





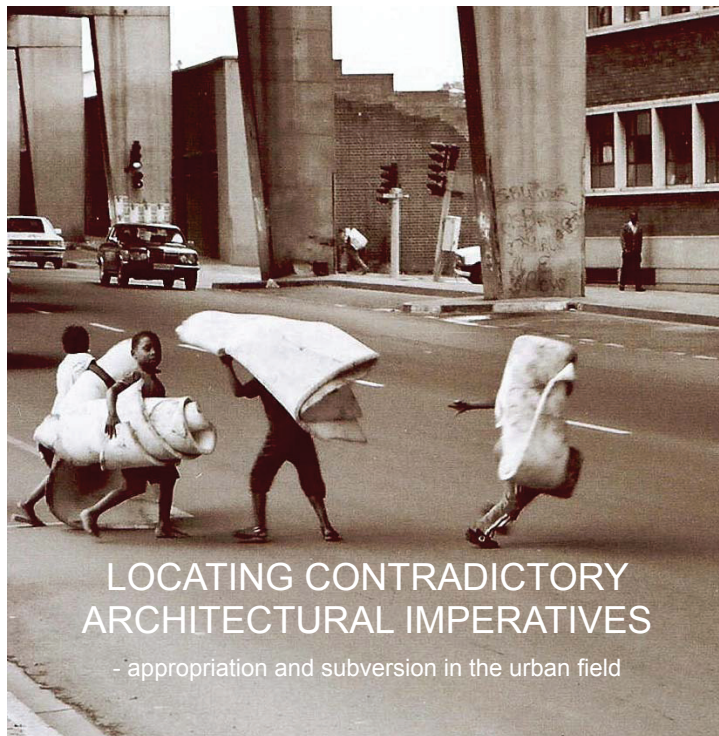
## PREFACE

*The thesis explores spatio-temporal concerns in those more eclectic contexts where dynamic and fluid re-configuration of the urban field result from competing power relations. The research follows a cross-disciplinary investigation along intersecting itineraries aiming at a degree of ontological clarification in the discourse dealing with spatiality in the many complex relationships that exist between architecture, infrastructure and technology - always returning to confront issues of place, of spatio-temporality, and of environment. Years of practicing and teaching in the field of architecture and design have made the fault lines within the mandate entrusted to architects visible - specifically when questioning what constitutes a critical or projective practice and the possible paradox in, and tension between, critique from the outside (including from grass root activists) towards the expert disciplines, and on the other hand, practice that influences the discipline from the inside out. Interest in these spatial concerns grew from various linked instances where communities, landscapes or projects allowed for a more reflective itinerary along which to explore opportunities and risk raising questions that may not have been asked before. These questions, thoughts and propositions exist as a collection titled 'Writing in the Margin' and were informed by the insights of colleagues, experts and academics as much as by the work crafts people, labourers and informal traders - ultimately becoming the rhizomatic roots of this thesis.*

*With the empirical investigations located in South Africa and the period of research falling neatly in the second decade after the first democratic elections, it is important to mention that the research benefitted from the experience of having grown up in South Africa and with the author in the fortunate position to visit the country for extended periods each year. Certain conventions and words referred to and used in the thesis need to be clarified. In the thesis any reference to skin colour rather than the ethnic group to which a person belong is avoided - but with the exception of text from historic sources being quoted with words or phrases that may now seem abjectly out of place or disrespectful. In example, the words 'informal community' or 'informal settlement' are preferred to dated terms such as 'squatter settlement'. Words that may be foreign to outsiders but part of the South African vernacular, are kept in their South African form and clarified by footnote references where required.*

**Style and Language:** The language and conventions are based on the 15th edition of the Chicago Manual of Style (CMS) using both in-text citation and footnotes - including content notes where it make sense. In-text citations provides author, year and page number and together with any references cited in footnotes, are collated in the bibliography. The use of both parenthetical and footnote referencing follows the commonly known Tubarian Style, although author prefers footnotes. Spelling is consistently based on the OED and with British headword spelling. The only exceptions occur where quotations are based on the OUP preference or from a source written in English other than British English. Quotations are always as it appear in the source text. Language, structure and conventions are for the most part influenced by Fowler's Modern English Usage.





