, one can find a few commonalities, but mainly differences. What stands out most in Kigali's plan is the focus on economic growth. All principles and spheres of society are subordinated to this narrative. Social problems such as inequality and poverty are seen as natural developments, and economic growth appears to be the only means of combating them, adapted to the market model, fitting to the characteristics that Hart (2004), Dardot & Laval (2013) or Harvey (2007) ascribed to neoliberalism. Improvements in the quality of life are primarily for investment attraction, and all areas of society are operationalized to promote the productivity of the city. The environment is seen as capital, an indispensable factor for economic progress, and its exploitation must be made efficient so that it can continue in a sustainable manner, similar to what Beal (2013) and Tretter (2014) found in other cities. Many of the strategies mentioned are also intended to be adapted to market mechanisms, only

creating a producer-consumer relationship between the people of the city. Also, the representation of individuals as workers and entrepreneurs outweighs the one that sees them as residents or social subjects. The construction of the *homo economicus* (Brown 2005) is found here.

Although authors repeatedly cite inclusivity, equality, and well-being with particular attention to the vulnerable of society, the responsibility is usually placed in their own hands. They are called to take advantage of the opportunities given to them, to educate themselves and to be trained to participate in the economy, inevitably a competition between individuals and in this case confirms Foucault's theory (1978) about neoliberal biopolitics. Marginalized groups, in this case those in informal settlements, are also portrayed as a threat to the environment and also to the economy, the goal being to integrate them into the market as productive workers and to incorporate the informality of their living space and possibly workplace into formal structures. The well-being of residents, as well as culture, tradition, and education, are tied to economic rationality and serve the growth and wealth of the city rather than the cause itself.

In this context, the Kigali government is cast in the role of a regulator, providing the framework for the market and competition between the economy and the individuals, thus reinforcing the values and principles of neoliberalism, showing patterns of what Peck and Tickel (2002) describe as “roll-out” neoliberalism. In the process, responsibilities are also given to non-government stakeholders. However, it is usually not possible to determine which stakeholders are referred to; only actors on the housing market are actively addressed and included. It is unclear to what extent the government's authoritarian tendencies play a role here. Although the importance of civil society participation is repeatedly stressed, no real influence has yet been seen in the formulation of interests, not a word is said about democratic structures. Combined with the background of the RPF's power structures in Rwanda, the criticism of previous plans that they are elite driven and do little to alleviate poverty may be appropriate here as well. Overall, it is very clear that the characteristics of neoliberalism, as described at the beginning of this thesis, dominate the discourse of the Kigali Master Plan. The discourses revealed in this paper in Kigali's master plan may function as techniques of neoliberal governmentality (Foucault 1978) since they tend to ascribe responsibilities to the individual, imposing themselves in an economic neutrality and objectivity. Problems such as poverty and inequality are depoliticized, decontextualized and rendered in the neoliberal narrative, where the reasons for them are naturalized and not attributed to the system itself.

Those characteristics are also reflected in the Johannesburg plan, but not as a predominant discourse. Within those sections that deal explicitly with economic growth, the typical characteristics such as market orientation, increased competition and entrepreneurship are addressed. Also, a central theme is inclusion in the labor market, driven by the creation of opportunities, skills and training. The discourse found here, however, mainly encompasses social problems. The core themes of the plan are the needs, the well-being of the city's residents and especially the improvement of service delivery. Kigali's plan also deals with similar issues at the beginning, but within Johannesburg's plan, economic growth serves more as a means to an end. Key words such as "*sustainability*", "*resilience*" and "*stability*" clearly transcend the discourse on growth. The discourse on "*equality*" and *"inclusiveness*" is also gaining in importance; the government sees itself as responsible for guaranteeing its citizens a minimum of basic services, largely independently of market mechanisms, and thus for integrating them into social life. Furthermore, it also sees itself as responsible for redistributing the wealth that economic growth brings and should bring within the population, e.g. by raising taxes or regulating the housing market.

