

Informality, Urban Elites, and Real Estate Development: An examination of London and Dar es Salaam.

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements of a Doctorate in Philosophy in
the School of Politics and International Studies.

The University of Leeds

November 2024

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Acknowledgments

I am exceptionally grateful to all those who have offered guidance, insights, and support throughout this PhD process, including family, friends, and other postgraduate researchers at the University of Leeds. The completion of this project would also not have been possible without the ESRC funding I have received or without the help of all those who took time to speak with me while I was collecting my interview data and conducting fieldwork in London and Dar es Salaam. Thank you especially to my supervisors, Professor Anna Mdee and Professor Rowland Atkinson, who have been hugely supportive in every aspect of the process, this would not have been possible without their assistance, encouragement, and guidance. Thank you to my parents who have supported me throughout and have continuously encouraged an excitement and love of learning. Thank you also to my husband, Tom, who has had unending patience in listening to me talk about this project and has enabled me to juggle family life, church life, and studying. Also, thank you to our four wonderful girls Francesca, Jessica, Eleanor, and Zoe who have always served as an excellent distraction. It is with both excitement and relief that I am now able to submit a final thesis, and I look forward to seeing how the relationships, experiences and knowledge that has been gained while undertaking this research project will feed into what is next.

Abstract

The underlying objective of this research project is to provide insight into the relationship between elite actors and their engagement with informal spaces and practices. This is explored within the context of urban development processes and draws on the globally distinct cases studies of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and London, UK. Within these cities the conceptualisation and construction of ambitious real estate developments has been investigated. This has enabled insight to be gained into the ability of elite actors to influence and engage with processes of urban development. Consequently, this has provided the opportunity to observe the influential role of elite informality on the shaping of urban spaces, that incorporate a variety of elite stakeholders. The conceptualisation of elite informality has not been extensively explored; this research project therefore seeks to contribute to knowledge within this area. Moreover, an important aspect of this study has been to consider the concept of elite informality through drawing of case studies that are situated in the Global North and Global South. Therefore, this has assisted in developing a more in depth understanding of this concept that is multifaced and has cross-cultural relevance. The aspects of elite informality explored build on and contribute to past research relating to urban planning, elite actors, informality, and dynamics of power.

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Abbreviations

ABP	Advanced Business Park	NGO	Non-government Organisation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer	NSSF	National Social Security Fund
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi	PPPA	Project Planning Performance Agenda
COSTECH	Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology	RAD	Royal Albert Docks
FOI	Freedom of Information	TfL	Transport for London
GLA	Greater London Authority	TZ	Tanzania
KDA	Kigamboni Development Agency	UK	United Kingdom
KSC	Kigamboni Satellite City	UKTI	UK Trade & Investment
LDA	London Development Agency	WRDTP	White Rose Doctorial Training Partnership
LBN	London Borough of Newham		
L&P	London and Partners		
NHC	National Housing Corporation		

Introduction

1.1 Unravelling power, elite informality and morality.

Those who reside in powerful positions or have accumulated significant wealth are intrinsically intertwined with the shaping of societal environments, structures, and processes. This study examines how this is not only achieved overtly through the outworking of observable, rational, formal processes but also in subtle and hidden ways, with elite actors engaging in practices and spaces of informality (Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014). Moreover, this study explores how interwoven within these dynamics are distinctive value systems that are impacted by the rise of neoliberal ideology and that are crucial in enabling these actors to justify their behaviours and maintain their legitimacy. These broader dynamics are investigated within the context of urban development in the distinct global contexts of Dar es Salaam and London. The case studies investigated provide ideal opportunities to observe the interactions and ability of elite actors to significantly impact the environments in which wider society live and work. Investigating the role of elite actors in shaping urban environments is an area of exploration that is highly relevant to over half of the world's population, with as estimated 55% of people living in urban areas in 2020, a percentage that is predicted to rise to 70% by 2050 (United Nations, 2024). This study, therefore, has sought to shed light on the subtlety of power dynamics that underpin not only the prioritisation and formation of urban space but also that enable elite actors to maintain and further their privileged position within hierarchical social structures. In addition to highlighting the stark disparity that exists between the ability of individual actors to shape the places in which they are situated, where they are endeavouring to live their lives.

As a result, the identification of elite actors within this study revolves around the engagement of this group with the formation of urban space. Due to the cross-cultural nature of this study elite actors within the context of Dar es Salaam and London are defined by a variety of factors which are impacted by the contexts in which they operate (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023). For example, their societal positioning, their economic influence, traditional hierarchies and religious positioning may impact whether an individual is considered to be an 'elite'. However, intrinsic to the social categorisation of the elite is the existence of dominant individuals who are able to shape societal priorities and practices (Marx, 1971, pp.166-168; Bourdieu, 2010, p.471; Lentz, 2015, p.6). A further consideration that is vital in gaining insight into the nature of the elite actors examined within this study, is the existence of distinct, while often overlapping categories, of the 'political' and 'wealth' elite (Simon, 2018:16). The 'political elite' relates to those who exercise power by utilising their social positioning, such as high-

ranking government positions, while the 'wealth elite' exercise power by drawing on resources they have accumulated, such as capital and social connections (Gray, 2015; Whyte, 2015; Baker, 2010). This distinction is important when considering how elite actors interact with the processes of urban development examined in this project, as the construction of large-scale ambitious real estate projects have both political and financial implications for those involved in their conceptualisation and construction. Furthermore, these categories also offer insight into how elite actors interact with one another, sometimes pursuing shared priorities and objectives with other elites, and at other times functioning in competition. For example, through elite actors utilising their privileged positions, in both the public and private sector, interactions between the political and wealth elite provide opportunities for lines to be blurred and instances of corruption to occur (Whyte, 2015). This can involve elite actors working collaboratively and informally to achieve shared interests through the utilisation of often concealed interactions and practices. For example, this very concept was observed by Gray (2015) in relation to instances of grand corruption in Tanzania, where public resources are used for private gain on a large scale.

In examining how elite actors informally engage with and influence urban development, the vast and transformative redevelopment of urban space has been focused on, specifically in the form of large-scale ambitious real estate developments. Investigations into the construction of these types of real estate developments, that are anticipated to improve the local economy and a country's competitiveness within the global market, have been engaged with by researchers across diverse global contexts (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019; Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019; Gillespie, 2020). Real estate developments of this cutting-edge nature have been given various titles, including 'iconic buildings' (Sklair, 2017), 'megaprojects' (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019), and 'visionary cities' (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019). A common theme that emerges throughout this literature is that these types of real estate developments provide the opportunity for elite actors to prioritise their own interests through both overt and covert influence, as opposed to the interests of the broader societies in which they are based or that they operate (Brill and Raco, 2021; Brill and Raco, 2023; Sayer, 2015). The construction of these types of developments therefore speak to the entrenched inequalities that shape urban spaces (Minton, 2017; Atkinson et al., 2017) and how this is interwoven with the priorities and practices of elite actors. Moreover, central to the investigation within this study is understanding how elite actors engage with the shaping of urban spaces against a backdrop of neoliberal ideology, which has taken root on national and global scales (Harvey, 2007). The pursuit of these development projects therefore facilitate insight into how neoliberal ideology can be employed to enable and justify urban development projects that further elite accumulation while leading to the dispossession and dispersion of less advantaged groups (Sassen, 2014; Kirk, 2024). For example, the promotion by elite

actors of neoliberal ideas that emphasise the importance placed on prioritising global significance in an increasingly interconnected world, in addition to, the necessity attached to pursuing urban development initiatives that contribute towards achieving unrelenting economic growth. Consequently, this has resulted in negative consequences for surrounding populations, such as, the occurrence of increasingly restriction public space (Watson, 2014; Minton, 2022a) and the immediate or gradual reduction in housing and employment opportunities for low or middle income residents (Easton et al., 2020; Roast et al., 2022; Minton, 2022b). The adoption of neoliberal ideas, therefore, impacts how resources are deployed and managed by elite actors in the shaping of urban environments. Accordingly, this area of study provides insight into the subtleties of power surrounding the ability of elite actors to strive towards the co-optation or claiming of valuable urban space in order to pursue their own urban development priorities.

The pursuit of these types of real estate developments can be observed across global contexts and are ideal opportunities to observe an aspect of urban development that elite actors are acutely invested in and the envisioning of which are often highly dependent on informal interactions between elite actors. This is compounded by the pursuit of these ambitious projects often sitting in tension with governments delivering on other developing priorities that are outlined in official planning documents, such as providing for the housing and employment needs of existing residents (Lukuvi, 2016; Johnson, 2016). Consequently, fundamental to the pursuit of these transformative and cutting-edge real estate developments are also informal processes that provide the opportunity for elite actors to re-negotiate and circumvent existing formal constraints. The focus within this study is therefore to gain insight into how elite actors navigate varied practices and spaces of informality in ways that enable this group to exercise power over urban space through the co-opting and redevelopment of land in ways that align with their own priorities. Specifically, in relation to how this occurs through the construction of real-estate developments that appear to predominantly prioritise the interests of elite actors.

The foundational role of informality in understanding decision-making and practices that take place surrounding urban development processes is a central consideration within this research project. How elite actors engage with informality is an evolving area of study, as the concept has previously focused on understanding practices and spaces of disadvantaged groups situated primarily in the Global South, largely in regard to their lack of access to formal employment, housing, and legal structures (Marx and Kelling, 2018). Yet, the engagement of elite actors with informality has been touched upon from a variety of angles, thus, offering a valuable platform to further explore what is described within this thesis as 'elite informality'. This is a concept that has been considered in previous research, however, it still requires more extensive and systematic investigation as it provides an opportunity to better

understand how the elite operate (Roy, 2009; Moatasim, 2019; McFarlane, 2012). Informality is a far-reaching concept that has been understood and applied in a variety of ways. In essence it is conceptualised within this study as activities that take place outside formal structures and processes. Lindell describes informality as “activities that lie beyond or circumvent state regulation” (Lindell, 2010). Despite critique regarding the apparent simplicity of this concept (Hilbrandt et al., 2017; Marx and Kelling, 2018; Acuto et al., 2019), it provides a valuable foundation through which aspects of elite behaviour can be understood. This is especially evident in relation to how this group negotiate and circumvent formal structures, while simultaneously navigating associated dynamics of legality and legitimacy. Examples of the interaction of elite actors with informality that emerged within this study include establishing and maintaining social networks, for example, through partaking in international business trips that involved central politicians and developers or closed-door agreements that enabled the reallocation of land. In addition to the elite utilising financial capital in novel and unprecedented ways, with these practices often being underpinned by a rationale aligned with neoliberal ideas regarding the desirability and necessity of innovation and risk-taking in order to propel economic growth. Another key way in which this occurs is via the dissemination of specific political ideas, through channels such as the media and educational institutions that celebrate and reinforce critical aspects of neoliberal ideology through emphasising the necessity of societies to strive towards cutting-edge urban development that will attract national and international investment into an area. Hence, this study seeks to highlight that within the different global contexts investigated there is repeated examples of elite actors engaging with informally, which places them in a privileged position to achieve or strive towards their desired outcomes for urban development, despite this often having adverse consequence for surrounding inhabitants. For example, this can be observed in the reduction of valuable urban land for community focused development projects, such as schools, affordable housing, or public parks.

The two case studies of ambitious real estate developments that are explored provide an opportunity to understand power relations and urban development practices in cities that are situated in what are commonly described as the ‘Global South’ and ‘Global North’, which are categories that seek to highlight significant historical, political, and economic inequalities that exist on a global scale (Horner, 2019). These included Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam, and The Royal Docks, London. Additionally, the cases chosen were especially valuable in revealing the unequal nature of power dynamics in processes of urban development, as they were located alongside contexts that were experiencing significant deprivation. Consequently, they enabled the examination of how the pursuit of such ambitious real estate projects required elite actors to promote and negotiate for urban development priorities that deviated from those outlined in local planning documents, such as the importance of addressing the

housing and employment needs of existing residents. In addition, the case studies investigated also revealed significant difficulties and failings that were experienced by elite actors in realising their envisioned ambitious development projects. As a result, this highlighted the complexity and fragility of power dynamics surrounding these types of real-estate endeavours. Moreover, these challenges instigating enhanced media coverage and official scrutiny which consequently enabled greater visibility of how powerful actors operate within this context, this was valuable as elite actors are a notoriously challenging group to access (Glucksberg, 2016). In addition, this also shed light on informal spaces and practices that were focused on within this study, which by their nature are often opaque and therefore challenging to observe.

The first case study investigated was situated in the Kigamboni district of Dar es Salaam and focused on ambitious real estate developments that revolved around the anticipated construction of the Kigamboni Satellite City (KSC). This urban development initiative received substantial financial and organisational investment by the Tanzanian government in its initial stages of conception and was the central component of the envisioned transformation of the Kigamboni area. Alongside plans for KSC two other large-scale luxury housing development projects were also examined within the Kigamboni district, these included Avic Town, which was constructed on the intended outskirts of the KSC development and Dege Eco Village, a vast real estate development which was also situated in this area and to date remains partially constructed. Underpinning these impressive and cutting-edge urban projects was a desire among elite actors to utilise space in a relatively undeveloped area of Dar es Salaam. At the same time, however, narratives relating to the prioritisation and justifications surrounding the real-estate projects were varied. These included the government recognising that there was a critical need to increase affordable accommodation and employment opportunities for citizens, as Dar es Salaam is Tanzania's largest city and is rapidly expanding, with a population of over 5 million in 2016 and a projected population of 13 million by 2036 (Lukuvi, 2016). However, due to the increasingly high value of land within Dar es Salaam, there were also increased efforts among elite actors to build and purchase luxury real estate, which was perceived as a fruitful area of investment. Consequently, within the context of Dar es Salaam the Tanzanian government pursued the construction of multiple large-scale ambitious real estate developments, in the form of satellite cities, as observed within Kigamboni. These satellite cities, despite the tensions in narratives surrounding these large-scale developments, were critiqued for being beyond the economic reach of the majority of Tanzanian citizens (Watson, 2014). This is because these constructions were inspired by what were perceived as the almost miraculous economic shifts both nationally and on the global stage in countries such as Dubai, Hong Kong, and Singapore which were seen to be highly dependent of

attracting wealthy individuals, national, and international investment into an area (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019; Watson, 2014).

The second case study investigated focused on how elite actors conceptualised, promoted, and strived towards the construction of an international business district which was called the Royal Albert Docks (RAD) Business Hub. This was located in London's Royal Docks district, which sits close to the capital's centre and showcased the high aspirations of elite actors, as it was anticipated to attract international investment into the capital, predominantly from Asia. The mayor of London at the time, Boris Johnson, went as far as to hail this development as the third business hub of London, alongside The City of London and Canary Warf (Whitten et al., 2013). London has historically sat within the uppermost echelons of globally competitive cities (Sassen, 2002), the construction of this real estate development was therefore interwoven with significant political pressure to maintain this position. Therefore, a crucial justification for this development was the expectation among elite actors that it would attract greater national and international investment into the city (Johnson, 2016). However, tensions also existed within this context regarding the construction of a large-scale ambitious development when there exists a significant lack of affordable housing within London, which has been described as a housing crisis (Minton, 2022b). This is of particular relevance within this case study as the Royal Docks district is located in Newham borough, thus the RAD Business hub was constructed on land that was situated alongside one of the most deprived areas of London (NewhamCouncil, 2024).

At first glance the case studies of Kigamboni and the Royal Docks may appear unlikely partners. However, investigating these two examples has provided the opportunity to glean valuable insights that speak into contextual, contemporary, and varied power dynamics surrounding the co-opting of urban space by elite actors that has relevance across different city contexts. More specifically, this study showed subtle and complex informal dynamics that enabled the priorities of specific elite actors to be pursued. In the cases explored this incorporated a need for elite actors to negotiate multifaceted and overlapping tensions and justifications. These included elite actors promoting specific ideas for an urban area which were underpinned by aspects of neoliberal political ideology, such as, the necessity of striving towards progress and optimising financial investment. While tensions also existed regarding competing priorities for the areas examined, that stipulated the need for urban development to meet the existing social and economic needs of existing residents. Of particular interest within this project, therefore, is how the elite utilise and negotiate these justifications and tensions over how urban space is deployed.

A crucial consideration, therefore, that emerges throughout this thesis and that underpins discussions relating to how elite actors influence and engage with the shaping of urban space, are questions

surrounding power. Moreover, this is a consideration that is intrinsically interwoven within discussions relating to the engagement of elite actors with spaces and practices of informality. Consequently, seeking to understand the power dynamics that emerge is fundamental, as it deepens understandings on factors such as how and why urban space is claimed by elite actors. Specifically in relation to how it is expanded or redeveloped in ways that maintain the position and further the interests of the political and wealth elite. Hence, this also speaks to the subtle shifting in moral frameworks that has offered justification for the construction of the large-scale ambitious developments that are examined within this study, that are not primarily designed to meet the housing or employment needs of existing residents. Accordingly, these areas of investigation, that are focused on within this study, reveal something of the often hidden and complex nature of power dynamics. Thus, Lukes' reflection that *"power is at its most effective when least observable"* (Lukes, 2005:1) is salient to the spaces and practices of informality that are explored in the case studies of Kigamboni and the Royal Docks. This observation resonates with the informal dynamics investigated within this study, regarding the ability of elite actors to exercise power in subtle and hidden ways, such as through the quiet shaping of political ideologies (Harvey, 2007) or the shifting of value systems (Wiegatz, 2016), which both ultimately feed into motivations and justifications that impact societal priorities and practices.

The concept of power is complex and has been theorised from a variety of different perspectives (Clegg and Berti, 2021), with this study being no exception. For example, power can be understood from an institutional perspective. Mann (1984) describes the central role of the state in societal power dynamics and how these are underpinned and legitimised by the territorial nature and organisation of states (Mann, 1984). Aspects of the power dynamics described by Mann resonate with observations within this study, especially regarding the emphasis placed on furthering the competitive interests of specific national territories, within a global environment, through the construction of large-scale ambitious real estate developments that were heavily facilitated by the political elite. Another prominent and influential perspective of power is that described by Foucault (1982) who challenges the idea that power is something that can be acquired by an individual or institution, but instead theorises power in terms of how individual subjects interact. This is an important observation as it highlights the complex and often two-way dynamic of power relations. In addition, Foucault highlights that power relations are highly impacted by the position individuals hold in societal structures (Foucault, 1982). This perspective of power also resonates with aspects of this research project. In particular, the impact of societal positioning on an individual's ability to engage with certain practices and spaces of informality, due to elite actors being in a privileged position to utilise informal tools that shape urban environments in ways that are often inaccessible to the wider population. Moreover, Foucault's understanding of power also resonates with findings that emerge within this study

regarding the fragility and constantly evolving dynamics of power, with elite actors being continuously challenged by other powerful actors and by wider society. However, the perspective of power that is primarily engaged with in this study is outlined by Lukes (2005). Lukes' describes a three-dimensional framework of power which focuses predominantly on how power is exercised within society in three ways; overtly, through the influence of public narratives, and through the shaping of ideologies. This therefore offers a valuable contribution, as it provides a framework for understanding the complexities of power that have emerged within this study. Examples of this include how elite actors overtly exercise power through placing building sanctions on residents within Kigamboni or not fulfilling contractual obligations for employees within the context of the Royal Docks. Examples of narrative influence are also prominent within the data explored, especially with regards to the positive promotion of large-scale ambitious real estate developments. In addition, there are instances within the data where ideological influence is utilised by elite actors, for example in relation to the prioritisation of investment into an urban area over meeting the employment and housing needs of surrounding residents. Accordingly, despite limitations to the framework of power outline by Lukes, it has been a valuable tool in understanding how elite actors exercise power within society through utilising an often-complex assortment of economic, social and cultural capital, both within formal and informal structures.

How the concept of power is engaged with and understood within this thesis is therefore strongly intertwined with prevalent political ideologies and the promotion of certain moral frameworks or value systems within societies. It is significant, therefore, to highlight that both case studies examined are within countries where aspects of neoliberalism have been adopted at a national level to varying degrees, within the context of greater hegemony of neoliberal ideology globally (Harvey, 2007). This is important as it provides insight into the justification of contemporary ambitious developments, both regarding the perceived necessity to strive towards both national and international investments and the pursuit by elite actors of increased global significance. Additionally, the utilisation of neoliberal ideology by elite actors is also critical in understanding the formation and reproduction of this group within the contexts examined, as it is utilised to justify the ambitions and practices of this group. Consequently, contributing to the ability of these actors to maintain and further their own positions, both regarding greater accumulation of wealth and their political positioning. As a result, the construction of these developments has become interwoven with deep-rooted ideas that are increasingly accepted within wider society, this therefore, leads to a complexity in how the promotion of ambitious development projects are received. Hall and O'Shea (2013) describes this deep rooted acceptance of neoliberal ideology as "common-sense neoliberalism", significantly they also highlighted how political ideas can be portrayed by elite actors as "common-sense" even if they are

not in reality mainstream values held by society. This is achieved through discussing and referring to political ideas as if they are already established, consequently, this rhetoric by elite actors actively shapes what is perceived as acceptable within society (Hall and O'Shea, 2013). This resonates with the investigation within this study, especially with regard to the utilisation of political ideology by elite actors being a key tool in political struggles surrounding the priorities of urban development initiatives. Thus, this utilisation of political ideas by the elite contributes to a 'blurring of lines', with members of the wider public expressing disillusion and frustration, while others appear inspired by the aspirational nature of the real-estate projects pursued by elite actors in these urban areas, convinced that the transformation promised will fundamentally be beneficial to the area. The persuasion of citizens is therefore impacted by the utilisation of political ideology by elite actors. Specifically, these ideas underpin the attractive vision or conceptualisation of ambitious developments that are promoted by this group, which are imagined as having far-reaching benefits for neighbourhoods, cities and even countries. This therefore points towards the informal and subtle nature of how power is exercised over urban space which incorporate the promotion of compelling ideas and ideology by elite actors.

Considerations relating to morality, or the promotion of specific value systems, is a central aspect of understanding the justification and legitimisation of elite engagement with urban space. Understanding these dynamics is important within this study as it impacts the ability of elite actors to operate outside of formal structures and processes. Therefore, as opposed to approaching elite behaviours from the perspective of there being a moral void, the discussions put forward in this thesis seek to engage with the position that rich moral positions are adopted and promoted by elite actors, that impacts their decision making, shapes their priorities, and furthers their interests. As a result, this sheds light on their informal engagement with urban space. This aspect of inquiry draws on an understanding of morality outlined in the theory of moral economy, which describes how neoliberal value systems can be understood as having their own extensive moral framework (Wiegratz, 2016; Wiegratz et al., 2024; Wiegratz, 2015). This study therefore seeks to engage with, and contribute to, larger questions surrounding power, elite informality, and morality, through investigating how elite actors influence and engage with large-scale ambitious real estate developments within the Kigamboni district of Dar es Salaam, and the Royal Docks district of London.

1.2 The Research Aim and Objectives

The aim within this research project has been to understand in greater depth how elite actors impact the formation of urban environments through their engagement with spaces and practices of informality, with a particular focus on the ability of this group to co-opt or claim valuable urban land for the construction of large-scale ambitious real estate developments. This research endeavours to highlight the critical role of informality in enabling elite actors to maintain and perpetuate their privileged status in societies. This has been strived towards through investigating the two case studies of Kigamboni and the Royal Docks, which have provided the opportunity to glean diverse global insights into the interactions and behaviours of invested elite actors in the conceptualisation and construction of the ambitious real estate developments examined. Alongside this, a central aspect of this study has been to shed light on complexities surrounding the ability of elite actors to justify the pursuit of these developments and to utilise them to further their interests while simultaneously maintaining their own legitimacy. While the dynamics observed within the two cases have presented significant contextual differences, they have also provided the opportunity to gain nuanced insights into how elite actors informally engage with the shaping of urban space, which have incorporated both divergent and overlapping themes. As a result, the case studies contribute valuable and dynamic insights into the conceptualisation of elite informality which has cross-cultural relevance.

Developing a more in-depth understanding of how elite actors exercise power through their engagement with urban space, especially in relation to this groups' utilisation of informality, is explored within this project through focusing on the following overarching research objective, namely: **To understand how urban elites in the diverse global contexts of London and Dar es Salaam exercise power over ambitious real estate developments, through informal spaces and practices.** This objective is addressed by seeking to answer the following three research questions:

Research Question 1 (RQ1): Which elite actors are involved in examples of large-scale real estate projects in Dar es Salaam and London?

Through addressing this question, the intention was to comprehend in greater depth the impact of informal dynamics on the ability of certain elite actors to have significant influence over, and engagement with, specific ambitious developments. Moreover, further insights are sought by drawing on elite dynamics at work within both Global South and Global North urban contexts.

Research Question 2 (RQ2): What is the role of informal spaces in enabling the elite to exercise power within these contexts?

This question sought to understand how elites informally engage with and influence ambitious real estate developments through what is described within this thesis as 'informal spaces'. Therefore, this contributes towards developing a deeper understanding of elite informality, through forming a clearer conceptualisation of elite informal 'spaces' and the role they have in enabling elite actors to exercise power.

Research Question 3 (RQ3): How do practices of elite informality interact with questions of legality and legitimacy?

The final research question sought to develop a richer understanding of elite informal practices through exploring how this group interacts with questions of legality and legitimacy. And as a result, this drives insights into how legality is negotiated by the elite, and how informal practices assist these actors in maintaining legitimacy within formal state structures.

1.3 From London to Dar es Salaam: The Research Approach

Power dynamics are also relevant to the selection of case studies within this study, as the global contexts being drawn upon are situated in geographical areas, that are commonly described as the 'Global North' and 'Global South'. These global categories are distinguished by observable structural differences, that have been impacted by historical factors and economic inequalities (Garrido, 2021), and which are underpinned by global power inequalities. This terminology, however, has been identified as problematic as it arguably reinforces global divisions and, thus, global inequalities through emphasising past and existing global hierarchies (Horner and Hulme, 2019). Consequently, this ultimately detracts from the reality that a huge cultural, economic, political, and social diversity also exists within each category, while simultaneously, there are also significant overlaps between countries situated in the Global North and Global South (Horner and Hulme, 2019). Therefore, a meaningful aspect of this research project has been to contribute towards addressing the disconnect observed within the literature between the theorisation of urban phenomena that takes place in both the Global North and the Global South (Roy, 2009; McFarlane, 2012). This is strived towards through drawing on case studies situated within both categories to inform understandings relating to how spaces and practices of elite informality are employed in the shaping of urban environments. The case studies described therefore provide an opportunity to gain insight into the outworking of power dynamics, the utilisation of informality by the elite, and underpinning value systems of these actors

that are drawn upon to justify and legitimise their behaviours. Within this study this is intentionally investigated in diverse global contexts, as this study seeks to understand the complexity, richness, and varied nature of these dynamics, while simultaneously identifying common themes regarding how power is exercised informally by elite actors that bridges diverse global contexts.

As further described in the methodology chapter, a combination of data sources have been drawn upon to develop a 'picture' of events, dynamics, narratives, and power relations surrounding the construction of ambitious real estate projects within the case studies investigated. These include official documents, media coverage, and interviews. This approach therefore provided the opportunity to gain insight into the behaviours of elite actors and dynamics of informality from a variety of angles. The methodological approach of bringing globally diverse case studies into juxtaposition and in-so-doing drawing upon a variety of data sources has also provided the opportunity to contribute towards evolving methodologies which have sought to cross global boundaries in the development of theoretical understandings relating to the formation of urban environments (Garrido et al., 2020; Robinson, 2021; Ward, 2010). Therefore, the approach adopted within this study shifted from previous patterns of investigation, through applying a concept that had predominantly been developed in the Global South to both Global South and Global North contexts. This is significant, as a common critique of the dissemination of theoretical frameworks is that they are commonly developed within the context of the Global North and then applied to the Global South (Cooper and Morrell, 2014). The approach adopted within this study therefore has sought to explore the reversal of these established global trends of western-centred knowledge production.

The research approach was also impacted by my own positionality, that contributed to a personal desire to conduct research within this field of study. This originated from developing an interest in dynamics of power and social justice throughout my A-levels, gap year, and undergraduate degree. Within these formative years I was involved with multiple educational institutions and NGOs that sought to address inequalities both through facilitating learning and providing material support. These experiences oscillated between time spent in Tanzania and in the UK, thus, my understanding of inequality was formed both within and across Global North and Global South boundaries. These foundational events have shaped subsequent decisions concerning employment and research interests. After teaching mathematics in both Tanzania and the UK, I was drawn into academia due to a desire to gain a greater comprehension of International Development. I completed an MA which incorporated research into the ability of different stakeholders to exert power over processes of urban development in contrasting global locations that had varied governance regimes. After undertaking this initial research, dynamics and structures surrounding the role of powerful actors in the shaping of societies, and the extensive implications this has on the surrounding populations became of increasing

interest to me. Consequently, through drawing on the rich and unique insights offered by the familiar global contexts of Tanzania and the UK, where I had had experience of living and working, this research project sought to understanding in greater depth the complexities and power dynamics that are interwoven in the formation of urban space in very different global contexts. This was especially regarding how these dynamics enable elite actors to subtly shape their surrounding environments through engaging with practices and spaces of ‘informality’.

1.4 Project Contributions

The three empirical chapters within this study offer contributions that build towards a multidimensional and dynamic understanding of how elite actors utilises informality to further their interests and maintain their positions within society. This is investigated by examining how this group exert influence and engage with the shaping of urban environments. Specifically, in relation to how the elite contribute to the transformation of urban areas through the co-opting or claiming of valuable urban land to enable the construction of large-scale ambitious real estate developments, that are anticipated to enhanced global competitiveness and facilitate wealth accumulation. The findings presented therefore strive to offer greater clarity to the conceptualisation of elite informality, that stems from interactions from diverse global settings. However, this study is limited to dynamics observed in the specific locations of Kigamboni and the Royal Docks, at a particular moment in time, this therefore presents limitations regarding the generalisability of the project’s contributions. Despite this, the observations presented in this thesis could potentially be expanded and critiqued through further research into the engagement of the elite with spaces and practices of informality that incorporate varied social phenomenon and country contexts.

The first empirical chapter draws attention to the significant relationship between the ability of elite actors to engage with and influence processes of urban development not simply through established formal frameworks but also through informal dynamics. A key aspect of this that emerged within the case studies examined was the powerful tool that elite actors employed of promoting a specific ‘vision’ or picture for the transformation of an urban space, the promotion of which were interwoven with the utilisation of informal practices and often grounded in neoliberal ideology. As a result, through the analysis of data, insight was gained into the ability of specific elite actors to interact with dynamics and narratives surrounding the ambitious developments investigated, which was highly dependent on interactions and practices that took place outside of formal structures and boundaries. The conceptual lens of “speculative urbanism” was especially valuable in interpreting the findings presented within

this chapter (Fields, 2023; Gidwani and Upadhy, 2023; Gillespie, 2020). As this theory effectively describes how elite actors invent what they perceive to be new and improved visions for urban spaces (Fields, 2023:511). This study therefore contributes to the theoretical understandings surrounding speculative urbanism, as it highlights the significant impact of elite informality in the formation and projection of ambitious urban development visions.

The second empirical chapter engages with the identifying and conceptualisation of elite informal spaces. This builds on the existing concept of “gray (sic) spaces”, which describes dynamic ‘spaces’ in which individuals operate and interact, which sit outside of but impact formal structures and processes. This theory, therefore, engages with the idea that although these spaces are distinct from formal frameworks, the boundaries between them are continuously being negotiated and are often blurred (Yiftachel, 2015; Roy, 2011). Hence, through drawing on the empirical findings presented in this chapter, a framework is then proposed that endeavours to communicate the multifaceted and influential nature of elite informal spaces in understanding how the elite engage with the shaping of urban areas. For example, through established elite social networks or through the suspension of formal obligations in the form of exceptions. This ultimately contributes towards the wider conceptualisation of elite informality, and sheds light on the subtle and complex ways that the elite exercise power in ways that further their own priorities and interests.

The final empirical chapter explores questions surrounding the ability of elite actors to navigate dynamics of legality and legitimacy while simultaneously engaging with practices of informality. It emerged within this study that a central aspect of this was the adoption and promotion of particular value systems, which were often underpinned by neoliberal ideology. The theoretical lens of the moral economy was drawn upon in this chapter as it shed light on the significant role of morality in the shaping of political and economic structures by elite actors (Makovicky et al., 2023; Thompson, 1971; Wiegratz, 2016). This, in turn, supported insights into how certain elite characteristics, that emerged within the case studies explored and that were underpinned by distinctive value systems, supported this group’s engagement with informal dynamics. The findings presented in this chapter therefore emerged as a central consideration in understanding how elite actors engage with and influence the transformation of urban space, particularly regarding the underlying justifications and motivations of this groups in their interaction with informal practices.

In addition, alongside the empirical contributions within this study, a methodological approach has been developed that has sought to draw simultaneously on diverse global contexts in order to contribute robust and dynamic insights into the theoretical concept of elite informality. The case studies explored have therefore been brought into juxtaposition, or in other words, placed alongside

each other so that varied perspectives could be revealed. Therefore, this has contributed towards developing a conceptual understanding of elite informality that has cross cultural relevance. This builds on the development of comparative methodological approaches that highlight the importance of theoretical understandings being developed and which draw on case studies which are situated in both Global North and Global South contexts (Roy, 2009; Robinson, 2021; Ward, 2010). However, the research process and objectives within this study also diverge from the comparative frameworks presented within this literature. This is because, although relevant similarities and differences are highlighted, the primary focus of the analysis within this study has not been to conduct a direct comparison between the two case studies. Instead, this study has sought to expand the existing theory of informality, through focusing on how examples of elite engagement with urban real estate development in Kigamboni and the Royal Docks can contribute towards developing a richer and more dynamic understanding of how elite actors operate. Specifically, in relation to how this group exercise power outside the constraints of visible formal structures and processes.

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In his book 'Rationality and Power' Bent Flyvbjerg argues that "it is the backstage power play...which is the real politics of planning" (Flyvbjerg, 1998:83). Accordingly, the focus within this study is the role that elite actor's informality play within these dynamics, through interpreting the empirical findings that emerged from case studies of ambitious real estate developments, that were envisioned and strived towards, within Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam and The Royal Docks, London. Consequently, underpinning this project is literature that draws on a variety of disciplines and cultural contexts. As a result, engagement with these varied insights and perspectives has provided a robust foundation on which to understand the contexts and dynamics investigated. The shaping of understandings surrounding key areas of salient literature, and the building of a theoretical framework, were significant aspects of the research approach within this study. As they have supported meaningful engagement with the research questions, in a way that has enabled this project to build upon and contribute towards previous knowledge. Therefore, the interdisciplinary research areas of urban planning, elite actors, informality, and power, that have been engaged with in this chapter, have been central in shaping this study's approach, analysis, and findings.

First, understandings surrounding urban planning were considered, of particular interest within this area was research relating to the increasingly significant role of neoliberal ideology in the shaping of urban development priorities and, consequently, the shaping of urban space. Accordingly, this literature highlights an important aspect within this study regarding the far-reaching consequences of political ideology and wider elite engagement within processes of urban development. Which in turn sheds light on the ability of powerful actors to exercise power within societies, not only through the construction of large-scale real estate projects but also through the projection of vision surrounding these developments. Second, past literature that sheds light on the categorisation and the characteristics of elite actors is engaged with. This also incorporates discussions relating to a core aspect of this study regarding the value systems that surround elite behaviours, which in turn, shed light on the ability of this group to maintain their legitimacy while negotiating or circumventing formal constraints. The third section focuses on conceptualising elite informality and the insight it offers to understanding the interplay between elite actors and processes of urban development. The final section of this chapter interrogates understandings and dynamics of power. This is a critical consideration in this project as it provides insight into the relationship elite informality has with the

ability of powerful actors to influence and engage with processes of urban development. To conclude, the salient theoretical contributions that are identified within each section will be brought together to assemble the overarching theoretical framework that has underpinned this project through providing a lens to enhance the analysis of the empirical findings.

2.2 Urban Planning and Neoliberalism

2.2.1 The Shaping of Cities through Urban Planning

Within both the Global North and Global South, the powerful role that elites have within processes of urban development has not been extensively observed. However there is an emerging literature, which incorporates areas such as housing (Goodfellow, 2017; Atkinson, 2020; Magina, 2016; Watt, 2021; Lees, 2014; McKenzie and Atkinson, 2020), political and economic systems (Harvey, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Baker, 2010; Therkildsen and Bourgoignie, 2012), and regarding the implementation of service delivery within both rural and urban contexts (Mdee and Mushi, 2020; Harrison and Mdee, 2018; Mdee, 2017; Desai, 2018; Magina, 2016:190). Lentz (2015) highlights the paramount role that the elite have over the decision-making and outworking of urban development, stemming from her research into social formation within the African context, she argues that understandings are often limited regarding the involvement of the elite in urban development processes (Lentz, 2015:7). Moreover, Lentz brings out that these dynamics are often significantly more complex than elite actors simply striving to further their own interests, but are also intertwined with elite actors striving to shape urban environments in ways that they perceive to be positive (Lentz, 2015:7). This distinction is an important consideration because it encourages us to understand the influence and engagement of elite actors in urban development processes from multiple angles.

Parker (2015) takes this a step further, in his analysis of urban development processes that are situated in both Global North and Global South contexts he observes the key role of elites and upper classes in pioneering the shaping of cities. However, he also describes how these processes often incorporate class divisions that are detrimental to less advantaged groups (Parker, 2015:117). This is an observation also highlighted by Sayer (2015) in his analysis of the influential role capital and the elite have on processes of urban development, which he argues ultimately have a negative impact on wider society through the extraction of wealth from communities and greater indebtedness resulting in increased living costs (Sayer, 2015). Furthermore, this dynamic is evident in emerging literature relating to infrastructural violence, which observes how the planning of cities primarily prioritises the interests of high-income groups, which inevitably results in adverse consequences for those with

lower incomes, such as the displacement of communities and withdrawal of public services (Desai, 2018). Desai (2018) explores this in relation to urban planning in the city of Ahmedabad, India. Desai notes that in Ahmedabad the government is actively seeking to “renew” the city by replacing informal settlements with wider roads and high-end developments, and as a result, relocating those living within these settlements to government housing on the outskirts of the city that do not provide for the needs of these citizens, for example with regards to accessing employment (Desai, 2018). Practices to “improve” the urban landscape that have resulted in infrastructural violence have also been observed in inequalities relating to water provision within Delhi, where the needs of “formal” citizens are prioritised (Kumar et al., 2021). Mdee (2017) sheds light on these dynamics and how they enable elite actors to be highly influential in development processes which overtly weaken disadvantaged groups. Within the context of Tanzania she discusses how policy decisions are not made objectively through scientific evidence but instead are shaped by powerful interests and widely accepted dominant world views (Mdee, 2017:101-102). Accordingly, the interplay is illustrated here regarding the central role that the elite have in implementing urban development processes and elite actors utilising processes of urban development to further their own interests.

Therkildsen and Bourgoignie (2012) offer further insight into these dynamics drawing on the Tanzanian context, through examining the interconnected nature of the decisions made by ruling elites concerning the development of urban areas and an underpinning reality that these decisions are impacted by the desire of these actors to maintain power. They observe how powerful actors have a purposed motivation to maintain and further their position in society and that this directly impacts the sectors that the government invests in and the policies that are implemented (Therkildsen and Bourgoignie, 2012:10). Furthermore, within the wider African context, Gastrow observes powerful actors utilising urban development to maintain and further their political position through drawing on formal and informal practices within governance and urban planning. Hence, through primarily exploring narratives that emerge within media analysis, Gastrow (2020) found that despite state capacity appearing weak, due to the lack of support it offers its citizens, the political elite still effectively consolidate power and exert control over the urban landscape. An example of this is through the construction of buildings by elite actors that achieved visual legitimacy, as the construction of these buildings remind the wider population of their authoritative position and their ability to transform urban spaces (Gastrow, 2020; Roast, 2024:2). This exact same concept is also observable in London. For example Atkinson notes how Russian oligarchs construct prominent and culturally valuable developments to gain cultural capital, and thus acceptance and influence within elite social networks (Atkinson, 2020; Schimpfössl, 2018). These examples are important within this project, as they speak to the interaction between elite actors and informal practices within the context

of urban development. Moreover, it is identified that the construction of ambitious developments is an instrument to exercise power and gain legitimacy, as their construction depends upon elite actors having extensive resources and influence.

Moreover, powerful actors also maintain and further their financial position within the context of urban development is a further key consideration within this project, with key dynamics surrounding this discussed by Goodfellow (2017). He observes a rising number of prestigious commercial and residential developments within African cities, which often remain incomplete or empty. Goodfellow explores the rationale behind these developments within the contexts of Kigali and Addis Ababa, where growth within the real estate sector is significantly disproportionate to these countries' wider economic growth (Goodfellow, 2017). He contends that this is a consequence of wealthy actors viewing real estate as the safest place to invest, due to these cities offering both formal and informal incentives. Goodfellow highlights the negative impact of these practices on wider urban development. This is because they lead to a reduction in available space and investment into affordable real estate projects because they do not offer as high security or financial return (Goodfellow, 2017), a pattern also observable within Dar es Salaam (Goodfellow, 2017:801). Within the context of London, similar undercurrents surrounding high-end real estate developments are also observed. Atkinson (2019) describes this as "Necrotexture", where high-end properties are bought primarily for investment purposes and consequently are often left empty or under-occupied. Therefore, this ultimately furthers the financial interests of wealthy elite actors, while simultaneously worsening an extreme housing shortage within the context of London (Atkinson, 2019). Brill and Raco (2021) describe how this influx of foreign investment contributes to the "housing crisis", a crisis that developers and politicians argue is due to a lack of available housing. Because of this the construction of more housing is portrayed as the solution. This cycle of housing being constructed in London, and then large quantities being bought by foreign investors, resulting in house prices being driven up further as opposed to reduced, is also observed by Minton (2022b).

The observations discussed in this literature, regarding housing within cities being increasingly viewed as an investment, as opposed to a human necessity, resonates with the empirical findings of this project which observes comparable characteristics concerning unoccupied high-end developments. *This demonstrates the fundamental role elite actors have in the decision-making and implementation of urban developments, in addition to emphasising the complexities underpinning these dynamics.* These discussions therefore illustrate the significant impact elite actors have on the shaping of urban environments in a variety of ways, including having a responsibility to shape urban development due to the positions they hold through having the resources to construct large-scale ambitious developments that transform urban environments. In addition to utilising the construction of real

estate for investment purposes, which ultimately can result in these investments remaining unoccupied, which then directly impacts the availability of housing within these contexts.

2.2.2 Influence of Neoliberal Ideology

Interlinked with urban development priorities and processes is the role of political institutions. A primary ideological influence that has shaped development within Tanzania (Poku and Mdee, 2011), the UK (Williams, 2016), and globally (Sassen, 2014; Sassen, 2002; Harvey, 2007) is neoliberalism. Yiftachel (2015) discusses how the adoption of neoliberal policies, in the form of increased privatisation and competitiveness, shapes urban institutions and, as a result, shapes the struggles of urban citizenship (Yiftachel, 2015:727). The relationship of neoliberal ideology with how elite actors negotiate real estate development and interact with global dynamics is argued to be linked to the “international political economy” (Brassett et al., 2022) a term used to describe the relationship between the economy and politics, particularly regarding how they shape one another at an international level. This foundational concept speaks to the global interactions and impact that is often experienced in relation to urban development. Specifically, this can be found in relation to the combination of national and international economic forces that shape relational and consumption patterns within this sector (Brassett et al., 2022).

The foundational principles of neoliberal ideology relate to promoting and protecting individual freedoms (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:1-2). Those arguing for the adoption of neoliberal policies place themselves in opposition to communist regimes, which have highly centralised governments that greatly restrict the individual freedom of their citizens (Hayek, 2001 [1988]:364; Friedman and Friedman, 2002:5-6). Therefore, in order to protect individual freedom against the centralisation of government, neoliberal ideology encourages the decentralisation of power as far as possible through increased privatisation throughout society (Friedman and Friedman, 2002). Hence, this results in individual freedom and choice being promoted through market mechanisms and, consequently, it is argued this enables the true will of society to emerge (Friedman and Friedman, 2002; Hayek, 2001 [1988]:363-365). It is also claimed within neoliberal ideology that state intervention should be limited to the areas of governance necessary to facilitate neoliberal policies, including to “preserve law and order, to enforce private contracts, to foster competitive markets” (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:2). Hence, the state’s role should primarily be to protect individual freedoms, private property, and autonomy within the market from outside force, other citizens, and government coercion (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:2-3).

Consequently, the intervention of governments in other areas is discouraged, such as the state developing supportive social infrastructure or economic interventions that enable more equal

distributions of wealth. This is due to the understanding that these support coercive measures by the state through taxation, leading to the individual freedoms of particularly the wealthiest in society being compromised as they are forced to give the state high percentages of their income to support wider society (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:178). Therefore, the provision of social support such as social housing and education is not viewed as desirable as it increases the state's power over society and restricts choice and competitiveness. It is argued that this results in reduced quality and restricted freedom concerning how individuals can invest their resources (Friedman and Friedman, 2002). Therefore, within the context of this research project, neoliberal ideology is understood as the state's reduced role in economic and social interventions, alongside the prioritisation of privatisation in all possible areas of society. As a result of this, economies have been established that are governed by market-led mechanisms, with minimal restrictions or requirements from government on individuals, so as not to impinge on individual freedom (Friedman and Friedman, 2002). The concept of neoliberalism is particularly significant in this study, as it is the prominent political ideology within the contexts being investigated. It is important to note that the outworking or adoption of neoliberal practices and policies varies across different cultural contexts (Gillespie, 2020), however, its implementation often leads to comparable impacts on societies (Harvey, 2007; Harvey, 2005). The nuances surrounding the adoption of this ideology within the contexts investigated are examined more fully in Chapter 4 of this study.

A well-developed body of research exists exploring the impact of neoliberal policies within urban areas, particularly regarding housing, which correlates to the focus on real estate development within this project. Therefore, this literature provides insight into how powerful actors draw on neoliberalism to shape urban development processes. Incorporated within these discussions are investigations concerning processes of gentrification, which have been “regarded as a pivotal force in the reproduction of capitalism worldwide” (Nickayin et al., 2020:2).

The theoretical understanding of gentrification was originally described by Glass (1964) in her research that focused predominantly on Islington, within the city of London. Smith (1979) succinctly defines this process as “converting working class areas into middle-class neighbourhoods through the rehabilitation of the neighbourhood’s housing stock” (Smith, 1979:547). This therefore describes a gradual transformation of urban neighbourhoods which ultimately results in the displacement of the original residents, who are then replaced by more affluent ones. In 1979 Neil discussed how gentrification should be theorised through drawing on examples of North American and European cities, in which the process has relevance. In addition, he observed how cultural shifts were a key aspect in this process of urban transformation, due to an increasing desire among wealthier citizens to live closer to their place of work. However, he also emphasised that a primary factor in processes

of gentrification was related to financial incentives. Smith's argument for this was underpinned by what he described as the "rent gap" (Smith, 1979), a concept that has been highly influential to the theoretical understanding of gentrification. The "rent gap" refers to there being an opportune time that pushes forward processes of gentrification, this is when the depreciation of housing in city centre locations, alongside the rising value of land, results in a significant financial incentive for wealthy residents or investors to regenerate these areas. As the purchase and redevelopment of housing within these locations becomes viewed as a secure financial investment (Smith, 1979:546).

However, despite being connected to these patterns of an increased desire for residents to live closer to urban centres and the economic incentives of living in these locations, the urban development patterns discussed within this study are arguably much more dramatic in comparison to when the concept of gentrification was originally theorised. Hence, the processes described within gentrification literature often describe the gradual transformation of urban areas (Easton et al., 2020). However, this research project will focus on large-scale urban transformations by elite actors through the construction of large-scale ambitious developments, a process often supported by global capital and described by Minton (2017) as going beyond traditional understandings of gentrification with these types of projects leading to the total reimagining and transformation of urban areas (Minton, 2017). Discussions that focus on these development types is an emerging field of academic study (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019; Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019) and a key area that this study intends to contribute to. This shift in urban development processes was also later highlighted by Smith, he described a shift in two aspects of gentrification theory both of which resonate with the investigation of this research project. First, regarding the processes of gentrification being evident not only in North America and Europe but globally, and second, more dramatic, large scale, systematic processes of gentrification taking place that stem from partnerships between governments and private investors (Smith et al., 2018 [2002]). Despite, debates that have emerged surrounding how gentrification should be bounded and understood, the theory effectively offers a foundation for understanding how access to financial capital impacts the shaping of urban environments right from the subtle and comparably slow transformation of urban neighbourhoods which become increasingly populated by wealthy residents, to the large scale demolition and redevelopment of urban areas by private development companies.

Nickayin et al. (2020) are critical of this urban development process of gentrification, they describe how it directly results in rising rents, house prices, and increased cost of living, consequently, lower-income households are pushed out of areas that are increasing in affluence (Nickayin et al., 2020:2). This is an example of where neoliberal policies, which promote the market forces of capitalism, are in tension to providing for the social needs of wider society, particularly less advantaged groups. As a result this illustrates a struggle which is articulated in the work of Lefebvre (1991). Conversely,

Nickayin et al. also make a persuasive point that “anti-gentrification” is also not beneficial to urban populations as there are urban areas that are in need of investment (Nickayin et al., 2020:8). Nickayin et al. promote “socially aware renovation”, where cities are improved in ways that benefit the spectrum of socio-economic groups found within societies, ranging from those that depend on state support to the most affluent (Nickayin et al., 2020:8). Yet this view is limited in that it does not interact with the priorities and motivations of elite actors who, as discussed, are central in processes of urban development in terms of their role in deciding on, resourcing and outworking development priorities.

Moreover, salient to this discussion are neoliberal value systems that justify and therefore underpin processes of gentrification, especially regarding the importance of continued economic growth, which is achieved by a combination of innovation, risk taking and attracting investment hence enabling the perceived improvement and continued flourishing of urban areas. This relates to discussions surrounding the moral economy of neoliberalism, which is explored in greater depth later in this chapter.

Furthermore, the consequence of neoliberal ideology being centered around the economy is intrinsically linked to processes of urban development, this is an important consideration as it impacts the priorities and boundaries of elite actors. The increase in privatisation has allowed for the state to reduce social and economic provision, resulting in greater autonomy for powerful actors while simultaneously resulting in less advantaged groups receiving lower levels of support from public institutions (Harvey, 2005). This has involved increased privatisation in a range of areas including health care, education, housing, and social care (Harvey, 2005; Wiegratz, 2015:15; Rees, 1985). These shifting dynamics within society, however, are not a recent occurrence. In the 1980s, Marshall observed a reduction in the availability of social housing within the UK, which he attributes to the adoption of neoliberal policies (Rees, 1985). Marshall also provides valuable insight into the impact these shifting political dynamics are having on the relationship urban development has with the economy, concerning housing he observes a shift in policy, from the government accepting the economic burden of striving towards housing for all, towards a focus on individual responsibility. This is ultimately achieved through the promotion of home ownership schemes such as “right to buy” that has enabled the sale of council houses (Rees, 1985). Therefore, Marshall contends that these policies are profoundly economically biased “in favor of those who are already established, and against those who are striving to become established” (Rees, 1985:211). Accordingly, the literature engaged with largely contends that neoliberal policies promote the economic interests and freedoms of wealthier groups within society while simultaneously increasing inequalities. Consequently, the societal freedoms of less advantaged groups are reduced because of diminishing support from governments. This is valuable within the area being explored, as it gives insight into the significance of neoliberal

ideology in practices of urban development, particularly concerning economic justifications that exist which in turn enable urban development to prioritise the interests of powerful actors.

Within this study, the functionality of how neoliberalism interacts with social structures is a key conversation that offers insight into how elite actors operate. A repeated critique of neoliberalism is how it presents the concept of freedom, and how this concept is then employed as a key justification for its promotion and implementation (Harvey, 2007; Harvey, 2005). In 1861, John Stuart Mill discussed the importance of protecting the most vulnerable in society for society to prosper as a whole (Mill, 2001 [1861]:62). However, this concept is not engaged with in neoliberal ideology (Friedman and Friedman, 2002), although this protection is arguably a key aspect of promoting the freedom of less advantaged groups to be secure and to participate within society. Harvey's position is that the reason for the continued implementation of neoliberalism, despite its lack of protection for those who are vulnerable, is the disproportionate advantage it gives to furthering the interests of the wealthiest people within societal structures and the richest countries (Harvey, 2007:34). He argues that this is achieved through elites actively pursuing the redistribution of wealth from poor too rich through neoliberal policies (Harvey, 2005:37-38). Hence, this enables the restoration and, in some cases, the reconstruction of class hierarchies, which in turn furthers the interests of powerful actors (Harvey, 2005:16-19). Therefore, societies' richest and the richest globally become increasingly powerful and wealthy, while those who do not have the resources or opportunity to invest in private property or accumulate capital become increasingly and disproportionately disadvantaged, resulting in the escalation of inequality within and between countries (Piketty, 2014a; Harvey, 2005:38; Hickel, 2017). Savage supports this, observing that the capitalist economy, which is central to neoliberal ideology, is "a crucial generator of class inequalities" (Savage, 2015:234), enabling the highest earners to become increasingly wealthy and pull away from the rest of society (Savage, 2015:231). Therefore, these observations are relevant to the goals of this project, as the construction of ambitious real estate developments present opportunities for elite actors regarding maintaining and furthering their position within societal structures, politically, and through enabling greater accumulation of wealth. However, these dynamics are accompanied by risk both for elite actors and wider society, as can be observed within the empirical findings of this study.

Neoliberal ideology engages with dynamics surrounding risk-taking, presenting risks as a necessary component of economic development. Therefore, this enables reoccurring adverse outcomes of neoliberal policy to be detracted from, through attributing them to individual responsibility (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:162-163) or state failings to implement policies correctly (Harvey, 2007:34). Friedman discusses the necessity of risk-taking, arguing that it enables continued progress and protects against the stagnation of economies (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:3-4).

These ideas are underpinned by cities being engaged with by elite actors as “growth machines” (Logan, 1976; Logan and Molotch, 2010:87). Significantly, Logan and Molotch (2010) observe a distinction between wider populations and elite actors regarding how “place” is perceived within cities, for the majority it is understood to be the environment in which they live or work. However, for the elite “place” is perceived as a “market commodity” which is a key aspect in enabling the perpetuation and accumulation of wealth and power (Logan and Molotch, 2010:87). Moreover, they observe how this is a central unifying characteristic of elite actors which has significant impact on government decision making and narratives that are projected by elite actors, such as through the media (Logan and Molotch, 2010). For example, the growth goals of the elite are often portrayed in the media as beneficial for the majority (Logan and Molotch, 2010:91). Ong (2007) also brings out how within an increasing global neoliberal landscape an important aspect of cities continuing to grow is the use of place to support avenues that enable greater global competitiveness regarding intellectual capital that can more easily transcend geographical boundaries, such as the development of technology or financial services. This describes a shift in urban imaginaries, particularly regarding what is perceived by elite actors as the role and purpose of cities in their continual pursuit of growth. This observation is particularly relevant in relation to the Royal Docks case study, which focuses on the conception and construction of what is intended to be an international business hub.

Furthermore, Friedman also recognises that this will inevitably lead to “winners” and “losers”, but that risk-taking behaviour is desirable and “winners” should not suffer through the redistribution of their wealth as this will deter future risk-taking (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:162-163). Here a contradiction within neoliberal ideology can be observed that, on the one hand, it promotes a view that the whole of society is on a level playing field with equal chances of success (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:163). Yet, on the other hand it is acknowledged that individuals receive unequal access to resources from parents, including varying amounts of inheritance. However, the argument is made that within a free society there is no way this can be removed without impinging on individual freedom (Friedman and Friedman, 2002:165-166). This position has been widely criticised. For example, Harvey has argued that far from a few individuals being negatively impacted by neoliberal policies, it affects large proportions of societies, with the interests and freedoms of the wealthy being prioritised over those of wider populations, particularly less advantaged groups (Harvey, 2005; Harvey, 2007). However, neoliberal understandings surrounding risk-taking are a key consideration within this project, as they provide insight into the motivations and justifications of elite actors who influence and engage with the construction of ambitious developments.

Exploring the political ideology of neoliberalism has contributed to the conceptual framework of this study, as it speaks to the justifications, motivations, opportunities, and boundaries that impact the

engagement of elite actors with processes of urban development. Of particular significance within this study is the impact of neoliberalism on real estate development, namely the protection of individual freedom, the influence on economic priorities, the forming of social structures, and the promotion of risk-taking.

2.2.3 Speculative Urbanism

Speculative urbanism is defined by Fields (2023) as a prevalent practice within urban spaces where finance, real estate, and capital accumulation are utilised in attempts to “invent possible (ostensibly better) futures” (Fields, 2023:511). This is a valuable theoretical lens as it brings into conversation significant themes relating to elite actors. Specifically, this can be observed regarding powerful actors and their ability to negotiate, engage with, and influence processes of urban development within a neoliberal climate. Despite the acknowledgment that there are also other theoretical lenses that provide insight into the empirical findings presented, speculative urbanism is salient as it brings out the interplay between the projection of elite vision and the transformation of urban environments, through the construction of “speculative” projects (Fields, 2023). At the same time this also highlights the role of political forces that underpin their justification, and that are drawn upon by the elite, for example, the necessity in attracting national and international investment to an area (Gillespie, 2020). Consequently, economic innovation and risk-taking are encouraged, as they are considered necessary for these types of developments to be realised (Friedman and Friedman, 2002). These are economic practices that Harvey (2007; 2005) argues primarily serve elite interests as they enable powerful actors to validate and legitimise actions that enable greater wealth accumulation and that negatively impact often disadvantaged groups within the wider society (Harvey, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Lukes, 2005).