# LOCATING CONTRADICTIONARY ARCHITECTURAL IMPERATIVES

- appropriation and subversion in the urban field

**Hennie Reynders**

**Ph.D.**

Department of Architecture  
School of Arts, Culture and Environment  
University of Edinburgh  
Scotland, UK

June 2010

Hendrik J. Reynders  
Ph.D.  
University of Edinburgh  
Scotland, UK  
and  
Associate Professor  
School of the Art Institute of Chicago  
36 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, IL 60603 USA  
June 2010

Word Count 75,598 / Pages 193  
Type: Palantino 8pt, 9pt, 10pt / Arial 12pt, 14pt  
Paper: A4 80# Acid Free Opaque Smooth White  
Printed and bound by *PhD Book Binding*, Austin, Texas, USA  
All rights reserved.

No part of this work may be copied, utilized or reproduced without  
the permission of the University of Edinburgh and the author

# CONTENTS

	Preface	
	Statement of Originality	
	Short Thesis Statement	
	Acknowledgements	
	List of Illustrations	
	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>PART ONE</b>	<b>STRUCTURE, METHODS QUESTIONS AND PROPOSITIONS</b>	<b>23</b>
	Chapter One Structure and Methods	24
	Chapter Two Questions and Propositions	32
<b>PART TWO</b>	<b>LANDSCAPE / TERRITORY / FIELD</b>	<b>43</b>
	Chapter Three Place, Space and Environment	44
	Chapter Four Emerging Discourse and Cross-disciplinary Enquiry	61
<b>PART THREE</b>	<b>MEMORY / FREEDOM / TRUTH</b>	<b>75</b>
	Chapter Five Appropriation in the Urban Field - Ownership, Invention and Control	77
	Chapter Six Subversion in the Urban Field - Identity, Desire and Fear	103
	Chapter Seven Fracture in the Urban Field - Access, Space and Place	129
<b>PART FOUR</b>	<b>LOCATING CONTRADICTIONARY ARCHITECTURAL IMPERATIVES</b>	<b>135</b>
	Conclusion Appropriation and Subversion in the Urban Field	137
	Designing for Difference - there is no longer any other, <i>other</i>	143
	Concluding Remarks	157
	Glossary	163
	References	167
Appendix 'A'	Reynders, Hennie. "Appropriation of an Architecture for Truth and Reconciliation - Constitutional Hill, Johannesburg, South Africa, <i>Journal of Edinburgh Architecture Research (EAR)</i> 30 (2006)	179
Appendix 'B'	Reynders, Hennie. "Scattering in Contested Urban Fields", <i>Density Inside Out Conference</i> , University of Edinburgh, June 2007	192

## **STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY**

The work presented in this dissertation is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and my own work, except as where acknowledged in the text. The material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university

---

Hendrik Jurie Reynders  
Edinburgh, June 2010

# **LOCATING CONTRADICTIONARY ARCHITECTURAL IMPERATIVES**

## **– appropriation and subversion in the urban field**

Hennie Reynders BArch(Pret) MArch(UIC)  
**Ph.D.**  
Department of Architecture  
School of Arts, Culture and Environment  
University of Edinburgh  
Scotland, UK

June 2010

### **Short Thesis Statement**

This thesis investigates the value of locating contradictory architectural imperatives when attempting to understand the nature of uneven development in the urban field. The thesis is an attempt at establishing seemingly necessary, yet conflicting mandates in a more revolutionary architectural praxis in support of citizen infrastructure and social equality. Argued through issues related to ownership and subversion in contexts where tracts of urban space are sometimes taken over or appropriated by otherwise marginal groups, and as evident in informal settlements, by re-adapting civic symbols and in building as a form of protest or re-alignment. This is visible in most contested territories, along borders and in the temporal occupation of space. The thesis is supported through empirical investigations in a number of such sites in South Africa where these tactics are increasingly becoming controlled and institutionalized - while at same time exposing new forms of social awareness, a growing autonomous resistance from still marginalised groups and pointing towards innovative spatial formations.