Individuals are largely perceived as social subjects and less often as producers or consumers, their well-being playing a greater role than their productivity. This is evident simply from the integrated consultations with civil society groups that have shaped the principles over the course of the plan. Collectivity and solidarity characterize the approach taken by the authors here. The previously described closeness to the population, which is attributed to the ANC, could be an explanation for this. In the plan, environmental sustainability is given similar importance as economic aspects, or the latter are linked to the former by conditions. Environmental damage is seen primarily as a threat to people and life rather than a threat to the economy, and industry is recognized as a major factor in environmental degradation that needs to be regulated. Overall, the role of government in Johannesburg appears to balance social, environmental and economic sustainability with stability, security and resilience. The economic factors register characteristics of neoliberal ideology, but the other discourses are not subordinate to it; in some places it is rather the other way around. A question appearing here is to what extent the plan and its implementation depend on the respective legislative period; this would require further research.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this work was to examine to what extent neoliberalization is reflected in urban governance in sub-Saharan Africa. The starting point was to argue that neoliberal ideology has developed as a hegemonic narrative across the globe in recent decades, particularly in Africa not without the power and influence of outside states and organizations. The initial purely economic strategies of deregulation, free trade, market orientation, competition and commodification (Brenner & Theodore 2002) have established themselves as the primary paradigm in political economy. Following the arguments of authors such as Harvey (2007), Peck and Tickel (2002), and especially Foucault and his theory of neoliberal governmentality, neoliberalism has become a power-volatile paradigm across all spheres of society in which all human activity at the institutional as well as the individual level is subordinated to growth and productivity, and its principles are reproduced and reinforced by governments, institutions, agencies, organizations, and individuals themselves. By analyzing discourse and examining two cases in Johannesburg and Kigali, the question can be answered in part. The discourses exposed in Kigali's Master Plan are clearly dominated by neoliberal approaches, reflecting to a large extent the characteristics elaborated in the beginning. The study of Johannesburg's Integrated Development Plan showed a different picture. The neoliberal narrative is found primarily within purely economic issues; with regard to other issues, the discourse contradicts its approaches and priorities in many respects. Thus, the results of this case contradict the initial assumption that neoliberalism globally controls all spheres of society.

However, this study also has some limitations. While in Kigali the master plan is the main strategy and few other strategies match it, in Johannesburg other plans have been published. In order to gain a broader insight into the discourse of the policy-makers, further documents would have to be included. Furthermore, only a picture of the intentions of the authors could be obtained here; information about the views of society as a whole is left out. For this purpose media discourse or surveys within civil society would also have to be examined. The extent to which the political environment has an influence should also be investigated more closely. Harrison (2019) provides a starting point for further research by linking the concepts of neoliberalism and authoritarianism in the African context.

As argued at the outset, the extent to which urban governance in sub-Saharan Africa has been neoliberalized has not been studied in the manner presented in this thesis. This inevitably leads

to the fact that the previous theorizing also has its limits. The theories used in this thesis, especially those that do not refer specifically to African countries, are mostly based on insights from Western structures. Foucault's theory, for example, is based on an examination of the American and German forms of liberalism, which cannot be applied universally without the inclusion of other factors. The role of civil society was also only briefly touched upon in this paper. Obadare (2014) provides a detailed study of the role of civil society in Africa, while Konings (2011) has examined civil society's opposition to neoliberal reforms in Cameroon. In addition, this work does not do justice to the entire political development of the African continent; two cases do not reflect the totality of developments and prevent generalizability of the results. The role of (neo)colonialism is also an important factor in the study of ideology and power on the continent. Wengraf (2018) and Poku & Witman (2017) address these issues in detail.

8. References

Abrahams, C., Everatt, D. (2019). *City Profile: Johannesburg, South Africa*. Environment and Urbanization ASIA, 10(2), 255–270. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0975425319859123

Afenah, A. (2009). *Conceptualizing the Effects of Neoliberal Urban Policies on Housing Rights: An Analysis of the Attempted Unlawful Forced Eviction of an Informal Settlement in Accra, Ghana*. Working Paper No. 139. London: University College.

Arvanitis, E., Mikelatou, A. (2017). *Social inclusion and active citizenship under the prism of neoliberalism: A critical analysis of the European Union's discourse of lifelong learning*. Educational Philosophy and Theory. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2017.1382348

Baffoe, G., Ahmad, S., Bhandari, R. (2020). *The road to sustainable Kigali: A contextualized analysis of the challenges*. Cities, 105. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102838

Baldwin, C., Marshall, G., Ross, H., Cavaye, J., Stephenson, J., Carter, L., Freeman, C., Curtis, A., & Syme, G. (2019). *Hybrid Neoliberalism: Implications for Sustainable Development*. Society & Natural Resources, 32 (5), 566–587. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08941920.2018.1556758

Bailey, I. (2007). *Neoliberalism, climate governance and the scalar politics of EU emissions trading*. Area, 39 (4), 431–442. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.2007.00770.x

Béal, V. (2014). *Selective public policies: sustainability and neoliberal urban restructuring*. Environment and Urbanization, 27 (1), 303–316. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956247814549153

Bénit-Gbaffou, C., Piper, L. (2012). *Party politics, the poor and the city: Reflections from the South African case*. Geoforum, 43, 173–177. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2012.01.001.