Speculative urbanism can be observed in relation to the promotion of large-scale urban building projects, which are marketed as central in attracting wealth and prosperity to an area, through the construction of high-end housing and beautifully sculpted urban landscapes. These constructions often sit in stark contrast to the existing environment which in turn resonates with literature relating to processes of gentrification (Easton et al., 2020). These practices are, therefore, high-risk/high-reward strategies as they predominantly depend on attracting those from outside the area, with higher-incomes, to invest in property that is often beyond the reach of the existing population (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019). However, these developments are viewed increasingly, both politically and socially, as necessary in bringing forth and grasping an imagined future (Fields, 2023:511). Gidwani and Upadhyia (2023) describe how a central part of the process of speculative urbanism is the articulation of “fictional expectations” that are bought into by both the seller and buyer in the “ways they perceive their actions influencing outcomes” (Gidwani and Upadhyia, 2023:409-410). They argue

that this imaginative process is crucial within speculative urbanism as it facilitates “unrealised futures that mobilise capital flows” (Gidwani and Upadhyay, 2023:410). They observe these dynamics within the context of Bengaluru where elite actors utilised the social networks and local knowledge of intermediaries to enable the expansion of real estate within peri-urban areas, with a key aspect of this being to persuade the existing landowners to sell their land through articulating a positive shared imagined future for the area (Gidwani and Upadhyay, 2023). Therefore, this theoretical framework is a valuable lens to shed light on the processes observed within the data collected, particularly concerning how powerful actors are able to negotiate the construction of large-scale developments that are intended to transform urban areas.

Watson (2014) investigates the processes of speculative urbanism within the context of Africa in relation to the production of satellite cities. She highlights the connection between “fantasy plans” that are generated through processes of elite speculation and practices of dispossession to provide space for the private sector (Watson, 2014:216), which is compounded by the often exclusionary nature of these developments (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019:207). The increased prevalence of these projects within Africa is also discussed by Gillespie (2020), who describes how Africa is being promoted as “a new frontier for global real estate capital” (Gillespie, 2020:601). This ties in with the projection of vision that is a crucial element of speculative urbanism. Gillespie (2020) investigates these dynamics within the context of an extensive urban redevelopment of Accra, Ghana, and observes the increased commodification of land by the government in order to facilitate extensive real estate development (Gillespie, 2020). Van Leynseele and Bontje (2019) also explore the increased prevalence of satellite cities and how they have “captured the imaginations of planners, property developers, and politicians” (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019:207), therefore illustrating the importance of elite vision in the adoption of what are perceived to be globally significant projects.

Fields (2023) describes how it is not only powerful actors that partake in processes of speculative urbanism but that an imagined future is also participated in by the wider citizenry. However, within the context of the ambitious developments investigated the imagined future, projected by powerful actors, appeared to be the driving force behind the developments, and at times in contrast to the desires of wider society. This could be observed in the developments investigated predominantly being built for imagined residents, as opposed to those who resided within these areas. Within this project, the vision of powerful actors was also intertwined with the perception of elite actors that these projects would increase the global significance of the cities in which they were situated. As a result, Watson posits that there is a “symbolic power” to these projects as they are considered important in attracting attention on a global scale, as opposed to simply serving the needs of citizens (Watson, 2014:225), thus resonating with the empirical findings presented. Watson observes this

within the context of large African cities, which she posits are being reimagined in ways that draw on inspiration from cities such as Dubai and Singapore, which have become recognised globally for their success (Watson, 2014). However, she observes how these imagined “smart cities” or “eco-cities” do not correlate with the needs and resources of the existing population. For example, this can be seen in relation to the construction of prestigious housing and a reliance on car ownership in the planning of these ambitious developments (Watson, 2014).

This global dimension of ambitious developments is also identified by del Cerro Santamaria (2019), who highlights how becoming increasingly integrated with the global economy is considered a priority of elite actors to sustain and promote local economic growth (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019:264). Subsequently, elite actors utilise this position in order to offer justification for the promotion of speculative urbanism, a practice that is underpinned by prominent components of neoliberalism. Furthermore, del Cerro Santamaria (2019) describes how these types of projects “are often perceived as crucial catalysts for growth and even as linkages to the larger world economy” through attracting foreign investment into an area (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019:264). However, as also emerges within this study, he discusses the fragility surrounding these projects as there are often difficulties in bringing them to completion. Furthermore, del Cerro Santamaria (2019) discusses how even when ambitious developments are brought to completion, it is a “hugely expensive myth” that these iconic projects deliver on neighbourhood transformation (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019:279). The way that these ambitious urban development plans are so far removed from the lived and present reality of the general population is also observed by Weinstein et al. (2019) within the context of Mumbai which they attribute to uneven power relations and competing political agendas (Weinstein et al., 2019). Moreover, aspects of speculative urbanism are underpinned by literature relating to “image building” within cities, which is promoted by powerful actors to attract increased investment, so that cities can remain or become globally competitive (Sassen, 2014; Sassen, 2002; Glucksberg, 2016:239; Atkinson, 2020). The pursuit of ambitious developments is therefore presented as somehow “common sense” by elite actors. This links to the previous discussion relating to the elite utilising and promoting what they portray as “common sense” to achieve specific political initiatives and urban development goals (Hall and O'Shea, 2013). This is therefore a key aspect in enabling continual shifts in urban development priorities that align with global economic dynamics, such as an increased focus on mobile technology advances as described by Ong (2007). In addition to facilitating the acceptance of ambitious large-scale real estate projects by wider society, despite these projects often prioritising the interests of elite actors and wealthy citizens as opposed to the interests of existing residents.

Speculative urbanism therefore resonates with the findings presented within this project, offering insight into how the elite utilise the projection of vision both at a national and global level, when

engaging with and influencing ambitious developments. These imagined futures are implicitly linked to informal dynamics, as the justification of becoming globally competitive through the construction of real estate provides opportunities for powerful actors to negotiate or change official priorities, laws, and regulations. This has been observed within both Global South (Gillespie, 2020) and Global North (Atkinson, 2020) contexts.

Building on this, a significant aspect of these informal interactions and practices are underpinned by temporal considerations, this is supported by Fields (2023) observation that these urban imaginations are collaborative processes (Fields, 2023:513) and, therefore, impacted by the relationships, resources, and ideologies of the multiple actors involved. Furthermore, societies and urban areas are altered by the projection of elite vision regardless of if ambitious developments come to fruition. (Weinstein et al., 2019:278; Bhan, 2013:69). Therefore, in relation to the construction of satellite cities in emerging economies, Van Leynseele and Bontje (2019) discuss how these projects often portray an image of development which can be utilised for the benefit of powerful actors, regardless of if the developments are actually flourishing (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019). The theory of speculative urbanism, therefore, gives insight into the dynamics surrounding the conception and implementation of ambitious real estate developments, informing the analysis of the empirical findings in chapter five. Ultimately, this theory highlights the fundamental importance of elite vision in enabling powerful actors to engage with and influence dynamics and processes surrounding urban development.

2.3 Elite Actors and their Characteristics

2.3.1 Categorising the Elite

Elite categorisation within this study focuses on those who exercise power over society through influencing and engaging with processes of urban development. As discussed in chapter one, prominent categories are identified within this context which include the “wealth” and “political” elite (Gray, 2015; Whyte, 2015). However, despite a separation being recognised between these two groups, in reality they are often interdependent and overlapping, with elite actors often navigating varying degrees of political power and access to extensive resources (Simon, 2018:16). Moreover, despite the overarching categorisation of the elite that have been outlined within this study, it is also important to highlight the complicated and multifaced nature of who constitutes as ‘the elite’. This is

a topic that has been debated, particular regarding concerns that the term is applied too widely (Scott, 2008) and regarding how this group should be positioned or understood within social hierarchies (Scott, 2008; Savage, 2015).

Within the context of the Global North these dynamics are widely understood within the framework of class structures. However, how the social hierarchy of the elite should be understood within these structures is disputed. Scott (2008) posits that elite actors hold the most powerful positions within society, which he argues is not necessarily linked to their social class. Examples of this include those from a lower social class who have become successful or influential, such as an entrepreneur, a celebrity, or a sports elite. Therefore, they should be considered separate from class structures (Scott, 2008:34). On the other hand, Savage (2015) posits that elites are central to class structures and, therefore, should not be considered separately, as this distracts from their influential role in the shaping of wider society due to their positioning within social hierarchies (Savage, 2015:233). This debate highlights the complex and varied ways in which the elite obtain positions of influence within societies, and the tensions that exist in striving towards containing them within identified social structures. While Savage also contends that this group is distinct from upper classes, although many fall within this category, he argues that they can be categorised within these structures based on a shared focus on competitiveness and achievement (Savage, 2015:235). This is supported by Atkinson, who contends that a primary motivation in the collaboration of elites is to maintain and increase wealth (Atkinson, 2020:41). Elites being embedded within hierarchical class structures is further supported by Simon, who categorises this group as individuals in the “highest strata of society: members of the upper and upper-middle classes” (Simon, 2018:8). Hence, despite the different perspectives of Scott and Savage concerning how elites should be categorised within social structures, there is consensus that elite actors primarily reside within esteemed social positions, where they can influence decision-making and accumulate resources that enable them to exercise power within society.

In understanding elite actors more broadly, research originating from the Global South also provides insight into their categorisation. A key aspect of this study has been to be unconstrained by geographical boundaries and to thus deepen understandings regarding how elite actors operate which has relevance within diverse global contexts. A disparity that exists between these global contexts is that within the Global North social responsibilities and relationships are predominantly observed existing horizontally within the boundaries of class structures (Savage et al., 2013). Conversely, within the African context vertical relational dynamics are expected, with responsibilities and relationships being entwined with tribal and kin networks, that encompass varied economic circumstances and social positions (Lentz, 2015:12). As a result, relationships do not appear to be bounded to the same

extent by hierarchical structures. Vertical relationships, that transcend socio-economic divides, have particular importance within the African context due to the expected role of kinship and local communities in welfare provision, as opposed to this being considered the states responsibility (Mdee and Mushi, 2020:9).

Within the Global South the terminology that is prominent within the Global North relating to class structures has not historically been applied, however, strong hierarchical structures are observed (Lentz, 2015; Ekeh, 1975). Mercer observes a divide in African cities between what has been referred to as the “elite” and the rest of the population (Mercer, 2018:521). Furthermore, Mercer identifies elite actors as individuals that occupy a higher echelon within society which has access to resources and are in a position of influence. There is a significant element of nuance here, though, as there is some shifting in these discussions, with the emergence of a middle class within Africa becoming increasingly prominent (Mercer, 2018; Gillespie, 2020). Strong hierarchical structures are also observed within the context of Pakistan, Armytage (2015; 2020) observes a distinct elite group which consists of the country’s prominent bureaucrats, politicians, military officers and business owners, who exercise power through social networking, political decision-making, and employing their resources, such as through mutually supportive “favours” (Armytage, 2015). Therefore, the intrinsic link between elite actors and multiple resources also emerges within Global South contexts. Moreover, a key observation regarding elite actors is their ability to legitimise their position and actions, while continuing to accumulate resources. For example, Poku and Mdee (2011) discuss how historically within Africa elite actors have inherited highly influential roles within governance that were established during colonial rule (Poku and Mdee, 2011:22), an observation also made by Ekeh (1975:100). Within this transfer of power, Poku and Mdee (2011) discuss how practices associated with colonial rule, such as elites furthering their position through the accumulation of resources at the expense of addressing the needs of wider population, can be observed within country power dynamics (Poku and Mdee, 2011:26). This is a valuable insight with regards to the categorising of the elite, as this concept is not distinct to countries that have previously been under colonial rule. For example, elite actors successfully justify the demolition of council estates in central London and the displacement of those living there, to provide space for the construction of high-end real estate developments by private investors (Watt, 2021; Lees and White, 2020; Lees, 2014). As a result, these discussions contribute to the categorisation of elite actors, through highlighting their ability to maintain and legitimise their social positioning and advance their own interests through access to, alongside the further accumulation of, key strategic resources.

In the categorising of the elite it is also significant to recognise that in addition to prominent elite actors which have been the primary focus within this study, such as high ranking government officials

and those with vast resources which enable them to invest in the real estate ventures examined, there also exists a complex eco-system of elite actors, many of which do not have the same visibility. The existence of a network of powerful actors that have disproportionate influence on decision making and the shaping of society is observed by Armytage (2015; 2020) within the context of Pakistan. She describes elite gatherings where a variety of individuals, including those who operated within the bureaucratic, economic, political, and military spheres, gather in order to build social networks and exchange financial and political “favours” (Armytage, 2015). This complexity regarding the categorising of elites is an important consideration within this study as it resonates with findings that describe the significant influence of more hidden actors, such as technical experts and those in positions to lobby prominent political figures. Lauermann and Mallak (2023) provide a valuable framework for identifying individuals that operate as an elite actor, fundamental to which is their argument that two-tiers exist within society, the majority of the population that are required to conform to a certain set of rules and then another set which do not appear to be constrained by these same rules. They therefore identify elite actors as those who are able to re-negotiate, circumvent or bend existing formal frameworks (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023). They describe this engagement of elite actors with societal processes as “elite capture”, which they observe in relation to “rent seeking, opportunity hoarding, exploiting loopholes, and co-opting participatory planning” (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023:1). These types of behaviours therefore incorporate a variety of actors that contribute, and are crucial to, broader elite networks which support the ability of this group to maintain and perpetuate positions of power.

A further significant consideration in the categorising of elite actors, in addition to their access to resources or their political standing, are other forms of capital. These are significant, as they speak to not only the categorising of the elite but also distinct characteristics of this group that intertwined with aspects of economic, cultural and social capital. In understanding social positioning more broadly Bourdieu (2010) identifies these different forms of capital, he describes how these are mutually supportive elements that both maintain and distinguish an individual’s position within society (Bourdieu, 2010:108). The outwork of the elite’s engagement with different forms of capital can be observed within the context of Pakistan, where Armytage observes the elite drawing on a combination of, social networking, the exchange of favours, cultural attributes such as educational background, and hosting extravagant gatherings, which are enabled by their access to resources and enable them to maintain and further their position (Armytage, 2015; Armytage, 2020). Gray’s work also resonates with this as she describes how among the Tanzanian elite social networks and informal flows of capital are often constructed, that often centre around elite actors attending prestigious educational institutions (Gray, 2015). Bourdieu (2010) posits, however, that cultural capital goes beyond an

individuals' experience or being involved in esteemed institutions. He describes what he terms "habitus" which is portrayed subtly through an individuals' style, mannerisms, and attitudes (Bourdieu, 2010). This observation, therefore, offers insight into the subtle characteristics of elite actors, which contribute towards and reinforce their unique ability to exercise power.

2.3.2 Distinguishing Characteristics of the Elite

Interconnected with dynamics surrounding the categorisation of elite actors and the relationship they have with informality is the existence of distinct elite characteristic. This is a significant consideration as these characteristics deliver insight into the ability of this group to circumvent and negotiate formal frameworks. Examples of these that were especially visible in the urban development processes investigated within this project included a strength in negotiation, a high-level of confidence, and a tendency to operate in a secretive or discrete way. These characteristics are not, however, distinctly relevant to elite informality, and they are not an exhaustive list, with other characteristics such as valuing competitive and individualism also attributed to elite practices (Wiegratz, 2016).

Powerful actors navigating formal and informal practices through utilising negotiation is observed by Goodfellow within the wider African context of Rwanda. He describes how actors easily renegotiated laws and regulations to serve their investment interests, for example property tax rates (Goodfellow, 2018:241). Moreover, the promotion of elite interests through processes of negotiation can be observed in practices described by Sassen (2014). She discusses how neoliberal political economies have presented a world of complexity, which often masks the brutality of these economic systems (Sassen, 2014:2). This is supported by Brill and Raco (2023) who describe the co-opting of knowledge surrounding real estate development. They observe how private firms have an advantage due to their ability to navigate complex systems and through access to databases that are not publicly available, therefore obtaining knowledge that is often obscured from the general public and in turn enabling these firms to manipulate the market (Brill and Raco, 2023). Moreover, this observation points to the complex eco-system of the elite, which incorporates individuals that have significant power and wealth but that are less visible within the public realm. Consequently, through drawing on prevalent ideology, convincing arguments, and complex systems, the elite are able to promote their own business interests. Subsequently, this enables the elite to manipulate or circumvent existing formal frameworks that have been constructed to protect the interests of wider society (Sassen, 2014; Sassen, 2002). These dynamics are also highlighted in research by Bhan (2013), who draws on city master plans within the context of Delhi to showcase the ability of elite actors to "legitimise" their informal practices, while often simultaneously categorising informal practices by the wider population as illegal (Bhan, 2013). Furthermore, Flyvbjerg (1998) draws attention to the effectiveness and nuance

of elite negotiation, observing that the effectiveness of informal practices such as pulling strings, manipulating information, and influencing the media can hold greater weight than the rationality portrayed by formal systems (Flyvbjerg, 1998:141).

Additionally, the utilisation of secrecy by elite actors can be observed in multiple reports published by Transparency International concerning powerful actors using private companies as vehicles to purchase property within London, which in turn, enables tax contributions to be reduced or money to be laundered (Cowdock, 2017; Martini and Van der Merwe, 2020). Furthermore, Whyte (2016) reflects on techniques of neutralisation by powerful actors, focusing on the practices of corporations. He argues that a critical aspect of elite actors exercising power is their ability to mask the harmful effects their actions have on wider society (Whyte, 2016:167). Therefore, Whyte observes the ability of corporations to hide certain practices or events through utilising cultural capital and resources they have at their disposal. This occurs by providing a variety of ‘truths’ to wider society (Whyte, 2016:174). He identifies examples of how car companies have exploited these tactics in various ways when discoveries have been made in relation to their cars being faulty or not meeting the required or advertised environmental standards (Whyte, 2016).

Finally, the underlying significance of confidence in relation to elite practices is evident in the dynamics discussed concerning negotiation and secrecy. Moreover, this characteristic is brought out within the work of Moatasim (2019). She describes the entitled nature of elite actors within the context of Pakistan regarding building outside of existing planning frameworks, then subsequently these actors legitimised their developments despite opposition from wider society, resulting in a shift in the formal legislation (Moatasim, 2019). The interconnected nature of these characteristics can also be observed, such as how confidence and secrecy often underpin and strengthen elite negotiation. Furthermore, aspects of these characteristics are clearly supported and at times celebrated by a neoliberal ideology. For example, the prioritisation of business interests are often interconnected with negotiations, innovation, and risk-taking which are intrinsically linked to confidence. In addition, the reduction of state involvement facilitates discreet practices and privileged opportunities for elite actors.

2.3.3 The Relationship between Legitimacy and the Elite

Eneqvist et al. (2022) posit that “legitimacy is not an outcome of a particular decision but is rather a judgement made by citizens based on multiple government actions” (Eneqvist et al., 2022:1598), this judgment therefore impacts the ability of powerful actors to exercise power over populations. The characteristics discussed of negotiation, secrecy, and confidence emerge in discussions relating to “elite capture” (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023; Atkinson, 2020). This concept illuminates the ability of the elite to operate outside of formal boundaries while maintaining their position within societies.

Lauermann and Mallak (2023) describe how “elite capture” goes beyond the ability of these actors to operate illegally, and that this actually involves the construction of well-established systems that enable this group to interact with land differently from wider society (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023:2). These behaviours are applicable and observable across Global North and Global South contexts (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023:2). Lauermann and Mallak (2023) observe how these behaviours are underpinned by access to social, cultural, and economic capital, which place them in a privileged position within society which transmits across generations (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023:3). In turn, this breeds a confidence which enables powerful actors to negotiate “sanctioned informality” that incorporates an ability to justify and legitimise their informal activities (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023). Furthermore, they describe how key decision-making is done quietly, outside of formal processes, with these processes then utilised as a tool by powerful actors to legitimise these decisions. For example, the failure of collaborative planning processes to protect the interests of wider society, with these processes being little more than a performance which appears to involve the public to promote legitimacy, but in reality they hold minimal authority (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023). Atkinson (2020) describes how urban ‘capture’ by the elite, within the context of London, is a result of often hidden mechanisms of power, including political ideology, social networking, and flows of capital (Atkinson, 2020:12). This series of events in turn enables this group to promote and legitimise their interests, including emphasising the central role of this group in attracting international capital for the development of a vibrant and thriving economy (Atkinson, 2020). As a result, instead of politicians sensing pressure from wealthy elite actors, they perceive that their goal of achieving a more prosperous urban landscape is in-line with their own objectives, although this is often bolstered by increasingly prevalent donations and lobbying of politicians by these actors (Atkinson, 2020).

Therefore, these dynamics demonstrate the importance of mutually supportive economic, social, and cultural capital being key for elite actors with regard to legitimising their social positioning and, consequently, their influence and engagement within society. However, simultaneously the dependence of elites on their access to these different forms of capital also indicates that there is a fragility to their position. Scott argues that the position of elites often has a precarious nature. Thus, this group should not be viewed as “all-powerful” as they are continually vulnerable to being challenged (Scott, 2008:38-39). This is a perspective also supported by Foucault, who argues that power can only be exercised if individuals are being directed in a particular way when other options are a possibility (Foucault, 1982:790). Therefore, there remains the risk that wider society will challenge the legitimacy of elite actors or decide to act contrary to what is desired by the elite. This is a significant consideration within the context of this research project as it provides insight into the difficulties experienced by elite actors in striving to construct globally significant real estate

developments. In sum, despite the ability of the elite to exercise power and maintain legitimacy through various mechanisms, it has been highlighted that there also exists a fragility to their position.

2.3.4 The Moral Economy

Understandings around how elite actors interact with moral frameworks is debated, this is compounded by elite actors having a variety of positions which are influenced by cultural, social, political and religious factors. Within this study the definition of morality described by Wiegratz (2016) is employed, he describes how it involves the justification and promotion of distinct value systems that can vary significantly between different actors, subsequently this then impacts all aspects of their interactions including their engagement with the economy. Prominent within this field of research, however, is the stance that the elite somehow lack morality which implies that a shared understanding of what can be categorised as 'right' and 'wrong' exists. For example, Simon (2018) identifies moral behaviour in relation to how individual actors impact wider society, thus, he considers "elite deviance" to be either criminal or what would broadly be understood as unethical behaviour, that results in adverse consequence on wider society (Simon, 2018). Sayer discusses how these types of tactics exercised by the super-rich, that exploit and damage wider society, are not a rarity but often a central aspect of how this group operates and accumulates wealth (Sayer, 2015:2). This observation is also supported by Whyte with regard to the corrupt practices by elite groups within Britain, identifying corruption not as an exception but a "routine practice that is used for maintaining and extending power" (Whyte, 2015:5). This occurs because the rise of neoliberalism also facilitates a rise in these kinds of behaviours. This occurs through enabling the elite to acquire greater economic control, through the accumulation of goods and services (Sayer, 2015:18). Accordingly, the infiltration of neoliberal ideology, and its acceptance by wider society is intertwined with perceptions of morality and is an important consideration in understanding both the mechanisms of the political and wealth elite in relation to practices surrounding informality and their engagement with real estate development. In addition, to providing insight into the ability of this group to maintain their legitimacy and succeed in justifying their behaviours.

The interaction between morality, neoliberalism, and the elite is exemplified in the theory of "moral economy" (Wiegratz, 2016). This theory brings out how morality or value systems are a key aspect in the formation and functioning of the economy, and by extension political policies and priorities (Wiegratz, 2016). Thus, this theory contributes to the theoretical framework adopted within the project through facilitating insight into the dynamics surrounding elite informal practices, where aspects of neoliberal ideology, and consequently, neoliberal value systems are evident. This will be utilised particularly in relation to understanding informal dynamics that are discussed within chapter

seven, which focuses on elite informal practices. This theory is salient within this context as it provides insight into the ability of powerful actors to influence value systems, which in turn provides a foundation to understand how elite informal practices impact what Roy eloquently describes as “the flexibility of the state, modes of social and discursive regulation, and the production of differentiated special value” (Roy, 2009:826).

Thompson was first to explore this concept in 1971, observing a shift in morality resulting from the adoption of capitalism (Thompson, 1971). His perception was “the de-moralizing of the theory of trade and consumption”. This refers to a fundamental change in society’s perception of trade, from its primary intention being to meet the needs of society to the establishing of new market processes which prioritised financial returns (Thompson, 1971:89). Consequently, Thompson observes a shift in responsibilities as a result of the new free market economy. This happened via a “breakdown of the previous moral economy of provision” which in turn resulted in the consumption needs of society becoming increasingly dependent on charity and less dependent on government institutions and economic practices (Thompson, 1971:136). These dynamics are therefore intertwined with the ability of powerful actors, such as the political elite, to legitimise shifting social responsibilities on to the wider population, as opposed to modifying existing structures to provide adequate social provision (Wiegratz, 2023; Mdee and Mushi, 2020).

In his work Wiegratz (2015) develops the concept of “moral economy”, primarily in relation to the development of value systems. He discusses how the promotion of neoliberal ideology has encouraged individualistic perspectives within society, and therefore, has not only led to changes in political and economic structures, but also impacted cultural ones. In turn this ultimately leads to the “moral order of society” being reformed (Wiegratz, 2015:52). He considers the concept of morality in relation to the rise of neoliberalism, both within the context of Africa (Wiegratz, 2016) and the UK (Wiegratz, 2015). Within this Wiegratz defines moral norms as the “standards of interactions concerning others’ welfare” (Wiegratz, 2016:10). On the other hand, Wiegratz also discusses the importance of recognising that the promotion of individualism within societies is a different type of value system, which in turn comes into conflict with existing cultural values which are centred around protecting and promoting the interests of society as a whole (Wiegratz, 2015:54-55). Makovicky et al. (2023) argue that within neoliberal ideology, far from an absence of morality, a rich value system has arisen which celebrates characteristics such as competition, creativity, risk-taking, and individualism. Subsequently, drawing on these underpinning values, Wiegratz (2016) describes an increased acceptance of the practices of fraud and corruption that are observable within countries that have adopted neoliberal ideology, with these practices becoming increasingly normalised and justified on the grounds of the importance of promoting business interests and attracting private investment.

Moreover, these dynamics have been observed more widely in relation to dynamics within the Global North (Whyte, 2015) and Global South (Gray, 2015), and not only within the private sector but also within governments, international organisations, and NGOs (Wiegratz, 2016).

Moreover, the implementation of neoliberalism being underpinned by deep rooted value systems that are adopted and promoted by elite actors can be observed in previous discussions relating to gentrification and growth machines. For example, a key aspect of gentrification is that fundamentally it is perceived by elite actors as an urban development process that rehabilitates, or in other words facilitates the improvement, of urban areas (Smith, 1979:547). Significantly, this is achieved through market forces, specifically an assurance among middle class homeowners that investing in real estate that is close to urban centres is a secure financial investment. This in turn leads to the subsequent transformation of these areas that then results in an increase in house prices (Smith, 1979). Similarly, discussions regarding the city being engaged with by the elite as a growth machine is underpinned by the perception among elite actors that economic growth is fundamentally positive for the whole of society and is intrinsically linked to facilitating an economic environment that primarily facilitates growth (Logan and Molotch, 2010).

This theoretical lens contributes to the findings presented throughout this thesis as the conceptualisation of value and how it is intrinsically linked to dominant ideologies within society is a significant aspect in understanding the behaviours of elite actors. Especially with regard to the significance of morality in understanding the justifications that underpin processes and decision making surrounding real estate development. Consequently, this dynamic is especially drawn upon in chapter seven, which focuses upon the impact of elite characteristics and value systems on practices of informality.

2.4 Conceptualising Elite Informality

2.4.1 Overview of the Informality Literature

A primary area of investigation within this study is to develop the concept of informality. To illustrate the diversity of literature relating to informality and consider different aspects and ideas within the concept, three prominent bodies of research will be considered: Informal housing, the informal economy, and relational informality, such as support or decision-making networks. First, research surrounding informal housing is extensive within the context of the Global South. This primarily incorporates discussions relating to stark inequalities that exist in living standards and opportunities, which ultimately stem from whether an individual lives in formal or informal housing (Lombard, 2013;

Alananga Sanga and Mwasumbi, 2019), as well as associated difficulties in receiving government support (Oates et al., 2020; Sakijege et al., 2012; Brøgger, 2019). In addition to this there is also literature that considers beneficial aspects of informal housing compared to formal alternatives (Andreasen et al., 2020; Breslow, 2021). While on the one hand the scope of this is limited, research has extended to examples observed within the Global North, for example, individuals living in “shed housing” in London (Lombard, 2019; Atkinson, 2020:173). Informal housing is often characterised by its separation from formal structures, such as planning permission, land titles, and formal infrastructure, including access to water, sewage systems, electricity, and roads (Oates et al., 2020; Alananga Sanga and Mwasumbi, 2019). However, informal housing can be extremely variable in relation to quality and security, with a wide variety of income groups living within informal settlements (Mercer, 2018:530; Andreasen et al., 2020:91), and even examples of elite groups constructing informal housing that has not been approved by city planning departments (Moatasim, 2019:94; McFarlane, 2012). However, these settlements are commonly situated on less desirable land, such as land at greater risk of flooding, and citizens do not have the same legal protection as those who live in formal housing (Oates et al., 2020; Sakijege et al., 2012; Alananga Sanga and Mwasumbi, 2019). Therefore, the construction of informal housing highlights the “contentious and temporal” element to the shaping of urban space, which involves the continuous negotiation of boundaries (Roast, 2022:388). Significantly within this body of literature, understandings of informal practices surrounding housing has primarily been developed in the Global South within the context of disadvantaged groups. As a result, there has been limited research into the relationship between the informal practices of elite actors and the construction of high-end real estate.

The informal economy is another significant body of informality research, regarding individuals making their living outside formal employment structures (Marx and Kelling, 2018; Williams, 2019; Chen, 2016; Lindell, 2010). It is estimated that those working within informal economies accounts for 60% of the world’s population, predominantly but not exclusively within the context of the Global South (Williams, 2019:64). Chen (2016) outlines four key themes that have emerged relating to the informal economy. These include, first, the “Dualist” view that informal employment provides a safety net for the poorest in society, second, the “Structuralist” view that attributes the growth in the informal economy to the rise of capitalism, with businesses seeking increasingly cheaper labour. The third view is “Legalist” and the fourth is “Voluntarist” , these views posit that for different reasons informal employment should be considered a choice that enables individuals to avoid what might be perceived as the negative aspects of the formal employment, such as adhering to regulations, the necessity of navigating complex bureaucracies, and paying taxes (Chen, 2016:156-157). However, Chen argues that informal economies are much more complicated and diverse than is portrayed in these schools of

thought and advocates a more holistic approach to understanding them (Chen, 2016:157). Concerning the underlying motivations to informal working, however, Williams' (2019) attributes informal economies to a breakdown in trust between citizens and the government, in addition to citizens conforming to prevalent practices within their communities. Chen (2016) challenges the insinuation that informal employment is chosen by citizens and perceived by them as preferable. She observes that in business transactions between those working in these two economies, it is predominantly workers and businesses operating informally that are at a disadvantage (Chen, 2016:164). Lindell also observed an increase in informal employment within the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, resulting from reduced availability of formal employment (Lindell, 2010). Consequently, this highlights the tensions and complexities within the literature relating to informal economies. Furthermore, research into informal economies focuses primarily on disadvantaged groups. However, economic activities outside formal structures are not limited to this context. Accordingly, there are examples of high-income and elite groups accumulating wealth through informal practices (Simon, 2018; Gray, 2015). This is an aspect of informality that will be further developed within this project.

Moreover, in addition to informal housing and economies, a relational aspect to the concept of informality has been explored which considers informal social structures that exist alongside but separate from formal frameworks. This has been observed to occur predominantly as a result of state structures not addressing social needs, such as providing adequate support networks (Ekeh, 1975; Lindell, 2010). Furthermore, these discussions encapsulate how informal relationships can underpin formal decision-making, which in turn, influences areas such as urban development and political policies (Armytage, 2020; Hilbrandt et al., 2017). For example, within the African context, Ekeh (1975) describes two distinct realms in which citizens operate and have responsibilities, with citizens primarily committed to the informal "primordial" realm as opposed to the formal "civic" realm (Ekeh, 1975). With the primordial realm sitting outside of formal structures but consisting of a strong hierarchical governance structure which consists of traditional community leaders, and the civic realm referring to formal governance structures that exist within a country. With participation in the informal realm associated with a stronger moral obligation and potentially serious social consequences if not prioritised by individuals (Ekeh, 1975:111). The tension between these two spheres within African societies has also been observed in more recent literature (Poku and Mdee, 2011:43; Baez-Camargo and Ledeneva, 2017) which has argued that these remain an intrinsic aspect of how African citizens participate in and navigate the social realm. An example of this can be observed in the need for citizens to navigate within formal and informal public realms with regard to living in informal settlements (Marx and Kelling, 2018:495) as well as in relation to those working within informal economies (Lindell, 2010). Thus, living or working within these areas can dramatically impact

the support individuals receive from the state (Marx and Kelling, 2018; Brøgger, 2019). Ultimately this results in alternative informal support structures emerging. The interconnectedness of these different aspects of informality is further highlighted by Lombard (2019), who observes within the UK how formal structures can contribute to the emergence of informal ones, with individuals seeking informal alternatives due to a lack of provision by the state (Lombard, 2019). Moreover, supportive informal structures, such as social networks, favours, and flows of capital, is an aspect of informality that is observed within more advantaged groups, across different global context, who desire influence and have resources that can be utilised (Acuto et al., 2019:484; Hilbrandt et al., 2017:946; Armytage, 2020). Accordingly, informal practices being underpinned by relationships is a key consideration in developing understandings relating to elite informality.

A final consideration concerning bodies of literature that have informed the concept of informality is that they have largely been developed within the context of the Global South. This project, therefore, intends to address this limitation through drawing on diverse global contexts in developing the concept of elite informality. Specifically, it draws upon the potential found in refining urban development concepts that have originated in the Global South, through applying them to Global North contexts, in a similar way to that outlined by Roy (2009). She argues that this is particularly applicable to the concept of informality, within the context of exploring informal practices by powerful actors, and the impact this has concerning the formal structures in which they are situated (Roy, 2009). Specifically, Roy outlines the mechanisms that enable this group to define and negotiate informal parameters in order to serve their interests (Roy, 2009). Consequently, this project seeks to analyse and assess the impact of informality within urban development processes, both in the Global North context of London and the Global South context of Dar es Salaam. This juxtaposition of contextual data will, therefore, present a new and nuanced contribution to existing literature. Furthermore, within this project a core driver is how the data interacts with questions relating to the concept of informality and how that functions when applied to a Global North context, when previously it has primarily been attributed to practices and dynamics within the Global South. For example, Goodfellow posits that the concept of informality is more applicable to the context of the Global South (Goodfellow, 2020; Goodfellow, 2018). On this point Goodfellow reasons that formal structures in the Global North are less vulnerable to informal practices due to their robustness in addition to often aligning with and serving powerful interests more effectively than formal structures situated in the Global South (Goodfellow, 2020). Therefore, this study will explore how this observed alignment within the Global North can also be influenced by and attributed to spaces and practices of elite informality.

2.4.2 The Elite Operating Outside of Formal Frameworks

Hilbrandt et al. (2017) present a broader understanding of informality which is valuable in understanding how elite actors operate outside of formal structure. Their observations build on the relational nature of informality and posit its centrality to the functioning of the state at every level of society, in all societies. The examples that are drawn upon include water governance in Guinea-Bissau, parking regulation in Estonia, and dwelling regimes in Germany (Hilbrandt et al., 2017). Through exploring these distinct cases the authors argue that a foundational aspect of informal dynamics is relational, which is intrinsic to how human beings interact. This perspective on informality diverges from simply employing the concept in instances where the state's formal systems are viewed to have failed (Hilbrandt et al., 2017:959). The contribution of Hilbrandt et al. is especially significant within the context of this study as alongside observing relational aspects of informality they apply the concept to a range of demographics within society including powerful actors, which contributes towards the conceptualisation of elite informality.

Criticism of informality includes limitations associated with the binary terminology of formal/informal, where, in reality, these terms are being applied to complex social situations that are often difficult to categorise (Acuto et al., 2019:483; Lindell, 2010:5; Marx and Kelling, 2018:495). This also relates to concerns regarding this terminology obscuring the often mutually supportive nature of formal/informal practices and structures (Storey, 2021; Chen, 2016), thus contributing to tensions relating to legal/illegal boundaries being blurred in relation to informal activities (Chen, 2016; Lindell, 2010; McFarlane, 2012). This tension with regards to how formal and informal structures interact is an important consideration in developing understandings relating to the ability of elite actors to circumvent and negotiate formal frameworks.

Goodfellow (2020) seeks to address the complexity of informality through identifying four ways that it interacts with formal structures within the context of politics which in turn sheds light on their multifaceted interplay. These include "pro-formal" structures which refers to supportive informal practices such as filling "gaps" within formal procedures or provision (Goodfellow, 2020:283). "Anti-formal" structures, where informal practices actively undermine or weaken formal institutions, for example, top-down dynamics such as elite actors allowing a culture of "exceptions". This consequently releases powerful individuals from formal constraints that wider society are expected to adhere to and, therefore, ultimately allows this group to further and maintain their position within societies. In addition to this there are bottom-up "anti-formal" practices, such as when citizens rise up against those in power and seek to undermine their position through illegal activities (Goodfellow, 2020:283-284). Next, there are "para-formal" structures, which are practices that operate alongside formal ones

without supporting or challenging them, for example, mutual support between elite groups contradictory to formal systems but not seeking to change these systems (Goodfellow, 2020:284). Finally, there are “A-formal” structures, which describes informal practices that are disordered or unpredictable. Goodfellow gives the example of informal housing, where citizens may live in a state of insecurity and negotiation, with their situation often dependent on political whims (Goodfellow, 2020:285-286). The observations made by Goodfellow are salient to this study as they indicated that interactions individuals have with informality varies across different social groups. For example, powerful actors may weaken formal structures through a culture of “extensions”, something that is made possible due to the position these actors hold within society. While disadvantaged groups may act informally through the construction of informal housing, which is also an indicator of their social status. The position of actors within social hierarchies, therefore, impacts their interaction with informality. Therefore, this highlights the interconnected nature of informality, the position elite actors’ hold within society, and how the engagement of this group with informality impacts their ability to exercise power. Conversely, informality observed within the context of disadvantaged groups is impacted by a lack of power, intrinsically interconnected with their social status.

The interconnected nature of informality and formality is further stressed by Roy (2009). She argues that informality is a critical tool in understanding the ability of elite actors to exercise power, as the implementation of laws and policies by formal powers and structures define informal boundaries (Roy, 2009:826). Building on Roy’s observations, McFarlane (2012) argues that elite actors are situated in a privileged position to renegotiate these boundaries, and subsequently shift perceptions within society of what is categorised as informal or illegal (McFarlane, 2012:93). He illustrates this through considering the interaction of powerful actors with processes of urban development, such as, governments demolishing low-income informal housing while, simultaneously, granting legal status to high-end suburban developments that were also built illegally (McFarlane, 2012:92).

Furthermore, salient to this study, is previous urban planning research that has highlighted examples of informal practices by elite actors, such as Hillier (2000) describing how the interaction between politics and power struggles can result in “influence outside of the formal participation processes, tactics which favour the articulate, well-connected and wealthy over more marginalised groups” (Hillier, 2000:33). She posits that “plan-making” is rooted in relationships, such as alliances and networks (Hillier, 2000:34). This speaks to the inherent relationship urban planning has with informality and provides a foundation for understanding the informal practices and spaces of elite actors explored within this project. With regard to elite engagement with urban development processes Hillier distinguishes between formal and informal, defining informal as direct actions that intervene with the political system while “breaking the rules of the game” (Hillier, 2000:37). Moreover,

elite actors operating outside of formal structures, which within this study is described as elite informality, is observed within a variety of contexts. Accordingly, different ideas and applications of how the elite interact with informality will be explored with the intention of constructing a foundation that this project will build upon. In framing discussions relating to the conceptualisation of elite informality it is also important to consider how the concept should be bounded. Lauermann and Mallaks' (2023) discussion regarding the ability of elite actors to uniquely operate in ways that are different from the majority of society offers a valuable contribution to establishing these boundaries. This research project therefore focuses on ways in which elite actors are uniquely positioned to utilise informal dynamics because of their privileged position within society or because of their substantial access to different forms of capital. Consequently, this then offers insight into understanding the ability of this group to maintain their position within society and to operate in ways that are disproportionately beneficial to their interests.

Underpinning the relationship between elite actors and examples of informality are dynamics of power, with these practices enabling the elite to more effectively maintain and exercise power (Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014; Hillier, 2000). As a result, elite informality is explored here through focusing on categories discussed by Atkinson, that describe how the elite have been observed to exercise power more widely. Specifically, these include how the elite influence political ideology, social networks, and flows of capital (Atkinson, 2020:12). Regarding the informal influence of political ideology, researchers have observed elite actors operating outside of formal structures to influence dominant world views and political decision-making, often through utilising informal social networks. Harvey (2007) and Lukes (2005) connect examples of contemporary elite influence with the rise of neoliberalism globally. Consequently, these actors covertly exercise power through drawing on neoliberal ideology to promote and influence the implementation of political policies that are particularly beneficial to their interests. It has been observed how this often results in negative implications for wider society, such as increased privatisation and reduced welfare provision (Harvey, 2005; Harvey, 2007). Within Indonesia, Li observes a shift in the worldview of highlanders towards a more capitalist perspective, which has resulted in the increase of wealth for a small proportion of people while leading to the perpetuation of poverty and inequality within the wider community (Li, 2014). Furthermore, this covert influence that the elite exercise over dominant worldviews enables them to maintain their advantage while simultaneously justifying their position. This dynamic is considered by Bottero in her exploration of how and why inequalities within societies are not more widely challenged (Bottero, 2020:57). Within her research investigating disadvantaged communities in the UK, she attributes this partially to what she describes as "symbolic domination", where inequality is shielded behind legitimacy, as dominant members of society are viewed as having earned

their position (Bottero, 2020:58). This is a noteworthy consideration in relation to not only understanding the ability of powerful actors to covertly shape political ideology, but also their ability to renegotiate formal boundaries while also retaining legitimacy, which in turn offers insight into justifications surrounding elite informal practices.

Moreover, it is important to consider the existence of elite support frameworks, or social networks, that exist outside of formal structures and enable the elite to maintain and further their position. The existence and importance of elite social frameworks is widely established. Bourdieu describes different forms of capital that are utilised by individuals to further their position within society, including “social capital”, which refers to individual social networks that can be drawn upon when necessary (Bourdieu, 2010). Within the literature, the development of these connections is often attributed to individuals attending the same prestigious educational institutions (Gray, 2015; Goldthorpe, 2016; Bourdieu, 2010). Concerning this, Lentz (2015) makes a poignant observation in relation to how these institutions both enable the sharing of world views, but also shape and teach them (Lentz, 2015). Ultimately this results in these established views infiltrating wider society as a consequence of the positions that elite individuals subsequently acquire. The impact of these types of educational institutions on the development of a shared ideology among elites is also observed by Ekeh (1975). He describes how the African elite are educated within elite western schools and universities, leading to their adoption of prevalent western world-views and perspectives (Ekeh, 1975). In addition, Domhoff (2012) discusses how the perspectives and behaviours of individuals are altered when they adopt leadership roles, with their views becoming increasingly aligned with their perceived position in a hierarchical power structure (Domhoff, 2012). Thus, the adoption of social support networks among elites that exist outside of formal structures are a key aspect in the shaping of their worldviews, in addition to emphasising the perceived importance for this group of maintaining existing power structures due to the positions that elite actors occupy. Additionally, this also contributes to understandings relating of the shaping of shared elite characteristics, as previously discussed.

Piketty (2014b) identifies the complex and influential role of capital in the perpetuation of inequality and social class. Specifically, Piketty highlights how informal flows of capital are a key aspect in the ability of elite actors to circumvent laws and procedures outlined within formal state systems. This is supported by Armytage’s research who observes informal flows of capital being utilised by the elite through the practice of “favours”, which take the form of exclusive opportunities, such as sharing inside information, obtaining government contracts, selling government land, or selling vital manufacturing items (Armytage, 2015:461). Interconnected with these dynamics an elite entitlement can be observed which is underpinned by privilege, wealth, and influence. This dynamic is identified

by Moatasim (2019) in her research in Pakistan where she observed elite actors drawing on social networks and flows of capital to build homes informally, outside of planning laws and regulations. While this group did receive initial pushback from the government, they were ultimately successful. Subsequently, this then resulted in the government adapting their planning legislation to accommodate the new elite housing development (Moatasim, 2019). Moatasim described this as an example of “entitled urbanism” by elite groups (Moatasim, 2019:1022). Consequently, this interplay between the informal practices of the elite and their perception of entitlement is a valuable observation that correlates with the characteristic of elite confidence, as previously described, and is built upon within this research project. Therefore, this begins to reveal the ability of elite actors to exercise power outside of formal structures through the interconnected categories of political ideology, social networks, and flows of capital. This is a vital consideration within this research project, as it establishes a foundation for understanding dynamics surrounding informality through the lens of the elite exercising power. The academic scholarship presented here is especially valuable in relation to framing the empirical contribution presented in chapter five, but also is relevant to conceptualising elite informality more broadly within this study.

2.4.3 Gray Spaces

Aspects of the conceptualisation of elite informality can be further understood through applying the theoretical lens of “gray spaces [sic]” (Yiftachel, 2015). This is salient because it offers an insight into the ability of elite actors to operate informality. Yiftachel (2015) initially employed the concept of gray spaces, describing how there are spaces that enable the subtle shifting of society, these spaces can therefore be utilised to reshape urban spaces gradually. Within the context of his research in Israel, he discussed how this has resulted in elite actors implementing a process of “creeping apartheid” (Yiftachel, 2015:727). This relates to the elite subtly influencing political ideology and policies, resulting in wider society becoming increasingly hostile to foreigners (Yiftachel, 2015). A correlating conceptualisation of informal spaces, that exist on the periphery but are influential to formal spaces, is communicated by Lund (2006), who describes a “twilight character” within institutions where the government, the market, and social networks interact separately from formal processes. These observations build on the previous work of Mitchell (1991), he discusses the intrinsic difficulty in separating the formal structures of the state, which are often reduced to being “a subjective system of decision makers”, and the influential and relational nature of society (Mitchell, 1991:78). Furthermore, this highlights the importance of interacting with the blurred nature of the “state-society boundary” (Mitchell, 1991:78).

As a result, these past contributions demonstrate a recurring observation of significant spaces that surround formal frameworks. Ultimately these can be difficult to pin down due to blurred and continually shifting boundaries, but that operate separately from formal structures. Within this project, these dynamics are described as ‘informal spaces’ due to their positioning outside of formal frameworks. Accordingly, within this project, the theoretical concept of gray spaces will be applied to gain insight into the role of informal spaces in facilitating and providing opportunities for practices of elite informality. This will occur via investigating the emergence of informal spaces that are identified in the empirical findings and that are presented in chapter six, these incorporates three categories that are described within this study using the following terminology: Established spaces, exceptions, and new precedents. The description and conceptualisation of these categories has been developed through the analysis of evidence that has emerged within this project and through building on observations that have been identified in prior research. The research drawn upon does not use the terminology of informal spaces, however, they are categorised as such within this study as they enable the negotiation and circumventing of formal frameworks by elite actors.

Armytage (2020) captures the existence of established informal spaces in her observations of elite behaviour within Pakistan. She describes how the elite shape “rules, regulations and institutional structures” while simultaneously operating in spaces outside these boundaries, enabling elite actors to continually outperform the rest of society (Armytage, 2020). For example, this is found to occur through key negotiations and decision-making taking place within restricted social networks and away from public scrutiny (Armytage, 2020). Second, regarding the elite cultivating informal spaces of exceptions, Weinstein et al. (2019) in their research on fantasy plans within the context of climate change provision, observe the ability of the elite to gain exceptions to regulations in order to further their own interests, thus, creating spaces in which they can operate where “laws are voluntary suspended” (Weinstein et al., 2019:276). Furthermore, Watson argues that the culture of exceptions that is crucial to the successful implementation of fantasy plans has the potential of weakening and reconfiguring existing governance structures (Watson, 2014:230). Finally, Baker (2010) observes the implementation of new precedents by elite actors that are largely not constrained by existing formal frameworks as they are perceived to be striving towards innovation and adapting to changing global condition. These observations emerge in his interrogation of regulatory capture within global finance governance, and are as a result of the government allowing bank managers excessive freedom in the implementation of new financial practices Baker notes the significant contribution this had to the 2007-2009 financial crisis (Baker, 2010:647). Moreover, he describes how financial regulations and restrictions were eased to enable and encourage “financial innovation” which in reality simply provided space for novel high-risk practices (Baker, 2010:649). In addition, he observed increased

difficulty for regulators to challenge these behaviours due to the positive impact these practices had on elite actors, both in the private and public sector (Baker, 2010:649). These insights relating to the conceptualisation of different forms of elite informal spaces therefore sheds light on the ability of elite actors to negotiate and circumvent formal boundaries. These are therefore built upon, alongside the broader theoretical lens of gray spaces, to provide a theoretical foundation which is particularly valuable in the analysis of the findings presented in chapter six.

2.5 Understanding Power

2.5.1 Conceptualising Power

Power is notoriously complex and has been conceptualised in multiple ways (Clegg and Berti, 2021). Bourdieu describes how the “habitus” of individuals is fundamental in understanding power relations (Bourdieu, 2010). He observes how power relations are impacted by cumulative minute distinctions that distinguish an individual from one social class from another (Bourdieu, 2010). Alternatively, Mann’s concept of power dynamics is rooted in how institutions interact with society (Mann, 1984). He discusses how the power exercised by these institutes stems from the privileged position of the state, which is able to maintain and exercise power due to their protection and control of a territory that individuals consider themselves to be a part (Mann, 1984). Moreover, a prominent and influential perspective of power is that described by Foucault (1982) who challenges the idea that power is something that can be acquired by an individual or institution, but instead theorises power in terms of how individual subjects interact. This is an important observation as it highlights the complex and often two-way dynamic of power relations. In addition, Foucault highlights that power relations are highly impacted by the position individuals holds in societal structures (Foucault, 1982). Significantly, Foucault’s understanding of power highlights the fragile nature and constantly evolving dynamics of power, which he argues is with continuously vulnerable to being challenged by other powerful actors and by wider society (Foucault, 1982).

In their research concerning the relationship between neoliberalism and power Kashwan et al. engage with multiple concepts of power and identify how it can be categorised as “Power Over” or “Power To (by less powerful actors)” (Kashwan et al., 2019:138). This is illustrated in Table 1 below. Furthermore, they highlight the significance and complexities of how the political ideology of neoliberalism interacts with dynamics of power, especially in relation to it being utilised to further the interest of the powerful (Kashwan et al., 2019:134). This distinction and the relationship power has with prevailing political ideology are significant in developing the conceptualisation of power within this study, which focuses

on the ability of certain actors to exercise power over others, and how this is intertwined with informal dynamics relating to the negotiation of political ideology, engagement in social networks, and the utilisation of flows of capital.

TABLE 1: DIFFERENT WAYS POWER IS EXERCISED

Power Over (by more powerful actors)			
	Overt Power: 1st dimension of power	Agenda Power: 2nd dimension of power	Discursive/Ideational Power: 3rd dimension of power
Structural/ institutional Power	Controlling international finance, investments, and geostrategic decisions via multilateral and multinational global financial institutions	Elevating some agendas to public domain, while excluding others in the pursuit of dominant interests	Shaping of preferences and values to pre-empt grievances
Power To (by less powerful actors)			
	Overt Power: 1st dimension of power	Agenda Power: 2nd dimension of power	Discursive Power: 3rd dimension of power
Co-optation	Incentivizing behaviours and outcomes desirable to more powerful actors.	Crafting and popularizing agendas that appeal to multiple constituencies.	Promoting values and discourses germane to the outcomes of interest to dominant actors.
Crafting institutions	Institutional and organizational arrangements that facilitate the participation of previously marginalized constituencies	Promoting the agenda of procedural justice and safeguards intended to control unintended consequences	Supporting discourses and values promoting institutional pluralism, i.e. checks and balances as the central mechanism
Counter-power and Resistance	Mobilizing socially and politically to mount an overt challenge to the status quo	Promoting policy proposals and agendas with the specific goal of countering dominant agendas	Sponsoring other- regarding values and discourses to overcome the barriers of collective action

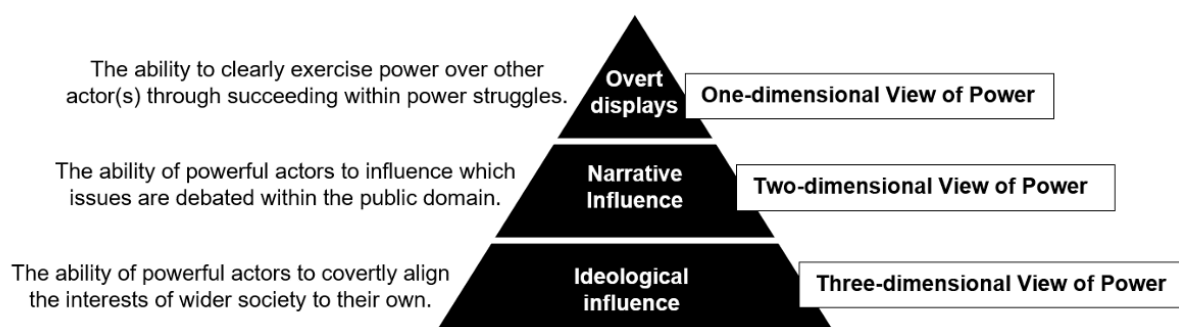
Source: Adapted by author from Kashwan et. al (2019:138)

An addition consideration which is of particular relevance to this study is that how power is exercised within societies is often examined, and therefore conceptualised, within the boundaries of formal

structures (Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014). However, Fox-Rogers and Murphy (2014) observe that this is not always the case. They observe informal activities that enable powerful actors to exercise power within the context of urban planning which in turn provides significant insights that are built upon within this study. Fox-Rogers and Murphy investigate these dynamics within the context of Ireland and identify power being exercised through effective systematic informal practices, described within this study as “a shadow planning system” (Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014:246). Furthermore, they describe how these systems are intrinsic to planning processes, as they are utilised to maintain, wherever possible, the positioning of the existing political and wealth elite (Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014:247). Therefore, this highlights that alongside power being exercised through formal structures, informality also plays a significant role in enabling elite actors to engage with and influence processes of urban development.

Within the context of this research project, in order to disaggregate and identify elite informality and understand how this enables the elite to exercise power over wider society, Lukes’ three dimensional framework of power has been identified as especially salient. This is because this theory has particular strength in bringing clarity to the often hidden or informal nature of power dynamics, positing that “power is at most effective when least observable” (Lukes, 2005:1), an observation reinforced by others (Foucault, 1982:790-791; Clegg and Berti, 2021). Lukes’ identifies three dimensions of power are: 1) Power relations are determined through the outcomes of overt behaviours between individuals, such as visible conflicts of interest (Lukes, 2005:19). 2) Individuals or groups exercise power through monopolising the areas that are considered acceptable to challenge or discuss within society, thus, exerting power over public narratives (Lukes, 2005:24-25). 3) Power is demonstrated in the shaping of political ideology and how the value systems of those that power is being exercised over is manipulated and becomes increasingly aligned with the interests of those who exercise power (Lukes, 2005). Consequently, societies can be transformed and the goals of powerful actors can be achieved without the need to demonstrate overt displays of power (Lukes, 2005). The dimensions of power described here are summarised in the following Figure:

FIGURE 1: LUKE'S FRAMEWORK OF POWER



Source: Adapted from Lukes (Parker 2024)

The manipulation of ideology within societies to support the interests of powerful actors underpins a significant consideration within this study. For example, Clegg and Berti (2021) describe the ability of elite actors to demonstrate greater power within a society when they do not need to exercise it through violence or control. Specifically, they observe “ideological domination” where the priorities and activities of wider societies align with achieving the goals of elites and are perceived as a collective endeavour which is also beneficial to them (Clegg and Berti, 2021:39). Foundational to understanding these dynamics is Gramsci’s concept of “hegemony” (Lukes, 2005:7-9). Hegemony is where the ideas and practices of elite groups infiltrate and become widely accepted within wider society. Wider society is, therefore, encouraged to understand and rationalise the world in a way that is beneficial to those that hold positions of power and influence, enabling the elite to dominate society through it “consenting” to their social position and actions (Femia, 1981:24; Gramsci and Henderson, 1988 [1891-1937]:161). Gramsci argues that this is done through the influence elite groups have on public and private institutions (Femia, 1981:26; Gramsci and Henderson, 1988 [1891-1937]:161). This is a concept which has been widely examined in relation to power exercised by powerful groups within different contexts. For example, Scott (2008) describes it as a type of “persuasive influence” used by elites to exert control. In addition, Simon supports the role of institutions, observing the infiltration of the elite in wider society through the impacting of objectives, priorities, and policies within institutions (Simon, 2018:10), including through mass media, resulting in the normalising of their behaviors (Simon, 2018:29). Furthermore, the concept of hegemony is drawn upon both by Wiegratz and Ekeh within the context of the Global South. Wiegratz draws on the concept in relation to the ruling class advancing neoliberal morality (Wiegratz, 2016). A comparable concept is also discussed by Ekeh in relation to the success of colonial rule within Africa, which he describes as power being exercised through “ideological justification” (Ekeh, 1975:96). Consequently, the contributions examined here

highlight the applicability of what Luke describes as a “third dimension of power” across a variety of cultural contexts. Ultimately, this provides for us a valuable foundation within this study for understanding often opaque dynamics of power that interact with the promotion and moulding of specific political ideology.