### **Keywords**

Architecture, Urban, Field, Place, Space, Ownership, Subversion, Other, Difference

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

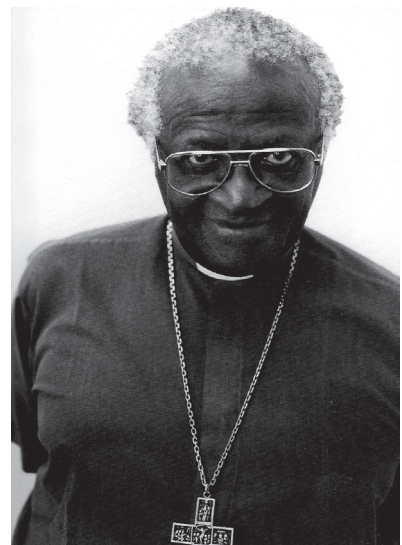
Professor Richard Coyne as primary thesis advisor who has the uncanny ability of putting his finger on what matters most. Professor Stephen Cairns as second advisor and my colleagues at the University of Edinburgh, the School of the Art Institute of Chicago and the University of Pretoria in South Africa; Carol Becker, Catherine Carmichael, Ella Chmielewska, Mark Dorian, Goghan Ersan, Carl Gerneke, Ellen Grimes, Ora Joubert, Kai Mai, Enla Minnaar, Ben Nicholson, Hannah du Plessis and Charles Waldheim who all contributed in their own way over the past years. With highest regards for my external examiners who arrived in Edinburgh with a preserved keenness during the worst snow storm in decades - Dr. Felipe Hernández from the University of Cambridge and Dr. Dorian Wiszniewski from the University of Edinburgh. My sincere appreciation to Kay and Alasdair Broadfoot for their sincere friendship and for providing me with a very special home in Edinburgh over the years.

*for Andrea, Michka and Emile  
and in memory of two remarkable brothers  
Dr. HJJ Reynders (1923-2007) and LS vd V Reynders (1920-2009)*

*“... when the missionaries came to Africa they had the Bible and we had the land. They said, ‘let us pray’. We closed our eyes. When we opened them we had the Bible and they had the land ....”<sup>1</sup>*

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Fig. 1



---

1 Quoted as accompanying text to the map *Ethiopia Inferior* (Southern Africa – lower or outer Ethiopia) on page 481 in the contemporary re-publication of “The Atlas Maior” – that cartographic masterpiece of the Baroque published in 1662 and 1665 by the Amsterdam Publisher Joan Blaeu. \*The Atlas Maior – based on the copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, London: Taschen