Bracking, S. (2016). *The financialisation of power: how financiers rule Africa*. London: Routledge.

Brown, W. (2005). *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bekelcha, K. L., Sefera, A. E. (2019). *Advantages and Disadvantages of*

Neoliberalism/Neoliberal Economic policy in general and the Case of Ethiopia in particular. Journal of eSciences, 2 (9).

Brenner, N., Theodore, N. (2002). *Cities and the Geographies of „Actually Existing Neoliberalism“*. Antipode, 34 (3), 349–379. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00246

Bolesta, A. (2007). *China As A Developmental State*. Montenegrin Journal of Economics, Economic Laboratory for Transition Research (ELIT), vol. 3 (5), 105-111.

Bond, P., Dor, G. (2003). *Neoliberalism and Poverty Reduction Strategies in Africa. A Discussion Paper for the Regional Network for Equity in Health in Southern Africa*. EQUINET.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1998): *Gegenfeuer. Wortmeldungen im Dienste des Widerstands gegen die neoliberale Invasion*. Konstanz: UVK.

Carmody, P., Owusu, F. (2017). *Neoliberalism, urbanization and change in Africa*. Africa Under Neoliberalism, 61–75. Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315565965-4

Castells, M., A. Portes (1989). *World underneath: The origins, dynamics, and effects of the informal economy*. In A. Portes, M. Castells and L.A. Menton (Eds). *The informal economy: Studies in advanced and less developed countries*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 11-41.

Ciplet, D., Roberts, J. T. (2017). *Climate change and the transition to neoliberal environmental governance*. Global Environmental Change, 46: 148–156. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2017.09.003

City of Kigali (2020). *Kigali Master Plan 2050: Main report*. Kigali: Surbana Jurong Consultants Pte Ltd. Available at: https://bpmis.gov.rw/asset_uplds/kigali_master_plan/2_Kigali%20Master%20Plan_Main%20ReportLowRes.pdf

Cross, J. (2010). *Neoliberalism as unexceptional: Economic zones and the everyday precariousness of working life in South India*. Critique of Anthropology, 30 (4):355-73.

Crowe, M. (2005). *Discourse analysis: towards an understanding of its place in nursing*. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 51: 55-63. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2005.03461.x

Dardot, P., Laval, C. (2013). *The new way of the world: On neoliberal society*. New York: Verso.

Demirović, A. (2008). *Neoliberalismus und Hegemonie*. Neoliberalismus. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. 17-33. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-90899-1_2

Didier, S., Morange, M., Peyroux, E. (2012). *The Adaptive Nature of Neoliberalism at the Local Scale: Fifteen Years of City Improvement Districts in Cape Town and Johannesburg*. Antipode, 45 (1), 121–139. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012.00987.x

van Dijk, T. A. (Ed.). (1997). *Discourse as social interaction: Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*. Sage Publications Inc, Vol. 2.

Engberg-Petersen, P., Gibbon, P., Raikes, P., Udsholt, L. (1996). *Limits of adjustment in Africa.* London: James Currey.

Ezeonu, I. (2008). *Crimes of Globalization: Health Care, HIV, and the Poverty of Neoliberalism in Sub-Saharan Africa*. International Journal of Social Inquiry, 1 (2): 113-134.

Fairclough, N. (1985). *Critical and descriptive goals in discourse analysis*. Journal of Pragmatics. 9: 739–763.

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public*. Discourse and Society, 4 (2): 133-168.

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In T. van Dijk (Ed.): *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*. 2: 258-284. London: Sage.

Ferguson, J. (2006). *Global shadows: Africa in the neoliberal world order*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Freeman, C. (2007). *The reputation of neoliberalism*. American ethnologist, 34 (2), 252-267, University of California Press.

Freire, M., Lall, S., & Leipziger, D. (2015). *Africa's Urbanization*. In: C. Monga & J. Y. Lin (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, 583–602. Oxford University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199687114.013.9

Foucault, M. (1978). *Dispositive der Macht. Über Sexualität, Wissen und Wahrheit*. Berlin.

Foucault, M. (1983). *Der Wille zum Wissen. Sexualität und Wahrheit I*. Frankfurt a.M.

Foucault, M. (2000). *Die Gouvernementalität*. In: Bröckling, U., Krasmann, S., Lemke, T. (Eds.). *Gouvernementalität der Gegenwart*. Studien zur Ökonomisierung des Sozialen, 41–67. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp.