2.5.2 Developing a Framework of Power

Lukes’ conceptualisation of power provides a robust foundation to develop a framework that can be employed within the analysis of this project as it clearly identifies categories of power and highlights its often-hidden nature. Furthermore, the utilisation of this framework is supported by findings that have emerged in previous research, situated in the context of real estate development within the UK, Tanzania, and the broader African context. These examples illustrate the interconnectedness of elite actors, informality as described within this project, and the dimensions of power described by Lukes (2005). Regarding ‘overt displays’ of power, in the context of London there is the example of officials lacking the resources to challenge high-end housing extensions, resulting in adverse impacts to the surrounding communities (Atkinson et al., 2017). Moreover, within the context of Dar es Salaam, Sakijegé et al. (2012) observed powerful actors acquiring government planning permission for developments that did not align with formal regulations regarding building alongside a riverbed. Consequently, this resulted in increased flooding for surrounding informal settlements (Sakijegé et al., 2012). In relation to ‘narrative influence’ (Lukes, 2005:24-25) research within both the Tanzanian and UK context have highlighted the ability of powerful actors to negotiate formal planning priorities in relation to the type of housing being built. Predominantly, this occurred as a result of the prioritisation of high-end developments over the construction of affordable housing, which is portrayed as beneficial to urban areas as these developments attract larger amounts of investment (Goodfellow, 2017; Lees, 2014). Concerning ‘ideological influence’ Lukes (2005) describes how powerful actors promote and implement neoliberalism as it enables them to be less restricted by the wider population, despite citizens often being negatively impacted by the implementation of neoliberal policies (Lukes, 2005:10). Neoliberal ideology prioritises the interests of powerful actors within processes of urban development and is widely observed across the cultural settings being investigated within this study, in London (Sayer, 2015; Brill and Raco, 2021), Dar es Salaam (Harrison and Mdee, 2018), and the wider African context (Gillespie, 2020). Therefore, Lukes’ three-dimensional framework is drawn upon as a valuable analytical tool within this study to interrogate underlying power dynamics that emerge in the interaction between elite actors and dynamics of informality.

The application of this framework in the investigation of informal activities by powerful actors within the context of urban development is further supported by the work of Fox-Rogers and Murphy (2014)

and Mupambwa and Zaaiman (2020). Within both of these studies the effectiveness of this framework on identifying and conceptualising dynamics of power and their interaction with informal practices is demonstrated. Furthermore, this study draws on the contributions of Kashwan et al. (2019) which build on and contribute to the framework of power presented by Lukes (see Figure 1). Kashwan et al. (2019), however, focus primarily on how power is exercised by institutions, this study extends their matrix of power dynamics by investigating examples of individuals exercising power over urban development processes.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has delved into a range of salient empirical and theoretical contributions, including observations and debates relating to urban planning, neoliberalism, elite actors, informality, and power. Furthermore, in providing a foundation for the areas investigated this chapter demonstrates the significant interaction elite actors have with the co-opting or claiming of valuable urban land and the construction of ambitious developments. This is brought out through exploring the influence and engagement the elite have with processes of urban development, which fundamentally impacts how urban spaces are shaped, while simultaneously contributing towards the ability of these actors to maintain and further their position within society. In turn this interacts with considerations relating to the role of political ideology, predominantly neoliberalism, and how that correlates with the justification and legitimisation of the prioritisation of powerful interests. In addition, it is illustrated that the ability of elite actors to negotiate these dynamics is interwoven with distinguishing characteristics that are moulded by their economic, social, and cultural positioning within societies. Leading on from the intrinsic relationship elite actors have with the imagining and construction of ambitious real estate developments, this chapter then highlights how these dynamics are linked to practices and spaces of elite actors that are peripheral to formal structures. Thus, research relating to the interaction elite actors have with informality is a key component of the literature studied. Finally, the fundamental consideration of power dynamics in understanding how elite actors informally interact with ambitious real development has been highlighted and discussed.

Accordingly, the empirical contributions that are presented within this study address gaps and build on existing contributions from a variety of angles. This includes contributing to these research fields through conducting cross-cultural analysis which in the previous research and investigation of urban processes has often been contained to specific countries or Global contexts. However, this study intends to challenge this method of investigation through simultaneously drawing on diverse global

contexts to gain a deeper understanding of an urban development process. Furthermore, the conceptualisation of informality has predominantly been developed in the Global South among disadvantaged communities. As a result, this study intends to build on initial investigations into informality being practiced by elite actors within both Global North and Global South contexts. Moreover, the empirical contributions of this project build on emerging literature relating to the conceptualisation and realisation of ambitious developments that have been heavily influenced by the globally influential ideology of neoliberalism. Therefore, this study provides a unique opportunity to interrogate the global dynamics and replications of these types of developments. In particular, how they are interwoven with justifications and value systems promoted by elite actors and underpinned by neoliberalism on national and international levels. Furthermore, a key aspect of this project is to build on emerging research into the conceptualisation of elite informality, this is achieved through presenting empirical findings that address the projects research questions, outlined within chapter one. As a result, the research project has predominantly focused on contributing to knowledge surrounding the role informality has in enabling the elite to exercise power within processes of urban development. This will occur through the projection of globally significant vision, the utilisation of informal spaces, and the ability of this group to navigate informal practices while maintaining legitimacy.

A further significant aspect of this chapter, that contributes to the wider thesis, is the identification of valuable theoretical insights which contribute to the overarching theoretical framework which is employed within this study to support analysis. It is important to note that there are other potential theories that could have been utilised, however, within this chapter theories have been identified that offer significant insights into the empirical contributions that have emerged within this project. Specifically, this includes the theory of speculative urbanism, which provides a lens to understand dynamics underpinning the construction of ambitious development projects, particularly within contexts where the political ideology of neoliberalism is prevalent. Accordingly, this enables insight into how the vision of elite actors interacts with processes of urban development, and critically how this is underpinned by dynamics of elite informality. Connected to this, the theory of moral economy contributes to the theoretical framework as it provides significant insight into how the interaction between elite actors and ambitious developments is impacted by value systems and priorities that are promoted within neoliberalism. Moreover, the theoretical understanding relating to gray spaces was drawn upon, as this theory provides a key foundation to understand how elite actors develop and utilise informal spaces, thus, providing insight into the informal spaces that are identified within this study. The final contribution to this project's theoretical framework is Lukes' three-dimensional framework of power, this has been drawn upon as it enables the interconnected nature of elite

informality and the ability of this group to exercise power to be observed. The suggestion that will be explored is that this occurs through identifying examples of what are described within this study as 'overt displays' of power, 'narrative influence', and 'ideological influence'.

Research Approach

3.1 Introduction

The objective within this project has been to contribute towards a dynamic understanding of elite informal spaces and practices which is informed by, and therefore has relevance to, diverse cultural contexts. Consequently, in designing the methodological approach for this thesis two distinct challenges needed to be navigated. First, in relation to drawing on the diverse contexts of Dar es Salaam and London. Second, with regard to understanding in greater depth the often intentionally hidden or opaque behaviours of the elite, a challenge which was exasperated by powerful actors being notoriously difficult to access for research purposes (Glucksberg, 2016; Gastrow, 2020). The research approach outlined within this chapter, therefore, draws on aspects of methodological approaches that assist in addressing these challenges. Concerning the navigation of diverse global contexts, the research undertaken was informed by methodological approaches that focus on developing theoretical insights through simultaneously engaging with diverse global contexts (Garrido et al., 2020; Robinson, 2021; Ward, 2010). Additionally, regarding investigating the often opaque behaviours of elite actors, this study draws on the approach of past research that has relied on or incorporated periphery techniques that offer insight into these dynamics (Glucksberg, 2016; Gastrow, 2020). Consequently, diverse contexts and a variety of data sources have been brought together and analysed within this study, which has enabled the dynamics investigated to be understood in a multifaced way, from a variety of perspectives.

In pursuing insights into the informal activities of the elite, ambitious examples of urban development have been investigated that centre around the case study contexts of Kigamboni, Dar es Salaam, and The Royal Docks, London. Within each context a variety of sources including official documents, promotional material, media coverage, and interviews, were then utilised to contribute to the construction of richer case study 'pictures'. These specific case studies were chosen because they offered opportunities to explore the dynamics and narratives surrounding powerful actors embarking on large-scale globally significant real estate projects, which had been invested in by both the political and wealth elite. This multi-faceted and cross-cultural approach, therefore, strives towards a clearer and more dynamic understanding of how elite actors negotiate informal spaces and practices within the context of elite engagement with urban development.

3.2 The Research Approach

3.2.1 Epistemological Position

Qualitative methods are drawn upon within this project as they “contribute to description and interpretation of complex phenomena, developing and revising understanding, rather than purely verifying earlier conclusion of theories” (Vaismoradi et al., 2016:100). Thus, this approach resonated with the objective of this study, that centred around gaining a deeper understanding of how the behaviours of elite actors impacted wider society, within the context of specific large-scale urban development projects (Silverman, 2013; Marvasti, 2003). A qualitative approach, therefore, was identified as the most appropriate for exploring the research questions being investigated. In addition, it is important to note that despite the methods and theories that underpin research projects are often considered separately, they remain intrinsically linked (Marvasti, 2003:3). Accordingly, the methods used here are strongly influenced by underpinning epistemological understandings. Within this project I lean towards a constructionist, as opposed to a positivist, perception of knowledge production (Marvasti, 2003:7). Consequently, a universally applicable understanding of reality is not strived towards. Instead, the objective within this research is to understand in greater depth a phenomenon in specific situational and cultural contexts by identifying and making sense of themes that emerge within the data collected while also recognising that these observations are subjective and influenced by my own experience (Marvasti, 2003:4-5). Therefore, the epistemological position within this research project is that only a partial understanding of a phenomenon can ever be comprehended, as it is impacted by the positionality and behaviour of the researcher during the research process, in addition to the research being focused on a limited sample sizes, in specific environments (Rose, 1997:311). Yet, by building on past research and working reflectivity, there is an understanding within this project that the accumulation of qualitative research contributes to a greater understanding of wider social groups and comparable phenomena (Summers, 2020:598). This expectation within qualitative research is supported by Silverman (2013), who argues that the quality of qualitative research is linked to its ability to offer insight into the construction of social theories, which in turn provides the opportunity to reveal something new about the everyday workings of societies (Silverman, 2013).

Furthermore, inherent within this study is a perceived injustice regarding the urban development processes investigated and the power dynamics observed. Specifically, there is injustice concerning aspects of these structures and how they not only disproportionately benefit elite actors, but also, actively disadvantage wider society, especially the most vulnerable (Oates et al., 2020; Izar and Mtwangi Limbumba, 2020). The adoption of an underpinning value judgment that is attributed to the

existence of unjust power dynamics correlates with a “critical social science” research perspective (Neuman, 2013, pp.110-111). A critical approach to investigating how political and economic spheres interact also connects to the theoretical underpinning within this study of the political economy, which highlights the implication of elite actors navigating these foundational aspects of society in such a way that is biased towards furthering their own interests (Fox-Rogers and Murphy, 2014). Yet, this approach is potentially problematic, as it results in the interests of elite actors not being prioritised and could potentially result in negative implications for this group (Summers, 2020, pp.599-600; Becker and Aiello, 2013). Consequently, a tension is evident regarding the importance of prioritising the best interests of participants and their associated social group (Summers, 2020; RESPECTproject, 2004). Consequently, this presents an ethical consideration that is considered more fully in the later ethics section within this chapter.

3.2.2 A Multi-case Inductive Approach

An inductive approach has been chosen for this project, this deviates from a deductive approach, as the intention within this study has not been to prove an existing hypothesis but to instead allow understandings surrounding the dynamics investigated to emerge from the data (Thomas, 2006). Moreover, this allows for flexibility in data collection and the addressing of complex research questions, such as those being investigated (Liu, 2016; Thomas, 2006). Another aspect of an inductive approach that is salient to this study is that it enables clear connections to be identified between the research questions and the data, in addition to supporting the development of theoretical concepts (Liu, 2016; Thomas, 2006). Despite the flexibility of an inductive approach, a clear and logical process needs to be followed to enable rigorous analysis and the generation of robust findings. The criteria of this approach are outlined in the following table (Table 2), which was constructed by Liu (2016:130) and draws on the work of Thomas (2006).

TABLE 2: FEATURES OF A GENERIC INDUCTIVE APPROACH

Question Sample	Descriptive, process, interpretive: what are the core meanings evident in the text, relevant to research aims.
Sample	Purposeful; may be either contingent or a priori; criteria may be demographic.
Research process	Inductive and usually cyclical moving back and forth among questions, data gathering, and data analysis.
Data analysis	Focus on themes and interpretation comparing cases to each other.
Memos of analysis	Memoing is critical and memos may be of many types.
Criteria for ending data collection	Added data yield little new information or insight.
Design	Develops and becomes increasingly focused during the research process. Goal is interpretation of rich data.
Presentation of findings	Description of most important themes.
Generalisability	Theoretical or cross-population generalisability to like cases.

Source: Liu (2016:130)

Alongside an inductive approach, multiple case studies will also be drawn upon within this project. The compatibility of these approaches is supported by Liu (2016) and observed within other studies. For example, a combination of these approaches were employed to investigate the relationship between informality and corruption within the diverse cultural contexts of Mexico, Russia, and Tanzania (Baez-Camargo and Ledeneva, 2017). Hence, valuable insights relating to theoretical considerations and research methods are drawn from this study that inform the approach adopted within this project. The case study approach will also be employed, which refers to an in-depth investigation of an entity, event, or individual, which provides the opportunity to examine in greater depth a phenomenon that is being investigated (Gerring, 2016). One or more case studies can be utilised, with multiple cases providing the opportunity to consider a research area from a variety of angles (Yin, 2018; Gerring, 2016). The utilisation of case studies is a popular research technique employed in qualitative and quantitative research projects, as it also allows flexibility within the research process (Yin, 2018). Therefore, it complements an inductive approach and has provided a structure within the research design that has enabled a deeper understanding of how the elite engage with informality across different cultural contexts. Furthermore, an important aspect of adopting this approach was that the project satisfied key conditions for case study analysis. This included investigating “how” and “why” questions, the researcher having limited or no control over the

research context, and the research focusing on a contemporary phenomenon (Yin, 2018:33). Another aspect of a case study approach, which aligns well with the research questions, is that it offers “the opportunity to shed light on some theoretical concepts and principles” (Yin, 2018:80). Thus, this approach aligns with the objective within this study, which involves simultaneously drawing on diverse cases to develop and refine the concept of elite informality.

Multiple case studies were used, and consequently, there is the added complexity of identifying two or more appropriate cases that effectively address the research questions. Yin (2018) discusses how the selection of case studies in a multi-case approach should be through a lens of repetition. He discusses how each case should be chosen on the grounds of supporting a theory or illustrating a phenomenon and that this can effectively be achieved through utilising both contrasting cases studies or those that are contextually similar (Yin, 2018:100-101). This resonates with the cases selected for this study, as they have been chosen to develop theoretical understandings relating to informality through the investigation of a repeated phenomenon that is observable in diverse contexts. In this manner, through the adoption of multiple cases, the opportunity to examine the diversity of the concept of elite informality is made possible (Gerring, 2016). Another example of this is the previously described studies conducted by Baez-Camargo and Ledeneva (2017) and Hilbrandt et al. (2017), that also illustrates the effectiveness of drawing on multiple case studies situated in diverse contexts. Hilbrandt et al. observe this through investigating dynamics within Tallinn, Bafata, and Berlin and their study effectively illustrates the development of theoretical understandings surrounding the relational aspect of informality through drawing of multiple case studies (Hilbrandt et al., 2017). In consequence, the combination of a multi-case study and inductive approach has offered a valuable platform within this study on which to build upon, with regards to influencing the projects design, implementation, and analysis.

3.2.3 A Cross-Cultural Dialogue

Drawing on different cultural contexts is a central component of this study and is an approach that is becoming increasingly prominent (McFarlane, 2012; Robinson, 2021; Gastrow, 2020). As researchers are grappling with how best to understand a rapidly changing world that is becoming increasingly connected through processes of globalisation, particularly within the context of cities (Robinson, 2021:96; Ward, 2010:479-480; WinklerPrins, 2017:1). This has led to a rising interest in urban comparative approaches, which historically, have been considered problematic due to the complex nature of cities (Hilbrandt et al., 2017:947) and have primarily focused on the similarities and differences of contextually alike cases (Ward, 2010; Robinson, 2016:5). As a result, approaches such as “comparative urbanism” have emerged, which draw on diverse contexts to develop globally

applicable theoretical concepts, instead of imposing established theories (Robinson, 2016; Robinson, 2021; Ward, 2010:480). The intention is, therefore, to develop more dynamic concepts that resonate with the diverse, complex, and continual change of urban environments (Robinson, 2021:98). Therefore, within comparative urbanism, examples of repeated urban phenomena observed within diverse urban contexts are brought together, and their differences and similarities are compared to gain insights and contribute to the construction of theories that have greater global relevance (Robinson, 2021:97). Moreover, this approach resonates with wider decolonising initiatives regarding the construction of knowledge, which challenge traditional forms of knowledge production that have been heavily influenced by global divides and unequal societal power dynamics (Collins, 2008; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012; Keikelame and Swartz, 2019). Increasingly researchers are, therefore, striving towards a less Eurocentric approach (Cooper and Morrell, 2014; Van Wolputte, 2016), which involves dismantling established power dynamics (Chilisa and Denborough, 2019; Keikelame and Swartz, 2019; Thiong'o, 1986). Hence, comparative urbanism seeks to contribute to this through the reconstruction of theoretical concepts (Robinson, 2016). Aspects of this methodology deeply resonate with motivations that underpin this study, particularly with regard to drawing on diverse global contexts in pursuing knowledge production and the shaping of understandings.

The approach adopted within this study, however, deviates from aspects of the comparative urbanism approach, and is primarily influenced by Garrido et al. (2020) who make a compelling observation regarding there being two dangers in constructing social theory across different global contexts. First, when concepts are applied universally without consideration of contextual differences and, thus, varied applicability (Garrido et al., 2020:7). Second, a distinct selection of concepts are developed for each context that does not offer insight into often comparable social phenomena across global environments (Garrido et al., 2020:7). Hence, they advocate for critically examining and developing social concepts that can travel across international boundaries while appreciating the differences within and between these contexts (Garrido et al., 2020:7). The value of investigating how well-established concepts travel across contexts has been explored by each of these authors, with regards to segregation (Garrido, 2021), eviction (Weinstein, 2021), and gentrification (Valle, 2021). This study therefore deviates from the construction of novel theorisation as advocated in a comparative urbanism approach (Robinson, 2021:98) and instead focuses on developing the existing theory of informality and its applicability to the behaviours of elite actors across different global contexts, as described by Garrido et al. (2020).

The case studies chosen therefore offer examples of a comparable urban phenomenon, however, the differences and similarities between the cases is not the focus within this study. Instead, the intention is to place these global diverse examples in juxtaposition and draw on them simultaneously to shape

the theoretical concept of elite informality. In addition, to enabling a dialogue to be established, which provokes a fresh perspective of how elite actors operate (Ward, 2010). In particular, regarding how comparable elite behaviours are described and justified within the two contexts investigated and how this contributes towards a dynamic understanding of the concept of elite informality that travels across different global contexts and provides insight into the ability of this group to exercise power.

3.3 Stages of Data Collection

The case studies were investigated separately to establish a comprehensive understanding of the relevant surrounding narratives. This has been achieved through drawing on a variety of data sources to assemble a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics and narratives surrounding each case study. This approach draws on techniques employed by others when researching the behaviours of the elite, which have relied on or incorporated periphery techniques to gain insights. For example, in her study on elite housing patterns within London, Glucksberg primarily interviewed those in contact with or surrounding this group, as opposed to those who would be classified as elites (Glucksberg, 2016:241). Likewise, Gastrow's research into how government actors demonstrated power within Angola strongly relied on state newspaper articles, reinforced by interviews and legislation (Gastrow, 2020:368). As a result, periphery data has been drawn upon within this project to investigate the outlined research questions. This has taken the form of a layered approach, which has been applied to gain insights from various sources within the context of two distinct case studies of Kigamboni and the Royal Docks. For example, aspects of official documents such as city master plans and planning documents provided the opportunity to understand formal procedures and narratives relating to the ambitious developments, media analysis contributed through revealing insight into key elite actors and their interactions. Interviews then offered the opportunity to triangulate observations that had emerged in the official documents and media coverage, in addition to offering a variety of perspectives on the dynamics and incentives underpinning the developments investigated. This bringing together of multiple data source to understand a complex phenomenon is widely observed in research investigating aspects of political ecology. For example Roast et al. (2022) describe a methodological approach which brings together data that enables researches to think across "subdisciplines, scales, and locales" which offer varied insights into understanding processes of displacement (Roast et al., 2022:632).

Throughout the stages of data collection, each case study was analysed using the process described in the next section, prior to them being brought into dialogue with one another. This approach is

advanced by Yin (2018), who advocates for a clear understanding of each case to be established before bringing them into dialogue with one another, and in turn, supporting later analysis in relation to identifying the similarities and differences that emerge between cases (Yin, 2018:105). A consistent time frame of the previous 20 years has also been applied throughout the data collection effort. This timeframe has been chosen for two reasons; first, it provides the opportunity to map the whole lifespan of the real estate projects being examined, including prior influences that have contributed to their conception. Second, it coincides with significant political shifts that provide insight into their construction, with the adoption and implementation of neoliberal ideology becoming increasingly prominent on a global scale in the 1990s due to its promotion by key political forces including the UK and the USA (Sassen, 1994). Thus, the official documents, promotional material, and media coverage data examined included relevant material written in English within this timeframe. When targeting interviewees, it was also ensured that they had relevant experience applicable to this period.

3.3.1 Stage One - Official Documents and Promotional Material

Official documents and promotional material were the first data sets collected and analysed, these initially included city and regional master plans, planning legislation, planning documents, and promotional material for the developments. The intention was to enable an initial understanding of relevant documents relating to urban planning, policies, and laws to be established, in addition to exploring narratives presented in the promotion of the projects. These documents were predominantly identified through searching through publicly available documents on government, council, and development project websites. Table 3 outlines documents that were initially identified and collected.

TABLE 3: INITIAL LIST OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL

Kigamboni district	The Royal Docks district
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dar es Salaam city master plans (2011, 2016) • Kigamboni New City Master Plan Main Report (2010) • Urban planning act Tanzania (2007 and recent additions, 2018) • Promotional material for Kigamboni Satellite City, Avic Town, and Dege Eco Village. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London city master plans (2011, 2016, 2021) • Newham Local plan (2018) • Planning act UK (2008 and recent additions, 2016, 2017) • Promotional material for The Royal Albert Dock Business Hub.

These documents were effective in highlighting the priorities and ideologies promoted within formal urban planning and relevant promotional material. This was valuable regarding understanding wider city initiatives and the specific initiatives, priorities, and vision for Kigamboni and The Royal Docks. Urban planning regulations and laws also provided insight into expectations concerning the formal processes surrounding urban development in these contexts. However, it became apparent that additional official documents could further enhance this stage of data collection. These included Freedom of Information (FOI) requests, related legal cases, research reports, and London Assembly audit panel transcripts. Thus, Table 4 summarises the types of documents that were collected and analysed as part of this data collection stage.

TABLE 4: COLLECTION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL

Case Study	Number of Documents	Types of Documents
Kigamboni	11	Planning documents, policy documents, development promotional material, government vision documents, and research reports.
The Royal Docks	75	Planning documents, policy documents, development promotional material, Newham council vision documents, FOI requests, legal documents, government press releases, and audit panel transcripts.
Total	86	

This was a crucial stage of data collection because it provided a foundation that could be built upon in the subsequent stages through revealing a fuller understanding of formal priorities, plans, processes, and vision within each context. Therefore, because of this it was possible to distinguish key contributions to the identification and comprehension of narratives surrounding the negotiation of informal spaces and practices in real estate development by elite actors.

However, this stage was less contained than I had envisioned in the onset of this project, as it emerged within later stages of data collection that there were other examples of official documents that could

provide significant insight, which had not initially been considered. Therefore, throughout the research process this was a stage that it was necessary to revisit. Documents that were incorporated later in the data collection process are indicated in bold within Table 4. An example of this, within the context of The Royal Docks case study, was the later inclusion of the audit panel transcripts that recorded the London Assembly, a government agency, investigating the RAD Business Hub development. This data source was discovered as a result of a reference that emerged within a newspaper article. These publicly available transcripts proved to be an extremely valuable data source within this research project, particularly with regards to offering insight into wider dynamics surrounding the case study and revealing practices of elite informality, aspects of which were interrogated within these meetings. Consequently, for this document, and others, to be incorporated within this data set, there was a need for flexibility during data collection. Balancing flexibility while also clearly documenting and justifying decisions made during the research process has been an important learning curve for me within this project and has been greatly supported through utilising a research journal.

3.3.2 Stage Two - Media Coverage

Media coverage, primarily newspaper articles, was the second data set collected and presented a rich source of information. It allowed the tracing of event timelines, interactions, and highlighted both narratives and contradictions in narratives that were relevant to each case study. Accordingly, the collection of media coverage provided a subsequent layering of data, which built on findings relating to the priorities, plans, processes, and vision outlined within the relevant official documents and promotional material. Media coverage was employed within this project as it provided specific insight into the phenomena investigated, in addition to revealing aspects of the “bigger picture” (Gastrow, 2020). While limitations exist concerning the analysis of media coverage, such as reporter bias and political influence (Elmer and Denning, 2016; Tejkalová et al., 2017), a critical investigation of this coverage still provides opportunities – showing a variety of perspectives, including critical voices and opinions of relevant, powerful actors who had been interviewed by journalists and whose views may otherwise have been difficult to access. The analysis of media coverage was particularly valuable within the Tanzanian context, as there was a significant shift with regard to newspapers having greater freedom to report on aspects of ‘corrupt’ practices by powerful actors. This was instigated due to a central aspect of John Magufuli’s presidential election campaign being to fight corruption at the highest levels, which involved the identification and stopping of corrupt practices (TheCitizen, 2019; TheCitizen, 2015; TheCitizen, 2020). Media coverage also provided the opportunity to ascertain a

more comprehensive understanding of the context in which each case study was situated, such as establishing timelines and constructing maps of who and how different powerful actors engaged with and influenced real estate development processes. The research approach of drawing on media coverage to identify how powerful actors influence urban development is a method employed by Gastrow (2020). Through this research approach Gastrow investigated state capacity and the behaviour of the political elite in relation to governance and urban planning in the African city of Luanda in Angola (Gastrow 2020). Hence, the insights that emerged in her research were gained primarily through exploring narratives and discourses surrounding urban development that she pieced together through analysing state newspaper articles (Gastrow, 2020).

When selecting newspaper articles, it was necessary to have clear search criteria to identify which articles were relevant to the research project. Hence, different search criteria were experimented with to identify the most effective generation of results that gave insight into the following aspects of the case studies being investigated:

1. Powerful actors and stakeholders involved in processes surrounding globally significant real estate development.
2. Discourses, narratives, contradictions, and timelines that emerge in these areas more broadly and within and around the ambitious projects that have been identified.
3. Ideologies, justifications, behaviours, and power relations that emerge and how they were connected to official positions.
4. Insights into how powerful actors negotiate informal spaces and practices.

The media articles were collected using the Nexis database, which provided access to an extensive archive of newspaper articles dating back over 40 years, including articles published within Tanzania and the UK (<https://advance.lexis.com/bisnexishome>). Through experimenting with the search function on the Nexis database, Table 5 gives details of the search boundaries that were decided upon. These were chosen as they appeared to generate the highest number of relevant articles. The boundaries of these searches included only newspaper articles in English from the past 20 years. After the initial results were generated, each article was considered to determine if it satisfied one or more of the criteria listed above, this information is detailed in Table 5. The articles that were identified as relevant were then incorporated within the analysis process. In addition to the collection of newspaper articles, during the interview stage of this process, a short Channel 4 documentary was also identified that had direct relevance to the behaviour of powerful actors within the context of The Royal Docks case study. Therefore, a transcript from this documentary was also incorporated into the data set.

TABLE 5: MEDIA SEARCH CRITERIA AND RESULTS

Search	Case Study	Search Filters applied on Nexis			Initial Results	Relevant Results
		Key words	Exclude	Industry		
1	Kigamboni	“Development” AND “Kigamboni”	“Satellite city” (to avoid repetition)	Real estate (to narrow results)	170	77
2	Kigamboni	“Kigamboni” AND “Satellite City”		Not specified	42	28
				Kigamboni Total	212	105
1	The Royal Docks	“Business hub” AND “Royal Docks” AND “London”		Not specified	30	22
3	The Royal Docks	“London” AND “Royal docks” AND “Development” AND “Real estate”	“Hub” (to avoid repetition)	Not specified	234	157
4	The Royal Docks	Channel 4 documentary			1	1
			The Royal Docks Total		264	180
			Overall Total		476	285

Media coverage has been a vital component in shaping the empirical contributions presented in this study as it has detailed events, ideologies, and varied perspectives, including those of elite actors. However, while completing this stage of data collection there were challenging aspects, particularly

in relation to identifying which articles should be included within the data set as this stage of data collection, which was undertaken prior to the fieldwork. This again resulted in a need for flexibility, as subsequently in the research process I realised that there were relevant articles that had been generated within the search criteria but that I had initially discarded. This was a result of conversations that took place during the interview processes and greater clarity in my own understanding of dynamics surround the developments. An example of this, with regards to the Kigamboni case study, was the later incorporation of media articles relating to the construction of the Nyerere bridge, as although this was not a development that was being focused on within this project there were several articles in the search results that discussed the construction of the bridge. These articles offered further insight into the funding practices surrounding the Dege Eco village development, as they were both partially funded by the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). In addition, this demonstrates a recurring theme that emerged within the context of this project, relating to the need to approach the collection of data from various and sometimes unexpected angles, as a result of the elite practices investigated often being complex, interconnected, and intentionally concealed.

3.3.3 Stage Three – Interviews

The interview data for this research project was collect through conducting in-person and on-line meetings, the remote interviews relied on video-conference software such as Skype and Microsoft Teams. The in-person interviews took place during fieldwork visits with the pattern for these visits differing across the two case study contexts. In relation to London I conducted 5 separate fieldwork visits, these ranged from periods of two to four days and took place between August 2022 and January 2023. However, in regard to Dar es Salaam I visited once for a longer period of 2 weeks in March 2023.

The collection of interview data within this project enabled the triangulation of findings that emerged within the official documents, promotional material, and media coverage, while also contributing fresh revelations. Two interview formats were employed, these included semi-structured interviews that incorporated pre-determined interview questions and fieldwork discussions that were less structured. In both interactions, those involved were made aware that the information being collected was for a research project, the project was explained, and the resulting conversation was relevant to the topics set out within this project. Semi-structured interviews were employed because the specific questions facilitated discussions relevant to the topics being explored within the research questions, while also providing the opportunity for participants to contribute insights that they considered relevant but did not necessarily fall within the boundaries of the questions asked (Bryman, 2016:466). These were then supported by fieldwork discussions, where individuals offered less structured insights into the topics under investigation.

To select interviewees, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were drawn upon (Gill, 2020). Purposive sampling meant that interviewees could be targeted and aligned broadly with categories that were relevant to both case studies and the research questions investigated. Initial interactions led to further connections, which were then pursued in-line with snowball sampling (Gill, 2020). However, it was ensured throughout the process that these connections remained within the categories initially identified (Gill, 2020). Within these categories, actors and stakeholders at different levels of society were targeted, who were involved, had been impacted by, or had observed the processes of real estate development being investigated within the outlined case studies. This involved approaching individuals who had been identified within official documents, such as relevant council employees or government officials, individuals who had been impacted by or had observed development processes within the surrounding area, such as business owners or members of the surrounding community. In addition, individuals who were identified within the media analysis and promotional material, such as journalists, developers, and real estate vendors, were also approached. From the initial investigation into the case studies, including promotional material, limited newspaper articles, and visiting The Royal Docks district, examples of potential interview participants that could be approached were identified, these are outlined in Table 6. Connections were made with interviewees using a variety of mechanisms, for example, links between partner academics and organisations that are involved in the WRDTP network that I am situated. Contact was also made with interview participants through e-mailing and phoning individuals using publicly available information such as promotional material and records of council employees, in addition to utilising online information for relevant businesses and institutions. Likewise, those who agreed to participate in the project also connected me with other potential interviewees. The target to interview a minimum of 20 people within each context, with a combined minimum of 40 interviews, was met within the project. This approach draws on the research conducted by Glucksberg (2016), regarding the practices of foreign elites who invested in London real estate by interviewing a range of connected actors. Consequently, she gained a deeper understanding of the behaviours of powerful actors who were notoriously difficult to access (Glucksberg, 2016). Another advantage of having conversations with those connected to the practices of the elite, as opposed to speaking directly with them, is that powerful actors have a reputation of negotiating or dictating research findings in order to distract from their own practices, thus, limiting the potential insights gained from these encounters (Becker and Aiello, 2013:64).

TABLE 6: POTENTIAL INTERVIEWEES AND CATEGORIES

Interviewee Categories and Codes	Kigamboni District	Royal Docks District
Development employees (DE), and development specialists (S).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avic Town Promotional team (contact information given in promotional brochure) • Avic Town and Elsewedy Industrial Complex Developers (or representatives). • Solicitors involved in planning disputes and applications. • Financial and project specialists. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RAD marketing suite employees, manager has said an interview would be possible. • Representative of Chinese development company (Advanced Business Parks). • Solicitors involved in planning disputes and applications. • Financial and project specialists.
Government Officials (GO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dar es Salaam government planning commission officials. • Kigamboni municipal council leaders Officials within urban planning and land management department. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newham council planning department employees, Newham council leaders. • Greater London Authority land planning officials (who have been relocated next to the Royal Victoria Docks).
Journalists (J)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identified in media analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identified in media analysis
Academics (A)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mzumbe University • Ardi University • Dar es Salaam University • Researchers with a focus on Kigamboni 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University of East London campus. • UCL • Researchers with a focus on The Royal Albert Docks.
Local community members (CM), Local community Leaders (CL), and NGO (NGO)s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surrounding residents and landowners • Surrounding institution and business employees. • Individuals who have Invested in the area. • Hakiardhi • Community centre employees. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local business owners/employees • Community centres and libraries. • Just Fair. • Amnesty International. • Community centres and libraries.

Estate Agents (EA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Estate agents that operate within the area. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Estate agents involved in RAD development – Savills, Cushman and Wakefield, and Glenny. Estate agents that operate within the area.
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When conducting fieldwork, only some of those that were approached could be accessed, this was a particularly time-consuming aspect of the research as I attempted to make contact, multiple times, with approximately 58 individuals which spanned these different categories through e-mails, phone calls, social media platforms, and visiting places of work such as council offices. A particularly difficult category to access, despite repeated attempts, were real estate agents involved in the promotion of these developments, eventually I did receive some responses to confirm that they did not wish to be part of the study. At the same time, there were individuals incorporated within the study, who fit within the relevant categories, but had not been considered in the initial planning stages. These individuals were accessed in a variety of ways, including through site visits, participating in community events, and through connections with other interviewees. Consequently, individuals from each group being considered were represented in the interview data collected, with the exception of real estate agents. However, perspectives of real estate agents were analysed within promotional documents and media coverage. Below, Table 7 outlines the interview data collected within each case study.

TABLE 7: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW DATA

Case Study	Interview Category	No. of Interviews	Assigned Groups
Kigamboni	Semi-structured interviews	8	<p>Academics (A1TZ and A2TZ)</p> <p>Journalists (J1TZ and J2TZ)</p> <p>Specialist (S1/GO2TZ – Tanzania Investment centre)</p> <p>Government Officials (GO1TZ -Kigamboni Municipal Council, GO4TZ -National Housing Corporation, GO6TZ -Planning Department)</p>
Kigamboni	Fieldwork discussions	12	<p>Community Members (CM1TZ, CM2TZ, CM3TZ, CM4TZ, CM5TZ, CM6TZ, and CM7TZ)</p> <p>Community Leaders (CL1TZ and CL2TZ)</p>

			Government Officials (GO3TZ -Planning Department) Specialist (S2/GO5TZ – Project Design in Government) Development Employee (DE1TZ)
Kigamboni Total		20	
London	Semi-structured interviews	11	Academic (A1UK) Journalists (J1UK and J2UK) Community Leader (CL2UK) Specialists (S1UK – Civil Servant working in Policy Design, S2UK – Planning solicitor) Development Employee (DE6UK) Government Officials (GO3UK - Newham Planning Department) Community Members (CM1UK and CM2UK) NGO employee (NGO1UK)
London	Fieldwork discussions	15	Development Employees (DE1UK, DE2UK, DE3UK, DE4UK, and DE5UK) Government Official (GO1UK – Planning Department and GO2UK – Newham Council) Community Members (CM4UK, CM3UK, CM5UK, CM6UK, CM7UK and CM8UK) Community Leader (CL1UK) NGO Employee (NGO2UK)
The Royal Docks Total		26	
Overall Total		46	

In order to facilitate both the triangulation of previous data sets and additional insights, the interview questions outlined below were constructed to address the research questions and to investigate

further salient topics that had already emerged. As a result of these considerations, the following questions were explored in the semi-structured interviews:

1. How would you describe the vision and challenges for real estate development within this area?
2. Who are the main people or groups involved in shaping real estate development?
3. How do these people or groups engage with and influence real estate development?
4. What priorities and justifications do this group have?
5. What is the story surrounding the ambitious Royal Albert Dock Development/ Kigamboni Satellite City and Avic Town Developments?

These questions facilitated a valuable starting point for interviewees to discuss dynamics surrounding these developments, when answering these questions aspects of elite informality, as described within this study, emerged. When examples of these were discussed by participants I often asked them to explain what they meant in greater detail, this was not a surprise for the interviewee as the interview participation sheet that I shared at the beginning or prior to the interview contained information about the broad objectives within the research project, regarding understanding different ways that elite actors engage with, influence, and justify these types of real estate projects (see Appendix 2).

Data collection through semi-structured interviews and fieldwork discussions was another valuable stage of data collection, as it provided further context and clarity to findings that emerged in the official documents, promotional material, and media coverage. Thus, this enabled connections to be made and for triangulation to occur within and between the different sources, thus, enabling the validity of the research findings to be strengthened (Bryman, 2016). However, while completing this stage of data collection there were a variety of challenges that needed to be navigated. Primarily, it became apparent that the original intention within this project, to collect all interview data using a semi-structured approach, was not always appropriate when conducting research in the field. Therefore, I made the decision to diversify my approach to interviews, while also incorporating ethical consideration that I had outlined within this project's ethical review. Consequently, interview data was also collected by means of informal conversations, in which I made clear to the participant that I was gathering information for a research project. This approach was also more appropriate within the Tanzanian context, where interviewees were much more comfortable with giving verbal consent compared to written consent, where they were required to sign a form. Accordingly, confirmation of either verbal or written consent, alongside any requests from participants relating to future correspondence, was recorded and has been stored securely.

There were also specific challenges that emerged in relation to each case study. With regards to The Royal Docks, access to interview participants was challenging, and required a combination of approaches, including repeated attempts at e-mail and phone contact which was only successful in a small number of cases. Drawing on my personal social networks, predominantly through family, friend, and church connections. In addition to engaging in conversations while visiting the case study site, and surrounding community groups. An example where this provided a significant opportunity was meeting former council employees when visiting a community group based in a local library. Furthermore, a significant experience that informed my perception of dynamics surrounding the data I collected was the atmosphere when visiting the RAD Business Hub. Those working at the development claimed to have no knowledge of what was happening regarding the development, this was also accompanied by hostility when visiting the site. Examples of this included being asked to leave the development when the site manager observed me being shown around the development by a receptionist. Another hostile encounter took place when I revisited the site and asked to speak to the site manager, although he did agree to speak to me, he brought a security guard to accompany him and shared very little information. Thus, there was a strong sense on both visits to the development that secrecy needed to be maintained.

With regards to the Kigamboni case study, interview access was significantly assisted by the support of a government official, who was a contact of my supervisor. He drew on his contacts to arrange meetings, in addition to navigating me through cultural expectations regarding interactions with employees in different government agencies. I was also able to gain contact with interviewees through church meetings, postdoctoral contacts, and interactions with people who lived in or had connections to the Kigamboni district. A dynamic that was particularly interesting regarding data collection within this context was my own realisation that the perception of many Tanzanians, particularly in relation to their opinion of the previous President, John Magufuli, was significantly different from my own perception that had been informed predominantly by journal articles and UK media coverage.

3.3.4 Stage Four – Case Studies Brought into Juxtaposition.

The final stage of the research process involved bringing the individual case studies into juxtaposition. This took place after each case study had been analysed and a comprehensive understanding had been established within each context, as recommended by Yin (2018). Therefore, considering the case studies in juxtaposition enabled a more dynamic understanding of informal spaces and practices to emerge. This was due to the unique contexts offering valuable perspectives concerning different and similar practices of informality to be identified and fresh insights into the research questions to surface. This stage of analysis has been vital within this project as it has contributed to the shaping

and understanding of the concept of informality when applied to elite actors. For example, with regards to how comparable practices have distinct narratives, language, and justifications within each context. In addition to this it was also possible through the data collected to assess the relevance and insights that this concept offers when it travels across different global contexts (Garrido et al., 2020). However, drawing on different data sources that have been collected within diverse cultural contexts also generates significant challenges. These tensions are described by Silverman (2013) who highlights the potential difficulties in drawing on a variety of data sets, as they are intended to communicate to different audiences and contexts. To compensate for this valuable observation within this project a setting the scene chapter is included, thus, providing a contextualisation and framing of the individual case studies. Moreover, this chapter provides the opportunity for a detailed 'picture' of each case study to be presented, through drawing on relevant literature and the data collected, hence, establishing a foundation that underpins the findings presented in the empirical chapters.

3.4 Analysis

It is vital to have a consistent and rigorous analysis process within qualitative research (Nowell et al., 2017). This section will, therefore, describe the analysis techniques drawn upon within this project's research process. These were applied at each stage of data collection and contributed to the building of themes, which was achieved by layering findings that emerged within each context. These techniques were then subsequently applied in stage four when the case studies were put in juxtaposition and brought together into conversation. The analysis within this project consisted of two elements, first, a thematic analysis that followed the structure described by Vaismoradi et al. (2016) and second, analysis of the data through the lens of Lukes' three-dimensional framework of power (Lukes, 2005). Furthermore, throughout analysis, attention has been paid to the triangulation of data, which has been central to the development of robust themes, this has taken place at each stage of analysis, including within data sets, between data sets, and across the two case studies. Silverman (2013) promotes the importance of triangulating data within qualitative research, as it effectively supports the validity of the research findings (Silverman, 2013:288-289). Nvivo software was also utilised during analysis, as it enabled the data collected to be effectively organised, in addition to supporting a systematic coding of the data, which is an integral aspect of conducting a thematic analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2016:100-101).

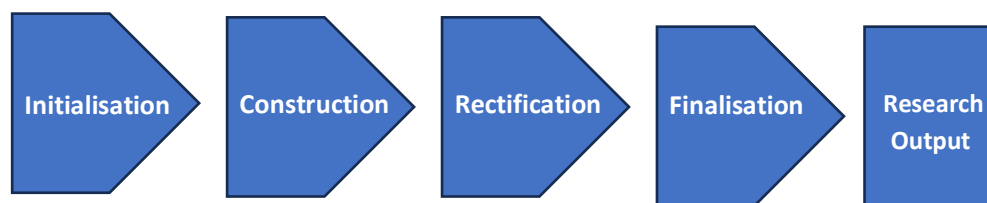
3.4.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis has enabled similarities and differences to be observed within the data while also providing the opportunity to uncover unanticipated insights (Nowell et al., 2017:2). Accordingly, this approach has involved systematically coding of qualitative data sets in order to establish a clearer understanding of dynamics, narratives, and discourses. These initial codes were then used to identify overarching themes which offered insights into the research questions investigated (Nowell et al., 2017; Clarke and Braun, 2016). Nowell et al. (2017) stress the importance of conducting thematic analysis rigorously and systematically within the context of a clear epistemological framework, as this retains the validity of the approach (Nowell et al., 2017). As this project employs an inductive approach, codes have been identified throughout the process of data analysis, as opposed to being predetermined (Clarke and Braun, 2016). Nowell et al. (2017, p.3) also discuss the importance of documenting thought processes, therefore, a research journal has been utilised throughout this project. This involved making comprehensive notes throughout the data collection stage where I documented interactions and experiences while conducting field work, which informed my perception of dynamics surrounding the developments. Additionally, I documented decision-making and ideas throughout the analysis stages of the research process, this began to take place during data collection and then during more in-depth analysis once the data had been collected. The use of a research journal has been extremely valuable as it has supported flexibility in the collection of data, the development of clear code boundaries, and has provided a space to record reflections or insights as they emerged. The importance of a systematic coding processes within the context of thematic analysis is also supported by others (Vaismoradi et al., 2016:100-101; Clarke and Braun, 2016:297) who highlight the importance of becoming familiar with the data and then working through the data systematically and cyclically in order to develop initial codes, refine these codes, and then work towards identifying themes. These principles were applied during the data analysis process within this study. With the development of themes achieved through drawing on the data collected within each context, this brought out how comparable spaces and practices of informality that emerge within each context were often described and justified in different ways.

Vaismoradi et al. (2016) present a salient framework of phases for conducting a thematic analysis, which have complemented the project's inductive approach. This framework consists of four stages which are represented in Figure 2, first is the "Initialisation" phase, which involves reading through the data and becoming familiar with it, conducting initial coding in order to organise the data, and writing reflective notes (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Second, the "Construction" phase focuses on defining and describing what is being observed within the data in relation to the research questions. An important aspect of this phase is the labelling of codes (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Third is the

“Rectification” phase, in which themes are developed that relate to what has emerged from the data and the connection of these findings with established literature. It is advised at this stage to interchange between immersion in the data and distancing oneself in order to gain clarity when developing themes (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). This was achieved within this research project by spending time away from the data and reading relevant literature once themes were starting to emerge. Re-examining the data then enabled a fresh and critical perspective to be applied when finalising the development of themes. Last is the “Finalisation” phase, which was applicable in the final stage of this project’s research process incorporated the data from the two case studies being brought into juxtaposition. This phase involves the development of a “story line” that is grounded in the research findings but also makes explicit connections to how these findings offer insights into the research questions being explored (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

FIGURE 2: PROCESS OF THEMATIC ANALYSIS



Source: Vaismoradi et al. (2016)

3.4.2 Application of Lukes’ Three-dimensional Framework of Power

The findings that emerged from the thematic analysis were then analysed through a framework of power that has been described in chapter two of this thesis and that primarily draws on Lukes’ (2005) three-dimensional framework of power. This framework provided a valuable lens that supported the identification and description of power dynamics that were observed surrounding elite actors within the case studies investigated. The framework is described in depth within chapter two, which presents the following descriptions of power relations that have been adopted within the analysis of this study: 1) Overt displays of power, 2) Narrative influence, and 3) Ideological influence.

There are multiple instances where Luke’s three-dimensional framework of power has been applied effectively to support the analysis in previous studies. For example, in research by Mupambwa and Zaaiman (2020) who were investigating dynamics surround housing construction in South Africa, they observed how these different dimensions of power were utilised by the various stakeholders involved in the constructions examined. In addition, Fox-Rogers and Murphy (2014) explored how elite actors interact with urban planning processes within the context of Northern Ireland, which illustrated how elite actors exercised power in a variety of ways. Moreover, Marsh et al. (2024) employed the

framework in an exploratory analysis into inequalities that exist surrounding the production and use of cement and concrete. Within the context of this study, Luke's framework of power has enabled opaque power dynamics and relations within this project to be effectively identified, specifically regarding elite actors utilising informal spaces and practices.

3.5 Limitations and Reflections of the Research Process

3.5.1 Positionality

A significant consideration regarding conducting this research is one's positionality. My own positionality as a white British citizen, who has predominantly lived and worked in the north of England has naturally impacted how I have approached this research project. Therefore, it is pertinent to consider how my own upbringing and life experiences will inevitably have impacted my interactions with participants from different cultural and social contexts to my own. Consequently, this will have influenced the information that individuals were willing to share with me, in addition to my interpretation and understanding of the data collected (Elder and Odoyo, 2018). Hence, it has been important that I have remained aware of the limitations of my own position, requiring me to work reflexively throughout the research process (Rose, 1997) through striving to interpret the research findings accurately, without imposing my own experience or cultural context where it was not appropriate to do so (Kessi et al., 2020; Collins, 2008; Cooper and Morrell, 2014; RESPECTproject, 2004:1). Yet, despite the challenges this presented during the research process, there were also opportunities. Being perceived as an outsider meant that I was able to ask participants to explain processes or situations, which may have appeared common sense or critical if asked by a community member. Accordingly, I think this enabled me to facilitate in-depth discussions regarding relevant underlying processes from a variety of perspectives.

Cultural sensitivity during the interview process was a further significant area of consideration. Previous life experiences assisted me in navigating these dynamics within both case study contexts, as I was born and have predominately lived in the UK, in addition to having lived and worked in Tanzania. Researching communities that are different than one's own is discussed in relation to guarding against "Othering", thus, these discussions highlight the importance of not viewing your own position or cultural context as somehow superior to that of those being researched (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012). Moreover, Krumer-Nevo and Sidi (2012) argue that the representation of communities within research is always a demonstration of power. Hence, it is vital to contextualise the situations being investigated and establish a dialogue with those being represented in order to support a

reflexive approach (Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012:300-301). Important points are made here that are salient and present challenges within this project. As the research focus is the behaviours of powerful actors, which is a group that is difficult to establish a dialogue with. In addition, the nature of power dynamics when interacting with interviewees has been variable. For example, in some contexts, such as interviewing wider society, I may have been perceived as being in a position of power. While in other contexts, such as interviewing government officials, they may have perceived themselves as being in a more powerful position. This, therefore, impacted the dynamics that existed during the interviews and the information shared (Bryman, 2016:488-490). Rose (1997) discusses the importance of recognising that a researcher's social position, underlying understandings, and past experiences will shape their whole research approach, from their research focus to how they interpret and represent their research findings (Rose, 1997:307-309). She argues that the best way to address this is for researchers to be "self-conscious" of their own biases throughout the research process (Rose, 1997:309) while also realising that a researcher can never fully understand a phenomenon or fully know their own bias (Rose, 1997:311). Therefore, throughout the research process there has been a focus on working reflexively (Summers, 2020; Krumer-Nevo and Sidi, 2012).

3.5.2 Research Limitations

This project investigates the informal spaces and practices of elite actors. As discussed, this is a difficult research area to access. Because of this a range of data sets have been drawn upon to further understand these dynamics. Therefore, there are limitations and challenges that exist regarding each of these. In relation to official documents, there were difficulties surrounding language within the Dar es Salaam context. Hence, documents written in English were primarily used within the project, however, there were occasions when relevant audit reports published in Swahili needed to be navigated, thus, translation software was relied upon. Concerning data collected from media coverage, there were several potential limitations, including reporter biases and discourses being manipulated by political influence. These limitations were particularly relevant within the context of Dar es Salaam, where there have been significant governmental restrictions on press freedom (Mdee and Mushi, 2020; Paget, 2021; Tejkalová et al., 2017; Kabendera and McCabe, 2014). However, during media analysis, critical voices did emerge within the context of Dar es Salaam, in addition to contradictions, the perspectives of dominant actors, and the emergence of dominant ideologies, which were valuable contributions to the findings presented in this study. There is also a further limitation to consider concerning the collection of media coverage within this context, Thiong'o (1986) discusses cultural implications surrounding language, an observation that is intertwined with literature concerning the decolonisation of research methods (Kessi et al., 2020). Therefore, Thiong'o (1986) argues that the language used impacts the cultural ideas and understandings that are

communicated, furthermore, it impacts who is able to access the material (Thiong'o, 1986). Consequently, the use of newspaper articles written in and about Tanzania in the English language, as opposed to the national language of Swahili or another native language, presents a limitation within this project as this will have had implications on what has been communicated. Academics have also expressed concerns in relation to the integrity of newspaper articles within the UK, with a relatively small number of powerful actors owning newspaper companies and, therefore, being in a position to influence news coverage (Elmer and Denning, 2016). These are significant considerations, therefore, in order to contribute towards establishing validity within this study, findings that emerged in media coverage were triangulated through drawing on official documents, promotional materials, and interview data.

When conducting interviews, there were limitations in accessing participants, particularly powerful actors, which has been discussed previously within this chapter. To address this challenge within this research project, other individuals who could offer insights into the research questions were targeted, such as those involved or impacted by the real estate projects being investigated. Within Dar es Salaam, there were also challenges relating to conducting interviews within a foreign country, such as language barriers, obtaining the necessary permit and visa, and cultural differences, in addition to the time spent within Tanzania being limited. However, a contact of one of my supervisors, Professor Anna Mdee, was able to give me extremely valuable support regarding access to participants within Dar es Salaam. In addition, within this project, a combination of in-person and online interviews were conducted, thus, maximising opportunities to interact with a variety of participants and resulting in the targeted number of interviewees being met for each context

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations for this research project included obtaining a research permit, receiving informed consent from participants, and navigating potential risks to participants resulting from politically sensitive topics being discussed. Despite there being a delay, the research permit was granted, and permission was given by the Tanzania government department, COSTECH, to conduct the outlined project. Obtaining informed consent was a sensitive issue when conducting fieldwork within both contexts, as it was clear that it varied whether participants felt most comfortable offering verbal or written consent. Therefore, this was judged during interactions with potential participants while in the field. Obtaining either verbal or written consent, depending on the context, was a consideration within the ethics review submitted for this research project. Also, to minimise potential

risks to participants, all interview data have been stored securely and anonymised unless otherwise specified by individuals. Categories have then been used when analysing and reporting on the data in order to give context to the perspective of participants, and direct quotes have only been used within this project if permission was granted by participants, otherwise broader themes underpinning contributions have been highlighted. Additionally, another important consideration has been the management of data and the associated protection of participants and their information. Consequently, the guidelines given by the University of Leeds were followed, including saving sensitive data, such as consent forms, interview recordings, and interview transcripts securely and at the earliest opportunity on the University OneDrive (UoL, 2022).

Furthermore, there were ethical considerations relating to the interests of those being investigated not aligning with the research project's objectives, the emergence of this tension when researching powerful actors is explored by Summers (2020). This presents a poignant area to reflect on, as a key concern within research is to prevent any unnecessary harm to those who are being researched (Summers, 2020; RESPECTproject, 2004:4). Others have also expressed this difficulty in relation to investigating powerful actors, whose practices have negative implications for wider society (Becker and Aiello, 2013:64). Therefore, an ethical tension exists in this project, between adopting a critical perspective in relation to the practices of elite actors while also recognising that the research findings draw attention to often intentionally opaque informal spaces and practices, which has the potential of reflecting negatively on this group. In order to navigate this tension, a reflexive approach has been pursued throughout the research design and process, especially with regard to ensuring that well-supported and balanced findings have been represented, thus, drawing on recommendations outlined by Summers (2020).

3.7 Conclusion

The research approached for this study, which has been presented within this chapter, has a complex and multifaceted nature that centres around the inductive analysis of qualitative data. It incorporates the globally distinct case studies of Kigamboni, a district within Dar es Salaam, and the Royal Docks, a district within London. These are situated within what are commonly categorised as the Global North and Global South, in order to facilitate knowledge production that spans diverse global contexts. In addition, multiple data sources have been drawn upon to shed light on the often hidden or opaque behaviours of the elite. Through drawing on an array of peripheral data this approach has sought to shed light on power dynamics, political ideologies, and narratives that are engaged in by the elite,

surrounding the large-scale ambitious real estate developments that have been focused on within this study. This approach has therefore strived towards contributing a multidimensional understanding of elite informality that has relevance across distinct cultural contexts. There is a novelty to this methodology, as often case studies are brought together that reside in the Global North or Global South, as these cases often present greater similarities. In addition, investigating how the elite operate informally is an area that has not been extensively researched, especially within the Global North, and involves many hidden dynamics. The approach of utilising multiple sources of data to gain insights from a variety of perspectives was therefore adopted to address the specific challenges encountered in investigating this group. Through the adoption of this research approach this study has sought to use multiple data sources in order to interrogate the overarching research objective. This objective has, ultimately, been to understand in greater depth how urban elites in the diverse global contexts of London and Dar es Salaam exercise power over ambitious real estate developments, through informal spaces and practices.