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Cover Edge of Newtown Precinct, Johannesburg. Author, 2001
- Fig. 1 Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Cape Town, Jillian Edelstein, May 1997
- Fig. 2 *Allusions*, Stephen Klein, Design Centre, Greenside, Johannesburg, 2001
- Fig. 3 *The man with the brown paper bag over his head*. Author, 2001
- Fig. 4 *Fordsburg in brail*. Wood. Fordsburg, Johannesburg. Author, 1985
- Fig. 5 Map titled *Fort de Goede Hoop*, 1665. Cape Archives, Cape Town, Map File M3-10
- Fig. 6 A drawing of the structure in the *Kompanjie Tuine* from where Father Tachard conducted his astrological observations. Titled *Le Fort des Hollandois au Cap de Bonne Esperance*. Original in the Cape Archives, Cape Town. \*Undated, circa 1685
- Fig. 7 7a and 7b. Diagrams abstractly representing the coexisting and conflicting spatial realities imposed by the minority in control under *Apartheid* segregation policies in South Africa in years between 1954 and 1994. Author, 2006
- Fig. 8 *African Adventure (detail)*, mixed media sculpture installation, Jane Alexander, 1999-2002
- Fig. 9 Architects of Democracy. Cartoon by Zapiro, Mail and Guardian, 9 May 2003
- Fig. 10 Scene from the play *Ubu and the Truth Commission*. Photograph by Ruphin Coudyzer, 1997
- Fig. 11 Archytas of Tarentum stretching his hand at the border of the universe. *Flat Earth* woodcut by Camille Flammarion (1842-1925), first published in *L'Atmosphere: Météorologie Populaire*, 1888
- Fig. 12 *Urban Play*. Detail of a project by Bachelor of Interior Architecture student, Jason Wiggin, University of Pretoria, 2006
- Fig. 13 Detail of a page of detained persons under the *State of Emergency*, South Africa 1986. The press had to censor themselves under threat of closure - hence the blacked out names. *The Weekly Mail*, 20 June 1986
- Fig. 14 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings on the death of the *Guguleto Seven* Cape Town, February 1997. Jillian Edelstein, 1997
- Fig. 15 Diagram: Memory, Freedom and Truth, Author 2007
- Fig. 16 Ecologies of Gold. a) 1950's view of gold mining outcrops south of Johannesburg, image courtesy of AOC Geomatics. b) Current encroachment of informal settlements on un-developed mining land, Ekurhuleni, image by Andrew Watkins, 2010
- Fig. 17 Vasco da Gama receiving his seal of approval from King Manuel I in 1497. Detail of a painting by Amschwitz. William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand
- Fig. 18 British Settlers arriving at Algoa Bay, *Cape of Storms* in 1826. Detail of a painting by Colin Gill. William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand
- Fig. 19 *A Myth of Origin - T'kama Adamastor*. Black and White detail of a painting by Cyril Coetzee, 1995. William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand
- Fig. 20 *Adamastor*. Detail from a painting by Scotin (?). Brink, A. "A Myth of Origin" in Ivan Vladislavić, ed. *T'kama-Adamastor - inventions of Africa in a South African painting*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000. Fig. 120
- Fig. 21 Diagram abstractly representing the different sites of empirical investigation in South Africa. Author, 2006
- Fig. 22 *Freedom Day*. Cartoon by Zapiro, Mail and Guardian, 4 May 2006
- Fig. 23 Justice Under a Tree. *Making Democracy Work*. Lino cut by Sandile Goje (undated)
- Fig. 24 Constitutional Court, Johannesburg. Entrance foyer. Author, 2004
- Fig. 25 Constitutional Court, Johannesburg. Detail of exterior screens. Author, 2004
- Fig. 26 *Land Claims*. Cartoon by Zapiro, Mail and Guardian, 27 March 2001
- Fig. 27 Supporters awaiting the arrival of Mandela in a Natal township. Lamontville, Ian Berry, 1994
- Fig. 28 Diagram. Abstract triangulated relationship between Land, Labour and Capital. Author, 2009
- Fig. 29 Aerial photograph of Denneboom Station precinct, Mamelodi, Tswane
- Fig. 30 *Urban Typologies* - Diagram. Denneboom Station precinct, Mamelodi, Tswane
- Fig. 31 Intersection, urban context around Denneboom Station, Mamelodi. Author, 1989
- Fig. 32 Informal Trader's Structure, urban context around Denneboom Station, Mamelodi. Author, 1989
- Fig. 33 Artists in the courtyard of the old Fort Prison, Constitutional Hill, Braamfontein, Johannesburg on 9 August 2001. Vanessa September