Froning, D. (2000). *The benefits of free trade: A guide for policymakers*. Retrieved, 02.06.2021, From http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2000/08/the-benefits-offree-trade-a-guide-for-policymakers

Getachew, N. (2010). *Neo-liberalism and the Washington Consensus: Under-developing the Poor*. Retrieved 15.03.2021, from http://en.ethiopianreporter.com/

Goodfellow, T., Smith, A. (2013). *From Urban Catastrophe to 'Model' City? Politics, Security and Development in Post-conflict Kigali*. Urban Studies, 50 (15), 3185–3202. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0042098013487776

Jessop, B. (2002). *Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective*. Antipode, 34 (3), 452–472. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00250

Hamann, T. H. (2009). *Neoliberalism, Governmentality, and Ethics*. Foucault Studies, 37. http://dx.doi.org/10.22439/fs.v0i0.2471

Harrison, G. (2005). *Economic Faith, Social Project and a Misreading of African Society: the travails of neoliberalism in Africa*. Third World Quarterly. 26 (8), 1303-1320.

Harrison, G. (2010). *Neoliberal Africa: The impact of global social engineering*. London/New York: Zed Books.

Harrison, G. (2019). *Authoritarian neoliberalism and capitalist transformation in Africa: all pain, no gain*. Globalizations, 16 (3), 274-288. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2018.1502491

Harrison, P., Gotz, G., Todes, A., Wray, C. (2014). *Materialities, subjectivities and spatial transformation in Johannesburg*. Changing Space, Changing City, 2–39. Wits University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.18772/22014107656.5

Hart, G. (2004). *Geography and development: critical ethnographies*. Progress in Human Geography, 28 (1), 91–100. http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/0309132504ph472pr

Harvey, D. (2020). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. The New Social Theory Reader, 235–242. Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781003060963-38

Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780199283262.001.0001.

Heeg, S., & Rosol, M. (2007). *Neoliberale Stadtpolitik im globalen Kontex*t. Zeitschrift für kritische Sozialwissenschaft, 37(149), 491–509. http://dx.doi.org/10.32387/prokla.v37i149.495

Human Rights Watch (2008). *Law and reality: progress in judicial reform in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, New York.

Kammler, C., Parr, R., Schneider, J. (2014). *Foucault - Handbuch: Leben - Werk - Wirkung*. Weimar, Stuttgart. Verlag J. B. Metzler.

Konings, P. (2011). *The Politics of Neoliberal Reforms in Africa: State and civil society in Cameroon*. Leiden: Langaa & African Studies Centre.

Jäger, S. (2001). *Diskurs und Wissen. Theoretische und methodische Aspekte einer kritischen Diskurs- und Dispositivanalyse*. In: Keller, R., Hirseland, A., Schneider, W., Viehöfer, W. (Eds.), *Handbuch Sozialwissenschaftliche Diskursanalyse. Band 1: Theorien und Methoden*, 81-112. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Lumumba-Kasongo, T. (2005). *The problematics of liberal democracy and democratic process: lessons for deconstructing and building African democracies*. Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa. Zed Books Ltd. http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350221116.ch-001

Malonza, J. M., & Ortega, A. A. (2020). *Fissures in localizing urban sustainability: the case of Rwanda*. GeoJournal. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10708-020-10239-8

Manirakiza, V., Mugabe, L., Nsabimana, A., & Nzayirambaho, M. (2019). *City Profile: Kigali, Rwanda*. Environment and Urbanization ASIA, 10 (2), 290–307. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0975425319867485

Mattissek, A. (2008). *Die neoliberale Stadt*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag. http://dx.doi.org/10.14361/9783839410967

Mayring, P., & Fenzl, T. (2014). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*. In: Blasius, J., Baur, N. (Eds.), Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung, 543–556. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-18939-0_38

Mendoza, P., Dorner., L. (2020). *The neoliberal discourse in Latin American higher education: A call for national development and tighter government control*. education policy analysis archives, 28, 176. http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.28.5610.

Mittal, A. (2002). *Land Loss, Poverty and Hunger*. In Barker, D., Mander, J. (Eds.). IFG Special Report: Does Globalisation Help the Poor?. San Francisco: International Forum on Globalisation.

Mkandawire, T. (2005). *Maladjusted African economies and globalisation*. Africa Development 30 (1/2): 1-33.

Obadare, E. (2014). *The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa*. New York: Springerverlag. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8262-8

Oksala, J. (2013). *Neoliberalism and Biopolitical Governmentality*. In: Nilsson, J.; Wallenstein, S. (Eds.). *Foucault, Biopolitics, and Governmentality*. Södertörn University: Huddinge.

Oya, C. (2007). *Neoliberalism in Africa: Foreign or domestic devils*. Tokio: Musashi University.