Central to this methodological approach has therefore been to develop a 'picture' of significant events and dynamics surrounding the real estate developments investigated, which subsequently offered insight into elite informality within each context. This involved the layering of the various data sources in three stages. First, the collection of official documents and promotional material, which highlighted the formal expectations and procedures set out within each environment. Second, the identification and collection of relevant media coverage, which shed light on the construction of timelines, the involvement of significant actors, and prominent narratives. Third, the collection of interview data, which facilitated the triangulation of findings in addition to stimulating further insights. In a final stage, the cases were then placed in juxtaposition. In doing that it is important to note that within this project the focus has not been a direct comparison of the case study contexts, but instead to draw on the two case studies simultaneously to facilitate a dialogue that contributes fresh revelations into the conceptualisation of elite informality from different perspectives. Furthermore, for analysis the processes employed included a thematic analysis and applying the lens of Lukes' three-dimensional framework of power. These provided an opportunity to navigate a complex research topic that is intrinsically interwoven with dynamics of power, while retaining rigour within the process, thus facilitating the production of robust themes supported by the triangulation of various sources. Consequently, despite discussed limitations, this methodological approach has provided the opportunity to develop themes that offer relevant and unique insights into the concept of informality regarding its relevance to powerful actors and applicability across diverse cultural contexts. Hence, providing a novel contribution that builds on methodological approaches, such as comparative

urbanism (Robinson, 2021), that strive to bring diverse urban contexts into conversation with one another.

Setting the Scene: Investigation of Case Study Contexts

4.1 Introduction

A key challenge within this project has been to simultaneously draw on case studies that are situated in very different global contexts. As the observations regarding the informal dynamics of elite actors and the construction of large-scale real estate developments, are underpinned and impacted by significantly different backdrops. For example, within each case differences arise regarding the engagement of each country in the global economy, historical differences in urban development priorities, alongside, acute differences in political climates and in economic circumstances. It is therefore important to spend time within this thesis recognising and investigating the contextual landscape of each case study, in order to strive towards this, the following chapter draws on both literature and research findings which offers insight into these distinct environments. Despite a recognition that this chapter is limited in the sense that the intricate and complex nature of any context or phenomenon can only ever be partially known or understood, and only a surface overview can be conveyed within the scope of this thesis, the intention is to critically engage with key contextual elements that speak to and underpin the findings that are presented.

This chapter therefore takes the form of, first, considering the wider global context in which each of these case studies operate, and the two-way interactions that take place between broader international trends and the countries investigated. Second, dynamics that are relevant to the specific case study contexts are considered in turn. For each case study context this incorporates establishing a detailed overview of the unique circumstances surrounding the ambitious real estate developments examined. Incorporated within these sections are timelines corresponding to each case study. The development of timelines has been a key aspect of the methodological approach within this study, as they have facilitated the accumulation of multiple data sets, thus enabling often concealed dynamics underpinning spaces and practices of elite informality to be illuminated within the contexts investigated. In addition to this, broader considerations are engaged with that impact, and are therefore key in understanding, the engagement of elite actors with large-scale ambitious real estate developments within the countries and cities where these case studies are situated. The considerations incorporated, that have been identified during the research process as salient to understanding the empirical findings, are discussions regarding governance, urban development priorities, the complexity of power dynamics, and the broader engagement of elite actors with urban development.

4.2 The Impact of Broader International Trends

It has been observed, both within this study and in previous research, that the conceptualisation and construction of ambitious real estate developments are intrinsically linked to broader international narratives and dynamics. This section discusses how aspects of neoliberal ideology have promoted and furthered the interests of the private sector, both regarding national and international investment. At the same time, it can be noted that despite shared influences which have stemmed from global dynamics, there are also distinct narratives and impacts that are applicable to the specific global contexts in which the ambitious developments investigated are situated.

The promotion of the private sector on national and international scales is a fundamental aspect in exploring the underpinning dynamics that facilitate the construction of ambitious developments (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019; Watson, 2014; Weinstein et al., 2019). Furthermore, these dynamics have become increasingly prominent, corresponding to a shift in the global political climate that has involved an increase in the implementation of neoliberal ideology (Harvey, 2007; Sassen, 2014). Thus, a recurrent concern that has emerged in previous research involves the consistent prioritisation of wealthy citizens through the construction of large-scale, high-end developments, that are predominantly beyond the means of wider society (Watson, 2014). However, a logic exists that is rooted in neoliberalism, which underpins and justifies these developments and is described by Harvey as becoming the common sense structure through which societies now interpret and understand the world (Harvey, 2007). This also links to discussions that took place within chapter two regarding the active engagement that elite actors have with shaping what is perceived as “common sense” by wider society (Hall and O'Shea, 2013). The relationship this highly influential ideology has with the imagining and construction of ambitious developments is an important consideration within this study. Specifically, this is in regards to individual freedom, the celebration of wealth accumulation, the prioritisation of market forces, and the celebration of risk being promoted within neoliberal ideology (Friedman and Friedman, 2002; Sassen, 2014:213). Saskia Sassen identifies the adoption of neoliberal ideology in the United States and the United Kingdom during the 1980s as the backdrop for global economic shifts, with economic power being intensified in specific global locations including London, which she describes as “World Cities” (Sassen, 1994). Within Africa, there are also narratives regarding the country becoming “a new ‘frontier’ for global real estate development” (Gillespie, 2020:601), which can be observed in the increased construction of luxury apartments to satellite cities (Gillespie, 2020:602).

Moreover, despite underlying narratives that these developments are primarily financed by private sector investment, they also habitually have a significant public cost, with governments often sharing

in the costs and risks associated with the conception and construction of these projects, in addition to dealing with financial implications if the developments are not completed (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019:277). This is observable in dynamics surrounding the ambitious developments explored within this study. For example, the UK government funded the procurement processes for the RAD Business Hub Development, which was allocated a budget of £600,000 by the Mayor of London Boris Johnson (UK Official Documents, Boris Johnson, 2012, Request for Mayoral Decision – MD1007: Royal Albert Dock: Update, short-listing of developers & 2012-13 Budget). Furthermore, within the Kigamboni context, although construction never started on the envisioned KSC development it was reported to have resulted in a significant government outlay:

“According to the government development information and data statistics, about 7bn/-¹ has been invested into planning the new city of Kigamboni to build commercial centre, industrial zone, tour centre, hospital, international schools and residential zones with complete facilities, making the new city of Kigamboni to be the new prosperous centre and place where everyone expects to reside.”

TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2015, CBA Supports Kigamboni Low-Cost Housing Project)

Accordingly, this creates a tension that is applicable to both global contexts regarding public resources being employed to enable the construction of ambitious developments which have been persistently criticised for their exclusionary nature (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019:208; Watson, 2014). Concerns relating to the exclusionary nature of these types of developments was communicated within both case studies. In the UK context this is highlighted in an interview with an NGO employee:

“So, I feel like it’s to do with money and that it’s just far more profitable for a developer to come in and build luxury developments, or a business park, or a floating village, or whatever, then it is to provide affordable housing for low rates. Because the rates they get from the tenants or business are not going to nearly be as much. I don’t know what the easy solution is but there needs to be much more incentive I think for providing this necessary and needed type of housing.”

UK Interview (Joshua, NGO employee)

Related concerns were also expressed within the Tanzanian context, as portrayed in the following newspaper article regarding the construction of satellite cities:

¹ Equivalent to approximately £2m.

“The implementation of these development plans within existing cities is having major exclusionary effects on vulnerable low-income groups through evictions and relocations.”

TZ Media Coverage (Africa News, 2014, Africa; Helping Africa's Urban Poor Gain from Modernization)

The evidence presented within these data extracts points towards aspects of real estate development within Kigamboni being significantly impacted by global dynamics. Dynamics that are influenced and justified by aspects of neoliberal political ideology which promote the construction of ambitious developments. In addition to this, the data highlights a fundamental tension that exists surrounding these types of developments, which entail a significant cost for the public sector, which clashes with concerns relating to their exclusionary nature. This could be observed throughout the data collected and is pointed towards in the extracts discussed, in relation to conflicting narratives surrounding these developments, on the one hand they are presented as a solution for urban difficulties that will positively impact society as a whole. Yet, on the other hand, they are presented as luxury, globally competitive, developments, with high-end amenities and accommodation, and therefore are intrinsically exclusionary.

The significant role ambitious developments have in strengthening international relationships and attracting foreign investment emerged within both cases. In relation to The Royal Docks, during the promotion of the RAD Business Hub development, there was a significant political strengthening of relationships between the UK and China as part of a wider political climate that promoted an increase in foreign investment into the UK, this is illustrated by the Mayor of London's visit to China:

“Mayor Boris Johnson will lead a trade mission to China next week as part of his continued drive to create jobs and growth in the capital by promoting London to the world as a major investment destination.”

UK Official Document (Government Press Release, 2013, Mayor leads top business delegation on trade mission to China).

Within the context of Kigamboni, narratives emerged within the data relating to the importance of KSC in enhancing the global positioning of Dar es Salaam, which would also attract foreign investment into Tanzania. This is referred to in the following extract:

“Intended to be brought to fruition through partnerships with private investors and real estate companies, the New City – also named the ‘blue diamond’ – was expected to propel Dar es Salaam to a ‘world-class city’ status. The architects of the plan sought

inspiration from cities around the world, but they also aspired to position the New City as a global model to be replicated elsewhere. The New City could be seen as representing an experiment in the ‘art of being global’ as well as a laboratory for the realisation of a new form of urbanism that sought to redress past planning failures.”

TZ Official Document (Research Report, 2016, New City Visions and the Politics of
Redevelopment in Dar es Salaam).

These dynamics point towards the fact that these developments are taking place in a global political environment that commends developments of this size to be strived towards, which points to aspects of neoliberal ideology (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019:265). It also offers insight into how these developments are being “promoted and perceived by the urban elite as crucial catalysts for growth and even as linkages to the larger world economy” (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019:264).

The global context of private sector interests being increasingly prioritised, particularly in relation to attracting national and international investment, also connects to a global shift and convergence regarding economic practices and motivations (WinklerPrins, 2017). This global shift emerges in the case studies as illustrated below, and is an important consideration when exploring the urban development practices of the elite in diverse global locations:

“In looking at how these challenges are to be met, it is important to remember that the private sector dominates London’s economy, accounting for 84 per cent of output and employment. Achieving all the environmental, economic and social objectives outlined in this Plan relies upon modernisation and improvement of the capital’s stock of buildings and public realm, and this in turn means encouraging private investment and development.”

UK Official Document (Boris Johnson, 2016, London City Plan)

“Several changes have since occurred in the nation and the city that demand a review of the 1979 master plan, including rapid population growth of the city which reached 5,382,352 by 2016, liberalisation of the economy and the formulation of new national land and human settlement development policies.”

TZ Official Document (2016, Dar es Salaam master plan)

This observation is supported more widely, Wiegratz (2019) describes an increased focus on embracing capitalist structures within the African context, with capitalism and neoliberalism being

promoted as the solutions to addressing development challenges. Furthermore, Watson (2014) argues an increase of “global economic forces are interacting with local African contexts in new ways” in relation to investors within the Global North looking further afield for greater demand and new markets (Watson, 2014:222). Therefore, this highlights the perceived importance of attracting foreign investment which enables links to be established with the global economy and is supported by the construction of ambitious developments.

Conversely, despite shared global influences, narratives also emerged surrounding the ambitious developments being investigated, that are impacted by distinct global dynamics. Concerning the Kigamboni case study a reoccurring reference regarding the transformative potential of these types of developments emerged, as illustrated within the following extract:

“The Minister for Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, Professor Anna Tibaijuka, on Monday strongly defended in the National Assembly, the proposed multitrillion shillings Kigamboni Satellite City project in Temeke District, Dar es Salaam Region. The project for the proposed 'dream city' is expected to transform Kigamboni area into an ultra-modern urban centre with facilities competing with those in places like Dubai in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Hong Kong and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.”

TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2013, Tanzania Needs to Develop More
Modern Satellite Cities)

The perceived critical nature of globally significant developments, in terms of striving towards global competitiveness and economic transformation within countries, is discussed by del Cerro Santamaria (2019). Moreover, Van Leynseele and Bontje (2019) argue that the inspiration for the development of African cities is emanating increasingly less from ‘the west’ and more from ‘the east’, such as China and Dubai (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019:211). However, within the context of the UK, a different narrative emerges relating to London which focused on the necessity of the city maintaining its global positioning as a “World City” (Sassen, 2002). Because of this, ambitious developments are perceived as a tool that can support this endeavour. Furthermore, a significant aspect of retaining “World City” status is connected to the provision of financial services and the influence the city has on the global economy (Sassen, 2002). Consequently, this was a key element of narratives surrounding the promotion of the RAD Business Hub Development which was intended to attract international investment to the area, predominantly from Asia. Therefore, the expectation of elite actors was that this development would become a third business hub within London, alongside the City of London and Canary Warf, with a particular focus on providing financial services and attracting business from Asia. This is illustrated in the following quote from the CEO of ABP:

““My vision is to develop a world-class international business district that will initially target Asian businesses to help them secure a destination in London, which in China is seen as the gateway to both the United Kingdom and the wider European economy," Xu says.”

UK Media coverage (China Daily European Edition, 2013, London's past seen as
London's future)

Therefore, within each context, an important similarity can be observed in relation to ambitious real estate developments being portrayed as globally significant, and that this is perceived as fundamentally important in impacting not only surrounding areas but the global positioning of both cities and countries. However, the case studies examined illustrate that these types of developments are not necessarily instigated by the same underpinning narratives. This occurs with a greater emphasis within the Kigamboni context of ambitious developments, that have transformed the economic landscape and global position of entire countries, particularly drawing on the example of Dubai. On the other hand, in the London context, there is a greater emphasis on globally significant developments being integral to maintaining global positing, within an increasingly competitive global economy. Moreover, it has been illustrated that there have been significant international trends revolving around the increased adoption of neoliberal ideology on processes of urban development. A dynamic that can be observed within both case study contexts concerning the promotion of the private sector and the perceived necessity of continuously attracting national and international investment.

4.3 The Royal Docks Case Study

4.3.1 Timeline Surrounding the RAD Business Hub

The Royal Docks is a district situated in the United Kingdom, in the East of London and is part of Newham borough. Despite this district being in close proximity to London City Centre, large areas have not been re-developed after previously being utilised as part of the London Docks. Despite repeated development plans being presented and pursued for the area, these previous plans had not been successfully implemented. A variety of reasons for this emerged during data collection, including difficulties surrounding infrastructure such as transport links, which were restricted due to surrounding waterways, the scale of the development required, and the site's proximity to London City Airport, although within promotional material, this was portrayed as an advantage. In addition, Newham borough is one of the most disadvantaged areas within London, and as a result has not been

perceived as an attractive investment area. The accumulation of these past difficulties and the scale of the development sites within this area is touched upon within a GLA Regeneration Committee meeting, as illustrated in the following data extract:

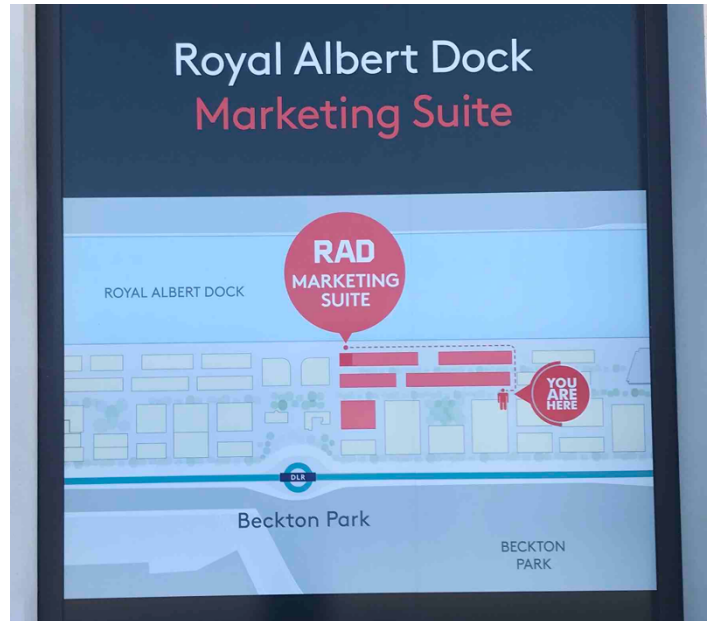
“There are very few developers who have deep enough pockets and the experience to fund the kind of onsite infrastructure on that scale that these areas need, which is one of the reasons it has taken some time to get these developments to come forward.”

UK Official Documents (2015, GLA Regeneration Committee transcript).

Therefore, the vision of constructing a globally significant development on the site being investigated was not realised until the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, successfully implemented a tendering process that attracted the interest of a variety of developers. One of the developers who took part in this process was, ABP, a Chinese company that had shared an office space with London and Partners in Beijing for several years prior to the tendering process for this site. Illustrated by the timeline, there also existed other connections between the Mayor of London and ABP, including social networks and donations to the Conservative political party. This also coincided with what was described as a “golden era” in UK-Chinese relationships, which was supported by the Prime Minister David Cameron. Detailed on the timeline, ABP was the successful candidate in the tendering process and, therefore, commenced construction of the development. The first phase of this development was virtually fully completed, however, difficulties arose in attracting the anticipated investment which instigated the liquidation of ABP. A variety of factors impacted this, including ABP having insufficient capital to finalise the first phase of the development, in addition to a wider breakdown in UK-China relations, and the completion of the development coinciding with the Covid-19 pandemic, which decreased the demand for office space. As a result, the RAD Business Hub, as imagined by ABP and Boris Johnson, was not realised.



**FIGURE 3: AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF FIELDWORK
VISIT TO RAD BUSINESS HUB (AUGUST 2022)**



**FIGURE 5: AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF PLANS FOR RAD
BUSINESS HUB DEVELOPMENT, DISPLAYED AT SITE
(AUGUST 2022)**



FIGURE 4: AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF FIELDWORK VISIT TO RAD BUSINESS HUB (AUGUST 2022)

The Royal Docks Case Study Timeline

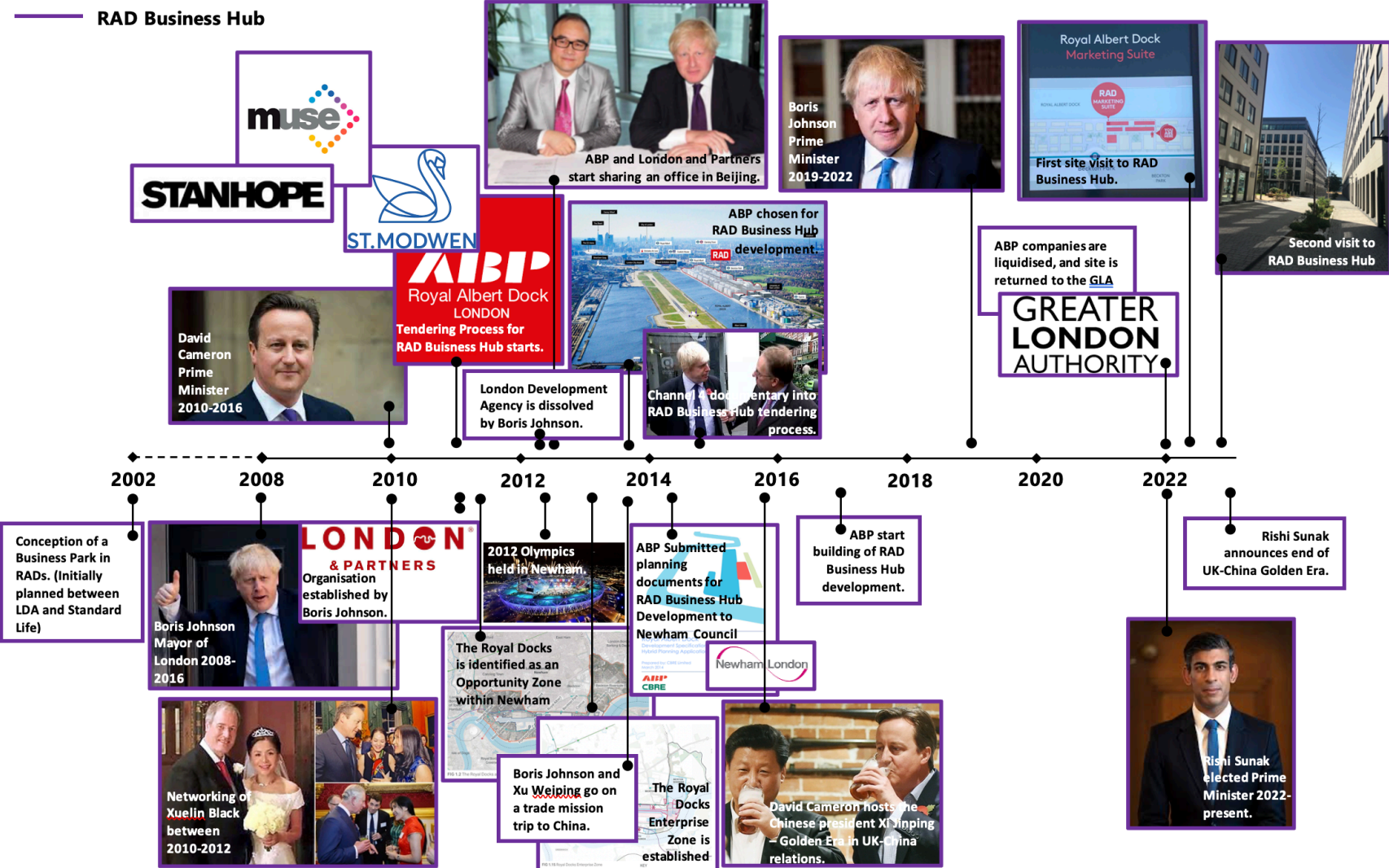


FIGURE 6: THE ROYAL DOCKS CASE STUDY TIMELINE

TABLE 8: THE ROYAL DOCKS CASE STUDY DETAILED TIMELINE

Date	Events	Evidence
07.2002	Conception of a Business Park in RADs. (Initially planned between LDA and Standard Life)	UK Media Coverage (The Times, 2002, Deal close on docks scheme)
Boris Johnson Mayor of London 2008-2016		
David Cameron Prime Minister 2010-2016		
2010-2012	Xuelin Black (Anglo-Chinese businesswoman and wife of Home Office Minister Lord Bates) gave donations of at least £162,000 to the Conservative party, suggested the RAD site to ABP, and registered a charity called ABP London China. Since ABP secured the contracts, her donations have reduced to approx. £5000 a year.	UK Media Coverage (Channel 4, 2014, Documentary: Big questions for Boris over billion dollar property deal)
2011	London Mayor (Boris Johnson) and the GLA recognise commercial importance of RAD	UK Official Documents (ABP, 2013, RAD Promotional Material)

	and initiated a 2-year tendering process.	
2011	ABP announced that they would bid for the RAD site.	UK Media Coverage (Focus, 2017, Meeting Mr X)
04.2011	Boris Johnson launches L&P	UK Official Documents (Government Press Release, 2014, Royal Albert Dock - London & Partners)
07.2011	The RAD site is specifically allocated an area of opportunity within the adopted London Plan (policy 2.13)	UK Official Documents (ABP and CBRE, 2014, Royal Albert Dock: Hybrid Planning Application, point 1.36)
01.2012	The RAD site falls within the “Arc of Opportunity” that is outlined within Newham Council Local Plan.	UK Official Documents (ABP and CBRE, 2014, Royal Albert Dock: Hybrid Planning Application, point 1.41)
03.2012	ABP and L&P – start sharing offices in Beijing, with ABP paying a reduced rent (70%). However, ABP and L&P have been in the same office building since 2011.	UK Media Coverage (Channel 4, 2014, Documentary: Big questions for Boris over billion dollar property deal)

03.2012	Tongbo Liu moves from working for L&P to ABP during tender process.	UK Media Coverage (Channel 4, 2014, Documentary: Big questions for Boris over billion dollar property deal)
31.03.2012	Mayor of London Boris Johnson dissolves London Development Agency	UK Official Documents GLA, 2012, (London Development Agency Closing Financial Statement)
2012 Olympic Games were held in Newham		
10.2012	ABP and Stanhope are selected by GLA and Newham Council as preferred developers for Royal Docks Site	UK Media coverage (The Evening Standard, 2012, Eastern Promise in the Albert Dock)
04.2013	Royal Docks Enterprise Zone became operational.	UK Official Documents (Royal Docks official website, City Hall)
05.2013	ABP deal with Major announced, for RAD to become “third business district”. The Mayors’ vision for the RAD is to set up a strategic trading hub with Asia.	UK Official Documents (Government Press Release, 2013, Chinese businesses sign up to London’s £1bn Royal Docks project)

23.05.2013	Deal for site signed by ABP and Stanhope - end of the tendering process	UK Media coverage (The Times, 2013, Chinese plan £1bn London Dock Revival)
2013	Vision Images of RAD Business Hub Released	UK Official Documents (ABP, 2013, RAD Promotional Material)
10.2013	Xu Weiping and Mayor of London (Boris Johnson) go on a trade mission to China. Report that Weiping and Johnson have worked closely together to make the RAD development a reality.	UK Official Documents (Government Press Release, 2013, Chinese businesses sign up to London’s £1bn Royal Docks project)
15. 10.2013	Press release from London Mayor (Boris Johnson) that 57 firms (10 of which are Chinese) are set to move into the RAD Business Hub.	UK Official Documents (Government Press Release, 2013, Chinese businesses sign up to London’s £1bn Royal Docks project)
31.03.2014	ABP submitted their planning application to Newham Council	UK Official Documents (Newham Council, 2015, Application for Outline Planning Permission)

06.2014	Trade mission from China-UK, including conference at RAD Business Hub development, including more than 150 Chinese delegates, supported by Newham Council, GLA, and ABP.	UK Media Coverage (Property Week, 2014, East comes east: Chinese trade mission to Royal Docks)
11.2014	Boris denies any problems with RAD tendering process in interview with Channel 4.	UK Media Coverage (Channel 4, 2014, Documentary: Big questions for Boris over billion dollar property deal)
09.12.2014	Investigation into role of London and Partners in RAD tendering process. London assembly calls for greater transparency by organisation in general.	UK Official Documents (Government Press Release, 2014, Assembly puts pressure on London & Partners over lack of transparency)
21.10.2015	David Cameron hosts the Chinese president Xi Jinping	UK Official Documents (Government Press Release, 2015, Joint Press Conference: David Cameron and President Xi Jinping)

21.12.2015	ABP are granted planning permission by Newham Council	UK Official Documents (Newham Council, 2015, Application for Outline Planning Permission)
11.2016	Building of the development starts.	UK Media Coverage (Financial Services Monitor Worldwide, 2016, Asian investors sign historic agreement to transform Royal Docks into London's 'third financial centre')
12.2017	First sales agreed for RAD Business Hub are reported	UK Media Coverage (TendersInfo, 2017, United Kingdom: ABP secures first sales at Royal Albert Dock London)
Boris Johnson Prime Minister 2019-2022		
12.2019 – 01.2020	Credits start to take legal action for unpaid bills, Financial Director reports that ABP is illegally trading.	UK Official Documents (Employment Tribunal, 2021, Mr S Williams vs. ABP)
11.2019	Financial director reports concerns to ABP leadership about insolvency, due to lack of funding and unpaid creditors. While	UK Official Documents (Employment Tribunal, 2021, Mr S Williams vs. ABP)

	continuing to commit to new expenditures. Advice given to always have sufficient funding in place to pay creditors.	
Restrictions due to Covid-19 Pandemic 03.2020-02.2022		
18.09.2020	Legal disputes were brought against ABP – which reported unfair dismissal and illegal financial practices by Mr S Williams (Financial Director for ABP development from 2018, employed from 2016 as consultant).	UK Official Documents (Employment Tribunal, 2021, Mr S Williams vs. ABP)
12.2022	First site visit – No activity on site, however still a site manager who I spoke with (liquidation had not yet started)	Notes from site visit recorded in Research journal
Rishi Sunak Prime Minister 2022 - present		
2022	HSBC along with other creditors employed Deloitte to liquidate 23 ABP companies.	UK Media Coverage (Euromoney, 2023, Real estate debt funds face their day of reckoning)

08.2022	First site visit – No activity on site, however still a site manager who I spoke with (liquidation had not yet started)	Notes from site visit recorded in Research journal
12.2022	Second site visit – No activity on site, liquidation manager on site, who I spoke with.	Notes from site visit recorded in Research journal
12.2022	Prime minister Rishi Sunak announces 'Golden Era' has come to an end	UK Media Coverage (India times, 2022, Why This Hong Kong Billionaire & Real Estate Tycoon Wants To Revive London's 'Ghost Town')

4.3.2 Relevant Contextual Aspects of The Royal Docks Case Study.

In conjunction with the timeline, in establishing a foundation for the empirical chapters, contextual aspects surrounding The Royal Docks case study are explored. These have been identified as key considerations in the construction of a comprehensive ‘picture’ of relevant dynamics and compromise of governance, urban development priorities, shifting power dynamics, and the engagement of elite actors.

Governance

The development and implementation of aspects of neoliberal ideology have become increasingly prominent within the UK, since the introduction of neoliberal policies by the former UK Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher (Rees, 1985). Consequently, there has been a reduction in state provision in the UK and a greater influence and involvement of the private sector (Lees and White, 2020; Minton, 2022b). Incorporated within this political shift there has been significant implications for priorities surrounding housing and housing provision. For example, Margaret Thatcher emphasised the importance of home ownership and reduced dependency on state provision, her government therefore introduced legislation that enabled council tenants to buy their houses at a reduced rate (Rees, 1985). Consequently, this housing has slowly been incorporated into the private sector and the availability of social housing has dramatically decreased. Reduced availability of social housing is reflected in the Newham borough, where there have been significant challenges surrounding housing provision, which was highlighted in an interview with an NGO employee:

“Newham has the highest number of homeless kids in London. It has the highest number of families in temporary accommodation. So, it’s not surprising that it’s that borough where it’s happening. I think a lot of the time when these investments come out, they have a lot of talk about what it will do for the local community and stuff. But it’s all just the necessary stuff you need to put into one of these planning developments and it doesn’t actually have any long term thought I think we saw the same thing with the 2012 Olympic developments.”

UK interview (Joshua, NGO employee)

This extract speaks to an undercurrent within this case study regarding a perceived disconnected at government level between promoting the construction of ambitious developments, while failing to provide for the needs of existing communities. Moreover, the increased influence of the private sector in the UK has also impacted real estate development with regards to an increase in public-private partnership (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019), as can be observed in relation to the RAD Business Hub development. del Cerro Santamaria (2019) has argued that the incorporation of private interests,

particularly within the context of public-private arrangements, often results in an imbalance of power, where the interests of developers are prioritised over the interests of communities (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019:275).

These dynamics sit in tension with the planning priorities and formal requirements set out in official documents that have been designed to protect the rights of citizens and their ability to access affordable housing, thus, prioritises the needs of populations as opposed to the interests of investors. For example, within the London City Plan, written by the current Mayor of London Sadiq Khan, he identifies the importance of addressing these dynamics of power so that sustainable urban planning can be achieved, which incorporates greater equity across different income groups. This is expressed in the following extract:

“In 2016, the gap between average house prices in London and the rest of the country reached a record high, and the private rental cost of a one-bedroom home in London is now more than the average for a three-bedroom home in any other English region. A housing market that only works for the very wealthy does not work for London. 1.4.2 The state of London’s housing market has implications for the makeup and diversity of the city. Affordable housing is central to allowing Londoners of all means and backgrounds to play their part in community life.”

UK Official Documents (Sadiq Khan, 2021, London City Plan)

Accordingly, governance dynamics are impacted by the prominence of neoliberal ideology, with the implementation of policies resulting in the reduction of social housing and an increased focus on attracting investment from the private sector. Consequently, this leads to the perceived prioritisation of private interests over public ones, particularly within the context of public-private urban development partnerships. This is an important undercurrent to identify within this case study, as it is interwoven with the decision-making and justifications that are brought out in the subsequent chapters.

Urban Development Priorities

Furthermore, neoliberal ideology has facilitated the increased integration of the private sector in decision-making surrounding urban development. As a result of this, there has been a consequently and tangible impact upon political initiatives regarding the promotion of greater foreign investment into the UK (Atkinson, 2020; Brill and Raco, 2021). The desire of elite actors to attract foreign investment, particularly within the context of London, speaks to the dynamic’s observed within The

Royal Docks case study. The tendering process for the RAD Business Hub resulted in ABP being successful, a Chinese based development firm with strong links to the Chinese government. Connections which were utilised during the Mayor of London Boris Johnson's trade visit to China, on which he was accompanied by the CEO of ABP, Xu Weiping (*UK Media coverage, China Daily European Edition, 2013, London's past seen as London's future*). Moreover, within the broader context of London, developers and politicians do not only actively seek to attract foreign investment but also to construct developments that attract the global elite (Atkinson, 2019). The motivation underlying this is discussed by Elmer and Denning (2016:274) who observe increased incentives for developers to construct high-end housing that appeals to foreign investors, as opposed to building affordable housing. These government priorities emerged within the data and are illustrated in the following interview extract with a civil servant.

"From what I've seen, in central London mainly the prioritisation now is foreign investment and bringing in that investment I'd have thought. And actually, bringing that investment in to maintain the areas, rather than localised individuals retaining where they live or staying within that family unit of the area unit that they've been brought up into. They are looking to bring people in rather than keep people in if that makes sense?"

UK Interview (Abigail, Civil Servant)

This attitude towards urban development, that is observed at government level, resonates with later gentrification debates which observe a shift towards large-scale redevelopment of urban areas. With this type of development often being facilitated by the investment of foreign capital and resulting in the displacement and replacement of existing residences with wealthier individuals (Smith et al., 2018 [2002]). The urban development priorities revealed here are further encapsulated by the experience of residents, which is portrayed in the following interview extract in which residents describe a community meeting with developers:

Joy: And another thing is, you know a lot of people, it's the corporate world that there concentrating on here, they behave as though no one has ever lived in this area before. As if it's just a barren wasteland. They've discovered it, so whatever their bringing in we're not consulted. They say they're consulting us but what that means is they put us in a room, patronise us, spend about 45 minutes running through these beautiful pictures and then say they're really sorry they don't have time for questions or anything, but here's our contact details. And then the next thing you know they have a thing that says we have consulted with the locals and they're very happy with what's been going on. With most of us, those who could be bothered to turn up, go; I found that very confusing, I haven't

had time to think, and then at the last meeting we were asked to sign an agreement to a policy that was yet to be written.

Ruth: They actually asked that! Was that a building company?

Joy: It was. We all just looked at each other and were like, we'll get back to you on that.

Ruth: You tell her what they said back.

Joy: You say, I can't remember.

Ruth: You said something like you expect us to sign something that hasn't been written, and they said it will be fine because...

Joy: I think it was, well because we know what you want, we've talked to you, and we've got an idea. I'm thinking you haven't got a bloody idea!

Ruth: I mean the arrogance of that."

UK Interview (Joy and Ruth, Community Members)

Illustrated within this extract are elite actors portraying a confidence that their envisioned development for the area is in the best interests of Newham borough, as it had the potential of attracting wealthy investment into the area. However, these ideas appeared to be disconnected from the urban development priorities and desires of those already living within Newham.

This attitude among developers and the local government also resonates with the RAD Business Hub development. It was clear that this ambitious development was perceived as a significant opportunity for the area. This could be observed in an apparent confidence among elite actors that the real estate venture would result in increased investment, employment opportunities, and consequently lead to social and economic growth within the local area. This was reflected in planning requirements for the area which emphasised the importance of this area being designated for real estate that prioritised employment opportunities. An example of this rhetoric surrounding the RAD Business Hub is evident in the following extract:

Advanced Business Park (ABP), a Chinese developer, yesterday signed a £1bn deal with Boris Johnson, London's mayor, to develop a 14 hectare (35 acre) complex of offices and shops at the Royal Albert Dock, near London City airport. Johnson said the park would become "London's third great business area" after the City of London and Canary Wharf, and would generate 20,000 jobs. It is the largest investment by a Chinese company in the UK and is projected to be worth £6bn to the capital's economy by the time the first

tenants arrive in 2017. Speaking before Chinese and British officials at City Hall, Johnson said the park "will restore jobs and growth to the Royal Docks, an area . . . that has been in more or less continuous decline for 50 or 60 years"

UK Media Coverage (The Guardian, 2013, Chinese to Develop slice of British Imperial Past).

The tension in urban development priorities within the context of The Royal Docks is an important consideration in the analysis of this case study and offers insight into elite practices surrounding real estate development in this area. Specifically, the manipulation of planning processes to enable this group to further their own agendas, as opposed to listening to the priorities and desires of residents. This can be seen particularly in relation to elite actors portraying a perceived necessity to attract foreign investment and the global elite into London. In addition to this, the design of real estate development's often being focused on meeting the needs of an imagined group, who are anticipated to bring affluence into the area, as opposed to meeting the needs of existing citizens.

Shifting Power Dynamics

Within London, prior to the RAD Business Hub development, there was a significant shift in power dynamics surrounding the oversight of large-scale developments in the city, such as the one investigated within this case study. The previous government body that oversaw these, London Development Agency (LDA), was dissolved and subsequently reassigned to the Mayor of London, which at that time was Boris Johnson. Furthermore, correlating with this shift in oversight, Boris Johnson established a public-private organisation, London and Partners, which sought to attract foreign investment into London through collaborating with private development companies. This is illustrated on the timeline for this case study, in addition to aspects of these changing dynamics being referred to in the London city plan:

"1.46 There are other changes to planning in and for London and the UK more generally that are also addressed in the new London Plan:

- the change in the London Plan's legal status since it was first written (see para 0.2)
- the Greater London Authority Act 2007 widened the Mayor's powers to deal with strategic planning applications and gave him responsibility for a number of new statutory strategies. The Localism Act 2011 abolished the London Development Agency and transferred land and housing responsibilities to the Mayor. It also made changes to the procedure for the preparation of the London Plan and other mayoral strategies."

UK Official Documents (Boris Johnson, 2016, London City Plan)

This shift in power dynamics is particularly significant within the London context as it speaks to a wider cultural shift in the conception and realisation of ambitious developments while Boris Johnson was the Mayor of London. The outworkings of this can be seen in the pursuit of numerous large scale ambitious developments which appeared to require significant public investment but did not receive significant scrutiny. This resulted in examples of high-end developments being successfully built, but that did not fulfil government requirements, such as the required quota of affordable or social housing. In these instances, developers would need to receive exceptions from the Greater London Authority (Minton, 2017). Moreover, these dynamics also resulted in development projects being pursued and promoted by Boris Johnson that required significant financial investment but did not reach completion, for example a floating village (UK Media Coverage, 2014, Boris floats big idea for homes on the river) and a garden bridge (UK Media Coverage, 2018, An Absurd Vanity Project for our Age – Boris Johnson’s Garden Bridge).

Furthermore, another poignant shift in power dynamics that took place over the course of the implementation of the RAD development, and had implications for the project, was a breakdown in UK-China relations. Within the data it emerged that a reduction of Chinese investment into the UK was linked to these political tensions. These dynamics can be observed in media coverage relating to the difficulties experienced surrounding the completion of the RAD Business Hub:

UK PM Rishi Sunak had reportedly said recently that a “golden era” in economic ties with China had come to an end – the phrase has long been linked to Mr Cameron and his quest for closer ties with Beijing a decade ago. The UK prime minister said: “We recognize that China poses a systemic challenge to our values and interests, a challenge that is becoming more acute as it moves towards even greater authoritarianism.”

UK Media Coverage (India Times, 2022, Why This Hong Kong Billionaire & Real Estate Tycoon What’s to Reveal London’s Ghost Town).

Therefore, fluctuating dynamics of power during the timeline of this development, including a change in the oversight of large-scale developments within London, resulting in the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, having greater responsibility and influence in relation to these types of projects. In addition to, a breakdown in UK-China political relations, which had been in a “golden-era” when the RAD Business Hub development was being conceived. These shifting power dynamics present a crucial factor that dramatically impacted the progression of the RAD Business Hub development. Therefore, offering insight into significant underlying considerations that informs how and why specific elite actors were able to interact with this real estate project, which informs the wider findings presented within this study.

Engagement of Elite Actors

In showcasing the engagement of elite actors, dynamics concerning the distinct but often interconnected involvement of the political and wealth elite will be considered. In 2005 Harvey described London as a central player in global finance, thus, increasing in attractiveness to the elite as a result of fresh opportunities for the accumulation of wealth and power (Harvey, 2005:62) . Consequently, this has impacted the engagement of the political and wealth elite with regards to their prioritisation and engagement in processes of urban development.

A key consideration, with regard to the involvement of the wealth elite, is that London continues to be perceived, both nationally and internationally, as a prime location for attracting investment (Glucksberg, 2016). Incorporated within the projection of this desired reputation for London is the promotion of sophisticated financial services that assist in the protection and accumulation of assets (Atkinson, 2020). This is significant in attracting investment for large-scale ambitious developments within London, as these services are designed to assist investors in the navigation of complicated financial arrangements and legal requirements, while also providing the opportunity for the concealment of capital and the avoidance of tax (Atkinson, 2019:10-11). Moreover, these practices extend to and have implications for housing provision within societies, as “developers and planning consultants work hard to circumvent their duty to offer either affordable housing or cash contributions to the local authority” (Atkinson, 2019:11; Brill and Raco, 2023). Despite these practices being challenged, efforts are often obstructed by an imbalance that exists between the resources available to local authorities address planning deviations and disputes, compared to the significantly greater resources at the disposal of the elite actors constructing ambitious developments. Thus, this results in the construction of developments that have attracted large-scale opposition from the council and local community being passed when planning decisions are brought to appeal by elite actors (Webber and Burrows, 2016:3149-3150). This links back to the prioritisation of private interests, resulting from the adoption of neoliberal ideology within the UK, as previously discussed. These dynamics relating to the use of complex financial practices by elite actors emerged within this case, with newspaper reports that the capital utilised by ABP originated from an account in the Seychelles, with ABP’s CEO, Xu Weiping, also holding citizenship status within the Seychelles (UK Official Document, Government Press Release, 2013, Mayor leads top business delegation on trade mission to China).

However, despite the strong financial infrastructure and an attractive investment climate being promoted within London, significant risk also underpins engagement with the construction of ambitious developments. Ben Garside, a UK journalist highlighted this tension within an interview, having observed that foreign investments were attracted to real estate projects within London, however, at times they underestimated the political complexity and the high degree of capital that is

necessary to navigate planning frameworks and complete a project of this type. A dynamic that is illustrated in the following interview extract:

“In London you've got to pick a council to build in first, and you've got to make sure that's a council that's favourable to building, and then if that's not a council that's going to be favourable to building you need to have the Mayor on side, and if you don't have the Mayor on side you need to have the Secretary of State on side, and if one of those three doesn't like it they can send it to judicial review and they can complain. And given the amount of cash that we're talking about to do any scale of large building in London it's very hard and that is why specialists are essentially now in charge of it.”

UK interview (Ben Garside, Journalist)

This extract resonates with discussions in Chapter two which highlighted the existence of an interconnected ecosystem of elite actors that were in positions and had accesses to resources that enabled them to benefit significantly from these types of large-scale ambitious developments that require huge amounts of capital. Furthermore, the global positioning of London is also influential in the engagement of the political elite and was therefore a significant factor in the conceptualisation of how The Royal Docks district should be developed. Thus, the political elite imagined a globally significant financial district for this area that focused on attracting investment from Asia, and that would compete with existing prominent financial districts within London. This can be observed within the following extract from a newspaper article:

“Johnson said: "Creating a third financial district in the capital, this development will act as a beacon for eastern investors looking west, bringing with it tens of thousands of jobs and billions of pounds of investment for the UK economy." Chairman of ABP Mr Xu added: "This project will be hugely significant for both the Chinese and UK economies. My vision is to develop a world class international business district, which will initially target Asian businesses to help them secure a destination in London, which in China is seen as the gateway to both the United Kingdom and the wider European economy.””

UK Media Coverage (EGI NEWS, 2013, £1bn Chinese business port deal signed)

The political elite associating themselves with the construction of ambitious developments provided the opportunity for further benefits. This was an additional insight highlighted during an interview with journalist Ben Garside, who posited that Boris Johnson's promotion of ambitious developments while Mayor of London, had a significant impact on him later being elected as Prime Minister. The articulation of this can be observed within the following extract from the interview:

“I think Boris in and of himself, he loves to be seen next to a construction site, his optics were to build, build, build, do all this, hard hat. It was his political legacy, like if it wasn't for the Olympics, he doesn't become Prime Minister.”

UK Interview (Ben Garside, Journalist)

Therefore, the global positioning and promotion of an attractive investment climate within London is a significant consideration regarding the engagement of the political and wealth elite in ambitious developments. Yet, intertwined with this are significant risks, the consequence of which can be observed in the difficulties that were experienced regarding the realisation of the developments investigated within this study. An overview of motivations underpinning the engagement of both the wealth elite and political elite are important considerations in understanding the findings presented, as it highlights how these groups are invested in these types of developments in distinct and overlapping ways. An example of this can be noted in the reputational aspect for London, which was a significant consideration for both groups, as it enabled the continued influx of capital into the city which benefits the wealth elite, while it portrays active and visionary governance that had positive implications for the political elite.

In sum, this section presents a ‘picture’ of significant events and insights surrounding The Royal Docks case study. Specifically, an overview of the case study, a timeline, and insight into pertinent areas, including governance, urban development priorities, shifting power dynamics and the engagement of elite actors. As indicated within this section these foundational considerations speak to significant underlying dynamics that inform the empirical findings presented in the subsequent chapters.

4.4 Kigamboni Case Study

4.4.1 Timeline Surrounding Avic Town, Kigamboni Satellite City, and Dege Eco Village.

Kigamboni is a district within the city of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and is positioned in close proximity to the city centre. However, within the district limitations have been experienced in relation to development, and as a result, it has significant areas of relatively low-density populations. Consequently, in official documents plans are presented for a satellite city to be constructed in the Kigamboni district, to theoretically accommodate for a rapidly increasing population within the city. Since colonial rule was established, Dar es Salaam has been a significant city within the country and

has rapidly grown, with a population of over 5 million in 2016, and a projected population of 13 million by 2036 (Lukuvi, 2016). Despite it not being the official capital of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam has become the central place within the country for conducting business and, until recently, where the majority of government buildings have been situated. Accordingly, the undeveloped land in Kigamboni presents opportunities in relation to large-scale real estate constructions that can connect to this vibrant business centre. However, in previous attempts to develop the area a variety of challenges have been experienced, including a lack of accessibility due to Kigamboni only being accessible from the centre of Dar es Salaam by a ferry crossing. In addition to the infrastructure being limited within this area which resulted in significant barriers to advancing development projects (TZ Interview, Joseph, Government Official). The government has attempted to address these limitations, this involved the construction of the Nyerere Bridge, the completion of which was overseen by John Magufuli who at the time was the minister for transport. Funding for this bridge came from both the National Social Security Fund (NSSF) and Chinese investors. The construction of this bridge marked a significant shift in how NSSF capital was managed, with the organisation moving away from being a 'strategic reserve' to actively pursuing investment opportunities (TZ Media Coverage, The East African, 2012, NSSF to invest in bridges, power projects).

Within the Kigamboni district, this case study focuses on three globally significant developments, which have each been impacted by the transformation vision for this area, outlined in official documents (Lukuvi, 2016). These include KSC, which was a globally significant development pursued by the Tanzanian government and involved the formation of a team, the Kigamboni Development Agency (KDA), tasked to oversee the implementation of the development. However, despite the resources invested into initial plans, and the apparent confidence of the political elite, the construction of this project never began. The second development considered was Avic Town, this comprised of a high-end real estate project constructed by a Chinese development company, on the far side of the planned KSC Development and at the time of this project remained predominantly unoccupied. And finally, Dege Eco Village, a large-scale public-private partnership between the NSSF and Azimo, a private developer. However, in this example the partnership broke down during the project's construction, thus, at the time of this study it was only partially completed. As indicated, each of these developments experienced challenges which resulted in the original vision for their construction not being realised.



FIGURE 8: COMPUTER GENERATED PICTURE FROM AVIC TOWN PROMOTIONAL MATERIAL

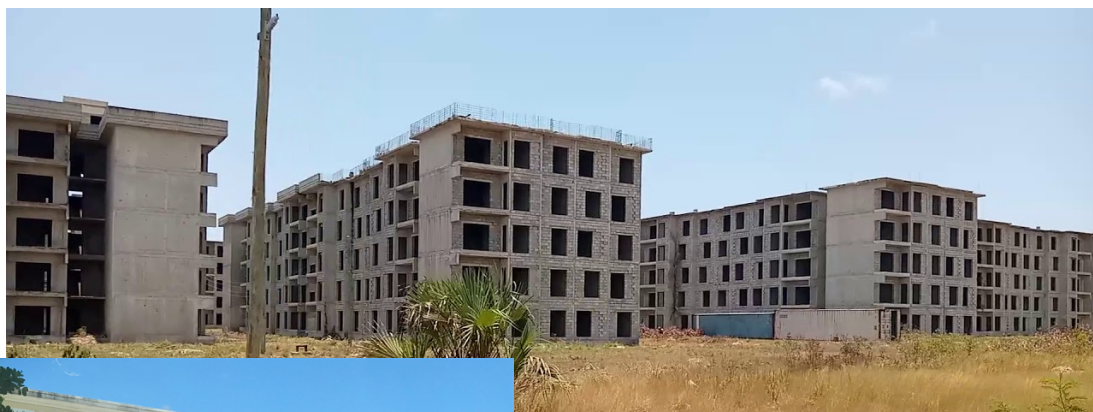
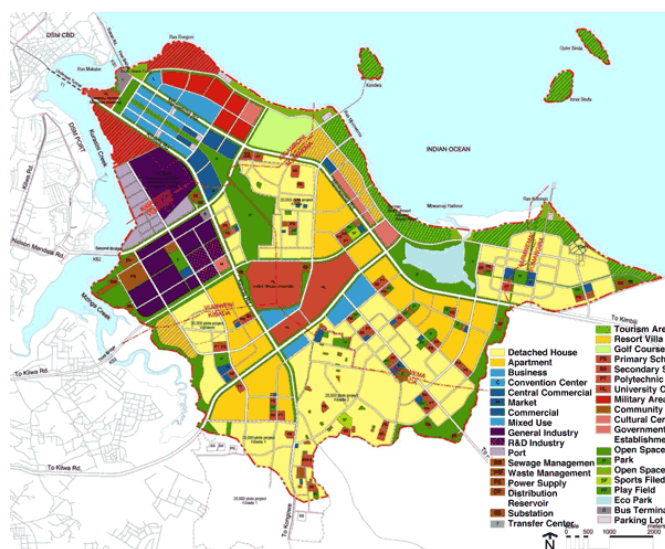


FIGURE 9: AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF DEGE ECO VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT FROM FIELDWORK VISIT



FIGURE 10: AUTHOR'S PHOTO OF AVIC TOWN DEVELOPMENT FROM FIELDWORK VISIT

FIGURE 7: PLANS RELEASED BY TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT FOR KIGAMBONI SATELLITE CITY DEVELOPMENT



Kigamboni Case Study Timeline

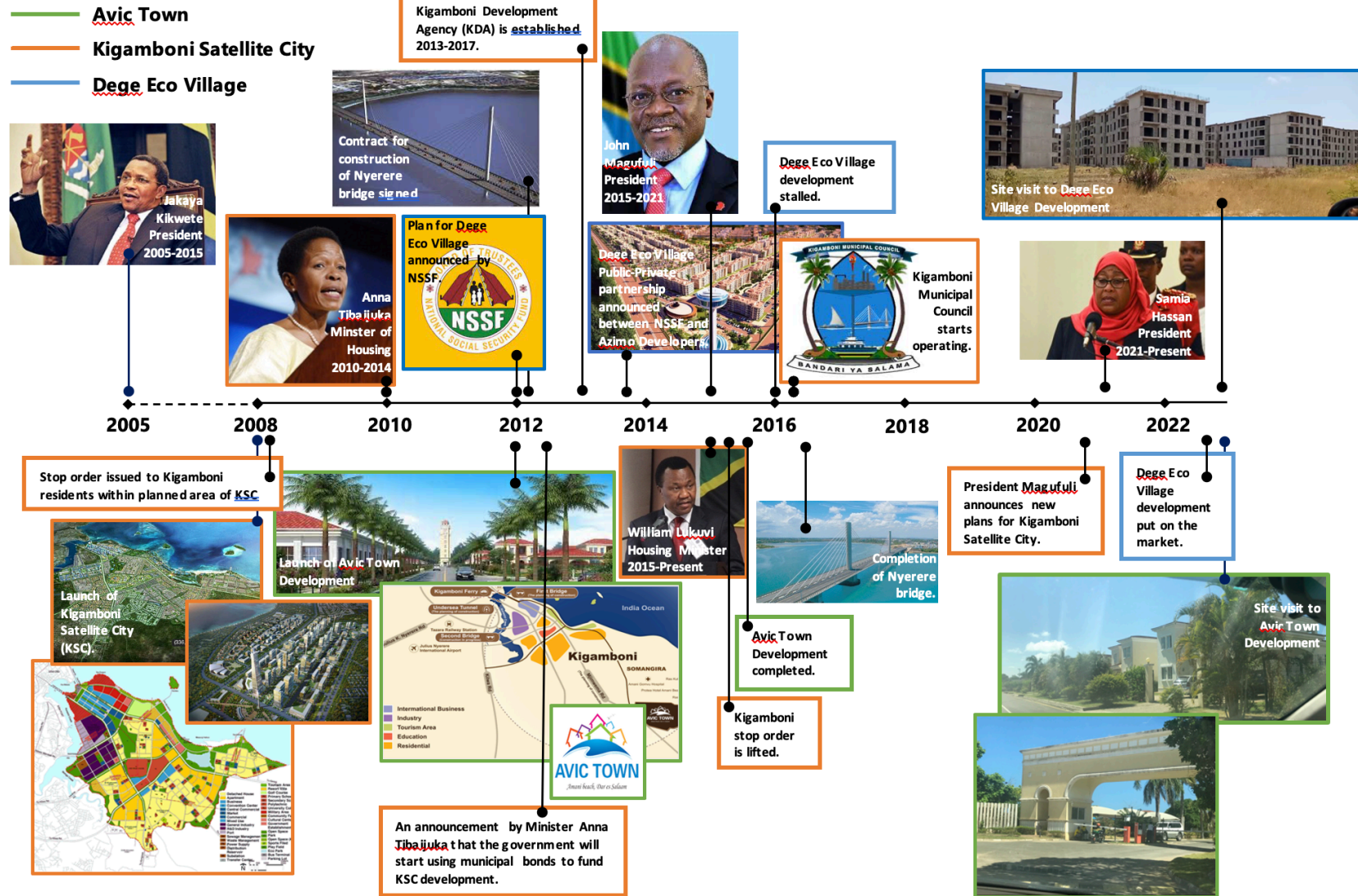


FIGURE 11: KIGAMBONI CASE STUDY TIMELINE

TABLE 9: KIGAMBONI CASE STUDY DETAILED TIMELINE

Date	Events	Evidence
Jakaya Kikwete President 2005-2015		
2008	Government approves the development of Kigamboni Satellite City (KSC)	TZ Media Coverage (NGO Daily News, 2012, NGO concerns on closure of Kigamboni New City Project)
2008	Kigamboni residents who live in the planned area for KSC are ordered by the government to stop construction on their land	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2013, Axe Falls on Three Top Land Officers)
Prof. Anna Tibaijuka Minister of Land, Housing and Human Settlements 2010-2014		
01.2012	The deal is signed to construct a Sh214.639bn bridge by a Chinese contractor between the mainland and Kigamboni. With NSSF bearing 60% of the construction fee.	TZ Media Coverage (Africa News, 2012, Tanzania; Bridge Project a Step in the Right Direction)
05.2010	Master plan for KSC was submitted to the government	Watson, V. 2014. African urban fantasies: dreams or nightmares?

	website detailing companies involved in first phase. These included: -MiWorld (UAE) – Development -China Hope Limited (China) – Development -LH Consortium (South Korea, state-owned company) – Planning.	<i>Environment and urbanization.</i> 26(1) , pp.215-231.
2012	An NGO, Haki Ardhi, has raised concerns relating to government plans to halt KSC project – citizens have already invested financially and psychologically in the project.	TZ Media Coverage (NGO Daily News, 2012, NGO concerns on closure of Kigamboni New City Project)
2012	NSSF announced the construction of a satellite town (later named Dege Eco Village), separate from KSC – plan is for 3000 houses at Sh500bn.	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2012, NSSF Set to Begin Construction of 500 billion/-Town)

2012	Avic Town development is launched	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2015, CBA Supports Kigamboni Low-Cost Housing Project)
07.2012	Announcement by Housing Minister Anna Tibaijuka that TZ will start using municipal bonds, thus, enabling the funding of KSC.	TZ Media Coverage (East African Business Week, 2012, Tanzania Opts for Municipal Bonds)
01.2013	Kigamboni Development agency (KDA) is established.	TZ Official Document (Nordic Africa Institute, 2016, Research report: New City Visions and the Politics of Redevelopment in Dar es Salaam.
05.2013	Reports of government corruption surrounding KSC, with government officials allocating land plots to themselves.	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2013, Axe Falls on Three Top Land Officers)
11.2013	Azimo and NSSF decided to go into partnership to construct a Kigamboni Satellite Town (Dege Eco Village)	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2016, NSSF admits fraud in giant Sh1.4tr satellite city project)

12.2013	Compensation dispute surrounding evictions for Kigamboni bridge.	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2013, Compensation Controversy May Delay Kigamboni Bridge Scheme)
05.2014	Assurance by the government that KSC is still on track while there are reports of frustration from residents as it has been a long time since they have been able to build on their land.	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2014, Kigamboni Residents Promised Hefty Compensations)
08.2014	First phase of Dege Eco Village reportedly complete. Reports that NSSF has 45% of shares and Azimo has 55% of shares. Intention is now to build 7,460 units.	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2014, Dar Satellite City on Good Footing)
John Magufuli President 2015-2021		
William Lukuvi Minister of Land, Housing and Human Settlements 2015-Present		
03.2015	Kigamboni stop order is lifted.	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2015, Lukuvi now overturns Prof

		Tibaijuka's decisions on Kigamboni new city)
05.2015	Avic Town development now has houses for sale, these houses are marketed as affordable.	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2015, CBA Supports Kigamboni Low-Cost Housing Project)
2016	Dege Eco Village development stalled	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2022, Why NSSF is disposing of Dege Eco Village)
04.2016	Kigamboni Municipal Council starts operations after being established in Nov. 2015.	Kigambonimc.go.tz
05.2016	The new housing minister announces that previous plans for KSC are to be abandoned by the government.	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2016, Bunge: Kigamboni city project is a failure)
10.2016	NSSF admits that fraud has taken place within the Dege Eco Village development.	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2016, NSSF admits fraud in giant Sh1.4tr satellite city project)

09.2017	Magufuli dissolves Kigamboni Development Agency (KDA) and transfers responsibilities to Kigamboni Municipal Council.	TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2017, Municipality Replaces KDA)
12.2019	Prime Minister Kassim Majaliwa ordered that government-owned real estate developers is to re-evaluate the prices of their housing to make it more for those on low incomes.	TZ Media Coverage (The East African, 2019, NSSF Tanzania plans to rent and sell its property)
12.2019	Plans for NSSF to value Dege Eco Village properties and put them on the market.	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2019, Real estate developers start reevaluation of their assets)
10.2020	Massive development announced for Kigamboni by President Magufuli, which does not involve the evacuation of land, but the zoning of land for developers to then build on.	TZ Media Coverage (Daily News, 2020, Kigamboni braces for massive development projects)
Death of President Magufuli 17.03.2021		
Samia Hassan President 2021-Present		

08.2021	Reports of increased foreign investment with President Hassan.	TZ Media Coverage (Daily News, 2021, Tanzania Lures More Investors)
09.2021	Government offices officially moved to Dodoma.	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2021, Shifting the capital to Dodoma: There is no going back on decision)
10.2022	The whole Dege Eco Village development is put up for sale.	TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2022, Why NSSF is disposing of Dege Eco Village)
03.2023	Visit to site	Notes from site visit recorded in Research journal

4.4.1 Relevant Contextual Aspects of the Kigamboni Case Study.

The timeline for the various developments that have been focused on within this case study will be more fully developed by next focusing on significant contextual aspects. As with exploring the context of The Royal Docks case study this will involve developing a more comprehensive 'picture' by focusing on dynamics relating to governance, urban development priorities, shifting power dynamics, and the engagement of elite actors.