- Fig. 34 *Dogs of War*. Puppet by Adrian Kohler for *Ubu and the Truth Commission*, Handspring Puppet Company, 1997. Collection of the Constitutional Court, Johannesburg
- Fig. 35 *Museum of Struggle* at the Red Location by Noero & Wolf Architects a) Memory Boxes, b) Detail of Gallery, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. Author, 2006
- Fig. 36 Axonometric drawing, *Museum of Struggle* at the Red Location, Noero & Wolf Architects, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth
- Fig. 37 *Palestinian Labourers / Maale Adumin Settlement*, West Bank. Menahem Kahana, AFP, Getty Images, 7 June 2009
- Fig. 38 Informal trade and living in Newtown against the backdrop of downtown Johannesburg. Author, 2001
- Fig. 39 Structural Violence. Scene in an informal settlement outside Johannesburg. Ian Berry, 1961
- Fig. 40 Self-censored Information in an article on the "Eminent Persons Report". Detail, *The Weekly Mail*, 20 June 1986
- Fig. 41 *Sophia Town*. Photograph by Jurgen Shadenberg for DRUM, 1950
- Fig. 42 Alexandra relative to Pretoria and Johannesburg / Time line of Apartheid legislation. Author, 2007
- Fig. 43 Alexandra Aerial Photograph and Architectural Typologies. Author, 2007
- Fig. 44 Alexandra. a) In the Jukskei River Flood Plain, b) Communal Water Point, "Old Alex", c) Spaza Shop, d) Informal Vegetable Trade and Call Centre. Author, August 2006
- Fig. 45 Alexandra, 2004 with Historic Photographs and Conceptual Design Elevations of the *Alexandra Heritage Centre* (2008) by Peter Rich Architects
- Fig. 46 Haiti earthquake survivors. 13 January 2010. Logan Abassi, Minustah, Getty Images
- Fig. 47 Installation view of work by Jason Gillette, GFRY Studio, School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Exhibition at the Asahi Art Centre, Tokyo, Japan, 29 March 2010. Author, 2010
- Fig. 48 Detroit landscape, *Winnersville*. Photograph by Georgia Daskalakis, 2001
- Fig. 49 Detroit Vacant Land Study. Detail. City of Detroit, 2001
- Fig. 50 Community with *Motor City Blight Busters*, Redford, Detroit. Author, 2009
- Fig. 51 *Motor City Blight Busters*, Redford, Detroit. Author, 2009
- Fig. 52 *Crlelate*. Community garden project by Audry Grill and Rebecca Midden, GFRY Studio, School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Beppu, Japan, 2010
- Fig. 53 Exhibition and Symposium view. GFRY Studio, School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Exhibition at the Asahi Art Centre, Tokyo, Japan, 29 March 2010. Author, 2010
- Fig. 54 Exhibition and Symposium view. GFRY Studio, School of the Art Institute of Chicago. Exhibition at the Asahi Art Centre, Tokyo, Japan, 29 March 2010. Author, 2010
- Fig. 55 *Dogs Barking - Spine of Negotiated Transactions*. Project proposal by the author for the Barracas neighbourhood, Buenos Aires, 2002
- Fig. 56 Context (Aerial). *Field - public space infrastructure*. Annemie Van den Heever. MArch Thesis project, University of Pretoria, 2006
- Fig. 57 Context. *Field - public space infrastructure*. Annemie Van den Heever. MArch Thesis project, University of Pretoria, 2006
- Fig. 58 Coexisting Narratives. *Field - public space infrastructure*. Annemie Van den Heever. MArch Thesis project, University of Pretoria, 2006
- Fig. 59 Landscape as Text. *Field - public space infrastructure*. Annemie Van den Heever. MArch Thesis project, University of Pretoria, 2006
- Fig. 60 Model, detail. *Field - public space infrastructure*. Annemie Van den Heever. MArch Thesis project, University of Pretoria, 2006
- Fig. 61 Context. *Recover*. Elana Van der Wath. MInt Thesis Project, University of Pretoria, 2008
- Fig. 62 Site Qualities. *Recover*. Elana Van der Wath. MInt Thesis Project, University of Pretoria, 2008
- Fig. 63 Access and Permeability. *Recover*. Elana Van der Wath. MInt Thesis Project, University of Pretoria, 2008
- Fig. 64 Movement Patterns. *Recover*. Elana Van der Wath. MInt Thesis Project, University of Pretoria, 2008
- Fig. 65 Conceptual Spatial Network. *Recover*. Elana Van der Wath. MInt Thesis Project, University of Pretoria, 2008
- Fig. 66 Design Exploration III. *Recover*. Elana Van der Wath. MInt Thesis Project, University of Pretoria, 2008
- Fig. 67 Giant *vuvuzela* installed on an unfinished highway in Cape Town during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, Mark Wessels, REUTERS, 27 May 2010