Parnell, S., Robinson, J. (2012). *(Re)theorizing Cities from the Global South: Looking Beyond Neoliberalism*. Urban Geography, 33 (4), 593–617. http://dx.doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.33.4.593

Peck, J., & Tickell, A. (2002). *Neoliberalizing Space*. Antipode, 34 (3), 380–404. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00247

Poku, N., Whitman, J. (2017). *Africa Under Neoliberalism*. London: Routledge. http://dx.doi.org/10.4324/9781315565965

Portes, A., & Walton, J. (1981). *Unequal Exchange and the Urban Informal Sector*. Labor, Class, and the International System, 67–106. Elsevier. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/b978-0-12-562020-8.50008-0

Ptak, R. (2017). *Grundlagen des Neoliberalismus*. In: Butterwegge, C., Lösch, B., Ptak, R. (Eds.). Kritik des Neoliberalismus, 13–78. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-20006-4_1.

Purdekova , A. (2011). *Even if I am not here, there are so many eyes: surveillance and state reach in Rwanda*. The Journal of Modern African Studies, 49 (3), 475–497.

Reed, M. (2000). *The Limits of Discourse Analysis in Organizational Analysis*. Organization, 7 (3), 524–530. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/135050840073011

Reyntjens, F. (2004). *Rwanda, Ten Years on: From Genocide to Dictatorship*. African Affairs, 103 (411), 177-210. Retrieved 11.06.2021, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3518608

Robinson, J. (2008). *Developing ordinary cities: city visioning processes in Durban and Johannesburg*. Environment and Planning A, 40, 74–87.

Sangraula, P., Chen, S., Ravallion, M. (2007). *New Evidence On The Urbanization Of Global Poverty*. Policy Research Working Papers. The World Bank. http://dx.doi.org/10.1596/1813-9450-4199

Sandbrook, R. (2011). *Polanyi and Post-neoliberalism in the Global South: Dilemmas of Re-embedding the Economy.* New Political Economy, 16 (4), 415–443. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2010.504300

Smith, R., & Wiek, A. (2012). *Achievements and Opportunities in Initiating Governance for Urban Sustainability.* Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy, 30 (3), 429–447. http://dx.doi.org/10.1068/c10158

Tewdros, R. (2011). *The Significance of Neoliberalism in the Political Economy in the Sub-Saharan Africa: in case of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa University.

The City of Johannesburg (2020). *City of Johannesburg: Final Integrated Development Plan 2020/21 Review.* Available at: https://www.joburg.org.za/documents_/Documents/Intergrated%20Development%20Plan/IDP%202021-23/ITEM%2004%20ANNEXURE%20IDP.pdf

Thompson, J. B. (1984). *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. University of California Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/9780520312234

Todes, A. (2012). *Urban growth and strategic spatial planning in Johannesburg, South Africa*. Cities. 29. 10.1016/j.cities.2011.08.004.

Tretter, E. (2013). *Sustainability and Neoliberal Urban Development: The Environment, Crime and the Remaking of Austin's Downtown*. Urban Studies, 50 (11), 2222–2237. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0042098013478234

Tulloch, L., Neilson, D. (2014). *The Neoliberalisation of Sustainability.* Citizenship, Social and Economics Education, 13 (1), 26–38. http://dx.doi.org/10.2304/csee.2014.13.1.26

Traue, B., Pfahl, L., Schürmann, L. (2014). *Diskursanalyse*. In: Blasius, J., Baur, N. (Eds.). *Handbuch Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung*, 493–508. Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-18939-0_38

United Nations (2019). *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision (ST/ESA/SER.A/420)*. New York: United Nations.

van der Heijden, J. (2019). *Studying urban climate governance: Where to begin, what to look for, and how to make a meaningful contribution to scholarship and practice*. Earth System Governance, 1, 100005. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.esg.2019.100005

Véron, R. (2010). *Small Cities, Neoliberal Governance and Sustainable Development in the Global South: A Conceptual Framework and Research Agenda*. Sustainability, 2 (9), 2833–2848. http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/su2092833

Volkmann, R. (2007). *Die unternehmerische Stadt*. Retrieved 26.02.2021, from: https://www.bpb.de/politik/innenpolitik/stadt-und-gesellschaft/64417/unternehmerische-stadt

Wengraf, L. (2018). *Extracting Profit: Imperialism, Neoliberalism and the New Scramble for Africa*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.

Winkler, T. (2011). *Retracking Johannesburg*. Journal of Planning Education and Research, 31 (3), 258–271. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739456x11413603

Zimmermann, J. (2010). *Methodologische Anmerkungen zu einem schwierigen Verhältnis*. DISS- Journal, 20, 16-18.