Governance

In relation to governance, a significant shift in political ideology has been observed within the African context, which has involved an increase in privatisation and the adoption of neoliberal policies (Poku and Mdee, 2011). A key area in which this can be observed in Tanzania is regarding the ownership of land and real estate, this shift is reflected in the operations of government institutions. For example, there have been significant changes in the priorities and structures of the National Housing Corporation's (NHC). This is illustrated within the following two data extracts, which are taken from a government official and a newspaper article:

"NHC is for the public, however it does not have a government budget despite being a publicly own company. It therefore operates as a private company, using commercial principles. Thus, NHC projects need to make money, the company needs to generate its own income."

TZ interview (Joseph, Government Official)

Dr Mmari added: "In the past, the corporation provided housing mostly for civil servants, but over the years it has extended its projects to include members of the private sector and ordinary wananchi (citizens). I would like to see this liberalized provision of housing continue to ensure that every Tanzanian is able to access affordable quality houses."

TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2017, Whither NHC after Mchechu ouster?)

NHC are a prominent government housing organisation within Tanzania. Hence, despite not being directly connected to the projects investigated, they provide insight into wider shifts that have taken place in relation to urban development. This shift towards increased liberalisation, however, remains intertwined with complexities regarding land tenure reform within Tanzania. Gillespie (2020) discusses this complexity which can be observed within the African context, thus, he advises caution in applying free market trading assumptions that are widely observed within the Global North. As there often exists a diversity of structures and practices surrounding land allocation (Gillespie,

2020:600). Furthermore, within Tanzania there remains a high degree of government control, with land only being accessible on a leasehold, with the government ultimately retaining ownership (Cross, 2002:29). The acquiring of formal plots of land in Tanzania is, therefore, highly bureaucratic and complex, thus, favouring the elite (Cross, 2002:23). Furthermore, parallel to the formal systems, traditional systems of land access have also continued to exist (Cross, 2002:29). In addition to foreign ownership being restricted, with foreigners unable to own properties within the country, and thus, foreign developers having to enter into partnerships with Tanzanian citizens. There is, however, a speculation that laws may change surrounding land ownership, particularly in relation to enabling greater foreign investment. These constraints, relating to dynamics surrounding the governance of urban development, are important considerations within this project as they directly impact the construction of ambitious developments. This is illustrated in the following data extract from an interview with a government official:

“Foreigners can only hold land for investment, however, at ministry level they are looking at changing regulations to accommodate the demands of foreign investors. The government is investing 50 billion TSh (approx. 2 million USD) to ensure that investment is happening and to help the government deal with the challenges of working with private entities.”

TZ Interview (Jacob, Government Official)

Therefore, significant aspects of governance that are of relevance to the developments under investigation within the Kigamboni context have been highlighted. Included within this is the impact the adoption of neoliberal ideology has had on the structures and practices of government agencies regarding the increased involvement of the private sector, while also highlighting that contextual complexities that exist surrounding these dynamics.

Urban Development Priorities

Within Tanzania there are complexities that underpin the planning system as officially land belongs to the government, therefore, land can only be purchased by citizens on a conditional basis (Oates et al., 2020). This stems from a strong heritage of socialist principles which incorporates strong government control over land and an emphasis on the construction of social housing (Oates et al., 2020). However, as a result of the increased liberalisation of the market laws surrounding land have shifted. Land reforms in 1999, and subsequent reforms in 2007, have enabled the securing of individual entitlement to land, thus supporting the privatisation of land through title deeds and land rights. Therefore, enabling private investors, both nationally and internationally, to purchase land for development purposes (URT, 1999; URT, 2007). Hence, this has been a significant contributor to the stimulation of

the real estate market (Mercer, 2018, pp.526-527). Therefore, this illustrates a shift within Tanzania from an emphasis by the government on the construction of affordable housing to expanding the private housing sector (Izar and Mtwangi Limbumba, 2020, p.2; Mramba and Deininger, 2018, p.3). Although, there remains a tension as the purchase of land plots by foreigners is still restricted and official documents continue to prioritise the importance within urban planning of meeting the needs of society as a whole, including the needs of existing populations (URT, 1999; URT, 2007).

Incorporated within this shift towards an increased liberalisation of the market has been the promotion of satellite cities in urban development planning within Tanzania, which encompass transformative aspirations, is a critical consideration concerning the ambitious developments investigated. This is illustrated in the following newspaper extract:

"Advocates of Tanzania's proposed Kigamboni City, near the commercial capital Dar es Salaam, say it will be an ultra-modern urban centre whose facilities will compete with those in Dubai, Hong Kong and Kuala Lumpur."

TZ Media Coverage (Africa News, 2014, Africa; Helping Africa's Urban Poor Gain From Modernization)

This narrative surrounding the KSC development emerged repeatedly within the data collected and resonates with dynamics observed by del Cerro Santamaria (2019:264) regarding the intention of ambitious developments being underpinned by aspirations to change the structure of a society. The perceived ability of satellite city developments to set emerging economies apart on the global stage is also supported by Van Leynseele and Bontje (2019:207). Furthermore, regarding satellite cities, there exists a complexity for governments and developers in deciding whether to erase or incorporate existing developments and planning stipulations (Van Leynseele and Bontje, 2019:210). Within the data it emerged that this was a particular challenge with regards to the realisation of the original plans for KSC, resulting in the plans for the development shifting. The outcome of this tension is illustrated in the following Media report, which discusses the adoption of a new approach by the government that allowed for citizens to have greater control over the development of the area:

"He said his ministry had met and discussed with various stakeholders of the envisaged new Kigamboni City to have a common understanding on the vision of the development of the satellite city. Under the new concept, Kigamboni residents have the opportunity to get involved in the development of the new satellite city through developing their own land, according to land plans for the new city. The residents will also have the opportunity to enter into a joint venture arrangement with investors to develop the area by using

their lands as capital, Mr Lukuvi told the House, adding the residents could also sell their lands to investors, according to the market price.”

TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2015, Land for Satellite City Project Area
Reduced)

Furthermore, a significant shift in urban development priorities took place in conjunction with the implementation of these developments, directly impacting them. The newly elected President John Magufuli reinstated Dodoma as Tanzania’s capital city, the consequence of this was then the relocation of government offices, and therefore government employees, from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma. This was particularly impactful, as government employees were one of the limited group of people that had incomes which would enable them to invest in the developments vision for Kigamboni, as is illustrated in the following data extract:

“Magufuli changing the capital city of Tanzania to Dodoma is a move that has really impacted the development of Kigamboni. As government officials who were living in Kigamboni have moved to Dodoma, so their previous houses have been left empty. The hope was that these were also the people who would live in the houses being built in this area, however, this demand has now gone.”

TZ Interview (Elizabeth, Community leader)

These contextual shifts are also underpinned by wider dynamics relating to the implementation of real estate developments within African cities. A recurring problem is observed regarding the discontinuing of developments mid-construction due to financial difficulties (Gillespie, 2020:602; Goodfellow, 2017). Moreover, further implications for citizens are tied up with this, as within the Tanzanian context citizens invested in the Kigamboni district due to it being advertised as a priority for government development initiatives. When these development priorities then shifted it was citizens, with limited resources, that experienced the adverse impact on their investments most profoundly. This correlates with Mill’s (2000 [1956]) observation that there often exists a disconnect between the actions of elite actors and the impact these actions have on local communities. He discusses how the elite do not experience the economic jolts that are felt by wider society, with this group often entirely protected from them, which in turn impacts their perception and decision-making surrounding urban development (Mills, 2000 [1956]:16). This tension is highlighted within the following data extract:

“These developments warrant continued research to investigate the changing visions and constellations of relations involved in what might turn out to be a new re-imagining of

Kigamboni and Dar es Salaam, and the ways in which residents once again may try to (re)position themselves in relation to future transformations.”

TZ Official Documents (Research report New City Visions -Kigamboni)

These discussions are important considerations that are built upon within the empirical chapters, as they communicate the tension that exists between the adoption of neoliberal principles within this context alongside a continued complexity regarding the role the government plays in land ownership and priorities which are connected to historic socialist principles that continue to underpin aspects of land legislation. In addition, an important consideration within this context is the perceived transformative nature of satellite cities within this context. In addition to highlighting the impact of shifting urban development priorities, both in relation to elite actors experiencing obstacles in the realisation of ambitious developments and regarding the far-reaching consequences for citizens, particularly those who have invested in the surrounding area.

Power Dynamics

During the timeline of the ambitious developments investigated there has been significant shifts in power dynamics, including changes in the president and, consequently, fluctuations in the configuration of the wider ruling party. Intertwined with this has been the type of political ideology and priorities promoted regarding the ambitious developments pursued and facilitated. Resonating with Mill’s observation of elite actors being in the unique position to demolish and reconstruct social structures and implement a new set of rules (Mills, 2000 [1956]:27). This shift in power dynamics within this context primarily occurred when John Magufuli was elected president, replacing Jakaya Kikwete who had resided as president for the previous 10 years. Therefore, although both presidents belonged to the CCM, which was the political party that had governed Tanzania since the country became independent, it emerged that their political ideologies and urban development priorities were significantly different. During his presidency Kikwete had pushed for the liberalisation of the market and had attempted to attract investment and stimulate development. Magufuli, however, was concerned about the increased privatisation of the market and the influence of foreign investment, equating the introduction of these with corrupt practices. Evidence of this shift that occurred under the presidency of Magufuli emerged multiple times, an example of this is in the following extract from an interview with a journalist:

“When Magufuli came into power one of his objectives was to tackle rent seeking and corruption, there was probably quite a lot of this going on in the negotiations surrounding Kigamboni Satellite City. So, Magufuli was halting development projects, even government fronted ones.”

In addition to this there were multiple shifts in power dynamics regarding the oversight of development projects within the context of Kigamboni, as illustrated on the case study timeline. First, the Kigamboni Development Agency (KDA) was created, which was a government body given authority and resources to oversee the KSC project. Second, when Magufuli came into power the KDA was dissolved, and the Kigamboni Municipal Council (KMC) established. It emerged in the data, however, that the KMC were allocated significantly less resources or authority, thus, hindering the construction of ambitious developments within Kigamboni. The following data extract illustrates the power dynamics and competing interests surrounding the decision-making underpinning this transferral of oversight:

“The government has been advised to abandon its plan for the Kigamboni city project because it has failed to implement it. The Parliamentary Committee on Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism as well as the Opposition Camp said after eight years of inactivity the government had proved that it had no intention of undertaking the project. To further show that the project is not at the heart of the government, in the 2016/17 budget which was tabled yesterday by the minister for Lands, Housing and Human Settlement Development, Mr William Lukuvi, no single cent has been allocated to the project for development. The committee visited offices of the Kigamboni Development Agency or KDA and realised that nothing was going on. The project has not been implemented and there is no indication that the government is intending to carry it out. KDA was formed to manage the project which was set to be undertaken in three phases. The committee advises the government to acknowledge that it has failed to undertake the project and should abandon it altogether, said the committee chairman, Mr Atashasta Nditaye (Muhambwe - CCM).”

TZ Media Coverage (2016, The Citizen, Bunge: Kigamboni city project is a failure)

Two shifts in power dynamics that are critical in understanding the urban development dynamics that underpin this case study have been discussed. These include changes in the country's political leadership resulting from the election of a new president, resulting in a significant shift in the political ideology and development priorities promoted. Furthermore, this power shift Interconnects with reallocations in governmental oversight of ambitious developments within the Kigamboni district. Interestingly powerful actors orchestrating changes in the oversight of these types of projects correlates with findings that emerged in The Royal Docks case study.

Engagement of Elite Actors

Regarding the engagement of elite actors, as within The Royal Docks case study, there are examples of the wealth elite and the political elite engaging in both distinct and interconnected ways. Concerning the political elite, Watson (2014) discusses various motivations of politicians to embark on globally significant developments, including the potential of increased political support, in addition to opportunities for direct and indirect financial benefits (Watson, 2014:225). Intertwined with these motivations are opportunities that exist outside formal frameworks, Hoseah (2014) describes an ongoing challenge within Tanzania revolving around corrupt practices by the political elite, drawing on an example of this group benefiting financially from development projects through the divergence of funds for their personal gain. These observations resonate with findings that have emerged within this study, as illustrated in the following interview extract:

“These types of projects in Tanzania take a lot of time there is a lot of paperwork and negotiation. People also will look to stall this type of project in government if they don’t agree with it, they just need to stall it long enough for the political climate to change – which is what happened here. Also, there is rent seeking in government, so this might be a reason why individuals in government are stalling, in attempts to profit more from the development. This kind of activity creates problems and negatively impacts investment.”

TZ Interview (Andrew, Journalist)

Engagement of the wealth elite centres around real estate becoming increasingly recognised as a safe place for elite actors to invest their capital within the African context. Goodfellow observes how within Ethiopia and Rwanda there are both formal and informal incentives that result in greater profits for elite actors to invest in real estate, as opposed to productive investments which could potentially have a greater positive impact on society (Goodfellow, 2017). An increased engagement of foreign investment has also been observed within the literature concerning investment dynamics within Tanzania. This refers especially to a growth in the role of the Asian business community in banking finance and real estate development, with reports that Asian business owners supported political election campaigns in exchange for non-market access to property and other assets (Therkildsen and Bourgoignie, 2012). This correlates particularly with the Avic Town development, initially citizens were informed that the site would be used for housing retired army officers, however, plans shifted to the uproar of the local community and a luxury housing development was constructed by a Chinese company. As exemplified in the following data extract:

“Then it all started again in 2012 with a new project low-cost housing for retired TPDF employees and other civil servants, according to 70-year-old Khadija Chande Msomi. “My

six and a half hectares of cashew and coconut trees have been grabbed," says Msomi, a mother of 11 who also has several grandchildren. My house was razed too. I was not given a single cent as compensation." "Once again under the guise of 'government' so as to intimidate us and take our land with minimal compensation, the (Dar es Salaam) Regional Commissioner, Mr Said Meck Sadick, went to China and managed to get funding for the project from a company called Avic," said another resident standing near the debris of his demolished house. He added: "Now it is actually an upmarket housing development for the general public and not retired army officers," he said, adding that the housing development which was being executed by a Chinese company called Avic International Real Estate included Ngaramia Forest Reserve, which is a gazetted reserve."

TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2015, How firm ruined lives of Kigamboni dwellers)

The narrative that Tanzania is becoming an increasingly attractive location for foreign investment has emerged repeatedly. For example, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were reported as having some of the fastest growing economies in Africa, as illustrated in the following newspaper extract and corroborated by Watson (2014):

"Commercial real estate attributes to higher economic growth, better quality of life for citizens and a more prosperous community. The value of Tanzania's properties accounted for 3.7 percent of the country's GDP (\$1.8 billion) in 2014, compared to \$1 billion in 2009, representing an increase of 63 percent."

TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2018, Real estate business has come a long way)

Accordingly, the political and wealth elite are presented with a variety of opportunities through their engagement in ambitious developments. Moreover, it has need highlighted that this engagement has far reaching consequence for surrounding communities, the city of Dar es Salaam, and Tanzania more broadly. Which are important considerations that have influenced interactions and justifications by elite actors that are further explored within the subsequent chapters.

This section has, therefore, presented a rich and detailed 'picture' of significant events and considerations relating to the Kigamboni case study that underpin aspects of the findings presented within this study. As with The Royal Docks this has Incorporated an overview, a timeline, and insight into relevant dynamics relating to governance, urban development priorities, shifting power dynamics and the engagement of elite actors. The combination of which contribute to establishing a foundation that will be built upon within this study.

4.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to highlight and engage with critical areas of the case study contexts and to build a multi-layered picture of each environment investigated that draws on relevant literature and empirical findings. In developing this picture salient international trends, the contexts of each country, and the dynamics surrounding the ambitious real estate developments have been engaged with. This is of particular importance within this thesis as the case studies utilised had significant contextual differences, which encompassed complex and distinct historical, economic, political, and social backdrops. This was due to a critical aspect of this study being the utilisation of diverse contexts, situated in what is often described as the Global North and Global South, to inform a dynamic and globally applicable theoretical understanding of elite informality. However, it is also acknowledge within this study that intrinsic difficulties are also associated with bringing together significantly different cases (Robinson, 2021). Therefore, the intention within this chapter has been to strengthen the subsequent analysis of the case studies that have been selected, through examining each environment in depth prior to bringing them into juxtaposition. As a consequence, this has provided the opportunity for multifaceted and detailed ‘pictures’ to be constructed and communicated, and a robust foundation to be established that underpins the findings presented in the empirical chapters, and consequently, the development of a dynamic understanding of elite informality that has cross-cultural relevance.

Initially, the impact of international trends on the construction of ambitious developments within the contexts investigated was considered. Brought out in this section was the informative role aspects of neoliberal ideology has on these global dynamics, particularly regarding the conceptualisation, construction, and justification of these projects. The necessity of this justification was especially poignant with regards to the financial support of governments. This is because, despite a key aspect in narratives surrounding ambitious developments being that they will attract private investment, there is often a significant cost to the public sector. A tension therefore emerges surrounding these developments relating to their dependence on public investment, while also having an exclusionary nature, as they often focus on attracting wealthy citizens or investments to an area. Finally, this section highlighted contextually different narratives relating to the influence of global dynamics within each case study. Within the Tanzanian context, a prominent narrative emerged relating to the transformative nature of ambitious developments, in relation to enabling countries to become globally competitive. However, within the context of the UK, there was a greater emphasis placed on

the contribution of ambitious developments in enabling London to retain its already competitive global positioning.

Regarding establishing a 'picture' of significant events and considerations surrounding the Royal Docks case study, several key things were noted. First, the perceived importance and value associated with attracting the wealthy, foreign investment, and the global elite to London emerged. Consequently, this perception was interwoven with development priorities, which often revolved around enticing an imagined group to the area, that was well-resourced, as opposed to meeting the needs of existing residents. Second, remarkable shifts in the formal structures that oversaw ambitious developments within London were highlighted, with these shifts correlating with furthering the interests of prominent elite actors. Significant changes in power dynamics regarding the political relationship between the UK and China also provided insight into dynamics underpinning the RAD business hub development, that was focused on in this case study. Hence, after being described at the onset of the development as being in a "golden era", there was a subsequent breakdown in this relationship. Finally, concerning the engagement of elite actors, the perception among the wealth elite, that London is an attractive environment for national and international investment, was brought out. In addition to emphasising the significant amount of capital and navigation of complex planning regulations, that were necessary to facilitate the construction of ambitious developments within this context. Furthermore, in relation to the political elite, engagement with the RAD Business Hub also incorporated a focus on maintaining London's globally competitive position which facilitated broader political and economic opportunities for these actors.

Finally, a 'picture' is constructed within this chapter that provides insight into the Kigamboni case study. Within this context significant complexities arose around the growing engagement with neoliberal policies, particularly regarding the augmented role of the private sector, while resistance remained within the country concerning adopting aspects of neoliberal land reform. As a result, it can be noted that processes surrounding land reform have retained a high degree of government control. These shifting political dynamics has impacted urban development priorities, with the increased construction and promotion of ambitious developments, which are perceived as having the potential to transform areas. However, it has been noted that there have been inconsistencies surrounding these developments, with political actors fluctuating between development priorities. Of particular significance to the projects investigated in this study has been the re-establishing of Dodoma as Tanzania's capital city, resulting in the relocation of government officials and the redistribution of government resources. Consequently, this impacted investment into real estate projects within Dar es Salaam. Furthermore, this section highlighted how shifts in underpinning power dynamics have directly impacted fluctuations in government urban development priorities. The election of President

Magufuli is a stark example of this as his political ideology and objectives did not align with those of the previous President. Therefore, he significantly reduced foreign involvement and investment within the country, in addition to undermining, in various ways, the ambitious developments focused on within this case study: Kigamboni Satellite City, Dege Eco Village, and the Avic Town development. As in The Royal Docks case study, the political dynamics and interests of elite actors is reflected in the rearrangement of government oversight for these types of projects. Concerning the engagement of elite actors, it emerged both within the literature and the data that globally significant developments created the opportunity for the political elite to benefit in multiple ways, including positive political attention and through financial arrangements. For the wealth elite, investment into real estate is increasingly perceived as the securest area to investment within the broader African context, in addition to Dar es Salaam being reported to having one of the fastest growing economies within Africa. Accordingly, this provided incentives for these actors to engage with the ambitious developments investigated within Kigamboni.

Within this chapter it has been illustrated that although this research project focuses on two specific contexts, the dynamics surrounding these examples are interconnected and impacted by wider global forces. Furthermore, significant differences and overlaps have been identified between the Royal Docks and Kigamboni contexts, therefore, providing a grounding for analysis within the empirical chapters, which involves considering the two case studies in juxtaposition. Significant differences include that although aspects of neoliberalism are clearly influential within both contexts, the outworking of this ideology on government structures and practices varied between the two cases and was impacted by distinctive global narratives. Furthermore, the data and relevant literature indicated that less consistency had been experienced within Tanzania regarding the ideological direction given by the political elite. Taking these differences into consideration, significant overlaps were also observed. Primarily, each of the ambitious developments investigated within this study have encountered difficulties, and therefore, have not fulfilled what had been envisioned and promoted by elite actors. Within this project, these difficulties have enabled greater insight into elite informality, as they have allowed aspects of these dynamics to become more visible. Moreover, both case studies focus on complex development sites, where previous difficulties have been experienced regarding the construction of real estate projects. It is therefore salient to consider the dynamics surrounding how elite actors were able to make significant progress towards the realisation of the ambitious developments being considered, a consideration that the findings of this study contribute to through employing the lens of elite informality. A further overlap observed is the shift in government structures surrounding the oversight of ambitious developments, which in turn presented opportunities for the political elite to exert power over these projects in new ways. This creation of

previously undefined spaces, through which elite actors are able to exercise power, is an area that is further explored within this study in relation to the conceptualisation of informal spaces. In consequence, through establishing a more in-depth understanding of the contexts interacted with in this project, important considerations emerged that informed the analysis of, and dialogue between, the cases. Hence, insight is gained here into the political, economic, and social boundaries within which elite actors operate, which have weighty implications for practices and spaces of elite informality.

Elite Informality and Striving Towards Global Significance

5.1 Introduction

This initial empirical chapter highlights the intrinsic and multifaced connection between elite informality and the ability of individual elite actors to exert power over urban development priorities and practices. The discussion that takes place is a critical aspect of this thesis as the connection between elite informality and the outworking of urban development presents the opportunity to explore in greater depth instances where examples of informality emerge, and consequently, contributes towards building a clearer theoretical understanding of the concept. As discussed within the methodology chapter, these dynamics are opaque and often hidden, consequently the evidence utilised draws on a variety of sources, including official documents, promotional material, media coverage and interviews. Despite limitations existing regarding each of these data sets, cumulatively they have enabled the research phenomenon to be understood from a variety of perspectives and angles, thus, it has supported the revelation of fresh insights. This chapter, therefore, presents findings that strive towards conveying a deeper understanding into the ability of specific elite actors to utilise informality in ways that has enabled these particular individuals to shape processes and outcomes of urban development. Specifically, regarding the co-opting and claiming of urban land for the construction of the large-scale ambitious real estate developments investigated. In turn this showcased the sticking inequality that exists regarding the power an individual citizen has to shape the urban environment in which they are situated or are in a position to exert power over.

Henceforth, a key aspect of the analysis that is undertaken within this chapter, and the wider project, revolves around the relationship elite actors have with dynamics of power. Therefore, data extracts that illustrate examples of overt, narrative, and ideological demonstrations of power (Lukes, 2005; Kashwan et al., 2019) are repeatedly drawn out, particular regarding how they are interwoven with examples of elite informality. The significant emergent themes that are identified regarding elite informality, that correlate to both cases incorporate: the centrality of a future vision; domestic political battles; informal social networks and access to capital flows. How these themes play out differs in each case, however, despite distinct examples being identified, the highly interconnected and interdependent nature of these dynamics are repeatedly observed.

Moreover, the evidence presented illustrates that a critical factor that underpins dynamics regarding the ability of powerful actors to engage with and influence globally significant real estate developments is through the promotion of specific, transformation, visions for urban spaces. Within this study the elites' utilisation of vision refers to the critical ability of powerful actors to project and sell an imagined transformation for an area, which often incorporates the utilisation and promotion of specific political ideology. This speaks to past research regarding the speculative nature of urban development, with the theory of speculative urbanism being a central aspect of the theoretical framework that underpins the analysis which has been presented within this chapter (Fields, 2023; Gidwani and Upadhy, 2023; Gillespie, 2020).

The predominant focus within this chapter centres around the first research question which asked which elite actors were involved in examples of large-scale real estate projects in Dar es Salaam and London?'. This is explored by, first, engaging with the reoccurring theme that emerged surrounding specific elite actors promoting ambitious 'visions' for urban space. With these visions often highlighting the necessity and desire to achieve global significance through the construction of impressive real estate developments and impacting the ability of individual elite actors to engage with the specific ambitious real estate developments examined. The underlying role of elite informality within these dynamics is then examined. This was observed in three dominant, interdependent, themes that emerged within the data, that are also built on reflections offered in prior research, namely political forces, informal social networks, and access to capital flows (Atkinson, 2020; Goodfellow, 2020).

5.2 A Vision of Global Significance

Within the cases investigated, narratives are explored surrounding the conceptualisation of ambitious real estate developments, and the promotion of specific, often globally significant, ideas for the transformation of urban space by elite actors. This was observable in a variety of ways, in the Kigamboni case study narratives predominantly centred around the necessity of becoming competitive within the global economy, while in The Royal Docks case, interviewees tended to focus on the importance of London maintaining its globally predominant position. This is salient because conceptualisation and terminology relating to how cities engage with global markets can vary. For example, Saskia Sassen outlines precise criteria for "world cities", aspects of which resonate with the cities investigated. However, Sassen primarily attributes this term to a small number of cities: London, New York and Tokyo, that she identified as having a significant influence on global economic practices

(Sassen, 1994; Sassen, 2002). Within this project, the concept of cities interacting on the global stage is employed less precisely. Instead, it draws on a narrative that emerges within the data which relates to the perceived necessity of a city to be globally visible and competitive. This speaks to how elite 'visions' for ambitious real estate developments are often intrinsically linked to these projects achieving global significance. Examples of a narrative promoting the importance of global significance is visible across all three data sets within both case studies, which in turn suggests and demonstrates its dominance within the contexts investigated.

With regards to Kigamboni, an example of the rhetoric that surrounded the importance of pursuing a globally significant development is conveyed in the following media extract which describes the perceived perspective of Anna Tibaijuka, a high-ranking government official who was a significant elite actor that influenced the envisioned transformation of the Kigamboni area:

"The Minister for Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development, Professor Anna Tibaijuka, on Monday strongly defended in the National Assembly, the proposed multitrillion shillings Kigamboni Satellite City project in Temeke District, Dar es Salaam Region. The project for the proposed 'dream city' is expected to transform Kigamboni area into an ultra-modern urban centre with facilities competing with those in places like Dubai in the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Hong Kong and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia."

TZ Media Coverage (Tanzania Daily News, 2013, Tanzania Needs to Develop More
Modern Satellite Cities)

This media extract illustrates a narrative that is being presented by a significant elite actor. The extract, therefore, provides an example of an elite actor strongly supporting the globally significant aspirations for the KSC development, despite opposition. In addition, the extract also points towards previous justifications that have been discussed in relation to the transformative expectations associated with this real estate project. Moreover, the political complexities surrounding the promotion of this project can also be observed in this extract, as it speaks to a lack of alignment between powerful actors on whether the development is achievable. Tensions in narratives surrounding the plausibility of such an ambitious development also surfaced within interviews, for example, Andrew, a Tanzanian journalist, described how the resistance that Anna Tadayuki had experienced in realising the KSC development had negatively impacted the prospects for Tanzania. While Timothy, a government official discussed how in retrospect it had been unrealistic to imagine re-locating so many people to make space for such a large-scale project, especially when considering the cost of compensation.

In addition to conveying elite aspirations surrounding this ambitious project, the above abstract also highlights the significance of timing in realising this specific development. This can be observed in the article's references to the increased global prominence of ambitious real estate developments, that in turn have then led to the perceived transformation of countries, through these cities receiving increased investment and visibility on the global stage. Consequently, this data extract conveys an underlying expectancy that this could also be achieved within the context of Kigamboni, the justification of which is interwoven with the globally recognised success of other projects. Likewise, an interesting aspect of achieving a transition in urban spaces, which results in globally significance, is the implicit link that this is perceived to have with the construction of real estate. This is portrayed in the following extract, which incorporates a quote from a prominent government official:

“There was an overall ambition that the New City would propel Dar es Salaam into the global ranks of ‘world cities’. As the director of rural and town planning at the Ministry wrote in the foreword to the Master Plan, ‘It is my sincere hope that the implementation of the proposal contained in this document will contribute to the growth and prosperity of the city of Dar es Salaam towards a world-class city of excellence.’”

TZ Official Document (New City Vision -evaluation report, 2016)

FIGURE 12: THE VISION FOR KIGAMBONI SATELLITE CITY



Source: TZ Official Documents (Government Promotional Material)

The narratives expressed here by elite actors, surrounding the envisioned transformation for the Kigamboni district, are by their nature intertwined with local power dynamics, especially in relation to elite actors pursuing their own interests for the area through drawing on specific global ideologies. For example, the suggestion emerges within these extracts that the construction of globally significant ambitious developments will impact the positioning of Dar es Salaam on the global stage, and by extension it is implied that this will support economic growth within the area.

There were also examples of narratives surrounding the Royal Albert Docks case study that also revealed a globally significant vision that was promoted by elite actors, which incorporated its own contextual nuances. The real estate development focused on within this context was the RAD Business Hub, which was envisioned to become a competitive, international, business district that would have far-reaching financial benefits. The aspirations surrounding this large-scale ambitious project are revealed in a quote by the developer, Xu Weiping:

"Chairman of ABP Xu Weiping said: "I am very pleased and very proud that my company ABP has reached this agreement for the Royal Albert Dock with the Greater London Authority. This project will be hugely significant for both the Chinese and UK economies. My vision is to develop a world class international business district which will initially target Asian businesses to help them secure a destination in London, which in China is seen as the gateway to both the United Kingdom and the wider European economy. Our plans aim to strengthen trade between east and west, provide new local jobs and deliver benefits for the wider London and UK economy."

UK Official documents (Press release, 2013, Boris unveils 3.2m sq ft Chinese business district)

FIGURE 13: THE VISION FOR RAD BUSINESS HUB



Source: UK Official Documents (RAD Business Hub Promotional Material)

This quote reveals key observations including the suggestion that the RAD Business Hub development is being propelled by the personal vision of an elite actor. The chairman of ABP, Xu Weiping, describes his expectation that as a result of constructing this ambitious development he will enable London to become an even more prominent competitor within the global economy. Interwoven with this, and communicated in the data extract, is the perceived importance of fermenting international ties between the UK and China. Consequently, this will serve to reinforce the UK's global connectiveness and further strengthen its position as a result. Furthermore, the temporal significance of his vision is also evident, as his description of the development clearly coincides with a time of warming political relationships between the UK and China, which appears to be rooted in a desire to strengthen the economic position of both countries. At the same time, this coincided with a political shift taking place within China towards a greater engagement with the global market. The importance of these underlying dynamics in the initial phase of the development was articulated from different angles within the data, therefore illustrating the value of layering evidence from multiple sources. Examples of which are conveyed in the following two extracts, one originating from a media article, and the other from an interview:

“The project was conceived at the heady pinnacle of Sino-British relations, described as the dawn of a “golden era” when the deal was toasted at a lavish ceremony at Mansion

House in 2015 by the then prime minister David Cameron and Chinese President Xi Jinping. Chinese money was flooding into London at a rate of knots, funding Thames-side towers that offered “a brand new level of luxury” with five-star room service and ensuite karaoke parlours. Some of those projects have since ground to a halt as a result of the collapse of the Chinese property market, along with Brexit and the pandemic. Construction work at the Royal Albert Dock stopped in 2019.”

UK Media Coverage, The Guardian (‘It’s been a disaster’: how Boris Johnson’s docklands business hub turned into a ghost town, Oliver Wainwright, 2022)

“The companies that existed in China saw it as an example of the walk out policy, that allowed Chinese capital to invest in foreign countries, and that because of the willingness on the English side, and because there was willingness on the Chinese side, this was going to happen no matter what”.

UK Interview (Ben Garside, Journalist)

The media extract, therefore, provides insight into how elite actors shaped public narratives surrounding UK-China relations, describing increased investment by China into the UK as a “golden era”, this can be understood through a power lens, as it demonstrates the ability of elite actors to manipulate public narratives. Furthermore, the exercising of ideological power can also be observed. This was particularly evident in the narrative revealed in the media coverage.

This coverage largely attributes difficulties experienced in completing the RAD Business Hub development to a breakdown in political relations, alongside uncontrollable external events. As a result, this narrative regarding the failure of the development leaves fundamental problems with the pursuit of ambitious developments unchallenged. This observation highlights the value within this study of drawing on media coverage, as it offers additional insight into narratives that were being projected by elite actors to wider society. The interview extract further contributes to an understanding of the UK-China relations that surrounded this development, specifically it communicates the overriding power specific elite actors have had on decision-making surrounding the construction of this development, alongside the desire of these actors to utilise available finance, which resulted in a sense of inevitability. Therefore, these extracts demonstrate how overt power, linked to the position elite actors hold within society and their access to capital, enables them to exercise power over the construction of ambitious developments. These dynamics of power, however, are not stagnant, they evolve and change over time. This is evident in the subsequent breakdown of

UK-China relations. As a result, the positive narrative that surrounded the RAD Business Hub development drastically changed. This shift was illustrated during a speech in 2022 by the UK Prime Minister Rishi Sunak:

“UK PM Rishi Sunak had reportedly said recently that a “golden era” in economic ties with China had come to an end – the phrase has long been linked to Mr Cameron and his quest for closer ties with Beijing a decade ago. The UK prime minister said: “We recognize that China poses a systemic challenge to our values and interests, a challenge that is becoming more acute as it moves towards even greater authoritarianism.””

UK Media Coverage (India Times, 2022, Why This Hong Kong Billionaire & Real Estate Tycoon What’s to Revive London’s Ghost Town).

The findings presented within this section offer insight into a repeatedly emerging theme that was observable within both case study contexts, regarding elite actors connecting the construction of ambitious developments with cities or even countries achieving global significance or “world city” status. It has been explored within this section how elite actors draw on and reinforce deep-rooted political ideologies. For example, neoliberal ideology relating to the importance of attracting national and international investment, the value of competitiveness and the necessity of risk-taking in spurring on economic development (Friedman and Friedman, 2002; Harvey, 2005). It has therefore been highlighted within this section, that alongside other examples of elite actors exercising power, the emphasis of specific political ideology can serve as an effective tool. Especially within the context of promoting and justifying the construction of large-scale ambitious developments that are envisioned to support the global positioning of cities and countries.

In addition, the data presented also demonstrates the importance and subtleties surrounding temporal factors which influences the effectiveness of ideological narratives. For example, regarding the successful construction of other satellite cities, which are pointed towards within the Kigamboni context. Alongside the warming of China-UK relationships that were significant in negotiations surrounding the construction of the RAD Business Hub. Consequently, this begins to reveal aspects of why particular elite actors were in a superior position to promote, influence, and engage with the developments being examined within this project and is an observation that is further built upon within this chapter. The theoretical lens of speculative urbanism also offers insight into the significance of elite actors promoting the developments being examined as globally significant. Specifically, through establishing an aspirational vision around how urban environments could potentially be transformed, it provides a foundation for ambitious developments to be conceived,

strived towards, and justified by powerful actors, despite the potential negative implications of these developments on the surrounding society (Fields, 2023).

5.3 The Impact of the Political Climate and Prominent Political Ideology on Elite Engagement with Development Projects

The ability of elite actors to employ and manipulate specific political ideology that enables this group to further their own priorities and interests, directly impacts a country's political climate and by extension how elite informality is navigated and negotiated. Moreover, these political forces shape and are shaped by the promotion or thwarting of elite vision, consequently impacting to what extent ambitious real estate developments are realised. The Royal Docks case study presents the opportunity to explore how political factors significantly influence the conception and implementation of the ambitious RAD Business Hub development. For example, the overt promotion of political relations between powerful actors within the UK and China. These dynamics are set within a broader context of the UK government portraying foreign investment, alongside an increase in global connections, as necessary for London to remain globally competitive. Within the data collected, there were many examples within official documents, media coverage, and interviews that spoke of the perceived political benefits that resulted from the UK investing in global relationships and attracting foreign investment into London. Critically, within the context of this ambitious development, there was a specific focus on the "benefits" associated with strengthening the relationship between the UK and China. For instance, the shifting in these priorities was evident in the London City Plan, which, although officially published in 2016, had been influential before this date as it was being developed throughout the time that the London Mayor, Boris Johnson, was in post and communicated his priorities. Naomi, a planning solicitor, described in an interview a tension that had to be continuously navigated regarding the current City Plan written by the previous Mayor of London and the City Plan under construction by the new Mayor. As a result, this allowing for greater subjectivity during planning processes and the promotion of, at times, contradictory public planning priorities by elite actors. As individual actors sought to promote and justify urban development initiatives that served their interests. The power dynamic observed here can be understood through the lens of narrative influence, as it speaks to the agile way elite actors can alter and justify public discourses surrounding ambitious real estate projects. For example, in an interview with Joshua, an NGO employee, he offered the example of developers seeking to reduce the amount, or completely avoid, constructing the stipulated amount of affordable housing when negotiating a new real estate development, arguing that it would make the new high-end development less attractive to buyers. This highlights a conflict

of narratives that exists in this debate, on the one hand there is a political push to construct more affordable housing, while on the other hand, there are political initiatives surrounding a desire to attract increased investment into London. Furthermore, this evidence also demonstrates the temporal aspect of employing specific political ideology to facilitate elite informality, with regards to the overlap of these planning documents creating a window of opportunity for greater subjectivity that could then be utilised by elite actors.

Consequently, with regards to the construction of the RAD development, particular planning narratives were focused on by elite actors, that were justified by aspects of political ideology. For example, the 2016 London City Plan is of particular interest within this study as Boris Johnson was a key elite actor who exerted influence over the RAD Business Hub while simultaneously shaping the city's planning priorities. Thus, the following extract illustrates political agendas that he promoted as Mayor of London, which also aligned with justifying the construction of the RAD Business Hub:

“The London Plan has to look beyond what is happening today. It does seem likely that globalisation, supported by mass production, technological innovation, reducing transport and communication costs and countries across the world continuing to open their markets to international trade, will support resumed economic growth. The world economy will be yet more integrated by 2036 and larger, with China, India and other currently ‘emerging’ markets having greater economic weight and providing wider markets for products and services.”

UK Official Documents (Boris Johnson, 2016, London City Plan)

Interestingly, further data collected in this study revealed how the planning priorities that are promoted in this extract have been received as logical by wider society. Hence, this demonstrates the ability of Boris Johnson to successfully promote and emphasise a specific aspect of political ideology to justify the construction of certain real estate developments. This can be observed in the following interview extract:

Rachel (Interviewer): “We have talked about there being a massive process that is gone through to build large-scale developments that are then marketed in other countries, what do you think are the main justifications that are used within the planning to have these buildings built. Or do you not think that’s talked about, that it’s going to be mainly bought by foreign investors once it’s built.”

Naomi: “I think, if it’s commercial that’s probably not particularly relevant I would have thought, especially within a city that is an international business centre. Because we know

the occupants are likely to be a combination, why does the city exist if not for international trade. I suppose that goes back to pre-slavery doesn't it. It's been like that since those days really. So, it's probably not that relevant for commercial development, as long as it generates jobs for people living in London."

UK Interview (Naomi, Planning Solicitor)

Consequently, these data extracts correlate with Boris Johnson's interactions and justifications surrounding the RAD Business Hub. This is demonstrable because they promote an ideology that is interwoven with a necessity of attracting foreign investment into London from countries such as China. Hence, the Mayor played a vital role in the process of appointing a Chinese development firm to undertake the construction of the RAD Business Hub development. With a Chinese firm occupying an especially strong position due to the surrounding political climate, and therefore, it was perceived as being well situated to deliver on the vision promoted by Boris Johnson within his London City Plan. This extract, therefore, offers an example of how the interests and positioning of elite actors are strengthened through interacting with and shaping dominant political ideas that support their own priorities for urban development. As a result, this can function to influence how wider society perceive the construction of particular real estate developments. Furthermore, the political ideas promoted here have impacted urban development discourse, decision-making, and elite actor engagement more widely within the Royal Docks district, where the RAD business hub is situated. As this ideology has influenced political narratives that have then been employed to enable practices of elite informality. For example, the Royal Albert Docks was classified as an "Enterprise zone" at the time that the RAD Business Hub was being planned. The creation of Enterprise zones was a strategy introduced by the government and was designed to stimulate growth within an area through the reduction of taxes and planning processes, alongside other financial exceptions, to attract national and international investment. The Community Secretary, Eric Pickles, described the relationship between the RAD Business Hub and this economic initiative in the following media extract:

"This is a significant investment deal for London and will boost employment and growth in the capital. I am delighted that the benefits of Enterprise zone status are attracting foreign investment to the country and strengthening our trade relations with major international players like China."

UK Media Coverage (Alex Diaz, PA Media, 2013, Mayor Signs Business District Deal)

This is a revealing extract as it implies that the implementation of the Royal Docks Enterprise zone somehow attracted foreign investment into the area, while in reality, as can be observed in the

timeline in the previous chapter, the Enterprise Zone was implemented *after* the procurement process for the RAD Business Hub, thus, foreign investors in the form of ABP had already committed to the investing in the Royal Docks area. However, the subsequent implementation by elite actors of the Enterprise Zone then enabled the successful renegotiated of existing formal boundaries. The shifting in formal boundaries by elite actors to increase the attractiveness of foreign investment and to support the financial interests of powerful actors, is also observed within the context of China:

“The Communist party hierarchy gathers in Beijing on Saturday for a plenary session to rubber-stamp the economic agenda. Lowering barriers to overseas investment still further is promised. Watch out for a second wave of arrivals. And maybe lessening scepticism?”

UK Media Coverage (Peter Bill, The Evening Standard, 2013, The Chinese invasion has
only just begun)

This quote sheds some light on the significance of Chinese developers being chosen over a developer based in the UK, as decisions relating to the construction of the RAD Business Hub corresponded with emerging and favourable political climates in both the UK and Chinese contexts. Within the context of China, the political climate was also critical, as significant support was needed from the Chinese government to provide the financial security for Chinese developers that was necessary in order to pursue this type of ambitious development.

Within Kigamboni evidence also emerged of political ideology being utilised by elite actors in ways that incorporated practices of elite informality. An illustration of this was the perceived necessity of building ambitious developments within the context of Dar es Salaam to meet the required development goals promoted by the political elite within official documents. For example, the KSC development was presented in the Dar es Salaam Master Plan 2016-2036 as a fundamental aspect of the country delivering on its stipulated development initiatives. Hence, the following extract demonstrates the ability of powerful actors to influence public discourse regarding what is perceived to be the most appropriate development practices. A key aspect of this highlighted within the research was a sense of necessity in striving towards large-scale ambitious developments. Therefore, this demonstrates for us an example of power being exercised through narrative influence:

“The Kigamboni Master plan proposes a development model that presumes to realise a new City centre there, through the concentration of all the executive functions that may settle in the metropolitan area in the next twenty to thirty years. The residential forecast of the Kigamboni Master plan remains unchanged and foresees about 500,000

inhabitants in 2036, an increase of 420,000 inhabitants, compared to about 80,000 today... The MLHHD proposed to develop five new satellite centres at Bunju in Kinondoni Municipality; Luguruni in Ubungo Municipality; Pugu Kajiungeni, in Ilala Municipality; Kongowe in Temeke Municipality; and Kimbiji in Kigamboni Municipality. The project was conceived as part of efforts to relieve traffic and housing pressure on the commercial capital, decentralise the city services, in order to decongest the city centre and address the challenge of unguided developments in the peri-urban areas.”

TZ Official Documents (Dar es Salaam Master Plan 2016-2036)

Interestingly, a tension emerges here concerning competing political initiatives that exist within this case study. In the extract from this official document, the underlying intention portrayed is to provide for the existing population. However, other narratives surrounding KSC prioritise attracting wealth and investment into the area, as described in previous data extracts. Portrayed, however, within both narratives is a desire among elite actors to facilitate the implementation of a Satellite City within Kigamboni. Moreover, within the data other considerations emerged relating to the attraction of ambitious developments for elite actors. As a result of the high amount of capital involved opportunities were presented that enabled elite actors to benefit from these developments through what was described within the data engaged with as ‘corrupt’ practices. Elite actors, therefore, utilised elite informality to exercise power through facilitating or hindering the implementation of the developments explored, for example:

“These types of projects in Tanzania take a lot of time there is a lot of paperwork and negotiation. People also will look to stall this type of project in government if they didn’t agree with it, they just need to stall it long enough for the political climate to change – which is what happened here. Also, there is rent seeking in government, so this might be a reason why individuals in government are stalling in attempts to profit more from the development. This kind of activity creates problems and negatively impacts investment. When Magufuli came into power, one of his objectives was to tackle rent-seeking and corruption, there was probably quite a lot of this going on in the negotiations surrounding KSC. So, Magufuli was halting development projects, even government-fronted ones.”

UK interview (Andrew, Journalist)

This extract also portrays the temporal nature of elite informality and how this is interconnected with specific practices of urban development. This can be observed in that urban development within this context was impacted by a desire among the elite for real estate projects to encompass high amounts

of capital and provide opportunities for financial and political gain. These dynamics were therefore significantly impacted by the country's political climate. Moreover, with regards to the perceived value of the KSC development for the future prosperity of Dar es Salaam, there was a prevalent narrative within the data collected that although, initially, these developments would benefit elite actors, in the long term they were still perceived as beneficial for wider society. Portrayed here is an acceptance within wider society, that while elite actors would primarily benefit from ambitious developments, this was justified by the crucial role of these developments in facilitating long-term growth within the city. This sentiment could be observed in conversations with individuals situated in multiple levels of society, from taxi drivers to those who held prominent government positions. This points towards elite actors drawing on prominent neoliberal ideology to justify the construction of ambitious developments, that not only primarily benefit the wealthy within society but can also significantly adversely impact those who are less advantaged:

"It might not have been a good investment for this generation as the developers would have taken a lot of the profit and the government would not have got very much, but I think it will be a good investment for future generations."

UK interview (Mark, Taxi Driver)

From the window Joseph showed us the plans for the new development that would take place between the city centre and the office building we were in. We were on a high floor of the building, so you had a good view of the surrounding area. He pointed to land which were plots with informal housing built on them, apparently these were tenants, and they were leasing the land.

Joseph: "The plan is to crush this rusty shit and build a good development".

He pointed to where the tower block would be, that could then provide housing for these residents, and he showed us where the new high-end development would be built.

Rachel (Interviewer): "Is it normal to build like that, to accommodate the people who are already living on the plots?"

Joseph: "They are only tenants, usually it is 3 months and then they have to move after notice. However, NHC wants to do what is best for the people, so we are building the apartment block. However, they need to understand that the rates maybe more expensive and if they are buying a flat, they will have to find the money for the rent or to

buy. The plans to develop this area will make it very different. Slowly slowly we are making the city better. I will be very proud when I retire, I have significantly helped the development of Dar es Salaam.”

TZ Interview (Joseph, Government Official)

Therefore, both case studies shed light on informal practices that are underpinned by specific political ideologies which promote a vision of pursuing the construction of ambitious developments, which often centre around achieving or maintaining global significance. This, therefore, resonates with aspects of the speculative urbanism theory, alongside demonstrating how the utilisation and emphasis of specific political ideology is a critical dimension in facilitating practices of elite informality. For example, rent seeking within the Kigamboni context and gaining exceptions from formal processes within the Royal Albert Docks. Furthermore, the examples explored within this section illustrate how power is exercised in a variety of ways by elite actors. This has been identified with regard to instances of overt displays of power, the influence of public narratives, and the manipulation or emphasis of specific political ideas. It has also been highlighted that the interplay between elite informality and the outworking of political forces is significantly influenced by temporal factors, thus, impacting which elite actors are in a position to engage with and influence the specific ambitious developments that have been investigated.

5.4 The Impact of Social Networks on Facilitating and Hindering Elite Engagement

This section will explore how, within both cases, elite actors' engagement and influence was assisted and hindered by dynamics surrounding social network, with informality being a key aspect in initiating, facilitating, and maintaining these relationships. Moreover, it will be highlighted that the temporal nature and construction of social networks are crucial factors when considering the ability of the elite to engage with and influence ambitious real estate developments. Simultaneously, the significant and interconnected impact that social networks have on the shaping of political priorities and elite actors accessing flows of capital is highlighted.

The impact of social networks on realising ambitious real estate developments was revealed in The Royal Docks case study. Of particular significance was the relationship between the Chinese firm ABP, which was the successful firm in the bidding process for the RAD Business Hub, and the largely government-funded organisation London and Partners (L&P), both of which were key participators in

dynamics surrounding the construction on this ambitious development. A variety of narratives emerged within the data regarding the existence of a close relationship between the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson and ABP. Included within this were implications that ABP consequently had a significant advantage in securing the development contract for this large London site. Michael Crick interrogated these suspicions in a Channel 4 documentary in 2014:

“Enquiries by Channel 4 News also suggest ABP had what could be perceived as an unfairly cosy relationship with London and Partners, Boris Johnson’s taxpayer funded agency set up to attract foreign investment to London. In particular, London and Partners has been sharing an office with ABP in Beijing since March 2012. London and Partners was involved in the marketing of the project and was described as a “stakeholder” in the tender process. Channel 4 News has official documentation which show that they were asked to make an assessment of ABP’s claims that the company had lined up other Chinese companies that would take space in the new development – a critical aspect of ABP’s pitch. What’s more, Tongbo Liu, the former head of London and Partners, who used to act as Boris Johnson’s personal representative in China, left the agency to work for ABP in March 2012, while the tender process was still going on. He has told us that ABP took over the lease of the office at the same time paying 70 per cent of the rent. ‘They are a subsidiary of the Mayor’.”

UK Media Coverage (Michael Crick, Channel 4 Documentary, 2014, Big questions for Boris over billion dollar property deal)

The London Assembly, an organisation designed to hold the Mayor of London to account, later investigated the accusations and narratives depicted in the Channel 4 documentary. Within this investigation the findings of the Channel 4 documentary were minimised, however, the physical evidence, such as shared office space at the time of the procurement process and the transition of an employee were not disputed. Therefore, indicating a well-thought-out and long-term strategy by ABP to cultivate a relationship with government planning officials in London. This is a revealing example regarding the ability of elite actors to exercise power through narrative influence, as it sheds light on how the wealth elite exert power in this way, with ABP situating themselves in a position that enabled the procurement process of the RAD Business Hub to be influenced. During the audit panel discussion, a telling exchange illustrated the sensitive nature of these relationships:

“Nicky Gavron AM: OK. I will not get into masses. I just want to ask. At that point, ABP was in the office in Beijing and was paying a substantial part of the rent. One of L&P’s representatives or the Mayor’s representatives had actually gone to work for L&P and so

he had just switched desks. Do you consider that that closeness and that financial interest that ABP and L&P had together was irrelevant in the giving of their advice?

John Biggs AM (Chairman): We are talking today about the audit report and how that was commissioned. We have identified that clearly in the audit report there was an inability to delve into L&P for all sorts of reasons which may or may not in the fullness of time be viewed as reasonable reasons, but there were reasons why you could not look at L&P. However, getting into the nuts and bolts of that relationship is probably beyond the scope of this meeting today.”

UK Official Document (London Assembly Audit Report, 2014, RAD development)

This shutting down of dialogue concerning the probing of a significant relationship linked to the construction of this ambitious development indicates that a sensitivity exists regarding whether this relationship was justifiable within formal frameworks. The exchange can also be further analysed by interrogating the associated power dynamics, as an overt display of power is observable here, this was particularly apparent within this meeting transcript as the topic was revisited and there was a continued avoidance of subsequent questioning. However, the need to exercise power in this way also indicated a weakness, as it highlighted that these was an area of the investigation in which the elite actors involved felt vulnerable. Moreover, the data extract revealed that the temporal nature of these relationships was significant to the success of ABP in the procurement process for the RAD Business Hub development. This was revealed in relation to members of ABP successfully gaining access to social networks at a time when the political climate was supportive of Chinese investment into the UK. This resulted from, as previously discussed, a wider political focus on strengthening relationships between the UK and China at that time, with China being perceived as a critical trade partner that had the potential of significantly benefiting the London economy. These dynamics are further illustrated in the following data extracts from a press release and an interview. Within these extracts a prominent narrative is pointed towards that is justified by specific political ideology, regarding there being a necessity for stronger global relationships to be developed between elite actors in order to ensure continued and strengthened foreign investment into London, and by extension to enable further economic growth within the UK. This, therefore, underpins justifications for the specific strengthening of connections and relationships between the UK and China, that within the context of this case study centre around the construction of the RAD Business Hub:

“Mayor Boris Johnson will lead a trade mission to China next week as part of his continued drive to create jobs and growth in the capital by promoting London to the world as a major investment destination. The Mayor will be joined by a senior delegation

representing London's vibrant, innovative and world-leading business community during the six day trip to Beijing, Shanghai and Hong Kong. His mission to forge closer ties with the country will see him meeting with business leaders, key investors and senior politicians from China."

UK Official documents (Press release, 2013, Mayor leads top business delegation on trade mission to China)

"I think this happens quite a lot in real estate, is people seeing what they want to see, it's going to happen. The GLA saw it as a crucial part of the redevelopment of East London, and there was a timeframe in which that was going to happen, and it needed to happen, and therefore it would. The companies that existed in China saw it as an example of the walk out policy, that allowed Chinese capital to invest in foreign countries, and that because of the willingness on the English side, because there was willingness on the Chinese side, this was going to happen no matter what. And then it got down to one of the most ambitious redevelopment projects in London outside of King's Cross. And it turns out that those timeframes are not feasible. And I think it's kind of, if it's too good to be true, it is. And loads of things changed during it, there was the complete freezing of UK China relations, there were negotiations at the absolute high point ... Ping was getting on with David Cameron in a pub and then going to Manchester City training ground, it was an absolute peak point, there was a willingness for both sides to get it done. And then it came to actually doing it and it all fell apart, and it fell apart at the exact same time it fell apart for numerous Chinese developers in the UK".