**LOCATING CONTRADICTORY  
ARCHITECTURAL IMPERATIVES**  
– appropriation and subversion in the urban field

**Hennie Reynders Ph.D.**



Fig. 2 *Allusions*. A typical bill board and security light in one of the many marginalised townships of South Africa. Photograph by Stephen Klein, Design Centre, Greenside, Johannesburg, 2001

## INTRODUCTION

*The centrality of place in a context of global processes engenders a transnational economic and political opening in the formation of new claims for rights to place and belonging. The city has emerged as a site for new claims: by global capital that uses the city as an 'organisational commodity' but also by disadvantaged sectors of the population taking the same internationalized presence as capital.*<sup>1</sup>

Saskia Sassen

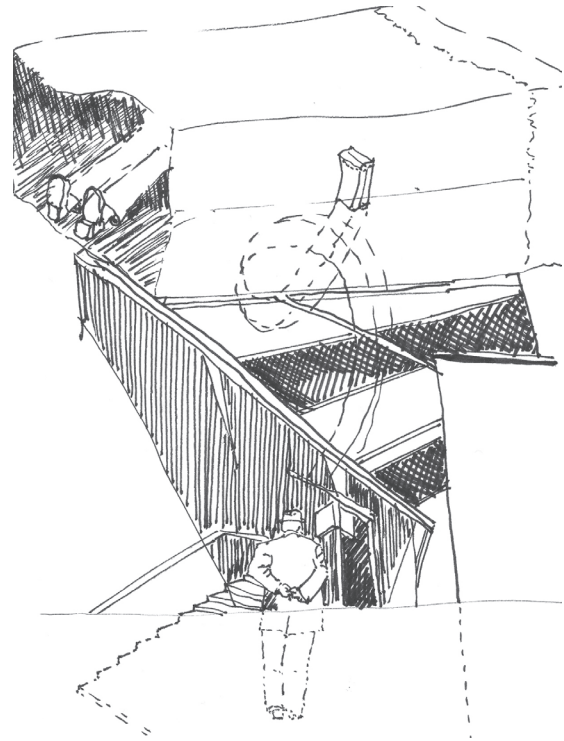


Fig. 3 *The man with the brown paper bag over his head*. A personal reflection on how we interact with urban space and each other through maps, memories and myths of our own making. Author, 2001

Concepts that attempt to describe the notion of city or urbanity are becoming increasingly contradictory as urban agglomerations compete with fundamentally altered natural ecologies and as traditional boundaries between formal and informal social expressions of everyday life erode. We experience the speed at which technological mobility and highly networked infrastructures create opportunity with the one hand, while denying access with the other. With such unevenness come innovative forms of resistance and new forms of social expression that render archetypal notions of the city - as being stable or the built project as being instrumental in creating stability - powerless and outdated. In this process of constant mutation, acts of appropriation and acts of subversion take place at the intersection of *place* and *space* and manifest as intersecting layers of traditional and emerging hybrid environments. A paradoxical rendering that describes the enigmatic relationship existing between convention and invention and by implication, the relationship between structure and agency.

1 Sassen, Saskia. "Seeing like a city", *The Endless City - the Urban Age Project* by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society (London: Phaidon, 2007), 289

In contrast to our relationship with nature that has of late become critically immediate, the changes in our relationship with the urban and the unsettling of previously stable and predictable urban patterns, have been emerging in a peculiarly disguised form. In the Western conception the natural environment is a gift to be exploited and a resource with a systemic ability to repair fractures miraculously in time for the next exploit - a relationship of increasing complexity as we stand in wonder of the natural while at the same time excavating nature's latent wealth. The urban on the other hand is considered as being once removed and an abstract, reconstituted form of the natural - created through transformative processes and technologies where labour and capital become further abstractions of discreet sets of power relations. We only have to think of airport infrastructure where three discreet and independent relationships control the green landscapes we encounter - first, the killing of all natural life around runways as a safety requirement, second the landscaping of the fields of parking in a domesticated fashion, and third, the interior plantscapes (real or artificial) that exist as the flotsam of our relationship with nature.

The internal contradictions that are implied are complex and essentially spatial expressions of a dense network of competing claims to own, control and experience parts of the natural and urban environments. The relational or collective desires of everyday life are seldom directly accounted for and seem to be conditioned and mediated through abstract notions of what urban space or city life is about. The significance of these changes only become apparent when large scale re-configuration of territories or boundaries lead to the aggressive displacement of communities or industries. The impact on the community of Kiev after the *Chernobyl* incident<sup>2</sup>, the Rwanda genocide and the ever shifting boundaries between Palestine and Israel are examples among many other moments. This category of changes feature as dramatic events happening in relatively short bursts of disruption when compared to the traditional spatio-temporal frame through which urban change is anticipated. Other categories of equally dramatic change play out over much longer time-frames. Examples that illustrate such an incremental change are the shrinking of opportunities in the 'rust-belt' of the American Midwest, and within another context, the process of racial segregation that lead to fully deployed *Apartheid* in South Africa. Should these changes have taken place at the speed of a natural disaster - say an earthquake or volcanic eruption (both uncomfortably fresh in our memories) - the international outcry and offers of support would have been unprecedented. Detroit's core would never have been hollowed out, and nor would *Apartheid* policy had the opportunity to take root. But such insight only comes in retrospect and the reality remains in the complex social, economic and political assemblages that underpin competing sets of power relations in the urban condition.

---

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that since the Chernobyl incident 25 years ago, that the exclusion zone has now become the largest natural area devoid of human activity in Europe. Roughly the size of Switzerland, the exclusion zone exhibits a remarkable resilience and as evidenced by the return of many species that have been pushed to the margins elsewhere.

What this apparently aporetic relationship between the natural and constructed environments presents, is first, that all of our cultural production has direct impact on socio-ecological relations, as has the socio-ecological an impact on our cultural product. None of our interactions within the social or environmental contexts are innocent. Uneven development results from the layered, fluid and competing socio-ecological transformations that are inherent in the triangulated frame of space, place and environment. In the developing and emerging regions of the world these processes translate into an expression of urbanity where formalistic aspects have little or no correlation with the social content of the built form. This is visibly real in cities such as Johannesburg, Lagos, Sao Paulo or Istanbul where entrepreneurial activity and informality exist in the interstitial spaces that open up against the changing inheritance of colonial or International Style urban centres. In these environments the formal is taken over by the informal. In other cases the vernacular and rural are displaced by the expansion of institutional formations and resultant urban growth - as in the case of the approximately 80 million strong nomadic tribes of India. The best known are perhaps the Lohar group who are essentially blacksmiths - although now doing metalwork of a more mundane nature, travelling, begging and selling their craft. Another is the Rabari who as nomadic herders are forced to navigate increasingly industrialised corridors for what remain available as free, natural pasture and water sources. Their rights as much as any remaining opportunity to make their craft, trade and wander are being eroded by mass produced global imports, rapid urban expansion and large scale infrastructure developments that create borders and erase access to pasture, raw material and space to settle along their travels. The social and political obstacles are even more unforgiving with very little national or international effort translating in a possible better future. More important is the fact that without a fixed address or employment records these peoples have no access to credit, no possibility of formal education, no legal recourse and hardly any access to health and social services<sup>3</sup>. The slow process involved in this human displacement masks the scale and looming impact of the disaster. Again, if only 10% of the 80 million people would have been displaced by a natural disaster one can imagine the collective international effort in saving lives and upholding order and constitutional rights.