UK Interview (Ben Garside, Journalist)

Within the case study context of Kigamboni examples of elite actors exercising power through social networks, in order to influence and engage with the specific developments investigated, was also evident. As observed within the Royal Docks context, the political climate was a significant factor in both the facilitating and hindering of these dynamics. For example, Avic Town, a high-end development in Kigamboni that was built with an expectation that there would be an influx of wealthy citizens into the area, was linked to the economic growth that would stem from the anticipated KSC. As a result, the data revealed how the construction of the Avic Town development facilitated the strengthening of relationships between elite actors situated in China and Tanzania. Specifically, this ambitious project encapsulated a shared pursuit towards development by powerful actors which

celebrated a growth in global collaborations and offered an example of increased private sector involvement. These dynamics are illustrated in the following data extract, which highlights the resulting cultivation of relationships, and the exercising of power, through the promotion of specific political ideas:

"The Ambassador to China in Tanzania, Dr. Lv Youqing said the project [Avic town] has act as very a good contribution to the economic and social development of Tanzania through job creation and public welfare activities which have been carried out by the company. "For the past two years, Avic International has endeavoured to build Avic Town into a high-end and low density community," pointed out the Ambassador. Successful corporations in all fields indicate that the Sino- Tanzania relationship is moving towards a better world. Since the visit of Chairman Xi Jinping, lots of economic and trade cooperation and cultural exchange activities sprung up, both officially and privately. "The project aimed at providing local Tanzanians reliable and quality housing as it looks forward to a better future of the long-lasting friendship between China and Tanzania," he said."

TZ Media Coverage (Africa News, 2015, Avic Town - Project to Construct Affordable Houses in Kigamboni)

Moreover, examples emerged within the data regarding social networks facilitating overt displays of power by elite actors. This was particularly apparent in the often complex and potentially volatile relationships between elite actors. In turn, these were widely understood as having the potential to support or hinder those pursuing the implementation of ambitious real estate developments, and consequently required skilful navigation. An example of these dynamics can be observed in the following interview extract in relation to the construction of Avic Town and an ambitious development within Zanzibar:

"Built by Chinese developers, in partnership with the army. This will be kept quiet, and it may be only a few people, the army do not do things openly. Green company will also be involved, this is an investment company developed by people in the ruling party... Any major real estate project needs to be passed by a group of people who are close to the government, this is still happening. An example of this within Zanzibar, despite relaxing of the laws in relation to foreign investment, a UK development company have stopped halfway through a development because of frustration. They are now fighting the government. This group have decided they want more money for the land on which they

are developing. This moving of the goal posts is damaging for foreign investments. Now a very good development that would be good for the country, if not being finished.”

TZ Interview (Andrew, Journalist)

This interview extract was situated in a wider discussion relating to the Avic Town development and sheds light on the prevalence and power of social networks, particularly involving members of the political elite, within the context of urban development and other elite actors pursuing ambitious real estate projects. Thus, the interviewee pointed towards a core of political elite actors who were in a position that enabled them to engage with and influence development outcomes through hidden and informal mechanisms. Moreover, this interview extract revealed that despite developments following formal processes and being granted planning permission they remained vulnerable to the interference of these influential actors. Similar dynamics were also observable within the context of the Dege Eco Village development, as described in the following media extract:

“He said it was an open secret that the project had stalled due to political reasons for a certain period in the past. During that period, the source privy to the project said, some powerful individuals had deliberately decided to give it [the project] a bad name so they could kill it.”

TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2022, Why NSSF is disposing of Dege Eco Village)

The complexity of social networks also emerged with regards to political tensions, resulting in the breakdown of relationships between powerful actors. The ambitious developments investigated within Kigamboni were initiated by President Kikwete. However, disputes arose after the election of President Magufuli, who halted many of these types of developments for a range of reasons, including concerns surrounding corruption, a lack of focus of affordable housing, and a desire to limit foreign investment. Consequently, within a short period, elite actors were restricted from enabling or engaging with certain real estate developments. Moreover, the embedded expectation regarding the completion of ambitious real estate developments being significantly impacted by the relationship dynamics between elite actors surfaced at multiple levels of society, from journalists to taxi drivers as demonstrated in the following extracts:

“When Magufuli came into power there was also a big fight with Yusef Manji, he is a very rich businessman in Kikwete’s time. He would have had a hand in Avic Town and in other large-scale developments, such as the NSSF development [Dege Eco Village]. Magufuli pressed a lot of criminal charges, mainly surrounding corruption, so Yusef Manji had to

move to the US. This had big consequences for Tanzania because he was one of the largest real estate developers at the time, which resulted in Ghost Towns being left.”

TZ Interview (Andrew, Journalist)

“I do not know why Kigamboni Satellite City has stopped and what arguments happened between the developers and the government. Have you seen the NSSF development in Kigamboni (Dege Eco Village)? The government decided to stop it during Magufuli. But now nothing is happening with it, that was a mistake by the government. Even if the government are not happy about it, it is now sat doing nothing. It would be much better if it was finished now that it has been started.”

TZ Interview (Mark, Taxi Driver)

As indicated in the first interview extract a prominent example of these dynamics has been a breakdown in relationship between members of the political and wealth elite, President Magufuli and a renowned real estate developer, Yusef Manji. Moreover, the second extract indicates a repeated observation of relationship breakdowns that had emerged between developers and the government, including within the context of the Dege Eco Village development. Both of these extracts, therefore, showcase examples of overt displays of power that are played out between the political and wealth elite, which are impacted by the desire of elite actors to promote a specific vision for the transformation of an urban area, and which incorporate justifications that stem from contrasting political ideologies.

The case studies investigated, therefore, offer valuable insights into the negotiation and impact of informal social networks by elite actors. In the case of The Royal Docks this included informal social relations between the Chinese development firm ABP and London and Partners, a public-private company owned by the Mayor of London and operated under the umbrella of the Greater London Authority. In the case of Kigamboni, the impact of informal social networks emerged in data that revealed the turbulent nature of relationships between developers and government officials, which was highly influential in supporting or obstructing the realisation of ambitious real estate projects. As a result, the intrinsic link between practices of elite informality and social networks has been highlighted, which involved power being exercised in a variety of ways. In addition, both case studies illustrated the fragile nature of timing surrounding the availability of supportive social networks in pursuing particular visions for ambitious developments. Consequently, impacting the ability of specific elite actors to engage with and influence the real estate projects investigated.

5.5 Flows of Capital and Informal Dynamics

The final theme investigated within this chapter is flows of capital. The ability of powerful actors to access financial support is again interconnected with timing, as this impacts dynamics of elite informality and the ability of individuals to engage with and influence ambitious developments. An example of the interaction between flows of capital and elite informality emerged in relation to the significant decision-making ability of the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson. A decision-making ability that was facilitated by his creation of a public-private partnership called London and Partners (L&P). This was illustrated in a discussion during an audit committee meeting which included an investigating into the RAD Business Hub development:

“Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: ...I understand you are being an honest broker in all of this, but does it raise an issue if L&P very clearly places itself as an independent public-private partnership and you are clearly representing the Mayor’s interests? Are there any conflicts of interest in this role for you?”

Sir Edward Lister (Board Chairman, London & Partners): “No, there are no conflicts of interest, but there is a tension. There is undoubtedly a tension. That tension is there. It is there both ways. The Board of L&P has to some extent a concern about how much the Mayor calls the tune, to put it bluntly.

Tony Arbour AM (Deputy Chair): He is the piper.

Jennette Arnold OBE AM: Of 60%.

Valerie Shawcross CBE AM: An £11 million tune, I think.

Sir Edward Lister (Board Chairman, London & Partners): Indeed, there has been a reason for one or two people not wanting to be part of the L&P organisation because they feel it is too City Hall-dominated. On the other side, we are putting in - as you quite rightly say - £11 million and, very clearly, L&P is tied with an umbilical cord to City Hall that cannot be severed. These things are there. That is all in place.”

UK Official documents (GLA Oversight RAD committee meeting (24.03.2015) –
transcript)

This conversation demonstrates the ability of an elite actor, Boris Johnson, to position himself in such a way that he is able to utilise flows of capital that stem from both the public and the private sector. In other words, the Mayor of London was able to overtly exert power through operating as a crucial

decision-maker regarding how public money was being spent, while simultaneously benefiting privately from these investments through the vehicle of London and Partners. Consequently, these flows of capital were naturally impacted by the “vision” Boris Johnson had for this area of London, which in turn was influenced by a specific political ideology and the social networks in which he operated. Therefore, this highlights the decision-making power of one elite actor concerning the construction of the RAD Business Hub, that was interwoven with flows of capital. From the data, it also emerged that accessing flows of capital was a significant aspect in the ability of elite actors to pursue these types of real estate projects, as a substantial amount of money was necessary to even participate in the planning process. It is therefore assumed that those participating in the construction of ambitious real estate projects are in the position of being able to secure huge amounts of capital. However, key within this study is how access to such vast sums of capital is often interwoven with the pursuit and promotion of particular political ideas and the support of social networks. Within the following extracts the complexity and interdependent nature of these dynamics were illustrated, with social connections and the political climate within both China and the UK enabling ABP to take significant risks with regard to funding the RAD Business Hub development:

“ABP, which has been investing in the construction and development of economic zones in China since 2003, has already spent millions of pounds on its London proposal.”

UK Media Coverage (Andrew Trotman, The Daily Telegraph, 2013, China's ABP closes in on £1bn docks development)

“And that means to the team it’s even harder if you're building on a speculative site, the kind of site we are discussing here is kind of an example of this, the ABP site. So, if you're small, that's kind of one set of issues. If you're large the kind of issue is frankly a cash issue. You need a huge amount of money in order to build speculatively, building housing in London I kind of focused on when I was a real estate reporter, I focused a lot on these sites.”

UK Interview (Ben Garside, Journalist)

Accordingly, the substantial scale of capital that is required for a development such as the RAD Business Hub is highlighted within both extracts. Moreover, there is the additional consideration within these dynamics that elite actors are required to adequately convince planning committees that they can secure the amount of capital required. A consideration that is further compounded when the development is speculative, as highlighted within the second extract. Consequently, the RAD Business

Hub development demonstrated the significance of Chinese government connections in convincing planning authorities within the UK that a high amount of secure funding was achievable. Moreover, the following extract points to the interconnected nature of social networks and the securing of flows of capital for ABP:

“It is unclear how ABP would fund the scheme, particularly as many UK developers have been unable to find a viable scheme to regenerate the Royal Albert Dock. The Chinese developer describes itself as a company that develops dedicated "economic zones" and has created the 7m sq ft ABP Beijing park which has more than 500 buildings, not all of which are occupied or finished. Its chairman is Xu Weiping, a former government official. Questions have been raised about the extent of Mr Xu's connections with the Chinese Government and whether his business record is as impressive as some suggest. Business insiders wonder how he could acquire such a large tranche of land for a project in Beijing and ask if government-linked funding is behind the proposed UK investment.”

UK Media Coverage (Deirdre Hipwell and Leo Lewis, The Times, 2013, Chinese plan £1bn London dock revival)

This extract, therefore, indicates that ABP's access to capital was linked to social networks which were underpinned by a broader political ideology promoted within China at the time of the procurement process. Hence, elite actors exercising power through informal dynamics can be observed both with regards to overt displays of power, in relation to, the chairman of ABP Xu Weiping drawing on links with the Chinese government to secure financial support and credibility. In addition, to power being exercised informally through elite actors drawing on specific ideologies. For example, ABP drawing on prominent political ideology within both China and the UK, in order to gain financial backing from the Chinese government and in successfully negotiating the construction of a speculative high-cost ambitious real estate development within the UK. Moreover, these dynamics are another indicator of how temporal factors, such as the political climate and elite positioning, influenced the ability of specific actors to engage with and shape this precise real estate development.

Within the Kigamboni case study the influential role of flows of capital was also revealed, in addition to these dynamics also being supported and shaped by the political climate, which within this context had recently incurred shifts towards greater liberalisation. As a result, political changes and often tensions created greater political instability surrounding investment priorities, when compared to the context of The Royal Docks. However, despite the associated challenges, these political shifts did facilitate increased opportunities for the pursuit of foreign investment and provided opportunities for the construction of ambitious developments that incorporated globally significant visions. For

example, although the KSC project was not realised, the initial planning and promotion of the project required significant flows of capital and political engagement. As a result, it required the promotion of elite visions to be accepted by other powerful actors and by wider society. The projection of a globally significant vision surrounding the KSC development having a significant role in justifying substantial flows of capital is demonstrated in the following media extract:

“According to the government development information and data statistics, about 7bn/- (approx. 2.8 million US dollars) has been invested into planning the new city of Kigamboni to build [a] commercial centre, industrial zone, tour centre, hospital, international schools and residential zones with complete facilities, making the new city of Kigamboni to be the new prosperous centre and place where everyone expects to reside.”

TZ Media Coverage (Africa News, 2015, Tanzania; CBA Supports Kigamboni Low-Cost Housing Project)

This quote demonstrates both the scale of investment that was negotiated by the elite and points toward the persuasive vision that they employed. In addition to flows of government capital underpinning the construction of ambitious developments, an interviewee who has worked both as an academic and a journalist observed the strong influence of private capital. He described how the vision of the wealth elite directed the types of development being constructed. This resonated particularly with the construction of the Avic Town development, where plans for the development shifted from providing affordable housing to the construction of a luxury gated development, as described in chapter four:

“Often, by the time the decision comes to the government in relation to big developments, in addition to people constructing things without permits, the government does not have a decision. They have very little influence over what is being built, they are not making the decisions, investors and individuals are making the decisions on what is being built. This makes it very difficult for the government to plan. Also, overall plans as well as local plans are lacking, so documents are not available to guide decision making. This means the private sector is in the driving seat, including larger developers and individuals constructing houses. The government is not asking developers, developers are bringing plans to the government. The private sector is driving the show, things are being demolished and redeveloped, it can be surprising.”

TZ Interview (Paul, Journalist)

The observation made within this extract is particularly interesting as it showcases the complexity and tensions that underpin urban planning power dynamics within this context. In a previous data extract the highly influential role of members of the political elite in enabling or hindering the construction of ambitious real estate project was observed. Additionally, the influential nature of the wealth elite is described within this extract, especially real estate developers and investors. In addition, the above extract illustrates the interconnected nature of flows of capital and the promotion of specific development priorities, which impacts the decision making of both the political and wealth elite. This, therefore, offers insight into the ability of elite actors to exercise power through narrative influence. With the promotion of specific narratives surrounding ambitious developments underpinning, and thus facilitating, public spending. Also interwoven within these dynamics was the impact of social networks which emerged as a substantial theme, as these relationships contributed towards the ability of specific elite actors to invest in the real estate develops investigated. For example, with regard to KSC, a journalist made the following observation:

“Prof. Anna Tibaijuka was really trying to make it happen, she was looking for funds from Dubai and it was looking promising. She also had an idea that instead of paying people compensation they could become shareholders in the project. However, people were not convinced of this idea. There were wars happening between people, government, and Prof. Anna Tibaijuka who was trying to find funds. I think the development is now highly unlikely, as someone needs to campaign for it and who would campaign?”

TZ Interview (Paul, Journalist)

Within this extract, Paul is describing how there is a continuous battle that takes place around the realisation of these types of developments. As a result, it is crucial for elite actors that are invested in the realisation of a large-scale ambitious development to partake in negotiations and to advocate for their imagined urban transformation, in order for it to progress and for investment to continue. Consequently, with Anna Tibaijuka no longer in office he struggled to see who had the drive and the position to achieve this. Therefore, the significance of elite actors projecting a specific vision, and the necessity of navigating tensions that exist surrounding flows of capital is highlighted within this extract. Moreover, in the data extract above, the interviewee insinuates that the breakdown of relationships was a key component in difficulties surrounding the pursuit of funding for the KSC development. Hence, informal dynamics that underpinned the breakdown of these relationships, which then resulted in the withdrawal of resources, demonstrates overt displays of power being exercised by elite actors. Furthermore, Paul went on to emphasise his scepticism of government

concerns regarding the financing of compensation, indicating that powerful actors had shaped this public narrative in order to pursue their own agendas:

“The land belongs to the government, if they had been convinced that this development was in the best interest of the country it would have been easy to clear it. The cost of paying compensation when considered within the context of a project of this size would be manageable for the government. When the government pays compensation, it is very low, and people do not have the option to negotiate.”

TZ Interview (Paul, Journalist)

Moreover, concerns surrounding the impact of social networks and political ideology on the acquirement of capital, alongside the realisation of ambitious projects, was also communicated within a report relating to the KSC development. The following extract offers insight into the historical context of these dynamics that had also emerged in past real estate developments and centred around informal practices of elite actors:

“It is worth mentioning that some local residents and organisations doubted that the project would ever materialise. And their suspicions were not without foundation. Financial difficulties and political scandals and manoeuvrings would indefinitely delay the construction of the New City as planned, leaving everyone uncertain about what was to become of the area and how to plan for their own future.”

TZ Official Document (2016, New City Visions, Kigamboni Research Report)

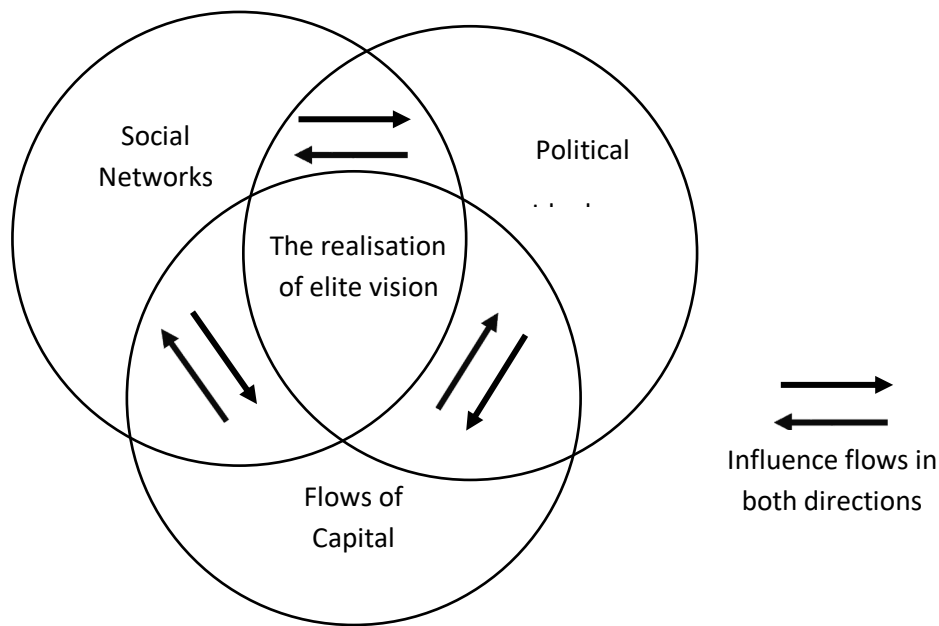
These examples, drawn upon from each case study, offer insight into how elite actors informally interact with vast amounts of capital, that underpin the construction of such large-scale real estate projects. Furthermore, the provision and access to these resources was often significantly impacted, positively and negatively, by social networks and the decision-making of other elite actors. In addition to, flows of capital being interwoven with specific political ideologies promoted by elite actors. Which in turn are drawn upon to justify the renegotiation of existing formal constraints, especially in relation to the thresholds for financial risk-taking and the avoidance or reduction of taxes. This in turn highlights the ability of both the wealth and the political elite to exercise power over processes of urban development, which was observed in a variety of ways, including through overt displays of power, influencing public narratives, and through the utilisation and manipulation of political ideology. For example, overt displays of power were particularly apparent within the Royal Docks case study regarding the influence the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, had over how public and private capital was utilised. In addition, ABP’s access to sufficient flows of capital appearing to be connected

to Xu Weiping's relationship with that Chinese government, a relationship that subsequently broke down. In the Kigamboni case study it was highlighted that social networks pointedly impacted whether resources for ambitious developments were facilitated or hindered, with these dynamics appearing to be highly dependent on the maintenance of elite relationships, prominent public narratives, and the alignment of elite actors with specific political ideology. The informal interactions of elite actors with flows of capital therefore plays a significant role in enabling specific elite actors to strive towards their ambitious real estate 'vision', as understood through the theoretical lens of speculative urbanism, which is further compounded by temporal factors. The combination of these informal dynamics, therefore, ultimately led to the facilitation of opportunities for specific elite actors to engage with and influence the ambitious developments being examined.

5.6 Interconnected and Temporal Nature of Elite Informality

The previous three sections have showcased the connection between elite informality and the ability of elite actors to shape processes of urban development. Specifically, regarding their engagement and influence of these processes in order to enable and promote the construction of their particular 'visions' for urban space, that incorporated the construction of ambitious large-scale real estate projects. In the exploration of this, a circular dynamic emerged. Specifically, it was observed how elite informality was critical in establishing and promoting elite vision, while simultaneously, the vision being promoted by this group was also utilised to justify or facilitate practices of informally. Regarding practices of elite informality, this chapter predominantly focused on: Employing and influencing political forces, the formation and navigation of social networks, and dynamics surrounding flows of capital. Moreover, it was highlighted how these prominent themes were intrinsically interconnected and highly impacted by temporal factors. This pattern of dynamics and interactions, that emerged within the data, is illustrated below in Figure 14.

FIGURE 14: INTERCONNECTED AND TEMPORAL NATURE OF PRACTICES OF ELITE INFORMALITY SURROUNDING THE REALISATION OF ELITE VISION



5.7 Conclusion

Examined within this chapter has been the role of elite informality in the engagement and influence of specific elite actors in the imagining and construction of the ambitious large-scale real estate projects that have been examined in this study. The findings discussed were grounded in empirical data collected within this study, concerning the ability of elite actors to employ elite informality to envision and implement ambitious real estate developments, with the projection of vision being crucial. Furthermore, It has been discussed how this projection of vision was a crucial aspect of enabling this group to negotiate the co-opting or claiming of valuable urban land. A variety of data sets were drawn upon, including interview data, media coverage, official documents and promotional material. Despite each of these sources incorporating distinct limitations, each also provided the opportunity for unique insights into the dynamics investigated, collectively addressing the research area investigated. Understandings underpinning these observations were facilitated through applying the theoretical lens of speculative urbanism, which emphasises the crucial role of elite vision and political ideology in the conceptualisation and realisation of ambitious urban development projects (Fields, 2023; Gidwani and Upadhy, 2023; Gillespie, 2020).

The very different global contexts of Dar es Salaam and London were drawn upon within this chapter, both of which offered insight into these dynamics and contributed to the themes the emerged: First,

that the projection by specific elite actors of globally transformative visions for these urban areas was critical in the imagining and then implementation of the ambitious developments explored. Consequently, dominant narratives promoted by elite actors surrounding these real estate projects could be observed within both Kigamboni and The Royal Docks. Moreover, interwoven within these narratives was the promotion of particular ideologies, that connected the justification of pursuing ambitious real estate developments to the necessity of cities and countries striving to achieve or maintain global significance. As a result, these developments were portrayed as exceptional and imperative and could, therefore, then be utilised by elite actors to facilitate practices of elite informality. Second, the crucial role of informal dynamics surrounding political forces, social networks, and access to capital flows were highlighted and explored. As a result of these dynamics, It was brought out how practices of informality enabled specific elite actors to pursue and engage with the ambitious developments investigated. Furthermore, attention was drawn to the interconnected nature of these practices, the dynamics of power the underpinned them, and the fragile but impactful dimension of timing. The case studies were also chosen as the developments being strived towards experienced significant difficulties, thus enabling the temporal and interconnected nature of these dynamics to surface from different perspectives, with regards to these dynamics both enabling certain elite actors to exercise power, while also at times hindering elite interactions with the real estate projects investigated.

Therefore, the accumulation of these different considerations presented an element of exclusivity, as the engagement and influence of specific elite actors was dependent on multiple factors. Specifically, their political positioning and alignment, the effectiveness of their social connections, and their access to sufficient resources, simultaneously needed to align at a time when the opportunity for an appropriate development opportunity arose. This was a significant aspect of the research that emerged from the data collected as it highlighted an area of research that had not previously been explored and also offered insight into dynamics surrounding specific elite actors being in unique positions to engage with and influence the specific developments explored. As a result, the findings that have been presented directly addressed the first research question, which was the primary focus of this chapter. In addition, the discussions within this chapter also shed light on the overarching objective of this study, which has been to contribute towards the theoretical understanding of elite informality.

The Elite and Informal Spaces

6.1 Introduction

The second area that is considered in the study speaks to how elite actors interact with informal dynamics through their interaction with what are described as ‘elite informal spaces.’ The engagement of the elite with informality can be observed in terms of specific practices, such as drawing on an existing relationship to get ahead in a bidding process or to secure financial backing, or an elite actor justifying the pursuit of an ambitious development in the media through utilising political ideology which aligns with and furthers their own interests. However, in the data the complexity of elite engagement with informality can also be understood in terms of elite informal spaces. In this chapter the nature and various types of informal spaces are explored, this is not intended to be an all-encompassing list but instead describes examples that emerged within the empirical findings, across the diverse cultural contexts explored, therefore offering insight into how elite informal spaces can be identified and understood. Consequently, this chapter provides insight into how elite informal spaces assist in enabling the elite to exercise power within processes of urban development. The conceptualisation of informal spaces within this chapter builds on past findings that describe a blurring of boundaries that exist between formal institutions and the informal, and at times what are classified as illegal, dynamics of wider society, thus, a periphery space is identified that is distinct from formal structures and processes while simultaneously having an influential role on the shaping of and decision-making that takes place within formal boundaries (Yiftachel, 2015; Lund, 2006). These spaces that straggle the formal and informal, or the legal and illegal, are described by Yiftachel as “gray spaces” (Yiftachel, 2015). Moreover, there is a dynamic nature to these spaces, resulting from the continuous shifting and renegotiation of formal boundaries by elite actors (Roy, 2009; Yiftachel, 2015).

Three categories of informal spaces are therefore identified and defined within this chapter, which are then brought together in order to contribute to the conceptualisation of elite informal spaces, and thus, the wider conceptualisation of elite informality. First, ‘the normalisation of informality’, which refers to established informal spaces, for example, established elite social networks that place specific actors in a privileged position to operate informally regarding the pursuit of ambitious developments. The second informal space that has been identified is ‘suspending formality’, which incorporates examples of where exceptions from conventional formal requirements are negotiated by the elite in relation to urban development processes. Finally, the term ‘expansion of formality’ has been

introduced within this project to describe examples of elite informal spaces where new precedents are introduced by the elite which in turn justify the repositioning and blurring of formal boundaries in order to facilitate new and what is often described within the data as ‘innovative’ ways of working. Accordingly, the examples that have emerged from the data speak to the significant role of informal spaces in the ability of elite actors to co-opt or claim urban land and pursue their own priorities for the transformation of urban areas. In addition, this also sheds light on the broader conceptualisation of elite informality, while simultaneously conveying aspects of its complex nature. As these informal spaces often cut across and combine multiple aspects of elite informal activity, in addition to incorporating interconnected conceptual, relational, and physical dimensions.

6.2 Established Spaces: Normalising Informality

The first informal space, that is identified and defined in this chapter, is termed ‘normalising informality’. Alongside the empirical evidence that is presented within this section this example of an informal space also draws on observations by Armytage (2015). In particular, Armytage’s description of routine informal interactions between elite actors that were foundational to their ability to exercise power over wider development processes. The term ‘normalising informality’ therefore refers to examples of established informal spaces, which are revealed in the context of elite actors engaging with processes of urban development, specifically their interaction with ambitious real estate projects.

With regards to The Royal Docks case study, an established informal space could be observed in the period prior to the formal planning documents being submitted for the RAD Business Hub development. Within the context of this development, it broadly took the form of the development firm, ABP, building relationships and negotiating with crucial stakeholders, such as connected politicians and prominent organisations within the Royal Docks district. Critically, it was evident that despite this aspect of the development process lacking transparency, due to it not incorporating a formal process, it was an accepted and even expected aspect of shaping a large-scale real estate development within UK planning processes. Moreover, despite its informal nature, this phase incorporated substantial resources and potentially lasted for years, especially in cases of real estate projects that were striving for global significance. It was revealed within the findings that this was a highly significant aspect of the development explored, as within this informal space the development was conceptualised, negotiated, and arranged. Aspects of these dynamics were articulated in an interview with a planning solicitor based in London:

“Naomi: It costs millions to put one of these applications together. By the time you’ve appointed the architects, so it’s not to be undertaken lightly, and normally you would have pre-application beforehand. Which again, might be informal, but if anyone was to make a freedom of information request, any minutes could probably be produced.

Rachel (Interviewer): Oh, wow, that would be good.

Naomi: Not always, some of them might involve commercial confidentiality that there would be an exception for under the freedom of information act. But other than that, different authorities take different views, but I always say unless there’s a particular exemption the applicant for planning permission as identified, no reason why the information shouldn’t be disclosed.”

UK Interviews (Naomi, Planning Solicitor)

This indicates the informal nature of the pre-application process, and although documentation may have been kept in some instances, it would be difficult to access this information, especially if it is classified as sensitive. This was also my own experience in submitting a FOI request, with the intention of gathering further information on the preliminary process that superseding the RAD Business Hub development. While on the one hand I did receive some responses, these were limited, with large sections of the documents blacked out. The dynamics explored here can be understood through the theoretical lens of gray spaces, as they operate on the periphery of formal structures while also being intrinsically connected to them, providing an advantage for elite actors. This is because it allows specific actors to engage with, negotiate, and shape the conceptualisation and arrangement surrounding ambitious real estate projects before plans are made publicly available, consequently aspects of these developments are often largely decided before being made available for public scrutiny. Moreover, this extract also speaks to the interconnected nature of informality and power dynamics, as it points towards the ability of elite actors to overtly exert power through drawing on financial and social resources and connections. In addition, this extract also provides insight into how established informal spaces can be understood, in that it suggests there is both a conceptual aspect, in that this is perceived as a justifiable space that exists on the periphery of a formal process. This is alongside a relational aspect, as the interactions within this space are predominantly built on the development and utilisation of relationships. The observations described here, relating to the conceptualisation of established informal spaces, are further developed in an interview that took place with an employee within Newham Council:

Sam: It could be years and years between initially requiring that land and getting to a planning application, yeah, it could be 5 years, 10 years, even over that. A lot of, well the majority of applications that we deal with, will come in preapplication stage as well, and that's where, kind of, the negotiations happen. Because the idea of having those is to kind of smooth out any problems early on.

Rachel (Interviewer): Yes.

Sam: And when it does come to planning, when the application actually comes in, then I know where we stand with it, the developer knows where we stand with it and it's just going through due diligence, and consulting and going through committee, and making sure the correct sort of conditions are in place. So, in terms of the actual time that it takes to sort of review an active planning application it's really not that long compared with probably what's gone on before.

Rachel (Interviewer): Yes, ok, I see. So, the longer part, almost, is before.

Sam: Yes, so we have 13 weeks to determine an application once it comes in.

Rachel (Interviewer): Oh, I see, so you're on a timeframe as well, I see.

Sam: It can be flexible, you know, but ordinarily, that what we try and work to. Whereas, if you're dealing with a site that's kind of a couple of thousands of units, and kind of commercial uses as well, and everything that goes alongside that. You're probably looking at a 2- or 3-year sort of negotiation beforehand."

UK Interview (Sam, Government Official)

This quote therefore revealed that a prolonged pre-application stage is a critical factor in understanding the relationship elite actors have with ambitious real estate developments, especially regarding their ability to engage with and influence them. Thus, within these informal spaces, elite actors are provided the opportunity to develop social networks and shape decision-making surrounding planning objectives within an area. Important to note is the accepted nature of these dynamics, consequently, revealing how these types of developments stem from the ideas and pursuits of elite actors as opposed to the desired urban development priorities of wider society. Furthermore, prior to this discussion within the interview, Sam described difficulties in relation to the wider public engaging with and influencing decision making surrounding large-scale developments after plans for a development had been officially announced and made publicly available. This is unsurprising as key stakeholders will have invested significant amounts of time, energy, and resources into the pre-

application process and are therefore extremely motivated at that stage for the development to go ahead. Moreover, this increases in significance when factoring in the limited amount of time allocated to the formal process, with the planning department endeavouring to approve a formal planning application in a short 13-week timeframe. Consequently, this further reduces the opportunity for the wider population to challenge proposed developments and highlights the critical role of the pre-planning interactions. The observations articulated within this interview therefore point to the stark disparity individuals have in shaping their urban environments. In addition, this also sheds light on the informal scope available within planning processes to allow for informal negotiations, through which ambitious developments are conceived and refined before being subject to formal scrutiny. This opportunity for developers, and other stakeholders involved with an ambitious development, to shape dialogue and conditions during the pre-application stage therefore offers an example of power being exercised through narrative influence, as it points to the unique and privileged position of elite actors to shape what is then discussed and presented within the public realm.

The recognition of established informal spaces that underpin the construction of ambitious developments also emerged in other aspects of the data. For example, the minutes of the regeneration committee report documented the following statement in relation to the progress of the RAD Business Hub development:

“Dan Bridge (Principal Development Manager, Housing and Land, GLA): The issue perhaps is that the majority of the work for the past 18 months or two years has been around very much procuring development partners. There has been a huge amount of work going on behind the scenes in terms of preparing planning applications and all of the work that goes into that at both the GLA and Newham and within the development partners. One of the problems with this stage of the regeneration process is that to everybody else it does not look like there is very much happening because actually onsite you cannot see very much. If you go down there, probably lots of people would wonder, “What is happening here?” They do not realise that there is a lot of incredibly significant, important work happening behind the scenes. It is just not very visible.”

UK Official Document (Regeneration Committee Report, February 2015)

This extract therefore describes a prolonged processes surrounding the RAD Business Hub development, which was not observable to the wider public. Moreover, an especially interesting aspect of this extract was the perceived normalcy of this informal process. This is critical to note as it highlights how these established informal spaces can be understood through the lens of ‘normalising informality’, which contributes to the conceptualisation of this type of informal space. In addition, as

part of the ABP planning application, details were given, which detailed the extent of what is described within the document as a “Pre-Application Engagement and Consultation”. Therefore, the extract below indicates that the pre-application stage, before formal plans were submitted, was a crucial element in the ability of powerful actors to engage with and influence the RAD Business Hub development. Furthermore, the extract touches on a physical aspect to informal spaces, with regards to preliminary “engagement and consultation”, which indicates a planned process that does not take place within a formal framework but on the periphery of this framework. This is presented as a necessary stage within the planning process that is justified by deep rooted ideology relating to the importance of democratic processes, which in reality, only actually incorporated key powerful actors:

“As part of a collaborative and co-operative approach, a Project Planning Performance Agreement (PPPA) was entered into with the London Borough of Newham (LBN), the Greater London Authority (GLA) and Transport for London (TfL). This Agreement set out a number of pre-application meetings between Officers of LBN, GLA and TfL, and ABP’s multi-disciplinary project team. These meetings have been productive and have not only helped shape the application submission but maintained momentum by adhering to a timetable agreed by all parties. Full details of the pre-application engagement and consultation, including the public exhibition, meetings with local community groups and key stakeholders, are included within the submitted Statement of Community Involvement.”

UK Official Document (Correspondence from ABP to Newham Council Planning Department, March 2014)

This indicates that documentation of preliminary discussions was not in reality easily accessible as they were not published within the public realm. In addition, within this extract it refers to “meetings with local community groups”, in discussions with community members and a previous Newham council employee, however, it became apparent that these meetings were very poorly attended as residents had become disillusioned with the influence they had in shaping the decision-making surrounding such developments (UK interviews, Joy and Ruth – Community Members, Nick – Government Official). Furthermore, during an enquiry undertaken by the London Assembly into interactions and relationships underpinning the procurement process for the RAD Business Hub, a challenge was made by those undertaking the inquiry regarding a lack of transparency in the pre-application correspondence:

“Marina Ahmad AM: Are you confident that that recordkeeping is taking place across the board?

Philip Hewson (Head of Strategy and Performance, Procurement and Supply Chain, Transport for London): It is not possible to give a 100% guarantee that there are no conversations with suppliers outside of those arrangements. That is why we train people to make sure that they are aware of their responsibilities and that any infraction would be that. People are aware that if they were entering into a conversation and not recording primary information, that would be problematic and may result in disciplinary action. There are hooks into it in that way. We cannot police everyone’s conversation at every time.”

UK Official Documents (GLA Oversight committee Audit Report GLA procurement,
November 2021)

This extract highlights the potentially problematic nature of unrecorded informal interactions prior to the submission of formal applications for ambitious real estate projects being submitted by developers. Accordingly, a multitude of revealing extracts have been explored relating to the normalisation of informality within the context of The Royal Docks case study, prior to formal applications being submitted for ambitious developments. Yet, there are also complexities associated with these dynamics regarding the blurred relationship between the informal space identified and formal processes, especially due to its established nature. Consequently, drawing on the theoretical lens of grey spaces is valuable in supporting the analysis of these findings, as it sheds light on how informal spaces exist surrounding formal processes, which interact with and influence them, while also remaining distinct (Yiftachel, 2015). In addition to these spaces shifting and evolving over time as boundaries and interactions are redefined and renegotiated (Yiftachel, 2015). Therefore, despite these complexities, the findings presented indicate the significance and influence of informal spaces in the conception and construction of ambitious developments by elite actors within this case study.

Moreover, through drawing on evidence that surfaced from the Kigamboni case study further contributions to the conceptualisation of established informal spaces, that are utilised by elite actors, can be observed. Within this context the data that emerged was much more open in its discussions relating to elite actors interacting informally with processes of urban development. This was especially evident in public narratives concerning ambitious developments which provided the opportunity for significant political leverage. Furthermore, narratives that emphasised the personal gain of specific elite actors, who benefited directly from informal interactions surrounding urban development projects, was much more prevalent in comparison to The Royal Docks case study. The narrative more

regularly portrayed in relation to The Royal Docks regarding ambitious developments was that although informal interactions prior to formal plans being submitted was clearly beneficial to specific actors they also facilitated and laid groundwork for the formal process and were therefore viewed in a more positive light. Moreover, as observed within the context of The Royal Docks, there also appeared to be the expectation of an informal space, in which significant stakeholders and elite actors would interact and influence the direction of an ambitious development outside of formal processes. The following description of these dynamics, by a Tanzanian journalist, implies both the established nature of these interactions and how they are interwoven with political leverage, social networks, and flows of capital:

“These types of projects in Tanzania take a lot of time there is a lot of paperwork and negotiation. People also will look to stall this type of project in government if they didn’t agree to it, they just need to stall it long enough for the political climate to change, which is what happened here. Also, there is rent seeking in government, so this might be a reason why individuals in government are stalling in attempts to profit more from the development. This kind of activity creates problems and negatively impacts investment.”

TZ Interview (Paul, Journalist)

Furthermore, the following extract from a collaborative research report that investigated the KSC development portrays a deep-rooted expectation within wider society that these types of projects would be underpinned by informal interactions and negotiations between elite actors. While simultaneously recognising the problematic nature of these dynamics, particularly in relation to undermining the positive aspirations of the project:

“It would appear that although the intention might be good the process has been flawed which makes it illegal for want of procedure. It has been and will continue to be perceived as yet another land grabbing mechanism plotted by the government against its own people resulting into internal displacements. The inception of the project, the preparation of the Plan and its submission to the public and the manner of implementation has lacked the requisite transparency and involvement.”

TZ Official Documents (Hakiardhi, 2012, The New Kigamboni City: Prospects and Challenges - Research Report)

These extracts, therefore, point towards an established informal space in which an expectation existed that elite actors would operate in order to pursue their own interests. Consequently, through elite engagement and influence that takes place on the periphery of ambitious developments there is an

expectation by wider society that beneficial opportunities will arise for elite actors. These dynamics can be understood through applying the theory of gray spaces especially when considering the periphery and influential nature of these spaces with regard to formal processes. Furthermore, it can be observed within these extracts that there are a variety of considerations that are interwoven in understanding the formation of this informal space. Of particular significance is that it enables the normalisation of informality, which speaks to both its conceptualisation and incorporates the sense of expectation within wider society that elite actors will operate in this way. In addition, these spaces are also intrinsically linked to social connections and physical interactions among elite actors. Therefore, dynamics of power can be observed, including overt displays, as these extracts imply that elite actors overtly further their own interests regarding practices such as land grabbing and rent-seeking. Alongside this the concept of ideological influence and its significance in this context can be observed, as there appears to be an expectation and acceptance within wider society that these dynamics are somehow inevitable, especially surrounding ambitious real estate projects.

Moreover, in relation to the normalising of informality, a contextually significant finding observed within the context of Tanzania points to the complexity of these dynamics while simultaneously recognising that what is categorised as formal and informal is distinct. This is revealed in the following extract by an academic based within Dar es Salaam, who described how within Tanzania formality and informality were often interwoven, with aspects of informality being visible in formal processes and vice versa:

“In Tanzania it is not easy to separate formality and informality. There are customary systems that exist in both formal and informal systems. Informality is found within formal systems, such as knowing the right people, and formality is found within informal systems, such as title documents.”

TZ Interview (Michael, Academic)

The observation made here highlights the value in placing these case studies in juxtaposition, as within the Tanzanian context interactions between the formal and informal are observed and articulated, while in the UK context this is not how these dynamics are commonly perceived. However, it is clear from the evidence that has emerged from The Royal Docks case study that “formal” or established structures within informal processes do exist, and “informal” interactions are crucial to the operation of formal processes. This extract therefore emphasises the often blurred and complex character of informal spaces, which resonates with the theoretical lens of gray spaces as it emphasises the blurred interwoven reality that exists regarding the interaction of formality and informality. The observation

of this complexity also builds on prior research, especially regarding the relationship between formality and informality within political processes (Goodfellow, 2020).

The evidence presented in this section offers insight into dynamics surrounding elite actors operating in established informal spaces, with these dynamics being underpinned by the normalisation of informality. The example drawn upon in relation to the Royal Dock's case study was the pre-application stage of ambitious developments. Within the Kigamboni case study, the evidence drawn upon related to there being established spaces, that were situated outside formal processes where key decisions were made and individual interests were pursued. However, within both cases a complexity could be observed, particularly in relation to shifting categories and blurred boundaries, thus, to assist in understanding these dynamics the theoretical lens of gray spaces was utilised. The varied dimensions that formed this informal space was also discussed, with regards to consideration of conceptual, relational, and physical elements. Furthermore, this section has revealed that power is exercised by elite actors within established informal spaces through overt displays of power, narrative influence, and ideological influence. Overall, this section has identified and evidenced examples of established informal spaces, these examples therefore provide a foundation to understand informal dynamics that are underpinned by what is described within this study as 'normalising informality', a term that is intended to communicate the widespread acceptance of established informal spaces at every level of society.

6.3 Exceptions: Suspending Formality

The second category of informal spaces that has been identified and evidenced are centred around what is described as 'suspending formality', a term that is being developed within this study that relates to the way that exceptions were utilised by elite actors to enable aspects of formal policies and regulations to be fully or partially suspended or avoided. The theoretical lens of gray spaces offers insight into these instances as it describes not only the existence of blurred boundaries between formal and informal spaces but also the ability of elite actors to continuously re-negotiate and re-position these boundaries. This is impacted by various factors, for example, the current political climate, the specific priorities of elite actors, and the restriction of formal boundaries on a particular elite endeavour. Therefore, this repositioning of formal boundaries may only be for a limited amount of time, depending on the underpinning objective of elite actors. Consequently, this enables elite actors to legitimately operate in ways that would usually be classified as illegal. Alongside the empirical evidence presented in this section to support the development of the term 'suspending

formality' past research is also drawn upon. Of particular relevance are the findings presented by Moatasim (2019), which relate to the expectation that elite actors would gain exceptions when constructing housing that did not conform to formal regulations. Which Moatasim (2019) argues was underpinned by the entitled and confident nature of this group.

Within The Royal Docks case study an example of this that emerged was the creation of the only Enterprise Zone within London. The narrative underpinning the implementation of this zone was that it would attract national and international investment through waiving and reducing certain taxes and simplifying planning processes. As revealed in a subsequent extract within this chapter, this was not a novel idea, with elite actors suspending formal requirements in specific areas through the implementation of 'development zones' in the 1980s. The introduction of an Enterprise Zone therefore resulted in reduced scrutiny surrounding development processes, alongside other financial benefits as detailed within the ABP planning application for the RAD Business Hub development:

"2.16 The site is designated as part of The Royal Docks Enterprise Zone. Enterprise zones are specific geographical areas within local enterprise partnerships' boundaries. Enterprise zones can offer a range of incentives for businesses to start up or expand, such as:

- Business rates discounts.
- Simplified local authority planning, for example, through Local Development Orders that grant automatic planning permission for certain development (such as new industrial buildings or changing how existing buildings are used) within specified areas.
- Government grants to install superfast broadband.
- Enhanced Capital Allowances in some zones.
- All business rates growth generated within an Enterprise Zone will - for at least 25 years - be kept and used by the relevant local enterprise partnership and local authorities to reinvest in local economic growth.

2.17 The Enterprise Zone status of the site provides a clear indication of the Mayor of London's and the central Government's aspirations for the site and wider area. The status provides a unique opportunity for large scale development to generate economic growth and create jobs. The proposed development is wholly in-line with these objectives, as outlined later in this document."

UK Official Documents (ABP Planning Application, March 2014)

Hence, this extract portrays how the implementation of an Enterprise Zone within the Royal Dock's district was highly beneficial to the RAD Business Hub. Furthermore, timings surrounding the implementation of this Zone are significant, with the Enterprise Zone becoming operational in the Royal Dock's area in April 2013, this was shortly after ABP being successful in the procurement process in March 2013, and then ABP subsequently submitting formal plans for the RAD Business Hub development in March 2014. Consequently, situating the RAD Business Hub development in an ideal position to benefit from the exceptions enabled by this shifting of formal boundaries, this speaks to undercurrents of social networks, political ideology, and flows of capital. This is in regard to the introduction of the Enterprise Zone coinciding ideally with the implementation of the RAD Business Hub development therefore benefiting both the political and wealth elite. The utilisation of political ideology was evident in the research findings, especially with regards to an objective of the Enterprise Zones being to attract external investment which was a prominent political priority. In addition, the Enterprise Zone also offered significant advantages in relation to flows of capital for elite actors involved in development initiatives within the Royal Docks district. Several dynamics of power can also be observed, for example, the ability of elite actors to alter formal processes demonstrates overt displays of power. Moreover, the coinciding of the Enterprise Zone and the RAD Business Hub was also enabled and underpinned by narrative influence, as it was portrayed by powerful actors that the Enterprise Zone would attract these types of investment, and that this ambitious development had the potential to not only transform The Royal Docks district but London more widely, as previously discussed. These dynamics are then further underpinned by ideological influence, regarding the expectation within society that the development was achieved through attracting increased private investment and risk-taking. Furthermore, this example not only offers insight into varied power dynamics, but also illustrates how these dynamics reinforce one another and are interwoven within the outworking of elite informality.

Furthermore, the extract reveals conceptual and physical elements that impact elite actors 'suspending formality' in the form of exceptions. Conceptually this informal space provides the opportunity for elite actors to legitimately operate outside of the usual formal constraints. In addition, the extract reveals now the implementation of exceptions involves the renegotiation of laws or policies, which are suspended or altered in a specific context. On the one hand, there exists a tension here, as elite behaviours can then be justified as they are operating within renegotiated "formal" boundaries, however the point being made is that this sits apart from the formal processes and structures that have been developed over time and that continue to govern wider society. Moreover, when exceptions such as this are introduced formal and informal boundaries become significantly more blurred. This therefore provides the opportunity for elite actors to operate in less constrained

ways, within boundaries that are perceived as negotiable. The following extract further demonstrates how spaces of exception are promoted and justified by elite actors, which in turn enables aspects of existing formal constraints to be suspended:

Eric Pickles, secretary of state for communities and local government, delivered a keynote speech about The Royal Docks Enterprise Zone. He said: "Enterprise zones are part of our long-term economic plan to secure a better future for people right across the country. Business leaders urged to join dock revolution "Chinese businesses have already committed billions to Enterprise Zones in London and Manchester, and today is a chance to show them the potential in other parts of the country."

UK Media Coverage (2014, Newham Recorder, Business leaders urged to join dock revolution)

The justification presented here for the implementation of Enterprise Zone's directly links to the RAD Business Hub development, investigated in this study, as it emphasises and celebrates how these types of developments attract foreign investment into London, such as investment from China. Furthermore, this extract reveals how the interests of elite actors, such as business owners, are intrinsically connected to negotiations that underpin the successful negotiate of exceptions. This extract therefore provides a further example of power being exercised through narrative influence. In addition, this data extract highlights a relational aspect underpinning the construction of this informal space, as it points towards the implementation of an Enterprise Zone being impacted by relationships that exist between the political and wealth elite.

As a result of simultaneously drawing on case studies that were contextually different, a further significant observation surfaced. Within The Royal Docks context, the implementation of an Enterprise Zone was portrayed predominantly as a positive political decision within the data collected. This was an assumption that was underpinned by prominent political ideology regarding the Enterprise Zone enabling greater freedom for investors within the private sector, which in turn was expected to stimulate greater economic growth. An example of this narrative was communicated in the following extract:

"London & Partners, the Mayor of London's official promotion agency, is committed to proving that the UK capital is, and always will be, open for business, despite concerns over the effects of Brexit. And it is such efforts that have helped the city secure the number one spot on the FDI Strategy category for major cities in Europe. Since 2011-12, the organisation has assisted more than 2000 overseas companies in setting up or

expanding, creating more than 37,600 jobs, and generating £831m (\$1.08bn) in gross value added for the city's economy. It has employees across offices from Beijing to Toronto and is focused on four core sectors: financial business services and technology; urban and regeneration; innovation and life sciences; and creative industries. The agency works to maximise London's pro-business climate by implementing several initiatives. These include the Tier 1 Entrepreneur visa route, which allows eligible applicants to set up or invest in an existing business in the UK; enterprise investment schemes and venture capital trusts, which offer 30% tax relief on investments of up to £1m and £200,000, respectively; and The Royal Docks Enterprise Zone, which allows businesses that set up there to access business rate relief, enhanced capital allowances, simplified planning and discounted high performance broadband.”

UK Media Coverage (Naomi Davies, 2020, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) Magazine, FDI Strategy: London and Glasgow take major prize)

This extract, therefore, not only projects a positive light on the introduction of an Enterprise Zone, but it also highlights the connections that exist surrounding its implementations, including the role of the public-private company London & Partners. This is a significant connection as previously within this thesis the connection between London & Partners and the RAD Business Hub development has been highlighted. Consequently, this points towards the importance of social networks, and their underpinning role in the realisation of these interconnected dynamics. Power being exercised through narratives that are justified through drawing on specific ideologies can also be observed, as the newspaper extract portrays the wider positive perception of implementing exceptions within this context, as it is argued to be highly beneficial in attracting investment. As a result, this enables practices of elite informality, through assisting elite actors to operate legitimately outside of usual formal boundaries. However, there was limited critique that actually emerged within the data regarding the implementation of Enterprise Zones, an example of this can be observed in the following media extract:

“George Osborne heralded the return of 1980s-style Enterprise Zones yesterday in a bid to boost growth. Some 21 new zones will be created across England, offering businesses deep discounts on business rates and 'radically' reduced planning restrictions ... Businesses in the new zones will qualify for a 100 per cent business rates discount worth up to 6,275,000 over five years. Government aid will be provided to put in place super-fast broadband. Councils will be encouraged to introduce 'radically simplified planning approaches'. Local authorities will be allowed to keep any extra business rates raised for

up to 25 years to reinvest in the zone. Baroness Margaret Eaton, chairman of the Local Government Association, welcomed the announcement, adding: 'The new local Enterprise Zones should help stimulate local economies and help foster private sector growth by encouraging businesses to set up within them.' But Ed Cox, of the think-tank IPPR North, said past experiences of Enterprise Zones suggested that they were more effective at poaching businesses from other areas than in genuinely creating jobs. Mr Cox said: 'It is about time that the Government turned its attention to economic growth but there is little to suggest that a failed policy from the 1980s will work this time round.'"

UK Media Coverage (Jason Groves, 2011, Daily Mail, Osborne Goes Back to 80s to Boost Growth)

This extract refers to past attempts by elite actors to introduce similar spaces of exception in the 1980s, and despite these being perceived as unsuccessful, it is noteworthy that elite actors were still able to reposition formal boundaries in comparable ways in order to implement the described Enterprise Zones. Moreover, it is interesting that this critique relates predominantly to Enterprise Zones being an ineffective tool in stimulating business growth. Thus, in the data collected any sense of critique aimed towards the Enterprise Zone regarding their inevitable impact on a reduction in tax revenue and planning scrutiny for businesses operating in these areas was completely absent. Therefore, strengthening the observation that elite actors were able to covertly exercise power within this context through ideological influence, in relation to effectively aligning the expectations of wider society with their own interests. Furthermore, the absence of this type of critique surrounding the UK Enterprise Zone is particularly startling when narratives surrounding the utilisation of tax exceptions by elite actors are considered within the Kigamboni context. An example of this includes the Tanzanian government not allowing the National Housing Corporation (NHC) to receive tax breaks for the selling of housing:

"The Kibada project was supposed to be for affordable houses but the houses are sold at between 40 and 50 million and yet they could be acquired at just 33m/- if it wasn't for the VAT," the politician charged. He added; "If the government can extend exemptions to other large-scale projects, then it should do the same for the NHC housing projects to enable more people acquire the houses." In another development, the Kahama MP also asked MPs from other areas of the country to support NHC to acquire land from district councils countrywide to enable it implement affordable housing projects in those areas. On his part, the Deputy Minister for Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development George Simbachawene, admitted that reducing or scrapping the VAT would

significantly lower prices of the housing units. "This is, however, a multifaceted issue, which requires thorough deliberation by the government. The houses are meant to provide decent accommodation to the population while at the same time the tax benefits the public as well,"

TZ Media Coverage (Africa News, 2014, Tanzania; MPs Want Vat Out of NHC Houses)

Therefore, a salient cross over between the case studies can be observed here, with regards to the Tanzanian media extract from the Kigamboni case study offering a challenge to the implementation of the Enterprise Zones, a challenge that was not posed in narratives expressed within the context of the UK. Yet, this article also indicates that there were examples where the Tanzanian government had allowed tax exceptions for other large-scale projects, it still demonstrates that this type of critique was being engaged with in media coverage.

Further examples emerged within the Kigamboni case study that offered insight into informal spaces of exceptions being established by elite actors, which were underpinned by what has been identified within this study as 'suspending formality' by elite actors, which as highlighted, can be observed to varying degrees with regards to formal processes surrounding the construction of ambitious developments. These dynamics were particularly apparent within the contexts of the KSC and the Avic Town development, both of which offer examples of elite actors advocating for existing planning processes to be overridden, which was largely justified by elite actors promoting the globally significant nature of these developments. This tension in relation to the utilisation of exceptions surrounding real estate development is highlighted within the Dar es Salaam Master Plan:

"Some of the existing standards and regulations are out-dated, but the key challenge is that even those that remain relevant are not enforced, resulting in uncontrolled development."

TZ Official Document (Dar es Salaam City Plan 2016-2036)

This extract is referring to the need for greater transparency in urban planning decision-making and indicates that within Dar es Salaam there exists a culture of exceptions within practices of real estate development. The dynamics described within this extract resonates with planning decisions that were made by elite actors in relation to the KSC development. This could be observed in relation to existing planning priorities that had been promoted, such as greater provision of affordable housing and land zoning, that had previously been decided upon, being suspended or overridden in order to enable the anticipated development to be realised. The politics surrounding this disconnect were also evident in data that emerged concerning the Avic Town development. For example, initially when residents were

evicted it was reported that the development would be for retired army officers, however, it emerged over time that these plans had changed, and instead the construction of a luxury development was being planned that consisted of high-end housing and amenities. Moreover, the politically sensitive nature of these exceptions was portrayed in media coverage. For example, within the following newspaper article the impact of this decision and the subsequent reaction of the housing minister can be observed. Specifically, regarding his denial of any existing relationship with the Chinese development firm, Avic Town, despite business trips to China which coincided with a Chinese firm undertaking this ambitious real estate development:

"Dar es Salaam. Juma Abdallah, a resident of Kigamboni, has lost his 20 hectares of farm crops, including cashew and coconut trees. The resident of Amani Gomvu Village is so devastated that he sees the end of his life. "I was evicted from my farm in 2013 to make way for the development of low-cost housing for retired army officers," says the father of six..."Once again under the guise of 'government' so as to intimidate us and take our land with minimal compensation, the (Dar es Salaam) Regional Commissioner, Mr Said Meck Sadick, went to China and managed to get funding for the project from a company called Avic," said another resident standing near the debris of his demolished house. He added: "Now it is actually an upmarket housing development for the general public and not retired army officers," he said, adding that the housing development which was being executed by a Chinese company called Avic International Real Estate included Ngaramia Forest Reserve, which is a gazetted reserve. In his response to these claims, Mr Sadick says he knows nothing about Avic. "I always go to China on government business missions," he says. "I have gone there more than 20 times, but I have never met Avic."

TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2015, How firm ruined lives of Kigamboni dwellers).

Various examples of elite actors utilising the informal space of exceptions can be observed within this extract, which are intertwined with overt displays of power. These include powerful actors having the ability to suspend or override priorities outlined in the Dar es Salaam master plan, in addition to changing the direction of a large-scale development without processes of engagement with the local residents. Furthermore, the creation of spaces of exception that have been detailed here can be understood through the theoretical lens of gray spaces. This lens is valuable as it articulates the shifting nature of formal boundaries and as a result, the ability of elite actors to create informal spaces where exceptions enable the suspension of formal frameworks. Furthermore, the construction of informal spaces observed here consisted of a physical element, in relation to elite actors gaining official support in the implementation of exceptions which in turn enabled the legitimisation of actions

which would otherwise have been categorised as informal. In addition to this, conceptual and relational elements can also be observed, as elite actors appeared to be confident that they could operate outside formal frameworks through the utilisation of exceptions. The achievement of which was underpinned by relational elements, which provided opportunities for elite actors to negotiate the suspending of formal processes. Furthermore, within the context of the Avic Town development, an example that demonstrates the ability of elite actors to gain exceptions from policies and priorities outlined in official documents is pointed towards in the sensitive political nature that emerged surrounding this development. The grounding of this tension is articulated in the following data extract, which is written in the concluding section of the Dar es Salaam master plan, and outlines the planned initiatives for the future development of housing within the city:

“Housing is a basic right for all human beings and thus it has to be affordable, culturally appropriate and safe. The land for housing especially rental houses also needs to be located in proximity to livelihood sources, employment centres and social and physical infrastructure services rather than in under-serviced peri-urban locations.”

TZ Official Documents (The United Republic of Tanzania, 2016, Dar es Salaam Master Plan 2016-2036)

An underpinning narrative that can be observed within this extract promotes the building of affordable housing, this therefore clearly identifies a priority within the Tanzanian context that also emerged in other data sources. Moreover, this can be understood with greater clarity when considered from the perspective of Tanzania’s strong socialist roots that were discussed in greater depth in chapter four. The political importance of building affordable housing, which can be observed within official government discourse, is also clearly perceived by real-estate developers. In relation to the Avic Town development, this is reflected in a statement made by the development company:

“The Avic Coast Land Development Manager in the country, Mr John Chaggama, said the country will benefit from the supply of construction materials Avic will purchase from local companies. Mr Chaggama further said that the houses will be available at affordable prices to every citizen, according to the need of the clients.”

TZ Media Coverage (Robert Okanda, Tanzania Daily News, 2015, Firm Launches Kigamboni Town Project)

This is an interesting statement, as although it aligns with political ideology and therefore contributes to the justification of this development, it is in stark contrast to the reality. When considering wider data and my own experience from visiting the Avic Town development, the sight consisted of

exclusively high-end luxury housing. Therefore, the development was pointedly removed from the vision and specifications outlined in the Dar es Salaam master plan and even from what developers themselves were promoting within the Tanzanian media, due to the housing constructed being far beyond the affordability of the majority of Tanzanian citizens. Consequently, this offers further insight into the construction of informal spaces, in relation to elite actors actively justifying ambitious developments through utilising political priorities held by the wider population, even if these priorities do not align with the actual development aims. This therefore points towards the engagement of elite actors with narrative influence, which is also underpinned by ideological influence, as it offers an example of elite actors drawing of public policies and priorities to frame and promote their development, while simultaneously operating in contradiction to these formal obligations. The dynamics revealed within this extract can be further understood through the theoretical lens of gray spaces, as they portray an example of the blurring of boundaries between formal expectations, and the ability of elite actors to gain exceptions from these expectations. Consequently, this illuminates how elite actors are able to operate within informal spaces, through suspending the necessity of formal plans and priorities within specific contexts, due to what are perceived as the unique requirements of an ambitious development. Therefore, providing the opportunity for elite actors to further their own vision for the transformation of urban areas through the co-opting or claiming of urban land. Hence, this resonates with the findings presented in chapter five regarding the utilisation of globally significant visions by elite actors in order to further their own interests.

Through the examination of both case studies, it is apparent how informal spaces that are created and utilised by elite actors are manipulated, exploited, and developed through the implementation of exceptions, which points to the ability of elite actors to suspend formality. Elite actors involved in the RAD Business Hub development endeavoured to benefit from substantial exceptions through the creation of an Enterprise Zone. Consequently, this presented the opportunity to reduce the perceived burden of planning requirements and tax obligations, in addition to facilitating other financial incentives. Regarding the Kigamboni case study, it has been revealed how the employment of exceptions also enabled the suspension of formal processes, this was primarily observed in relation to the KSC and Avic Town developments. A valuable revelation in the Kigamboni context was the political sensitivity of exceptions, as a result elite actors promoted carefully constructed narratives that attempted to neutralise the disconnect between the intended owners of this housing and government priorities relating to the construction of affordable housing, as outlined within official documents. Moreover, the relationship between elite informal spaces and the ability of elite actors to exercise power overtly, through narrative influence, and ideological influence has been highlighted, therefore further demonstrating the intrinsic connection between elite informality and power. The utilisation of

established informal spaces by elite actors, that have been described and evidenced within this section are underpinned and can be viewed in terms of 'suspended formality', this section therefore has contributed to the development of this term and the broad conceptualisation of elite informal spaces.

6.4 New Precedents: Expansion of Formality

Finally, the third category of informal spaces that emerged within this study relates to the introduction of new precedents by elite actors, which is described within this study as the 'expansion of formality'. This type of informal space involves elite actors actively pushing the boundaries of existing formal frameworks that arguably were no longer appropriate for the innovative aspirations associated with the globally significant developments being strived towards. The conceptualisation of this informal space, alongside empirical evidence, builds on reflections made by Baker (2010) regarding regulatory capture by elite actors prior to the 2007-2009 financial crash are. Baker (2010) describes how within this context elite actors were constantly pushing existing investment frameworks and as a result were able to operate in spaces that did not have clearly defined formal boundaries. Several examples of new precedents that resulted in the expansion of existing formal systems arose within The Royal Docks case study. First was with regards to a Chinese development firm directly investing in an ambitious real estate development, in partnership with the UK government. As this demonstrated the pursuit of a novel arrangement that required the expansion of existing formal boundaries. A shift occurring in the investment relationship between China and the UK was indicated in the minutes from a GLA oversight committee meeting:

"Jennette Arnold OBE AM: China does business quite widely. There are parties going off abroad and the Prime Minister has led them. We all want Chinese investors. We would all know, if we are sensible and of the world, that this is an incredibly complex country to deal with. It is a complex situation, and they are newish to the market of coming into the UK. What advice and what expertise do you expect your people to have? How do you check that they are receiving that advice? It seems to me if we are dealing with a Chinese company, it would have been reasonable to know whether or not they were using a special vehicle which is going to be located offshore. It is my understanding that is routinely done. That knowledge and fluency has not come through today. I am asking you, Sir Edward, because other than the Mayor the buck stops with you. You are working on Londoners. How confident can we be that you have the checks within the system

enabling your officers, who are clearly not going to be experts in these particularly complex areas, to have that advice?

Sir Edward Lister (Board Chairman, London & Partners): You have first to differentiate between land which is owned by us and land which is owned by others. This is the only site, which is owned by us where we have, to the best of my knowledge anyway, a Chinese investor in there.”

UK Official Documents (GLA Oversight Committee Audit Report Minutes RAD, March 2015)

The uniqueness of this type of development partnership between the UK and China is also communicated within the following media extract:

“Commercial developer ABP Chinese (Holding) aims to turn the site into a gateway for Asian and Chinese business seeking to establish headquarters in Europe as well as other businesses wanting to set up in the capital. The developer became preferred bidder for the site in October last year. The deal represents one of the first direct investments by a Chinese developer in London's property market.”

UK Media Coverage (Nick Whitten, Joanna Bourke, and Nathan Cross, 2013, EGI News, £1bn Chinese business port deal signed)

These data extracts indicate an expectation that a negotiation of boundaries will be necessary, due to both parties being new to this type of arrangement, therefore, enabling an informal space to be constructed and utilised by elite actors. The theoretical lens of gray spaces is also valuable in understanding these dynamics, as it offers a further mechanism through which formal boundaries can be blurred by elite actors. An expectation is also identified within the first data extract, that in extending the boundaries of existing business practices formal frameworks became unclear or unapplicable. As a result, elite actors were operating outside of known and established processes and therefore there was a necessity to expand formal frameworks. Significantly, the ground-breaking nature of this development appears to be the response and therefore justification for this, in addition to an underlying confidence that despite the problems highlighted, the development would take place. Narrative influence can therefore be observed here, with public discourse clearly being directed towards the potential benefits of an innovative development as opposed to the high-risk practices underpinning it, this narrative was portrayed in the second data extract. Moreover, these extracts shed light on the conceptual nature of informal spaces. Specifically, regarding the innovative nature of the developments contributing to a perception among elite actors that greater freedom was

necessary, and as a result, justifying and facilitating the negotiation and evasion of existing formal boundaries.

Furthermore, within the context of this case study, new precedents also emerged with regards to a private company building speculatively, without lettings or sales being secured prior to commencing on the construction. It was observed within the data that this type of risk-taking was not widely practised by private investors in the UK, especially with regards to large-scale ambitious developments. These unusual practices were probed within GLA Oversight committee meetings in 2015 and 2021, as can be observed in the following extracts:

“David Lunts (Executive Director, Housing and Land): They were very enthusiastic. There is no doubt about that. They were very committed all the way through. They were seriously committed to it. That was demonstrated in the final outcome. It is worth adding as well that on a scheme like this which is a commercial scheme, it is not a residential scheme, it is pretty unusual to see developers committing to build speculatively without a pre-let. It is extremely unusual outside of the core commercial markets of London, and even more unusual coming out of a very deep and difficult recession. Those were some of the reasons why actually - speaking personally and I do not think I was the only one - I was pretty impressed in a way that the LDA [London Development Agency] and subsequently the GLA [Greater London Authority] managed to get three pretty serious bids. That was pretty good going actually for a site like this that was looking for a large element of speculative investment.”

UK Official Documents (GLA Oversight Committee Audit Report Minutes RAD, March 2015)

“Daniel Bridge (Royal Docks Programme Director, Greater London Authority): It is hard to say. One of the reasons that ABP was selected to do this development, one of the reasons it won and why no other developers were selected, was because it was the only developer that was willing to speculatively build the accommodation at Royal Albert Dock. Members will be aware that most commercial developers only proceed with developments when they have pre-lets in place for the space, but one of the things that this development partner was willing to do was to deliver speculatively. It was clearly expecting there to be more occupation at this phase, and prior to that, but it is very difficult for me to give you a percentage of exactly how much it was expecting.”

These extracts reveal significant power dynamics that underpinned the conceptualisation and construction of the RAD Business Hub and how aspects of these were intertwined with elite informality. Hence, within the extracts it is revealed that elite actors were able to overtly push existing boundaries of acceptable investment and financial practices surrounding the construction of large-scale speculative developments. In addition to this, as previously highlighted, shaping public narratives in relation to what was perceived as acceptable practices surrounding these developments. These extracts also correlate with insights offered by the gray space's theory, specifically in regard to excessive trust being placed in the elite actors in the absence of fully established formal frameworks. Consequently, this legitimised informal practices by elite actors, which were justified by this group drawing on the necessity for the expansion of formality. Conceptual, relational, and physical elements can be observed regarding the construction of this space, conceptually was the innovative nature of the development, as it was perceived by elite actors that in these circumstances operating outside of formal boundaries was acceptable. Moreover, establishing new precedents surrounding the conceptualisation and construction of ambitious developments is highly relational, particularly with regards to agreements being made between the wealth and political elite. Additionally, physical policies and frameworks have been expanded to facilitated innovative practices, which are presented as necessary in enabling the construction of an ambitious development.

A further critical consideration in exploring the ability of elite actors to utilise this type of informal space was that these dynamics entail significant risks, which inevitably not only impact the individual elite actors involved but also the wider urban area. For example, the high-risk nature of the practices surrounding the RAD Business Hub development was communicated within the following media extract:

"There's clearly a risk for Advanced Business Park here, but at least half of the office accommodation will be on the basis of long lease agreements," he said. "The developers feel that is unusual and will differentiate the scheme from others on offer." Blakeway confirmed the GLA would not permit Advanced Business Park to wait for prelets and could require elements of the scheme to be speculatively developed. The first phase, for example, would need to be constructed immediately. Other bidders, such as Muse and St Modwen, are thought to have proposed more traditional, prelet-driven models. Of Advanced Business Park's track record, Blakeway said: "They're a serious organisation that's making a significant investment."

UK Media Coverage (Nick Johnstone, 2013, Property Week, Chinese ride to Royal Docks
rescue)

This extract therefore implies that ABP's pursuit of new precedents gave them an advantage within the bidding process, with other companies deciding to withdraw at the final stages of the process, due to the lack of security in pursuing this type of strategy. As a result, an overt display of power can be observed here, as at the time of bidding ABP's approach of adopting speculative practices, which pushed the boundaries of existing formal frameworks, appeared to be more attractive to the UK government than the more traditional proposals offered by other developers. In addition, by its nature this approach required extensive financial backing, which at the time of this process ABP had access to, therefore this facilitated a riskier approach. Moreover, the article suggests that this approach was not only allowed but encouraged by the GLA. This is noteworthy, as it highlights the role of ideological and narrative influence, as within this context elite actors were able to shape perceptions with regard to a high-risk approach being an attractive aspect of the ABP planning proposal. The justifications that surrounded this approach were, therefore, underpinned by aspects of neoliberal ideology, such as the value associated with innovative business practices that were dependent on risk-taking. Concepts discussed at length in chapter two.

New precedents surrounding the funding of ambitious development projects were also observed within the Kigamboni context. These included the introduction of municipal loans, which had not previously been utilised within the Tanzanian context, these involved existing residents buying shares in the project which then theoretically would enable them to benefit financially from its subsequent success. The adoption and necessity of this new financial practice was promoted by elite actors, such as Housing Minister Anna Tibaijuka, as demonstrated in the following abstract:

"We will be using modern techniques specifically municipal bonds to raise over Tsh605b (\$382.19m) which is outside of our budget to implement the first phase of a long awaited project within a time frame," Tibaijuka said.

TZ Media Coverage (Leonard Magomba, 2012, East African Business Week, Tanzania
Opts for Municipal Bonds)

As a result of the innovative nature of this new financial practice within Tanzania, the formal boundaries surrounding it were blurred, as a result this enabled the creation of an informal space that provided opportunities for elite actors to operate outside of formal constraints. For example, it presented the opportunity for the government to not only sell these high-risk bonds, but other data

extracts also indicated that the government could potentially utilise them to avoid paying compensation to existing residents.

In addition, a new precedent emerged regarding the government implementing sanctions on residents, which then restricted them from developing their property. This derived from government concerns that if residents continued to develop their properties it would increase the required compensation cost for the government, as ultimately the intention was that the residents would be evicted in order to create space for the KSC development. Consequently, this resulted in development restrictions being imposed on residents from 2008 – 2015, as illustrated on the case study timeline presented in chapter four, this lasted up until the original plans for the KSC development were abandoned. As a result, there were increased tensions among residents living within Kigamboni, with growing numbers of land disputes. This is a dynamic that was reflected in data that tracked the number of land disputes from different districts, with a disproportionate number reported within the Kigamboni area, as highlighted in the following newspaper extract:

“Kigamboni is one of the leading districts in Dar es Salaam with more land disputes compared to other areas. Within five days, the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Human Settlements Development managed to hear a total of 391 disputes of which 144 were from Kigamboni.”

TZ Media Coverage (Daily News Tanzania, 2022, Land becomes hot cake in Dar: Ministry unveil five areas with more land disputes)

The prevalence of land disputes within Kigamboni therefore points towards overt displays of power by elite actors, as this group had the ability to implement sanctions for an extended amount of time which adversely impacted the Kigamboni residents. In addition, displays of overt power can also be observed with regards to the ability of the elite to establish new financial precedents, that deviated from existing legal frameworks and significantly impacted wider society. Moreover, narrative influence is evident in that elite actors were able to influence public dialogue in such a way that these practices were perceived as acceptable and considered a necessary element of achieving a globally significant development within a context where flows of capital were limited. Another key theme that emerged was around excessive trust placed in elite actors, which consequently provided opportunities for high-risk financial practices that were outside of existing formal frameworks, as also observed in The Royal Docks context. This was especially apparent in an interview conducted with a journalist who portrayed a strong trust in the abilities and motivations of Anna Tibaijuka, he was clearly confident that she could have made the KSC development successful if she had not received opposition from other elite actors. Furthermore, he discussed how it would have ultimately been beneficial for

Tanzania, despite his acknowledgment of the negative implications for those currently living in Kigamboni (TZ Interview: Andrew, Journalist). Applying the theoretical lens of gray spaces offers further insight into these dynamics, as it assists in understanding the interconnected and blurred nature of informal and formal spaces that can be observed within this case study, which can make it difficult to distinguish between the two, especially with regards to formal boundaries being renegotiated and extended. These findings also speak to the conceptual construction of informal spaces, in relation to an almost inevitability regarding the necessity of new precedents when ambitious developments are being pursued. In addition to social and physical elements, that resonate with previous observations. As the conception of innovative processes, that expand existing formal boundaries, are formed within the context of relationships between elite actors that then facilitates the renegotiation of existing formal boundaries.

A further example of the expansion of formality within the context of Kigamboni emerged in relation to governance, this involved a new governing body being established to oversee development taking place within the Kigamboni district, the Kigamboni Development Agency (KDA). This was the first of its kind in Tanzania and meant a shift in previous structures of political oversight for ambitious development projects. This shift is portrayed in an extract from a research report:

“The director of KDA explained in the words of the minister of lands, housing and human settlements development, Anna Tibaijuka (also former executive director of UN-Habitat), the creation of the KDA was ‘a means to realise the noble end’ that the establishment of the KDA was also intended to reduce bureaucratic obstacles, since investors dislike complicated and extended processes. He further remarked that the KDA could be seen as following international practice, since similar agencies that oversee the creation of ‘New Cities’ are common across the globe. But the formation of the KDA also meant that responsibility and decision-making power was, in practice, transferred away from the local authorities – such as the Temeke Municipal Council – to the new government agency.”

TZ Official Documents (New City Vision -Evaluation Report, 2016)

This extract, therefore, illustrates how this shift in governance facilitated significant opportunities for elite actors in relation to the expansion of existing formal structures. Moreover, the globally competitive nature of the KSC development, and the desire to attract increased investment to the district, were crucial aspects in justifying a shift in existing oversight practices. Furthermore, it reveals the ability of elite actors to overtly manipulate power dynamics surrounding ambitious developments. This can also be further understood through drawing on the theory of gray spaces, as structural

precedents surrounding this type of development had not yet been established, which presented the opportunity for elite actors to operate outside of existing formal guidance.

This final section has presented evidence that emerged within both case studies, illustrating how elite actors establish and navigate informal spaces through the expansion of formality, in the form of implementing new precedents. Within The Royal Docks case study this emerged particularly in relation to a shift in financial practices between the UK and China, with the forming of a partnership between the UK government and a Chinese development firm, in addition to the UK being a recipient of direct Chinese investment. Furthermore, new precedents were also observed in relation to a foreign investor employing speculative financial practices, a strategy that had historically been recognised as incorporating high levels of risk. Within the Kigamboni context new precedents were observed that were centred around financial and structural dynamics, predominantly concerning the KSC development. The examples engaged with from the data collected within this study further illustrated the interplay between conceptual, relational, and physical elements in the formation of informal spaces. To better understand the type of informal space investigated within this section, the theoretical framework of gray spaces has also been employed throughout, in addition to identifying the variety of ways elite actors exercised power within the examples considered. As a result, this section has worked towards developing an understanding relating to the 'expansion of formality' which is the third term that has been proposed within this study in order to contribute towards the conceptualisation of informal spaces.

6.5 Conceptualisation of Elite Informal spaces

The previous sections have illustrated that elite informal spaces consist of a variety of elements. This section seeks to conceptualise the complex nature of these spaces. Within the evidence that emerged within this research project, three key elements of elite informal spaces were identified, these included a conceptual element, a relational element, and a physical element. Examples of each of these distinct while interconnected elements have been observed and highlighted in the categories of informal spaces that have been proposed and examined within this study. First, the conceptual element refers to the opportunities that these spaces provide elite actors, hence, the informal spaces identified are largely constructed around the perception that within the contexts examined formal boundaries can be more freely renegotiated, circumvented, or approached with greater subjectivity. Second, the relational element highlights the prominent role of elite interactions, that both enable informal spaces to be established and navigated. Third, the physical element refers to tangible

dynamics surrounding informal spaces, that facilitate elite actors in operating outside of formal frameworks, such as the impact the creation of informal spaces has on existing processes and policies. These three elements have been identified as key in the creation and navigation of informal spaces. Furthermore, categories that describe different types of informal spaces, which emerged within the research findings, have been considered and expressed through the development of the following terminology. These terms include the ‘normalisation of informality’, ‘suspending formality’, and the ‘expansion of formality’. Therefore, the following diagram (Figure 15) is suggested that seeks to illustrate the existence of underpinning conceptual, relational, and physical elements, that contribute to the construction of informal spaces, which subsequently result in distinct out-workings of these spaces. Moreover, the examples detailed in this chapter that have contributed towards the finding presented within this diagram are summarised in Table 10.

FIGURE 15: UNDERPINNING ELEMENTS OF ELITE INFORMAL SPACES

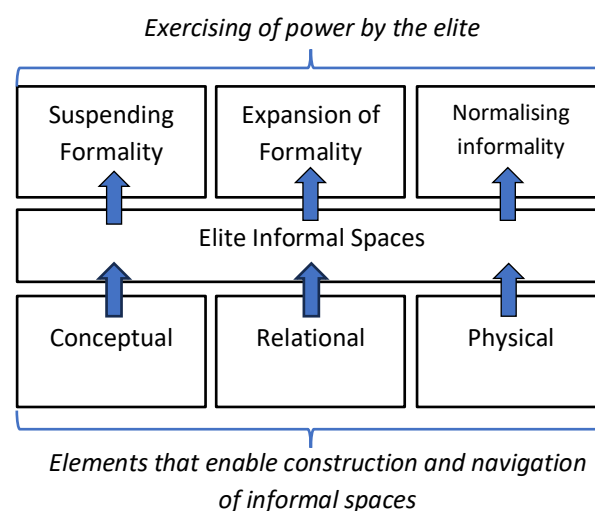


TABLE 10: SUMMARY EXAMPLES OF INFORMAL SPACE CATEGORISATION

		Normalising Informality	Expansion of Formality	Suspending Formality
Conceptual	UK	The expectation that pre-planning negotiations will take place between key stakeholders, prior to a formal process that is visible to the wider public.	Due to a new investment relationship forming between China and the UK there is an expectation that existing formal boundaries will need to be re-negotiated.	The implementation of exceptions provides an opportunity for elite actors to legitimately operate outside normal formal constraints.
	TZ	Elite actors shape and benefit from the informal conceptualisation and decision-making that takes place prior to the implementation of an ambitious development.	It was projected that there was a necessity in adopting new financial precedents due to the globally significant nature of the development within a context of limited government funds.	There is a confidence among elite actors that they can operate outside formal boundaries through classifying their actions as exceptions.
Relational	UK	The pre-planning interactions of elite actors are largely dependent on existing or the pursuit of pre-existing social connections.	Underpinning this informal space are negotiations and agreements that took place between the political and wealth elite.	This informal space depended on interactions the took place between the political and wealth elite. Thus, enabling the timely creation of an 'Enterprise Zone'.
	TZ	A key aspect of this informal space is the political leverage and the opportunity for rent seeking that are negotiated within elite social networks.	Relationships among elite actors were required in the renegotiation of formal boundaries, to allow these boundaries to be extended.	Social networks provide the opportunity for elite actors to negotiate and utilise exceptions, enabling them to operate outside of planned priorities or policies.
Physical	UK	A preliminary part of the development process was described as "engagement and consultation" which points towards the physical interactions that take place between key stakeholders prior to the formal process.	Physical frameworks and policies were expanded to facilitate innovative practices, which are presented as necessary in the construction of an ambitious development.	In order to suspend formal constraints, it required the renegotiation of formal boundaries, by elite actors.
	TZ		The expansion of formality involved the adoption of innovative financial practices that had not previously been used. In addition to the development of new government agencies that did not follow established structures.	Elite actors gained official support to enable the implementation of exceptions.

The understanding of informal spaces that is portrayed within Figure 15 draws on observations that have emerged from the data, consequently, they are contextually and temporally limited. However, the findings of this study do offer initial insights into how these spaces are created and navigated, in

addition to, illustrating the role of these spaces in enabling elite actors to exercise power. Ultimately, the conceptualisation of informal spaces presented here offers a foundation on which subsequent research can build upon.

6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, various examples of informal spaces have been identified and defined within this chapter. These have been a key finding within this research project as they have offered greater insight both into the conceptualisation of elite informality but also into how elite actors negotiation dynamics of power within the context of urban development. Empirical evidence, alongside employing insights from previous studies, has therefore been presented to support the development of three novel terms which describe different examples of informal spaces that emerged across both case study contexts. The first of these relates to established informal spaces, where patterns of informal practices are perceived as necessary or expected, these are navigated and utilised by elite actors and provide the opportunity for what has been described as ‘normalising informality’. The second category of informal spaces identified was described using the term ‘suspending formality’ and centred around the implementation of exceptions. This therefore referred to elite actors re-negotiating formal boundaries in order to support their pursuit of particular urban development initiatives. Finally, informal spaces were identified surrounding elite actors implementing new precedents, which were described as the ‘expansion of formality’. This related to the creation of spaces that did not yet have established formal frameworks, thus, resulting in unclear formal boundaries that provided the opportunity for elite actors to operate informality.

The investigation into informal spaces within this chapter also provided insight into the complex, interconnected, and privileged nature of elite informal dynamics. An analysis that was supported through drawing on the theoretical frame work of “grey spaces” (Yiftachel, 2015). Furthermore, in connection to these complexities, the composition of elite informal spaces was described, which incorporated a variety of dimensions, including conceptual, social, and physical elements. This therefore revealed that these spaces provided unique opportunities for specific elite actors to exercise power over the ambitious real estate developments investigated, which further supports the findings presented in the previous chapter. The varied nature of these power dynamics was highlighted throughout this chapter and were categorised in regard to overt displays of power, narrative influence, and ideological influence. Moreover, the categories defined offer an understanding of elite informal spaces that has relevance across the diverse global contexts of Tanzania and the UK. Therefore,

through drawing on these very different global contexts, it has provided the opportunity to have greater engagement with the complexities and cultural nuances that impact the informal dynamics engaged in by elite actors.

The Elite and their Navigation of Informal Practices

7.1 Introduction

It was revealed within this study that morality, or what could be described as the adoption and promotion of particular value systems, was a critical consideration in understanding the ability of elite actors to operate informally. This is because it is integral to the outworking of elite informality that there is an ability for this group to renegotiate or circumvent legal boundaries while simultaneously striving to maintain their legitimacy. Moreover, the findings that emerged within this study pointed towards the central role of specific elite characteristics in understanding these dynamics. The theoretical lens of the moral economy was therefore drawn upon to illustrate and understand how certain elite characteristics facilitated the outworking of elite informality, particularly with regard to this group utilising value systems that were underpinned by specific political ideology (Wiegratz, 2016; Wiegratz, 2015). In addition, the significant impact of past experience, social standing, and access to different forms of capital in shaping elite characteristics was also recognised (Bourdieu, 2010). These combined considerations were therefore drawn upon within this final empirical chapter to shed light on the ability of elite actors to maintain legitimacy and navigate legality while interacting with informality.

A multitude of elite characteristics emerged within this study; however, the characteristics of negotiation, secrecy, and confidence were identified as offering particularly salient insights into the relationship powerful actors have with dynamics of elite informality. Through drawing on the empirical findings, and insights from previous studies, the following terminology has been developed within this study to describe and categorise the connection these characteristics have with the outworking of elite informality. First, the characteristic of negotiation, which describes the ability of elite actors to navigate and leverage discussions in order to promote their interests, is described within this study as 'dynamic practices of informality'. Second, the characteristic of secrecy is described within this study as 'protected practices of informality', this refers to a tendency for elite actors to operate discreetly, consequently enabling their engagement with informality to remain hidden. Finally, the characteristic of confidence emerged, which showcased extreme examples of elite self-assurance in a variety of settings. Consequently, the characteristic of confidence facilitates 'assured practices of informality'. Moreover, simultaneously drawing on the case studies of Kigamboni and The Royal Docks has presented the opportunity to understand in greater depth the multifaced nature of the characteristics

investigated, which resonate in different ways and to different degrees within these varied global contexts.

7.2 Negotiation: Dynamic Practices of Elite Informality

The significant access that elite actors invariably have to a variety of resources, in addition to their social standing and connections, were identified as key strengths that underpinned their negotiations, this points towards elite actors accessing different forms of social, economic and cultural capital as described by Bourdieu (2010). It was also observed within this study that often these resources and connections were interconnected with a strength among this group regarding an eloquence that enabled elite actors to effectively and convincingly articulate their position. This ability to negotiate can be observed within the data in examples of elite actors offering persuasive arguments that provided justification for practice of informality. An instance of this that emerged within The Royal Docks case study relates to negotiations that took place during the projects' procurement process. An example of this came to light most prominently during discussions at a Greater London Authority (GLA) Oversight Committee meeting. Within this meeting the developers for the RAD Business Hub, ABP, were accused of deviating from the guidelines outlined by the GLA for the procurement process, specifically guidance relating to the intended real estate development being exclusively commercial. This guidance was adhered to by the development firms that were bidding for the project, with the only exception being ABP who incorporated residential units into their plans. Significantly, later in the procurement process the government criteria for the development shifted to incorporate residential units, consequently resulting in ABP having an advantage. The tensions surrounding this sequence of events is portrayed in the following data extract:

“Len Duvall AM (Chair): It is a question I am going to pose to you again because I think you did not answer it when I originally asked it. The question was other tenderers in the evaluation could have submitted ancillary housing. It would have changed the valuation of this site and would have substantially changed the due diligence issues, as well as some of the financial background. It is not the exclusion of housing; it is the fact that housing has been added in. If I was a bidder, was it clear to me that I could have done that in my evaluation? Would that have made an impact? Somewhere in this thought process of what you have told us is a very difficult site which is actually a job-related commercial site as its principal, has now moved to a mixed-use site to make a sense of place, if I can quote you. That is what the transcript will tell us. The question we are asking, and we

want to know is in a tendering process how does that work when you have gone through bidding for A, and you are coming out with X with housing? Ancillary housing, as you put it, but housing, nevertheless.

David Lunts (Executive Director, Housing and Land): I hope we have made clear that the ABP submission actually included an element of ancillary residential at the outset. They had some serviced apartments included. It is true that during the course of the many months that we have been working on this together with them their plans have evolved. There is now a bigger plan of residential perhaps than there was in the original submission.

Nicky Gavron AM: Surprise.

David Lunts (Executive Director, Housing and Land): Maybe, maybe not. It is entirely consistent with their original vision and their original submission which had an element of residential, and it is entirely consistent with what was always going to be, and always should have been frankly, a process of evolution as you move through the process. There is no reason why any other bidders could not have included an element of ancillary residential on a similar basis. They chose not to.”

UK Official Documents (GLA Oversight Committee Audit Report Minutes RAD (session 2), March 2015)

The language used here, that other developers “chose not to” include residential units, is particularly interesting considering the focus of the original development brief had been the construction of a commercial development. Moreover, it is implied within this exchange that including residential units within a development plan is advantageous to developers, as it provides the potential for a more secure investment. Consequently, this exchange indicates the persuasive ability of ABP within this process, regarding their ability to successfully re-negotiate the original criteria for this development site which not only advanced their position in relation to scoring within the process but also had negative implications for the scoring of other developers, despite the attempts of the other developers to adhere to the original guidance. This shift within the procurement process, which resulted in an advantage for ABP, was further discussed within the GLA Oversight meeting:

“Nicky Gavron AM: I want to land on one point, which is that it is new to me that housing was allowed in the tender process. It was only ABP that had housing in its tender process. If you are tendering in a process that has a development brief and behind that an Opportunity Area Framework saying this is employment-led with no housing, then you

probably, unless you were particularly encouraged, would not put housing into it. I am very surprised by that. I do wonder whether that was not behind one changing of the weighting in terms of deliverability. Obviously, it is easier to deliver if you have housing in the mix. As you have said, housing makes it less risky.

Simon Powell (Assistant Director - Strategic Projects and Property): As we have said, through the tender process it was about getting early delivery. There was specifically set within the tender process a minimum threshold of quantum of commercial office development that had to come forward. ABP through its tender has now contracted to deliver substantially more than that. There was no minimum housing coming forward. It was all about the commercial development to come forward.

Nicky Gavron AM: You do agree there is something a bit strange about having a development brief - and the Mayor sets this - and an Opportunity Area Framework that says this is not to have housing on it and then housing is introduced?

David Lunts (Executive Director, Housing and Land): To be clear, the planning framework there - and indeed the procurement process and the briefing reflected this - that there is a very strong presumption in favour of employment. That is what it is there for. That does not therefore ultimately and completely exclude any residential development. In fact, I do not think we should make any apology for introducing an element of residential there."

UK Official Documents (GLA Oversight Committee Audit Report Minutes RAD (session 2), March 2015)

In addition to building on the dynamics revealed in the previous extract, within this exchange it is implied that ABP's inclusion of residential units was "particularly encouraged", this was clearly not the case for the other development firms participating in the process and therefore points to prior, informal discussions, taking place between ABP and the GLA. Moreover, with regards to showcasing the elite characteristic of negotiation, the two exchanges within this GLA Oversight Committee meeting offer insight into the ability of elite actors to manipulate or circumvent formal frameworks for their advantage. Within these exchanges the executive director for Housing and Land, David Lunts, is clearly well versed in negotiation particularly regarding his ability to articulate himself and in his attempts to redirect the conversation. Moreover, it appears that Lunts' objective that underpinned this discussion, was to ensure that the legitimacy of ABP undertaking the construction of the RAD Business Hub development was maintained. Furthermore, these extracts illustrate how during the

procurement process ABP were able to renegotiate the formal guidelines that had been articulated within the development brief, which had consequences for all those involved in the process. It is important to note that ABP's deviation from the development brief, through the incorporation of residential units within their proposal, ultimately was stated as the justification for ABP requiring a higher score in the procurement process. The irony of course, is that ABP successfully renegotiated the formal bidding requirements, which their own and other development proposals were then marked against. This therefore illustrates power being exercised through narrative influence, as ABP and politicians involved in the RAD Business Hub procurement process were able to negotiate and justify a deviation from the formal guidance.

Moreover, these extracts reveal the private sector's influential position concerning decision-making, particularly regarding urban development priorities surrounding the construction of ambitious developments. Further insight can also be gained through drawing on the theoretical lens of the moral economy, as the privileged position of the private sector in decision-making is underpinned by values that are promoted within neoliberal ideology. Such as, the involvement of the private sector being perceived as critical in the promotion of individual freedom and the prioritisation of business interests.

These ideological foundations therefore justify the value systems employed by elite actors. As a result, changes being made to the original planning expectations within the procurement process, that offered a disproportionate advantage to ABP, were ultimately accepted as being legitimate. Furthermore, the complexity of an ambitious development also provided increased opportunities for privileged negotiations between the political and wealth elite. This dynamic is portrayed in the following media extract:

"The conference will examine the changing dynamic in the way London does business, the development of east London as a new business district, as well as the appeal of the UK as a destination for investment by Asian businesses of all sectors and sizes. The conference is being supported by the Greater London Authority. Speakers include Sir Robin Wales, Mayor of Newham, and Xu Weiping, chairman of ABP. Deloitte's David Cruickshank, Sir Terry Farrell and Shao Ping of Ping An Bank are among the panellists at a roundtable debate featuring UK business and political leaders. The government has shown its support for the event, with secretary of state Eric Pickles delivering the closing address."

UK Media Coverage (Mike Phillips, Property week, 2014, East comes east: Chinese trade mission to Royal Docks)

Revealed within this extract is the ability of specific actors to overtly exercise power through being included in the conference, and thus, having direct access to negotiations relating to the “changing dynamics” associated with development in the Royal Docks district. The exclusivity of these negotiations is poignant, as the Mayor of Newham and other political figures appear to be principally concerned with the opinions of real estate investors, as opposed to the views of Newham residents. This highlights the value of economic capital in providing opportunities to participate in high-level negotiations, in addition to illustrating the value attributed by elite actors to promoting investment opportunities and in furthering business interests. As a result, this offers insight into the privileged and dynamic ability of elite actors to access opportunities, which enable them to partake in the negotiation and re-shaping of formal frameworks.

Within the context of Kigamboni, there are also examples of how negotiation by elite actors’ supports practices of elite informality. An example of this can be observed in relation to the Dege Eco Village development. The Dege Eco Village was complex because it was built in partnership with the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), an organisation connected with the Tanzanian government, and Azimio, a private development company. As part of negotiations that took place between these two parties, land prices were set significantly above market value. However, after difficulties were experienced in completing the construction of this development further investigations took place, with this arrangement being revealed and later classified as fraud. An indication of the tensions that emerged surrounding land pricing can be observed in the following media extract:

“According to Prof Kahyarara who took over office in March this year, NSSF’s initial probe into the matter unearthed massive flaws in the contract. For instance, he pointed out, the project area was only 3,503 acres and not 20,000 acres. "Again, the price of the plots was massively overrated, for according to contract, one acre was valued at Sh800 million², but our valuation indicates that the actual price of an acre is Sh25 million³," he said. Prof Kahyarara said after the valuation, they held a meeting with Azimio and informed the company about the flaws and it conceded in some of them.”

TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2016, NSSF admits fraud in giant Sh1.4tr satellite city project)

² 800 million Tanzanian shillings is approximately £225,000

³ 25 million Tanzania shillings is approximately £7,000

This extract therefore points towards overt displays of power being exercised by the developer Azimo, however, there is a complexity here as the dynamics and negotiations surrounding their ability to obtain such a high land valuation was unclear. Alongside this extract there was other data that described an anticipated rise in land value, resulting from the construction of high-end developments within Kigamboni that were expected to attract significant investment into the area. Consequently, there was probably several factors that impacted the ability of elite actors to inflate the land price for this development site so dramatically. Therefore, a potential reason why this agreement was not challenged at the time could have also partially stemmed from a shared expectation that was being promoted by elite actors. Namely, that the land value would rise significantly after the completion of the development. Moreover, the significant nature of the development, as discussed in the first findings chapter, provides further justification for a substantial increase in land values. These dynamics can be understood through the theoretical lens of the moral economy, as they are underpinned by neoliberal values relating to the importance of aligning with free market practices to enable the flourishing of what is perceived as a 'fair market', that is not manipulated by outside forces such as state intervention. This ideology is portrayed in the following interview extract, which refers to the inflated of land prices within Kigamboni and Dar es Salaam more broadly:

"Price of land is very expensive in Dar es Salaam, especially in areas such as Masaki. Even in Kigamboni the price of the land is high. This is not the actual price; it has been overpriced by the market. This is done because it is a free market, which means people can charge whatever they want if people will pay it."

TZ Interview (John, Government Official)

Interestingly, within this quote a tension emerges in the interviewees statement, which points towards another measure for determining land value that is separate from market forces. This is implied when he describes the land prices in Kigamboni as "not the actual price, it has been overpriced by the market". This tension can be understood in relation to competing ideological influences which is especially relevant to the Tanzanian context. Within Tanzania there exists a strong historical undercurrent that land should be priced affordably, controlled by the government, and used to meet the needs of the whole population, as discussed in chapter four. However, this ideology sits in tension with the increasingly prevalent ideology of neoliberalism within the country, which promotes free market principles. Therefore, the examples described in relation to the overpricing of land are supported by neoliberal value systems relating to the importance of ensuring individual and market freedoms. As a result, elite actors are able to draw on these value systems in their attempts to

renegotiate formal legal boundaries, such as those relating to the classification of fraud and the price of land. However, as portrayed within the extract relating to Dege Eco Village, elite actors do not always succeed in these negotiations. Significantly, within the Tanzanian context, it is important to consider how tensions between contrasting political ideologies, especially regarding the affordability of land, may have also influenced the significantly lower land valuation offered by the government official Prof Kahyarara.

Interestingly, this logic relating to the justification of inflated land prices, were also apparent within the context of The Royal Docks case study, although, it is important to note that this was to less of an extent. An example of this with house prices being advertised above “market value” due to the anticipated rise in land value within the area being “built in” to the cost of properties. Significantly, these projected values were interlinked with ambitious developments taking place within the area, such as the RAD Business Hub. The justification for this rise in land value, prior to the completion of these developments, can be observed in the following media extract:

“Canary Wharf has shown that a glamorous, high-value address can be created in a relatively short period of time. People who bought there 10 years ago have seen values triple. Over the past three years, development has been spreading to Royal Docks and Silvertown. These areas still have some way to go in terms of neighbourhood appeal, but they are not cheap. "Developers have been bullish when setting prices and a lot of the expected growth is built in," says one local estate agent.”

UK Media Coverage (David Spittles, 2005, The Evening Standard, The Gateway to a New Life; The Olympic starting pistol has sounded for the regeneration of the massive Thames Gateway area. David Spittles looks at what is rising in the east)

This rhetoric within both case study contexts is valuable in revealing the importance of negotiation, in enabling elite actors to shift formal boundaries in order to further their own interests. In addition to revealing how this interlinks with the ability of elite actors to negotiate legality and legitimacy. It is also noteworthy that the inflation of land prices in Tanzania were categorised as fraud, while within the UK context they were justified by the outworking of free market principles, despite the increased land values both being at least partially attributed to the anticipated construction of high-risk ambitious developments, that ultimately were not realised. Moreover, as with the Royal Docks case study it also emerged within the Kigamboni context that specific elite actors were in a privileged position for negotiation, which was enabled through the utilisation of informal social networks:

“The balance is very difficult, working between the public and the private sector. For example, a minister might ring up and say I want a certain plot, and I want a discount. It can be difficult to work within the politics. Anything like this I pass onto my boss to deal with, he has told me not to worry, that he will deal with the politicians. I have been told that I should focus on the business side and my boss has ensured me that he will protect me from the political side.”

TZ Interview (Joseph, Government Official)

This quote therefore implies that social networks are drawn upon by the elite, within the context of urban development, in order to negotiate and strive towards the circumvention of formal processes to further their own interests. A further revealing insight that emerged regarding the elite characteristic of negotiation within the Kigamboni case study, was the ability of elite actors to draw on formal frameworks in order to negotiate the protection of informal practices. This tension can be observed within the following media extract:

“Msalala MP Ezekiel Maige (CCM) proposed an immediate contract termination, describing the project as fraudulent. "Why should we keep on negotiating while it is obvious that this project is purely fraudulent," queried the MP. PAC Chairperson Naghenjwa Kaboyoka advised NSSF to keenly review the contract as Azimio Housing Estate was the custodian of the land. "The company may decide to have the houses demolished so that it can retain its land." But Professor Kahyarara assured keenness to ensure recovery of the 270bn/-, saying the contractual issues will be cautiously handled from the legal perspective.”

TZ Media Coverage (Nelly Mtema, Tanzania Daily News 2016, Indicative Land Plot Prices Out)

This extract, therefore, highlights the ability of elite actors to dynamically utilise formal and informal practices in processes of negotiation in order to avoid legal implications for their actions. Hence, this further illustrates the complex and blurred boundaries surrounding formality and informality. Furthermore, this extract demonstrates the reliance elite actors have on economic capital in order to facilitate effective negotiations, particularly with regards to drawing on legal support in order to neutralise illegality and maintain legitimacy. Accordingly, this demonstrates the ability of the elite to overtly exercise power in order to protect themselves from legal consequences that stem from informal practices.

The examples within this section have shed light on the informal practices of elite actors, especially in relation to navigating dynamics of legality and legitimacy through processes of negotiation, which is identified within this project as a key characteristic employed by elite actors to enable dynamic practices of elite informality. This was observed in relation to the ability of specific elite actors to renegotiate planning requirements and land values, through employing both formal processes and informal connections. Throughout this section, the theoretical framework of the moral economy has been drawn upon, this has been valuable in highlighting the importance and impact of prominent value systems which were often rooted in neoliberal ideology. Such as the celebration of high-risk investments and the importance of the private sector being influential to decision-making surrounding strategic real estate developments. These dynamics therefore highlighted the varied and vital role of negotiation in enabling elite actors to informally exercising power, while simultaneously maintaining legitimacy and navigate formal legal frameworks.

7.3 Secrecy: Protected Practices of Elite Informality

Second, the characteristic of secrecy was also observed within both case studies as a crucial element in facilitating elite informal practices, as it contributed towards what is described within this study as ‘protected practices of informality’. Previous studies also contribute towards understating secretive elite practices, which is a characteristic that was been observed in multiple areas of their lives. Examples of this range from research conducted by Transparency International, who investigated the extremely opaque nature of elite financial and real estate practices (Cowdock, 2017; Martini and Van der Merwe, 2020) to research into the ability of this group to move unseen around the cities in which they live (Atkinson, 2020). Within The Royal Docks case study, the interconnected nature of elite informality and the characteristic of secrecy emerged in an example involving the former Mayor of London, Boris Johnson. This was with regards to an incident where Boris Johnson refusing to increase the transparency of the public-private organisation London and Partners (L&P) while he was holding the position of Mayor, despite requests from the London Assembly for greater transparency, which stemmed from an investigation by the GLA Oversight Committee into the RAD Business Hub development. This was particularly significant as L&P was an organisation that he founded and benefited financially from. Boris Johnson’s justification for not adhering to the committee’s request is revealed in the following data extract, which details his response:

“This year, London & Partners expects to raise approximately £6m from non-GLA sources.

This is in contrast to other bodies with a similar remit, such as Visit Britain and UKTI, which

rely far more heavily on public funds. As such, its arrangements are unique. It is bound by commercial sensitivities in a way that public bodies are not, which in turn has implications for the form of scrutiny and the level of transparency to which it is subject. Its work is overseen by its Board, to which I appoint the Chairman and a non-executive director.”

UK Official Documents (Mayor of London Boris Johnson, 2015, Letter of Correspondence to London Assembly Motions)

Thus, this extract illustrates the tendency and ability of an elite actor to preserve secrecy, even when challenged by formal structures. Moreover, Boris Johnson’s refusal to increase the transparency of operations within L&P without consequence, despite being instructed to by the London Assembly, clearly portrays his ability to overtly exercise power. In addition, this refusal demonstrates how through operating secretly, it facilitates opportunities for elite informal practices. Moreover, underpinning Boris Johnson’s justification are well-established values that draw on neoliberal ideology, which advocates for reduced state intervention and state scrutiny. The effective utilisation of a neoliberal value system by an elite actor to not only circumvent formal structures, but also to maintain legitimacy, can therefore be understood through the lens of the moral economy.

Furthermore, alongside Boris Johnson founding the L&P organisation, he also utilised his position as Mayor of London to increase his responsibilities in relation to the oversight of ambitious developments. Consequently, this provided Boris Johnson with greater autonomy in the decisions that took place regarding the construction of large-scale real estate projects within London. This shift in governance structures is outlined in the following extract from the London City Plan:

“1.46 There are other changes to planning in and for London and the UK more generally that are also addressed in the new London Plan:

- the change in the London Plan’s legal status since it was first written (see para 0.2)
- the Greater London Authority Act 2007 widened the Mayor’s powers to deal with strategic planning applications and gave him responsibility for a number of new statutory strategies. The Localism Act 2011 abolished the London Development Agency and transferred land and housing responsibilities to the Mayor. It also made changes to the procedure for the preparation of the London Plan and other mayoral strategies.”

UK Official Documents (Boris Johnson, 2016, London City Plan)

Despite this extract not relating directly to the elite characteristic of secrecy, a transfer of responsibility from a committee to the Mayor concerning decision-making surrounding what are described as “strategic planning applications” allowed for significantly less scrutiny over these processes. Consequently, this enabled and allowed for greater secrecy in the future and, as a result, allowed greater opportunity for protected practices of elite informality. Hence, in his position as the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson had the ability to overtly display power through implementing changes to formal frameworks. Subsequently, this functioned to increase his decision-making powers surrounding the construction of ambitious developments, when previously this had been the responsibility of the LDA. In turn, this enabled a single elite actor to significantly shape urban development practices and priorities. The characteristic of secrecy observed here, which facilitated the protection of elite informality, is further underpinned by the social positioning of Boris Johnson in addition to being interwoven with the elite characteristic of negotiation. As a result, this highlighted the interconnected nature of the elite characteristics of negotiation and secrecy. Moreover, these data extracts demonstrate the utilisation of ideological influence, which is drawn upon to legitimise the need to streamline and reduce restrictions within development processes to enable businesses to flourish.

Furthermore, the following example emerged within the data that offers additional insight into how the elite characteristic of secrecy assisted in navigating practices of elite informality. The previous extracts illustrated how elite actors established opportunities for elite informality to operate through a lack of transparency, the following extract builds on this as it identifies informal practices that had been observed within a secretive context. In the following media coverage alongside a lack of transparency surrounding the procurement process, informal practices by elite actors are also highlighted. This extract is taken from a Channel 4 documentary that focused on dynamics surrounding the RAD Business Hub development:

“Tongbo Liu, the former head of London and Partners, who used to act as Boris Johnson’s personal representative in China, left the agency to work for ABP in March 2012, while the tender process was still going on. He has told us that ABP took over the lease of the office at the same time paying 70 per cent of the rent. We have confirmation from London and Partners that ABP currently have the lease of the London and Partners office in Beijing and L&P pay 30 per cent of the rent. In a statement we were told that ABP moved into the office in Beijing in 2011, but that the two bodies had separate leases with the landlords until January 2013. Nicky Gavron, Labour’s most senior member on the Greater London Assembly, told us: “The Mayor set up London and Partners, and London and Partners are his inward investment arm, and he funds two thirds of them. So, they are a

subsidiary of the Mayor. The Mayor appoints the Chairman. So, you would expect the Mayor to have a grip on the practices of London and Partners.” Gavron added: “If there are questions raised about London and Partners, I think then it raises concerns about the Mayor’s overseeing of the practices of London and Partners.” She agreed that the buck stopped with Boris Johnson. “When you are executive Mayor and a one-man band, it does.””

UK Media Coverage (Michael Crick, 2014, Channel 4 Documentary: Big questions for Boris over billion dollar property deal)

Despite it being important to be critical of allegations made within media coverage, at the same time official documents and interviews also correlated with different aspects of this data extract. Moreover, the London Assembly investigation did identify informal dynamics surrounding the development, although they also stated that these interactions did not amount to illegality. Accordingly, this indicates that informal practices, that successfully navigated legal frameworks, took place surrounding the RAD Business Hub development, which were facilitated by the ability of elite actors to maintain secrecy. This extract also indicates that power was exercised by elite actors within this context through narrative influence, as informal interactions between ABP and the GLA provided the opportunity for the narratives and priorities of the GLA and London & Partners to be influenced with regards to the RAD Business Hub development procurement process. As a result, this provided further insight into elite actors and how they successfully navigate dynamics of legality and legitimacy, with ABP ultimately succeeded in the procurement process.

Instances of informal elite practices that navigated dynamics of legality and legitimacy through utilising the elite characteristic of secrecy also emerged within the Kigamboni case study. The example drawn upon to illustrate this relates to the hidden informal practices of government officials. This was particularly prominent within the KSC and Dege Eco Village developments. It is significant that these dynamics were revealed in Tanzanian media coverage, as the Tanzanian government places restrictions on what is freely expressed within the media. However, drawing public attention to these practices through media coverage offered the potential for the political gain of specific elite actors, while negatively impacting others. Moreover, an aspect of John Magufuli’s presidential election campaign was to tackle corruption through the increase of state control. Accordingly, it is important to note that the media reports considered were interwoven with the political agendas of elite actors, such as assisting President Magufuli in his justification for enforcing greater state scrutiny and control. Within the context of this study, this also revealed the pursuit of competing political agendas by elite actors, particularly in relation to the construction of ambitious real estate projects. The prevalence of

opaque and secretive informal practices by elite actors, which were suspected but difficult to verify, is further communicated in the following data extract in relation to the KSC development:

“Several argued that the government had a habit of breaking laws, that it was corrupt and interested in international business, to the detriment of the people. They were dissatisfied with how the process surrounding the Kigamboni project had developed. They suspected that state officials had allocated plots to themselves after the land surveys had been conducted and had sold them at a profit. In addition, they accused the government of lying on a variety of points, including of deceiving people into signing documents that deprived them of the right to compensation. Several believed that the government was hiding something from the citizens.”

TZ Official Documents (New City Vision -evaluation report, 2016)

This extract indicates the utilisation of overt power by elite actors, as despite citizens suspecting that informal practices occurred, they were not in a position to counteract or challenge them. Furthermore, a political narrative was also portrayed by elite actors, regarding these deceptive practices being intertwined with a lack of state scrutiny and intervention, which enabled informality by other elite actors to flourish. This is an interesting example, as it portrays the complexity of elite value systems in addition to highlighting the utilisation of value systems within elite power struggles. Thus, the tension here can be observed regarding certain elite actors adopting and promoting neoliberal values, such as, the reduction of state scrutiny and importance of individual freedom, as previously highlighted. However, additional evidence also emerged that revealed how elite actors also drew on contrasting value systems that were underpinned by different political ideologies. This was particularly apparent when John Magufuli became president as he exercised power through directly opposing aspects of neoliberal ideology and overturning established neoliberal policies, which was extensively justified by his campaign to deal with corruption within Tanzania. The following data extract illustrates this tension regarding value systems that existed in the Tanzanian context,:

“It is no surprise that Dege [Eco Village] was inexplicably abandoned barely two months after Magufuli became president. Given the illegality of the enterprise, it is understandable that they had to run for cover when someone that was not part of their plan came to power.”

TZ Media Coverage (The Citizen, 2022, How billions went down the drain in dubious NSSF project.)

Furthermore, the following extract also describes how Magufuli was perceived as central in breaking cycles of corrupt behaviour, yet this next extract also highlights the contradictory and problematic nature of Magufuli's leadership and his rejection of neoliberal ideals. In addition, this extract also highlights how through drawing attention to the secretive practices of other elite actors Magufuli was simultaneously justifying modifications to governance frameworks that increased his own ability to operate with less scrutiny:

"Magufuli was a very good politician; he was like two people. He presented himself like the "Messiah" to those who were poor. The image that he wanted them to see is that he was fighting corruption, and he was taking away barriers for them to do business, to help them. He allowed people to trade anywhere, in the towns and cities, he took away any restrictions. These have now been reintroduced, because having the streets full of traders is not helping a country trying to push for development. He also said he was fighting corruption, but he was actually corrupt there have been him and a few of those close to him that were making a lot of money. There was a large sum of government money that disappeared, no one knew where it had gone, not the parliament or anyone, in response Magufuli fired the person who spoke up about it. Why would he have done this? Magufuli worked outside of the normal governance system; he had his own security team outside of the government with whom he governed the country. He was not a party player, he and a small group governed outside of the government structure."

TZ Interview (Andrew, Journalist)

Therefore, these extracts indicate that Magufuli clearly drew on value systems and secrecy to negotiate dynamics of legality and legitimacy, which resonates with the moral economy theory. However, interestingly, these value systems were contrary to those promoted within neoliberal ideology. As a result, Magufuli legitimised acting outside of existing formal frameworks that were underpinned by neoliberal ideas, in relation to justifying the extension of state scrutiny and involvement, on the grounds that corruption by elite actors was enabled by existing formal frameworks. Hence, overt displays of power and narrative influence can be observed within the context of the Kigamboni case study, as the examples discussed within this context illustrated the ability of an elite actor to overtly exercise power through halting the construction of an ambitious development. In addition to this the data revealed insight into President Magufuli's influence over narratives portrayed within media coverage. Moreover, as within The Royal Docks case study, the elite characteristic of secrecy is observed, a characteristic that is significantly impacted by the social

positioning of that actor and which enables elite actors to facilitate what is described within this study as protected practices of elite informality.

Within this section it has been highlighted that a relationship exists between the elite characteristic of secrecy and the ability of elite actors to operate informal practices, hence, this characteristic assists in allowing the protection of informal practices. The term developed within this study to describe these dynamics has therefore been 'protected practices of elite informality'. Moreover, within both case studies, there were examples that illustrated how operating in a secretive way, especially when engaging with informal practices, assisted elite actors in navigating dynamics of legality and legitimacy. The ability of elite actors to operate in this way was therefore intrinsically linked to dynamics of power, which were observed in a variety of forms, including overt displays, narrative influence, and ideological influence. Yet, in relation to elite actors imposing barriers to maintain secrecy it was predominantly overt displays of power that were observed. The significance of this is revealed when considering these dynamics through the lens of Luke's three dimensional framework of power (Lukes, 2005), as it indicates that these actors were in a position of vulnerability or weakness which resulted in a necessity for them to overtly exercise power. The theory of moral economy has also been drawn on to highlight the interconnected nature of value systems and the adoption of neoliberal ideology, especially with regards to neoliberalism promoting reduced state scrutiny and involvement. However, complexities surrounding this also emerged, concerning elite actors drawing on contrasting ideologies to neoliberalism, which also facilitated informal practices and provided tools for the navigation of legality and legitimacy, especially within the Tanzanian context.

7.4 Confidence: Assured Practices of Elite Informality

A third prominent elite characteristic identified within the data was confidence, this section therefore focuses on how elite confidence impacts this group's ability to navigate legality and legitimacy while engaging in informal practices. Thus, this characteristic underpins what is termed within this study as 'assured practices of informality'. Observations relating to elite confidence resonate with a variety of research that has been conducted into elite behaviours, from the construction of real estate that does not adhere to formal regulations (Moatasim, 2019) to extremely risky financial practices that have far reaching implications (Baker, 2010). The confidence of elite actors, which in turn supported informal practices, was observed in The Royal Docks case study within the context of the developers of the ambitious RAD Business Hub development, ABP, operating outside of legal frameworks. This emerged

predominantly within data relating to legal proceedings filed against ABP, as illustrated in the following extract from an employment tribunal:

“From December 2019 until the claimant’s dismissal, ABP China had a practice of transferring from China just enough cash for the Respondent to pay salaries, some (but not all) loan obligations and the most urgent suppliers who had taken legal action. At the point of the claimant’s dismissal, there remained a significant amount of long overdue UK supplier invoices together with unsettled loan obligations totalling some £69.9 million (see the summary ABP loan default schedule at page 342, which is a document prepared by the claimant following various default letters being received in August and September 2020). Despite the claimant’s advice and warnings of the risks entailed in failing to meet its obligations, the Respondent and other UK ABP companies continued to arrange credit with suppliers (e.g. security guards, lawyers etc), and then failed to meet their legal obligations to them, which resulted in them having to make threats, take legal action or withdraw their services.”

UK Official Documents (Employment Tribunal, 2021, Legal Case brought against ABP by previous employee, Finance Director Mr S Williams)

ABP operating outside of formal frameworks since 2019, with regards to overtly circumventing legal obligations, is significant with regards to understanding the relationship between the elite characteristic of confidence and the ability of elite actors to navigate legality and maintain legitimacy while operating informally. The following media extract illustrates the projection of elite confidence in the time leading up to ABP’s financial difficulties becoming visible. Hence, Xu Weiping, the chairman of ABP, was continuing to enthusiastically project his globally significant vision for the RAD Business development shortly prior to it emerging that in the background ABP were operating outside of formal legal boundaries which appeared to be a consequence of financial difficulties. The confidence portrayed by Xu Weiping is revealed in the following extract:

““Xu Weiping, chairman of the Chinese developer behind the project, ABP, says: "East London is definitely the future for this global city.

"Companies choosing to relocate to Royal Albert Dock have one of the most dynamic workforces in Europe on their doorstep, with the people and skills that businesses need to succeed.

"All this makes us a compelling new destination for businesses. Nowhere else in London has all the ingredients needed for business success.””

UK Media Coverage (London Evening Standard, 2018, Royal Albert Dock: the new destination for business; From a derelict site to a global business hub, there has been a major transformation for this once forgotten area of London)

Accordingly, these extracts illustrate power being exercised overtly and through narrative influence, as ABP were clearly able to continue operating while simultaneously navigating legal disputes with contractors and employees. Furthermore, despite these underlying financial difficulties, Xu Weiping continued to project confidence through enthusiastically promoting the project. Moreover, this speaks to the value systems of elite actors, including their embrace of risk-taking behaviours and their promotion of greater government support for the private sector. Especially in relation to high value investments such as ambitious developments. Accordingly, these dynamics provide insight into the ability of elite actors to navigate dynamics surrounding legality, as the value system of neoliberalism provides a rationale for overt informal practices of the elite to be overlooked, such as ABP's failure to meet contractual obligations or to pay invoices. The accumulation of legal difficulties experienced by the RAD Business Hub development was also communicated by an employee of the company involved in the liquidation process for the development site. This is portrayed in the following interview extract:

"The site has recently changed hands and is now in liquidation. The company that we work for has only been here 2 months, and there is nothing that we can disclose. Our job is to just sell the building to pay the creditors, which includes people who haven't been paid and people who have put money into the building. There is a website you can visit which shows you all the complaints from employees and lenders who haven't been paid and petitions against the site."

UK Interview (Levi, RAD Business Hub Employee)

This interview with the liquidation company occurred during a site visit to the RAD Business Hub development in November 2022 and is significant as it illustrates that ABP continued to operate as the developers for the RAD Business Hub for several years after legal disputes began. Therefore, indicating the complexity of power dynamics between the private and public sector within this case study, as their appeared to be a reluctance from the government to address the informal practices of these elite actors, which is unsurprising when considering the GLAs own involvement and promotion of the project. Furthermore, the narratives surrounding the liquidation of the development site were constructed in revealing ways, as they focused on factors such as a breakdown in political relationships between China and the UK, as opposed to the financial and legal difficulties being experienced by the developer. Examples of this narrative were portrayed in the following media and interview extracts:

“In February this year, City Hall agreed to a final termination with ABP after no construction for over 2 years...UK PM Rishi Sunak had reportedly said recently that a “golden era” in economic ties with China had come to an end – the phrase has long been linked to Mr Cameron and his quest for closer ties with Beijing a decade ago. The UK prime minister said: “We recognize that China poses a systemic challenge to our values and interests, a challenge that is becoming more acute as it moves towards even greater authoritarianism.””

UK Media Coverage (India Times, 2022, Why This Hong Kong Billionaire & Real Estate Tycoon Wants to Revive London's 'Ghost Town')

Adam: You are interested in the notorious Chinese development that will never be completed.

Rachel (Interviewer): Do you know anything about the project or about why it has had difficulties?

Adam: I don't think the project will end up being successful. I think the failure of the project was due primarily to Brexit and failing Anglo/Chinese relations.”

UK Interview (Adam, Community Member)

The projection of these narratives to the surrounding community therefore distract from the informal practices of elite actors. Moreover, they distract from fundamental problems underpinning ambitious developments, such as high levels of risk-taking and innovative financial practices. The exercising of power through narrative influence can therefore be observed within this example, which is inherently linked to the elite characteristic of confidence, with elite actors confidently projecting specific narratives within the public sphere. This also highlights the ability of elite actors to continue projecting an assured persona while simultaneously negotiating challenges that arise regarding the navigation of legality and legitimacy. Furthermore, the projection of this narrative is significant when considered through the lens of the moral economy, as it diverts attention from the financial implications of risk-taking surrounding globally significant developments and as a result this narrative does not challenge neoliberal values which portray risk-taking and innovation as necessary. This prizing of risk-taking and its relationship with elite confidence can be observed in the following media extract:

“Xu Weiping likes to discuss his grand vision for future real estate projects, which include a plan to rejuvenate London's long-abandoned Royal Albert Docks. Despite the fact he has never attempted to build anything outside mainland China and only has one completed development to his name, Mr Xu describes the £1bn docks project as "a small deal". "I spent three years negotiating with London and only came up with one project, and it's a small project at that," Mr Xu said yesterday. "In China I only need six months to strike a very big deal."”

UK Media Coverage (Jamil Anderlini, 2013, Financial Times, Investor has grand designs for docks, Rejuvenation)

The confidence projected by Xu Weiping, in his description of this large-scale billion-pound development as “a small deal”, demonstrates an overt display of power. This is because it implies that he has significant social positioning in addition to access to extensive capital. Moreover, ideological influence can be observed, as it is portrayed within this extract that risk-taking is desirable when engaging in ambitious real estate contracts. This extract therefore further highlights the impact that the elite characteristic of confidence has on the ability of this group to boldly navigate informal dynamics, which is described within this chapter as assured practices of elite informality.

Instances of elite actors displaying confidence in order to facilitate informal practices is also revealed within the Kigamboni case study, which provides additional insights into these dynamics. The example drawn upon within this context is the tension between the continued projection of a positive public narrative by elite actors regarding the implementation of the KSC development. Alongside, the overt struggles these elite actors were engaging in with residents concerning compensation and citizens being prevented from developing their land in the Kigamboni district. This tension is evident in the following media extract:

“She added that it was the government's hope that if all goes well in the financing plan of the Kigamboni city, most of the teething problems will be solved to allow the smooth undertaking of the project. In another development, the minister said that the population growth rate at the city of Dar es Salaam was a challenge to planning of the city. She added that the city was projected to accommodate nine million people in three years to come. Prof Tibaijuka noted that the ministry in collaboration with Dar es Salaam city municipals has continued with the preparation of the city's master plan and was now on final touches. She noted that the ministry in collaboration with the Kinondoni Municipality was working on the redesigning of Manzese area. The Parliamentary Committee on Land, Environment and Natural Resources in its report read in the House, said that the

Kigamboni New City project needs to be handled with care. Reading the report, Ms Ester Bulaya (Special Seats - CCM) said that ownership rights of Kigamboni residents have been violated in the process, such as stopping them from developing their lands and repair of their houses. "The project implementation has been long overdue, hence residents of Kigamboni have lost trust," she said. The committee advised the government to focus on issues related to infrastructural development and leave other issues to residents of Kigamboni themselves and investors. Mr Faustine Ndugulile (Kigamboni-CCM) also said that the matter has taken long (sic), and that people were tired of waiting. He urged the government to conduct a public hearing before any development is made, adding that Kigamboni residents should have a say on the matter. Mr Ndugulile also criticised the government's proposal of selling shares to Kigamboni residents, adding that people should be asked to say what they want."

TZ Media Coverage (Abdulwakil Saiboko, Tanzania Daily News, 2014, Kigamboni
Residents Promised Hefty Compensations)

An especially interesting insight is revealed within this extract, as it portrays how elite political officials involved in the implementation of KSC continued to project confidence, despite their simultaneously being significant legal and societal challenges to its implementation. Consequently, the continued assurance of elite actors that the project would go ahead, despite underlying disputes regarding its legality and legitimacy, not only speaks to confidence being projected by these actors but also the disconnect elite actors appear to have with the experience of citizens, especially relation to how the development was negatively impacting them. This observation resonates with research conducted by Bottero (2020) who observed how elite decision-making was often far removed from the experiences of wider society, with elite actors often being unaware of this disconnect. An elite confidence can therefore be observed within this extract that speaks to elite actors intrinsically believing that they know what is best for the Kigamboni district, regardless of if the experience of citizens suggests that is not the case. Moreover, the extract brings with it a complexity with regards to identifying the power dynamics that are at play, as overt displays of power are evident in that the political elite were able to enforce restrictions on residents and prevent them from developing their land for an extended period of time. Narrative influence can also be observed, concerning government officials continuing to project a positive narrative surrounding the development despite tensions emerging surrounding the legality of the development process. In addition, ideological influence is evident, as underlying ideas are drawn upon in order to justify the construction of KSC, which centre around that necessity of this development in supporting the future development of Dar es Salaam. Furthermore, the theoretical lens of the moral economy also interlinks with this, as neoliberal values relating to risk-taking and

innovation are critical aspects of these underlying justifications. Further observations that emerged within the data also supported this. For example, the following extract illustrates a perception which surfaced several times regarding a confidence among wider society that elite actors had the ability to accomplish the KSC development and that despite the risk involved it remained a valuable venture:

“It had huge potential, in 2010-2015, a master plan was developed. Those particularly involved with this, who would be very useful to make contact with, were William Lukuvi and Prof. Anna Tibaijuka. Prof. Tibaijuka had very good ideas and she was the one who had the vision for the satellite city and was trying to make it happen when Kikwete was president. The plans for the Satellite City and organising the investment came from her she was tasked to make things happen... The Satellite City died with Magufuli. There is a strong possibility that it would have happened otherwise, at least in some form, if Magufuli had not come into power.”

TZ Interview (Andrew, Journalist)

A parallel exists between this data extract and narratives that were observed within the context of The Royal Docks concerning a focus on the difficulties surrounding the development being political, as opposed to a connection being drawn between problematic aspects of informal practices and risk-taking by elite actors. Furthermore, within the Kigamboni context, media extracts portrayed the innovative nature of how the government intended to deal with the costs of the development. This included offering residents shares in the development instead of paying compensation. Controversially, this was portrayed confidently by elite actors as the most beneficial long-term arrangement for citizens:

“The minister added that the KDA which has its offices in Kigamboni is entrusted with all the matters related to development of the city, adding that no piece of land will be taken before the due compensation is made. "Kigamboni residents will remain in Kigamboni at a resettlement city to be put up at Uvumba in Kibada Ward and they will be urged to purchase shares at KDA by using the amount not less than ten per cent of their compensation. This will ensure that they benefit from the project for the current and future generations," she said. She said that in the modern world there is a saying which goes like this: "Cities look the way they were financed," thus the Kigamboni city will incorporate its people in its financing so that they remain attached to their land.”

TZ Media Coverage (Abdulwakil Saiboko, Tanzania Daily News, 2014, Kigamboni Residents Promised Hefty Compensations)

This therefore illustrated the utilisation of a persuasive narrative that promoted the extension of existing formal boundaries, a dynamic explored in chapter six relating to informal spaces. Hence showcasing how the elite characteristic of confidence interacts with the promotion of informal practices. Narrative influence can thus be observed within this extract, with elite actors attempting to renegotiate formal frameworks with regards to their legal obligation to pay compensation, through presenting a persuasive justification for new practices. This also correlates with the moral economy theory, as elite actors operating outside of formal financial frameworks can be legitimised by neoliberal values relating to the necessity of continuous innovation.

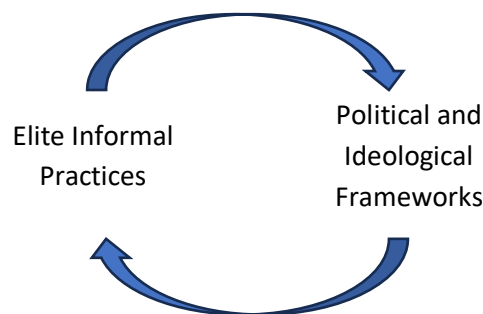
This section has detailed the significance of elite confidence in dynamics surrounding informal practices, particularly within the context of the elite navigating legality and legitimacy. Within The Royal Docks case study this has been observed in relation to elite actors deflecting from overt informal practices surrounding the RAD Business Hub development, by continually projecting positive narratives to wider society. Regarding the Kigamboni case study dynamics relating to the confidence of elite actors in the circumventing or negotiating of formal frameworks, particularly with regards to land rights and the payment of compensation, were explored. An interesting insight also emerged within this case study in relation to elite interests prevailing, despite negative implications being experienced by the surrounding population. This therefore speaks to the ability of elite actors to co-opt or claim urban land to pursue urban development initiatives that are not necessarily in the best interests of wider society. It is also worth noting, however, that despite the confidence portrayed by elite actors, ultimately the anticipated KSC development and RAD Business Hub were not realised. Consequently, this links back to discussions in chapter five regarding the fragility of power, and its dependence on multiple temporal factors. Yet, within this section a relationship between the elite characteristic of confidence and elite actors' ability to navigate informal dynamics has been revealed, hence, offering insight into what is described within this study as assured practices of elite informality.

7.5 The Interaction between Elite Informal Practices and Wider Frameworks

This section builds on the evidence presented so far, and in turn seeks to offer further insight into the ability of elite actors to navigate dynamics of legality and legitimacy surrounding practices of elite informality which emerged within the case studies investigated. Throughout, the findings presented have revealed that the development of elite value systems is intrinsically linked with political ideology, this has primarily been in relation to neoliberal ideology which has been adopted and promoted to varying degrees within each context. Moreover, the intrinsic relationship between elite informality

and the ability of elite actors to exercise power in a variety of ways over processes of urban development has also been highlighted, including overt displays, narrative influence, and ideological influence. As a result, an interesting tension emerges within the evidence that has been presented, regarding the ability of elite actors to exercise power through operating outside of formal frameworks, an aspect of which involves the utilisation of value systems to shape and manipulate established political and ideological frameworks. While simultaneously, elite informal practices are significantly shaped and at times restricted by the political and ideological climate in which they operate. The diagram below (Figure 16) illustrates this cyclic interaction that enables practices of elite informality to impact and shape political and ideological frameworks, while informal activities of the elite are simultaneously being impacted and shaped by the frameworks themselves. Consequently, as illustrated at different points within this chapter, this two-way dynamic can both enable elite actors to successfully navigate dynamics relating to legality and legitimacy, while also result in elite informal practices being restrained by formal frameworks. As discussed previously this therefore speaks to the complex and at times fragile nature of elite informality and the associated power dynamics that surround processes of urban development.

FIGURE 16: SIMULTANEOUS INTERACTIONS THAT SHAPE ELITE INFORMAL PRACTICES AND POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS



7.6 Conclusion

An important aspect of elite engagement with informality is their ability to navigate dynamics of legality and legitimacy. Within this chapter three elite characteristics were explored, these included negotiation, secrecy, and confidence. The evidence presented in relation to each of these demonstrated how these characteristics were underpinned by value systems that were shaped primarily by neoliberal ideology, and that these characteristics were key in facilitating practices of elite

informality. Initially, in relation to the characteristic of negotiation, examples were drawn from The Royal Docks and Kigamboni case studies, which illustrated the ability of powerful actors to circumvent or manipulate formal frameworks through practices of negotiation. In addition, through drawing on the theory of moral economy, it was observed that negotiation by elite actors, within the context of supporting informal practices, was underpinned by neoliberal value systems relating to the promotion of individual freedom and the necessity of supporting and engaging with the private sector. Consequently, the relationship between negotiation and elite informal practices has been described within this project as 'dynamic practices of informality'. The second elite characteristic explored within this chapter was secrecy. It was demonstrated that secrecy was a key contributor to enabling informal practices. The moral economy theory was drawn upon to illustrate how neoliberal value systems relating to the promotion of reduced state scrutiny and involvement, supported this characteristic, and hence facilitated the ability of this group to navigate formal legal frameworks while simultaneously maintaining their legitimacy. The relationship observed within this study, between secrecy and elite informal practices, has therefore been described as 'protected practices of informality'. Third, the elite characteristic of confidence was explored, this was particularly identified in relation to overt informal practices by elite actors being overshadowed by displays of confidence by this group. The moral economy theory offered insight into these informal practices, as neoliberal values were promoted within these dynamics, especially concerning the importance of risk-taking and innovation. This relationship between the characteristic of confidence and elite informality has therefore been described within this study as 'assured practices of informality'.

A significant observation regarding these dynamics was also brought out within this chapter regarding the complexities surrounding the utilisation and navigation of political ideology and practices of elite informality. This was especially regarding the value systems drawn upon by elite actors, at times, being distinct from neoliberalism and impacted instead by other contextually relevant value systems. This in turn indicated that the facilitation of elite informality is not rooted exclusively in neoliberalism, instead the findings that emerged within this study suggest it is the prominent political ideology, which inevitable has cultural nuances, that shapes informal practices and in turn impacts how the elite are able to navigate questions of legality and legitimacy. Building on this, the interaction between elite informal practices and wider ideological and political frameworks was described. Specifically, elite actors utilising informality to impact and shape political and ideological frameworks, while simultaneously, the engagement of elite actors with informality was shaped and at times limited by the frameworks themselves. The findings presented within this chapter therefore significantly benefited from the exploration of diverse global contexts, that highlighted the cultural nuances that contribute towards the relationship elite actors have with informality. In addition, it was also possible

to shed light on how elite actors utilise elite informality to navigate power dynamics in processes of urban development to further their own interests. Specifically, this was in regard to elite actors renegotiating or circumventing legal boundaries, while also endeavouring to maintain, and thus legitimise, their position within society.

Conclusion

Investigated within this work has been how the political and wealth elite engage with and influence the formation and transformation of urban environments. This has been explored through focusing on the conceptualisation and construction of large-scale ambitious real estate developments that have been strived towards by elite actors. Purposefully, examples of these ventures have been examined within cities situated in the very different global contexts of the UK and Tanzania, therefore, facilitating cross-cultural insights into the dynamics investigated. Of particular interest within this study has been to highlight that alongside formal processes and structures, informal practices and spaces play a significant role in enabling elite actors to exercise power over processes of urban development. In order to gain deeper insight into these complex and often opaque dynamics the concept of 'elite informality' has been engaged with and further conceptualised within this study. The findings presented have therefore sought to provide greater clarity into how elite actors operate, especially regarding their ability to utilise and maintain their extensively privileged position, which in turn, has far-reaching consequences for the surrounding societies. The findings presented therefore build upon and contribute towards existing debates relating to how the engagement of the elite with informal dynamics impacts the ability of this group to exercise power (Goodfellow, 2020; Lauermann and Mallak, 2023; Armytage, 2015), the increased prioritisation of financial investment by elite actors on the shaping of urban environments (Atkinson, 2019; Minton, 2022b; Rolnik et al., 2022), and the value of drawing on diverse urban contexts in the theorising of urban phenomenon (Garrido et al., 2020; Robinson, 2021).

8.1 Elite Informality in Urban Development

Elite actors play a central role in the shaping of the built environment, intrinsically linked to this are therefore questions that relate to how this group negotiate dynamics of power. The intention within this study has therefore been to gain a greater understanding of these dynamics. In order to explore this, the research focus has been on the ability of specific elite actors to co-opt or claim urban land, that is valuable both socially and economically, through striving towards urban transformations in the form of ambitious urban development projects which align with their own priorities and interests. Examples of these have been examined within this study and range from the pursuit of a large-scale international Business Hub in London to striving towards a globally competitive Satellite City in Dar es

Salaam. Naturally, these type of developments have had far reaching consequences for existing residents, in addition to demonstrating the stark disparity in the ability of individual citizens to shape the environments in which they live. These tensions surrounding urban development processes within the contexts examined were discussed in chapter four, for example, in an interview two ladies who were situated close to the RAD Business Hub development expressed how the surrounding population had become disillusioned with the planning process, as any public engagement or discussion appeared to have no bearing on the real estate projects that were being constructed.

A key factor in researching the engagement of elite actors with elite informality has been the insights offered through drawing on distinct global contexts. This has therefore facilitated a more dynamic understanding of the concept that has engaged with different perspectives, which in turn has revealed nuances and patterns that have been facilitated by cross-cultural perspectives. For example, nuances emerged within the findings regarding the language used surrounding practices of elite informality, and what was expected or perceived as acceptable within the different contexts. While patterns also emerged which can be observed in the overarching themes that have been identified in the findings of this thesis. The two case studies of the Royal Docks district in London, and the Kigamboni district in Dar es Salaam, were therefore selected as they provided an opportunity to observe elite engagement with informal dynamics. Illustrated within both contexts was the complex and dynamic interaction elite actors have with the conceptualisation and construction of ambitious real estate projects, which incorporate aspirations of global significance both in regard to attracting international investment and wealthy individuals to an area. Furthermore, these cases conveyed challenges that were experienced by the elite in these pursuits, with the real estate projects investigated not being realised in concordance with the visions projected by elite actors. This was impacted by a variety of factors, for example, there was a significant break down in UK-China relations which was a critical aspect of the RAD Business Hub. While in Kigamboni, a significant shift in political leadership and difficulties regarding flows of capital adversely impacted the realisation of the real estate developments examined in the Kigamboni district. The challenges experienced by the elite, in regard to the realisation of these ambitious developments, were extremely valuable in addressing this study's research questions, as they enabled a greater scrutiny of how the elite operated. This resulted from more in-depth media coverage regarding these specific developments and the emergence of official investigations, therefore facilitating the surfacing of elite informal practices and spaces that are, by their nature, often opaque and therefore difficult to examine.

The case studies investigated included, first, within the London context, the RAD Business Hub development which was layered with expectations, including enabling UK and China relationships to be strengthened and an anticipation that this venture would present opportunities for the prosperity

of both countries. Consequently, it was imagined that the RAD Business Hub development would become London's third financial district, creating a bridge between London and Asia across which money and investment could be easily transferred. Second, the real estate developments within Kigamboni also incorporated impressive aspirations, for example the envisioning of KSC not only incorporated the transformation of that district, but it was anticipated to have significant implications for Dar es Salaam and Tanzania more widely. The suggestion, therefore, was that this ambitious real estate development would increase the competitiveness of the country on the global stage, with discussions emerging relating to this ambitious project becoming a globally recognised benchmark, that other countries could learn from and aspire to. Despite being not quite as adventurous, other ambitious developments within the Kigamboni district also had significant aspirations and went beyond the conceptualisation phase, Avic Town for example was fully constructed and Dege Eco Village was partially built.

Set out at the start of this thesis was the following overarching research objective: To understand how urban elites, in the diverse global contexts of London and Dar es Salaam, exercise power over ambitious real estate developments, through informal spaces and practices. This objective was tackled through seeking to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: Which elite actors are involved in examples of large-scale real estate projects in Dar es Salaam and London?

RQ2: What is the role of informal spaces in enabling the elite to exercise power within these contexts?

RQ3: How do practices of elite informality interact with questions of legality and legitimacy?

The work experienced a series of key challenges. First, regarding elite actors being notoriously difficult to access, and second, the often-hidden nature of elite informality, as a result this added greater complexity to the study. Consequently, the navigation of these considerations shaped how the research method was designed. The approach decided upon, therefore, involved the layering of data that originated from a variety of sources, including official documents, media coverage, and interviews. As a result, this enabled the area investigated to be considered from multiple angles, which has in turn contributed to a multifaceted and insightful picture to emerge in relation to each case study. These 'pictures' have therefore provided the opportunity to observe practices and spaces of elite informality and have enabled a deeper understanding of the concept to be developed within this research project. Furthermore, the qualitative research approach that was undertaken within this study sought to contribute to existing knowledge through balancing a constructivist epistemology that recognised the impact of contextual, temporal, and relational influences on the formation of knowledge (Rose, 1997). While also holding that through the accumulation of qualitative research,

from a variety of contexts, insights can be revealed in relation to wider societal behaviours and phenomena that move beyond the contexts investigated (Summers, 2020). This was strived towards by employing a robust thematic analysis, that drew on multiple data sources and perspectives. The findings from this analysis provided the foundation for the development of themes, which in turn contributed to the findings presented within the empirical chapters.

The data sources identified offered a variety of contributions that assisted in addressing the research objective within this study. The official documents contributed to a greater awareness of the formal structures that existed within the two case studies investigated, in addition to highlighting tensions that emerged in the priorities and aspirations being officially communicated by elite actors. In addition, this data incorporated government audits and legal inquiries relating to the ambitious developments investigated, which contributed to understanding both power dynamics and the engagement of elite actors with practices of informality, especially within the London context. Media coverage provided insight not only into prominent narratives and ideological positions promoted within each case study but also revealed related contradictions and tensions in these dialogues. Furthermore, it provided the opportunity to analyse statements that portrayed the opinions of elite, actors that would otherwise have been difficult to access, including from investors, politicians, and high-ranking officials. However, a critical approach to media extracts was adopted, due to well documented observations relating to the impact of political contexts and prominent political ideologies on media bias (Tejkalová et al., 2017). A critical approach to media analysis was facilitated within this study through gaining an in-depth overview of political and historical dynamics surrounding each cases study context in chapter four. Finally, interviews enabled findings that emerged from official documents and media coverage to be triangulated, in addition to, revealing differences of perspectives between different actors and more nuanced insights that were facilitated by the unique experiences of the varied actors that were engaged with. Interviews were conducted with a range of key actors who had experience that related to the ambitious developments investigated. Hence, through drawing on the varied experiences and perspectives of government officials, investors, journalists, solicitors, planners, development employees, community members, community leaders, and others, a significant contribution was made towards gaining a deeper understanding of the relationship elite actors have with the transformation of the urban spaces explored. Consequently, the accumulation of these data sources, despite the realisation that each data set also incorporated limitations, has contributed to gaining a greater understanding within each context of how elite actors engage with dynamics of informality

Case studies situated within the Global North and Global South were considered in juxtaposition to one another. This was in order to contribute varied insights into the behaviours of elite actors, especially in relation to their engagement with informality. This research approach adopted aspects of emerging comparative urbanism methodologies (Robinson, 2021) which propose that there are extensive benefits in drawing on case studies that are situated in varied global locations, especially in relation to facilitating the development of theoretical understandings surrounding urban phenomena that have cross-cultural relevance. The examination of the case studies that took place within this study primarily sought to draw on these diverse contexts in order to inform and develop the conceptualisation of elite informality, as opposed to undertaking a direct comparison, which have more commonly been pursued and that are predominantly focused on the differences and similarities between the specific cases investigated. Yet, there were instances within this study where contrasting or similar aspects of the two case studies was significant and therefore highlighted, this was especially in relation to how examples of elite informality were described or facilitated. For example, an interesting parallel emerged, that was discussed in chapter seven, regarding narratives that related to the overpricing of land. In the London context a justification was presented that the high prices of newly built apartments took into account the expected rise in land value after the redevelopment of the area had been completed, while in the Dar es Salaam context the overpricing of land by a developer was categorised as fraud in a legal enquiry. Although it is important to note that there were contextual nuances, and the overpricing that took place in Dar es Salaam was significantly greater, considering these two examples from the different cases alongside each other presented an opportunity to observe difference in how elite informality was engaged with in the two cultural contexts. Therefore this, alongside other examples, offered unique and valuable insights into the dynamics surrounding the examples of ambitious developments investigated in cultural distinct contexts, that in turn assisted in deepening understandings regarding informal practices and spaces that are utilised by elite actors. However, this methodological approach also brought with it complexities, for example, in bringing these cases into conversation with one another in order to gain insight into the concept of elite informality, it involved the navigation of significantly different contexts, which comprised of distinctive social, political, economic and cultural considerations. Consequently, how the elite operated in each of these contexts was impacted by what was considered socially and culturally acceptable within the UK and Tanzania. For example, in chapter six, although relevant categories of informal spaces were identified, that were salient across the two case studies, these different contexts also illustrated nuances and variations in how the informal spaces presented. Within this study, the incorporation of a 'setting the scene' chapter provided the opportunity to highlight and engage with relevant aspects of these complexities. In addition, this chapter comprised

of detailed timelines for each case study, that offered clarity to the complex dynamics and events that encircled the ambitious developments investigated.

The investigation that was undertaken within this project did not sit comfortably within a specific research field. Therefore, prior research and theoretical contributions were drawn upon that spanned multiple disciplines, thus, providing a pertinent foundation on which the research findings could then be built. These research disciplines included political theory (Harvey, 2007; Wiegratz, 2016; Yiftachel, 2015), urban planning (Atkinson, 2020; Fields, 2023; Gillespie, 2020), and sociology (Bourdieu, 2010; Bottero, 2020). Literature that was salient to this study was therefore identified and critically examined within chapter two, which incorporate four subject areas that collectively contributed to the construction of this study's conceptual framework. Hence, this study has sought to contribute to each of these areas of research through offering further insight into the informal engagement of elite actors within the context of the conceptualisation and construction of ambitious urban real estate developments. The four areas of focus included urban development processes, elite actors and their characteristics, the engagement of the elite with informality, and dynamics of power.

This study is therefore situated in relevant urban development debates relating to the capture and transformation of urban land by elite actors (Lauermann and Mallak, 2023; Atkinson, 2020; Goodfellow, 2017). A salient aspect of these debates is that they bring out the interconnected and influential involvement of neoliberal ideology, which is observable within national and global narratives surrounding the pursuit and construction of ambitious developments (del Cerro Santamaria, 2019; Weinstein et al., 2019). These discussions therefore resonate with the ambitious nature of the real estate developments examined within this study. The theoretical framework of speculative urbanism has been especially valuable in understanding these dynamics within this study, this theory sits within urban planning literature and highlights key dynamics surrounding globally significant developments that speak to the findings presented. This has predominately been in relation to elite actors projecting a particular vision for the transformation of urban areas that is interwoven with their ability to exercise power within these environments (Fields, 2023; Gillespie, 2020; Watson, 2014). Furthermore, the theory of the moral economy offered significant insights into the findings that emerged within this research project (Wiegratz, 2016; Wiegratz, 2019). This theory highlights the rich moral foundation that underpins the adoption and renegotiation of political and economic ideology by elite actors. The theory was therefore salient to this study as it highlighted the importance and influence of value systems on the behaviours of elite actors, and how these shape and are shaped by political ideology. As a result, this contributed towards understanding the interaction elite actors had with informality and their ability to justify this conduct.

A fundamental aspect of this study has been to further conceptual understandings of elite informality. This study has therefore sought to build on past categorisations of informality that have predominantly related to disadvantaged groups situated in the Global South, that have difficulties in accessing formal structures, such as housing, employment, and legal protection (Marx and Kelling, 2018). This study therefore has contributed towards expanding these understandings relating to informality and how this theory can be applied. This has been predominantly regarding the applicability of the theory of informality to elite actors and in regard to its suitability in transcending Global North and Global South boundaries, which has been strived towards within this project through drawing on case study contexts situated in the UK and Tanzania. Moreover, In order to gain clarity into the complexities surrounding how elite actors engage with informal dynamics, the theory of “Gray [sic] Spaces” (Yiftachel, 2015) was been particularly salient in interpreting the findings that have emerged within this study. This position states that although informal and formal structures and practices are distinct, the relationship between the two is often complex and interconnected. Therefore, this theory has contributed towards understanding the complex dynamics that exist in the interactions between formality and informality. For example, the existence of boundaries that are often blurred and constantly shifting, which were dynamics that could be observed within this study especially in relation to the ability of elite actors to renegotiate formal processes and structures.

The final theoretical framework that has provided a significant contribution to this study has been Lukes’ three dimensional framework of power (Lukes, 2005). This has proved a valuable tool in analysing elite power dynamics and has been engaged with throughout the analysis of this study. Luke’s framework has been especially useful in identifying the emergence of varied power dynamics, including, overt displays of power, narrative influence, and ideological influence. As a result, this has provided significant insights into the relationship between the ability of elite actors to exercise power in multiple ways and the intrinsic link this has with dynamics of elite informality. Therefore, this has assisted in highlighting that the existence of this relationship between power and informality has been a reoccurring theme throughout the findings that have emerged, and hence, has contributed to understanding a critical aspect of how elite actors engage with and influence urban development processes. However, due to the complex nature of power dynamics limitations did exist in regard to drawing on Lukes’ framework to understand dynamics of power, for example, with regard to encapsulating the two-way complexities, often fragile nature, and broader institutional implications to power dynamics. These other aspects of power dynamics also resonated with the research findings, for example regarding complexities in the two-way dynamic between wider society and elite actors, such as land disputes that emerged within the Kigamboni context. In addition to this, the fragility that

underpins power dynamics was also evident within both case studies, which climaxed in the reality that the ambitious developments that were investigated were not successfully realised.

The evidence presented within this study has therefore sought to build on these existing debates and areas of literature to demonstrate how the concept of elite informality is relevant, applicable, and valuable in understanding the relationship elite actors have with shaping processes of urban development across diverse global settings. In addition to gaining insight into the often hidden complexities surrounding how elite actors exercise power and the significant consequences this has on wider populations. This has therefore shed light on the starkly privileged position elite actors have in transforming urban environments in comparison to the rest of society.

8.2 Contribution to Knowledge: Understanding aspects of the Navigation, Outworking, and Justification of Elite Informality

The key focus of the research was on the relationship between individual elite actors interacting with processes of urban development and elite informality. This was significant, as it underpinned how dynamics of power could be understood within the contexts investigated, which related to the ability of the elite to claim or coopt valuable urban land in order to construct ambitious real estate developments. The findings presented in the first empirical chapter highlighted a crucial element in the ability of elite actors to engage informally with the real estate projects investigated. This involved the projection by elite actors of a vision or picture which often incorporated aspirations of striving towards greater global significance for the city or even the country in which these urban development projects were situated. Examples of this within the case studies included the Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, promoting an expectation that the RAD Business Hub would become the third financial business centre in London, after The City of London and Canary Warf. Then, in relation to Kigamboni, expectations were portrayed in media coverage that the KSC development would become a benchmark for other countries to learn from and emulate. The projection of these transformative real estate visions was tied up with dynamics of informality as they were interconnected with the adoption and utilisation of domestic and international political forces, social networks, and flows of capital. However, the two case studies examined also revealed nuances in the type of globally significant vision promoted by elite actors. For example, in London narratives emerged that emphasised the importance of the city maintaining its global positioning, while in Dar es Salaam the aspirations described incorporated a desire for the city to become competitive within the global economy.

The dynamics surrounding the pursuit of these types of developments, however, were not straightforward. Through drawing on the very different contexts of London and Dar es Salaam the work highlighted aspects of the complexity and challenges surrounding the projection and realisation of these elite visions for urban transformation. Moreover, the findings showed the contextual, interconnected, and temporal nature of elite informal engagement with these types of developments. Within the Royal Docks this could be observed in regard to the Chinese development company, ABP, being strategically positioned in the bidding process for the Royal Docks Business hub development. This positioning was impacted by a variety of informal factors, including the bidding process for this development coinciding with a strong political climate promoting the pursuit of foreign investment within the UK, with China being viewed as a particularly desirable global ally. Moreover, ABP had actively been cultivating a relationship with London and Partners (a public-private company owned by the Mayor of London). At the time of the bidding process ABP was also in a particularly strong financial position due to being well-positioned for receiving financial backing from the Chinese government. The Kigamboni case study also contributed to the emergence of these findings. The KSC development coincided with a shift in the political climate relating to a rise in the adoption of neoliberal ideology within the country, which contributed to a rise in the pursuit of national and international investment. In addition, examples of economic success stories surrounding the construction of new cities in other countries, the most noteworthy of which being the transformation of Dubai, were being increasingly perceived as an effective development model by the political and wealth elite. The decision to embark on such a development by the Tanzanian government was therefore impacted by an alignment of priorities and aspirations among elite actors, which included support from foreign investors regarding its conceptualisation.

The pursuit of the ambitious real estate developments explored within this first empirical chapter, therefore, also illustrated the temporal and interconnected nature of political ideology, social networks, and flows of capital. Hence, these informal dynamics contributed to a fragility in the pursuit of these types of developments, for example the RAD Business Hub development was grounded in robust social networks and the alignment of political ideas, consequently, this development was later adversely impacted by a break down in China-UK relations and a shift in China's political practices. Informal and temporal factors also impacted the KSC development, which was largely dependent on the adoption of neoliberal ideology and projecting confidence to international investors in order to secure sufficient funds. Consequently, a shift in political leadership and priorities resulted in the disillusionment and the abandonment of this development project. Yet, despite these challenges, significant progress was made towards the realisation of these ambitious ventures, a contributing factor of which was the weighty ideological influence of neoliberalism, particularly regarding the

formation and justification of elite visions for the developments that were imagined to draw attention at national and international levels. It therefore emerged that it was necessary for an alignment, or coming together, to take place in the complex and dynamic interplay between elite vision and informal factors for elite actors to then be in a position to engage with and influence the specific ambitious developments investigated. The informal factors observed included the adoption and promotion of political ideology, the availability and utilisation of social networks, and the access of elite actors to significant amounts of capital, each of which were significant in the outworking of dynamics relating to the ability of particular elite actors to exercise power over the pursuit of the specific ambitious real estate projects investigated.

The second empirical chapter contributed towards understanding how informal practices are facilitated through exploring what are uniquely identified within this research project as 'elite informal spaces'. This study posits that 'spaces' can be observed that facilitate the engagement of elite actors with informal dynamics. Within this chapter examples of informal spaces are described, and their multifaceted nature is highlighted, which consists of a combination of physical, social, and conceptual elements. The conceptualisation of elite informal spaces therefore offers a novel contribution which sheds light on the ability of elite actors to consistently engage with informality in order to exercise power over processes of urban development, particularly within the context of influencing and engaging with large-scale transformations of urban real estate developments. Examples that were identified within this study included, first, informal spaces that had been established, or in other words, had been normalised. Second, the ability of the elite to obtain exceptions from formal constraints, which in turn, enabled them to suspend their formal obligations for a period of time. And then third, the expansion by elite actors of existing formal boundaries through the adoption of novel practices. In addition, the creation and utilisation of the informal spaces observed were often facilitated and justified by elite actors emphasising the ambitious or globally significant nature of the real estate developments being strived towards. This could be seen, for example, in the expectation that informal negotiations would take place outside of the formal planning process, the ability of this group to obtain significant exceptions surrounding aspects of the developments such as tax and planning requirements, or their ability to argue for the adoption of new high-risk financial practices. As a result, through drawing on the empirical findings and building on previous concepts relating to the ability of elite actors to establish or create what have been defined within this study as informal spaces, a contribution has been made towards the conceptualisation of elite informality.

The categories of informal spaces identified have been described and observed in the following ways, first, 'normalising informality' which is a term that was developed to describe how elite actors utilised established informal spaces, that have become perceived as 'normal' by wider society. These spaces

therefore enable the elite to operate informally in ways that enable this group to consistently advance their position. Examples of this that emerged within the case studies included, in the Royal Docks context, a critical and very much expected aspect of a large-scale ambitious real estate project being the pre-planning stage. Despite the importance of pre-planning discussions between key stakeholders, this aspect of an ambitious development did not fall within the formal urban development process. However, there was a clear expectation that dialogue and negotiations would take place, that were intended to shape the formal plans that were then submitted for planning approval. Consequently, a significant amount of time and capital by elite actors was invested into the conceptualisation and promotion of this type of real estate project before the formal process was undertaken. Within Kigamboni, an example of this emerged from discussions with interviewees that were situated at different levels within society, they described an expectation that elite actors would be manoeuvring behind the scenes of these types of developments. Which in turn increased the complexity of these projects, as elite actors sought ways to somehow benefit from their construction through leveraging their position, resources, and influence. Second, examples of 'suspending formality' were observed. This involved elite actors constructing informal spaces through the utilisation of exceptions, which were easily employed and justified due to the ambitious nature of the developments being strived towards. For example, this was observable in the Royal Docks context in relation to the implementation of an Enterprise Zone that enabled elite actors to suspend aspects of formal requirements and processes, such as, reducing tax obligations and lightening planning requirements. In Kigamboni examples of the suspending of formality could also be observed, such as, exceptions being agreed regarding the overriding of existing planning decisions in order to facilitate the construction of the KSC development. Finally, the term 'extension of formality' was developed. This describes examples of informal spaces where elite actors pushed the boundaries of existing formal frameworks through the introduction of new precedents such as novel financial practices, the justification for which were interwoven with the cutting-edge and novel nature of the real estate developments being pursued. Evidence of this could be observed within both case study contexts. In relation to the RAD Business Hub development speculative financing was encouraged, despite the significant risks associated with this type of financing, especially for private investors. Within the Kigamboni context, the government promoted the use of municipal bonds, instead of paying citizens compensation, as the government was experiencing difficulties in financing the KSC development venture.

In the final empirical chapter, the relationship between elite informality and the ability of this group to negotiate legal frameworks while also maintaining their legitimacy was explored. It was identified that a key aspect of this involved how elite actors conducted themselves, key elite characteristics were

therefore identified within this study that spoke into these dynamics, which included the ability of this group to negotiate effectively, operate secretly, and exude confidence. Significantly, the characteristics identified were shaped and enabled by particular value systems that had been adopted and promoted by elite actors, which within the contexts examined were largely underpinned by neoliberal ideology. These included, the protection of individual freedom, and necessity to continuously pursue investment and innovation, and risk-taking being an important aspect in achieve economic advances. Typology was therefore developed within this chapter to highlight the connection between the specific elite characteristics identified in this study and the engagement of this group with practices of elite informality.

First, the ability of this group to negotiate effectively largely referred to examples where individual actors revealed an aptitude in challenging existing formal structures and justifying their own practices and positions. This was often intertwined with elite actors knowing how to conduct themselves in formal settings and debates where their integrity was brought into question, while also being in the privileged position of having significant access to resources and social connections. The relationship between the elite characteristic of negotiation and elite informality was therefore described within this study as 'dynamic practices of elite informality'. Evidence of this that emerged within the Royal Docks case study included ABP re-negotiating the outlined planning requirements for the RAD development, which resulted in proposals from other firms engaged within the bidding process for the development being put at a disadvantage, due to a shifting in requirements. Furthermore, despite questions being raised in a subsequent enquiry into failures surrounding the RAD Business Hub development, elite actors fervently defended the decisions that were made at the time. Within the context of Kigamboni an example of this characteristic emerged in relation to the Dege Eco Village development, this involved elite actors negotiating very high prices for land, which was later classified as fraud.

Second, the characteristic of secrecy emerged, specifically this referred to the habit and effort of elite actors to operate secretly. This involved the obscuring of their engagement with aspects of urban development within the case studies examined, which consequently provided the opportunity for elite actors to operate informally. The term 'protected practices of elite informality' was therefore developed to describe how this characteristic related to the engagement of this group with informal practices. An example of the tendency of the elite to operate secretly was highlighted in the Royal Docks case study, this involved Boris Johnson refusing to increase the transparency of the public-private firm London and Partners, despite this being called for by the London Assembly after an enquiry took place into the RAD business hub development. Further examples emerged in the Kigamboni context, such as, a lack of transparency by the political elite in relation to the Avic Town

development, this involved a controversial shift in development plans that took place after the eviction of local residents, from the construction of housing for retired army officers to the creation of a high-end gated development.

Finally, confidence was identified as a key characteristic of elite actors that supported their ability to operate informally while simultaneously navigating dynamic of legality and legitimacy. As this characteristic often enabled instance of informality to be minimised by elite actors, or for the attention of the wider public to be redirected from instances where elite actors were operating outside of formal structures or processes. The elite characteristic of confidence therefore related to what was described as 'assured practices of elite informality'. Examples of this included the CEO of ABP portraying extreme confidence in the success of the RAD Business Hub development, while simultaneously navigating legal disputes with employees who had been contracted to work on the development and had payments that were outstanding. Within Kigamboni an example included government officials portraying significant confidence that the KSC development would be realised, despite extensive difficulties being experienced regarding financing and ongoing land disputes between the government and local residents.

The identification of these elite characteristics, and the impact that they had on how elite actors engage with practices of informality, therefore contributed fresh insights into the conceptualisation of elite informal practices. This was especially in relation to the significant role of value systems in understanding the ability of elite actors to navigate legal frameworks and maintain their legitimacy. In addition, the findings presented within this final empirical chapter also revealed a two-way consideration with regards to elite actors successfully employing elite informal practices to influence political structures and ideology, which assisted in their navigation of legality and legitimacy within the contexts investigated. At the same time, it emerged that elite informal practices were shaped and could be restrained by the formal frameworks and ideologies in which elite actors operated. An illustration of this, that emerged within the Kigamboni case study, was a significant shift in political ideology and associated value systems when John Magufuli became president. This then led to extensive implications for elite actors in relation to their ability to engage both formally and informally with processes of urban development and by extension their ability to navigate dynamics of legality and legitimacy.

Overall, the findings presented within this study offer valuable insight into underlying dynamics surrounding urban development, especially regarding the critical role elite informality plays in enabling elite actors to exercise power within the context of ambitious large scale real estate developments. This is especially revealed regarding their privileged position in the co-opting or

claiming of valuable urban land in order to further their own urban development priorities that are often centred around advancing their own interests and priorities, at the expense of meeting the needs of the existing populations. This ultimately presents a challenge to the strength of formal structures surrounding these processes, a challenge that is particularly pertinent within the context of the Global North where there has been minimal engagement with the concept of informality. Moreover, the evidence presented within this study highlights the importance of recognising and exploring how power is not bound by formal structures but is also exercised in a multitude of ways through the utilisation of informal practices and spaces. This is critical in understanding how and why particular urban development priorities and initiatives are adopted, and thus, presents the opportunity to identify and challenge the foundations, dynamics, and justifications underpinning this decision-making. Moreover, through the investigation of different global contexts, the position put forward within this study has pointed towards these dynamics having relevance across distinctive cultures and cities, that are situated within both the Global North and Global South.

8.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Within this research project, a limitation emerged regarding obtaining access to elite actors, although significant efforts were made to speak to politicians, investors, and high-end real estate agents these individuals were particularly difficult to engage with. Therefore, their views are only considered through what had been expressed in official documents, such as London and Dar es Salaam's city plans or in promotional material related to the real estate projects investigated. This therefore limited the scope of the study. Despite this limitation, significant insights were gained through engaging with official documents, media analysis, and through interviews with other key actors which contributed to the findings presented within this study. Yet, this also provides an opportunity for broadening the scope of this study in future research, through more extensive direct elite engagement, which was especially challenging within the UK context. Moreover, a key element of this study was to explore the behaviours of elite actors in diverse global cities. Within this project, however, this was limited to only two contexts. Collecting data in a greater variety of countries would therefore be a fruitful avenue of further investigation, that would build on the findings presented. This would enable a more nuanced understanding of elite informality that has greater global applicability and would build on the approach of considering a global juxtaposition which has proven to be a key and valuable aspect of this project.

In addition, another area of this study that could be further development is through investigating more broadly elite engagement with urban development processes, as the focus within this study has been limited to ambitious real estate developments. This has proved a very fruitful avenue of study, however, during the data collection phase of the project evidence emerged regarding elite engagement within other processes of urban development. For example, large-scale infrastructure which had been significantly influenced by elite actors, such as the construction of the Nyerere bridge in Kigamboni and dynamics surrounding the expansion of London City Airport in the Royal Docks context. These findings were outside the scope of this study despite offering revealing insights into elite informality, therefore this is an area of investigation that could potentially be explored more thoroughly within future research. Concerning tangential areas of study, a potential area for further research could be with regards to considering how the concept of informality should or could be bounded. Therefore, a valuable investigation could involve whether this concept has specific relevance to those who are the primary exercisers of power within society (the elite), as investigated within this project, and those that have least access to power and therefore experience difficulties in accessing formal provision, as has been previously investigated. Similarly, one might explore whether the concept of informality should be applied more broadly, to all levels of society, and as a result what the associated socio-political outworkings and consequences are within different social groups.

8.4 Closing Remarks

A core aspect of the investigation that has taken place within this research project has been to simultaneously draw on contextually different case studies in order to contribute towards a dynamic and cross-cultural theoretical understanding of elite informality. This was pursued in order to develop an understanding of how elite actors exercise power, through engaging with dynamics of informality, that has relevance across contextual, cultural, and geographical boundaries. Thus, a deep-rooted desire has been to develop knowledge that has relevance across the often-divided geographical contexts of the Global North and Global South. Moreover, within this study it has been key to expose insights into urban development processes that inform how power dynamics can be understood surrounding ambitious real estate developments. It is salient to note that the practices and spaces of elite informality, observed within this study, have stemmed from the analysis of real-world situations, with real people, that have been significantly impacted by the policies, practices, value systems, and often self-serving ambitions perpetuated by elite actors. The hope ultimately is that the contributions presented within this project will challenge current inequalities that exist surrounding both the

forming of theoretical concepts and in regard to urban development processes, and as a result support the adoption of future processes that promote greater equity and representation.

Appendix 1: Research Participant Descriptions

Code	Category	Interview Format	Gender	Place of work/ context	Pseudonym
A1TZ	Academic	Semi-structured	M	University	Michael
A2TZ	Academic	Semi-structured	M	University	James
CL1TZ	Community Leader	Fieldwork discussion	M	Church	Thomas
CL2TZ	Community Leader	Fieldwork discussion	F	Church	Elizabeth
CM1TZ	Community Member	Fieldwork discussion	F	University Student	Mary
CM2TZ	Community Member	Fieldwork discussion	M	Teacher	Daniel
CM3TZ	Community Member	Fieldwork discussion	F	Teacher	Lydia
CM4TZ	Community Member	Fieldwork discussion	F	Retail Industry	Rebekah
CM5TZ	Community Member	Fieldwork discussion	M	Taxi Driver	Mark
CM6TZ	Community Member	Fieldwork discussion	F	Receptionist	Martha
CM7TZ	Community Member	Fieldwork discussion	M	Taxi Driver	David
DE1TZ	Development Employee	Fieldwork discussion	M	Avic Town	Isaac

GO1TZ	Government Official	Semi-structured	M		Matthew
GO3TZ	Government Official	Fieldwork discussion	M		Timothy
GO4TZ	Government Official	Semi-structured	M		Joseph
GO6TZ	Government Official	Semi-structured	M		Jacob
J1TZ	Journalist	Semi-structured	M	Newspaper	Andrew
J2TZ	Journalist	Semi-structured	M	Newspaper	Paul
S1TZ/GO2TZ	Specialist - Investment	Semi-structured	M	Investment	John
S2TZ/GO5TZ	Specialist - Government advisor	Fieldwork discussion	F	Government advisor	Hannah
A1UK	Academic	Semi-structured	M	University	Aaron
CL1UK	Community Leader	Fieldwork discussion	F	Library	Esther
CL2UK	Community Leader	Semi-structured	M	Church	Joel
CM1UK	Community Member	Semi-structured	F	Local Resident	Joy
CM2UK	Community Member	Semi-structured	F	Former Local Resident	Ruth
CM3UK	Community member	Fieldwork discussion	F	Community Group	Sarah

CM4UK	Community member	Fieldwork discussion	M	Local Resident	Adam
CM5UK	Community member	Fieldwork discussion	M	Community Group	Phillip
CM6UK	Community member	Fieldwork discussion	F	Community Group	Pricilla
CM7UK	Community member	Fieldwork discussion	F	Community Group	Rachel
CM8UK	Community member	Fieldwork discussion	F	Church	Grace
DE1UK	Development employee	Fieldwork discussion	M	Royal Albert Docks	Ethan
DE2UK	Development employee	Fieldwork discussion	M	Royal Albert Docks	Asher
DE3UK	Development employee	Fieldwork discussion	M	Royal Albert Docks	Caleb
DE4UK	Development employee	Fieldwork discussion	M	Royal Albert Docks	Levi
DE5UK	Development employee	Fieldwork discussion	M	Royal Albert Docks	Jason
DE6UK	Development employee	Semi-structured	F	City Airport	Chloe
GO1UK	Government Official	Fieldwork discussion	M		Nick
GO2UK	Government Official	Fieldwork discussion	F		Miriam
GO3UK	Government Official	Semi-structured	M		Sam

J1UK	Journalist	Semi-structured	M	Newspaper	Ruby Gregory (not anonymised)
J2UK	Journalist	Semi-structured	M	Newspaper	Ben Garside (not anonymised)
NGO1UK	NGO employee	Fieldwork discussion	M	Social justice charity	Joshua
NGO2UK	NGO employees	Fieldwork discussion	-	Social justice charity - Public meeting	-
S1UK	Specialist - Civil Servant	Semi-structured	F	Civil Servant	Abigail
S2UK	Specialist - Planning Solicitor	Semi-structured	F	Planning Solicitor	Naomi

Appendix 2: Example of Research Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet for Dar es Salaam Case Study:

Research project: Urban Elites and their Influence on Land Rights and Real Estate Development in Dar es Salaam

Thank you for considering taking part in this research, below is some more information about the research project. Please take time to read through the information and ask the researcher Rachel Parker (mm06rab@leeds.ac.uk) if you have any further questions in relation to the research project.

This is a research project being conducted by Rachel Parker (mm06rab@leeds.ac.uk) for a PhD research project. This project will be supervised by Prof. Anna Mdee (a.l.Mdee@leeds.ac.uk) and Prof. Rowland Atkinson (rowland.atkinson@sheffield.ac.uk). For this research participants will be asked to take part in one short interview. The research project is interested in understanding who are considered the most powerful and wealthiest people within the city of Dar es Salaam/London and the influence that this group has on real estate development within the city.

The reason that you have been approached for an interview within this project is that you have been identified by the researcher as having experience within the area being discussed, either through being part of development processes or having been impacted by them.

Please be aware that although your input would be very much appreciated, taking part in this research is entirely voluntary and if you do decide to take part in the research you are free to withdraw at any time during the process. This includes after agreeing to the consent form and after taking part in the interview. There will be no need to specify a reason, and withdrawing will not result in any negative consequences. Although, the researcher does request that if you do decide to withdraw could you please contact her before 1st May 2023 as this is when she will begin analysing the interviews.

If you do decide to take part in this research the researcher will arrange a convenient time and date for the interview to take place. You will be asked to take part in one interview which is expected to last approximately 30 minutes depending on the length of your answers and the time that you have available. The interview will be about the following topics:

- The vision and challenges for real estate development within your area.
- The main people or groups shaping this development.
- How these individuals or groups engage with and/or influence real estate development and what priorities and justifications you would say they have.

While there are no immediate benefits for taking part in this research, you will help to develop a better understanding of how the richest and most powerful people in Dar es Salaam influence decisions relating to real estate development. This is important as decisions surrounding these areas impact all citizens who live within the city.

Any data that is collected from participants, such as recordings of interviews and interview transcripts will be stored securely, using the University of Leeds guidelines. The audio or video recordings of your interview made during this research will be used only for analysis. No other use will be made of them without your permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings. The information obtained within these interviews will be referred to in the writing-up of the research thesis and may be used by the researcher as part of additional research on this topic. Also, given that this research is conducted as part of a student thesis, the project supervisor, thesis assessors, and University of Leeds auditors may request to view your responses as well as evidence that consent has been given.

Any personal information that has been collected as part of this research will be kept strictly confidential and will be stored separately from the research data, this will only be used if the researcher needs to contact you about whether the information from your interview can be used in a way that you have not already given consent for. The researcher will take steps wherever possible to anonymise the research data, this means you will not be mentioned or identified in any reports or publications. However, although every effort will be taken to anonymise the information that the researcher receives from you, there is still the possibility that you could be identified due to your opinions being discussed within the research. This research will be used within the context of a research project and could potentially be published or be included within a report. If you would be interested in receiving a copy of the finished thesis, a summary of the findings, or information on any further research, please contact Rachel Parker (mm06rab@leeds.ac.uk).

Participants will receive, alongside this document, information about the University of Leeds privacy policy for research participants and a consent form which will be discussed in the interview in order for the researcher to obtain verbal consent and clarify how you would like the information from your interview to be used.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read through this information, if you have any further questions, please contact Rachel Parker (mm06rab@leeds.ac.uk).

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