These are spatial concerns of a particular kind and the thesis aims to dissect and reconstruct propositions related to the processes inherent to space, place and environment where it concerns the every day life of communities and inform the behaviour of all involved in the urban environment.

Similar processes are playing out in the relationship between real and virtual environments where financial instruments can create global havoc, where revised trade agreements provide with the one hand while denying with the other. The degree to which such evidence can be made visible differs, but as Catherine Ingraham states, "the evidentiary aspect of architecture

---

<sup>3</sup> The February 2010 issue of *National Geographic* magazine presents the struggles of these nomadic tribes in a visually haunting essay. Also See Radhakrishna, Meena. *Dishonoured by History: Criminal Tribes and British Colonial Policy* (Andhra Pradesh: Orient Longman, 2008)

also always points to the manipulation of the body in space - from relatively benign acts of delimitation to violent acts of incarceration."<sup>4</sup>

The reference to the wandering tribes of India must therefore be understood both in terms of the impact of colonial rule rendering them criminal and the postcolonial desire to re-establish identity in, and access to, geographic locations. What is maybe less obvious at first glance is that this also serves as an example where fluid cultural conventions (essentially without a stable base of ownership or significant material manifestation) is nevertheless an "architecture" inscribed in space by millions in constant movement across vast regions of the landscape. Where *Apartheid* policy in South Africa required migratory movement between the rural home and urban workplace, the organic flow of nomadic tribes in India presents similar patterns, but without explicit protocols of control. The flow of African labour in South Africa was highly controlled and predictable, whereas the wandering Indian tribes exist (then and now) outside the grasp of political mechanisms. The informal economy that emerged as resistance to the lack of freedom in South Africa, as in most economies with marked inequality or marginalised segments in society, in fact mimics a number of the survival strategies of the nomad. Whether through an increase in mobility among the youth, the displacement of communities through war or natural disaster and the redefining of borders on many fronts, we are now seeing new societal assemblages of phenomenal scale appropriating space through tactics that are temporal, fluid and highly networked. The voices of such groups are becoming clearer through sheer critical mass and technological mobility, and as evident in the collective power of social media and the autonomous practices of the informal sectors. One such example is the *South African Federation of Urban Poor* (FEDUP)<sup>5</sup>, affiliated to the *Shack dwellers International* (SDI) movement and numerous other grass root organisations are becoming the enabling mechanism and negotiating voice of the poor – in South Africa and in more than 50 countries worldwide. Setting up their own housing funds that offer incremental finance or bridging loans, tapping into governmental subsidies for infrastructure and community development projects, facilitating knowledge transfer and often controversial deal making with government agencies.<sup>6</sup>

4         Ingraham, Catherine. "Architecture and the scene of evidence", *Postcolonial Studies*, Vol 1, No 2, (1998), 201

5         Formed in South Africa shortly before the founding democratic elections in 1994 by 200 local groups. Its origins can be traced back to the *People's Dialogue* that was formed in the early 1990's and with strong links to the Indian counterpart, *SPARK*. The Federation very quickly grew into a national network with 1,500 autonomous savings and credit groups with a minimum of 15 to a maximum of more than 500 members. By 2002 it had an active membership of more than 100,000 in approximately 700 informal settlements, 100 backyard shack areas, 3 hostels, and 150 or more rural settlements.

6         FEDUP, together with an NGO called the *Community Resource Centre* took delivery of 6,000 housing subsidies in 2006 through deal making with the *Ministry of Housing* under the 'People's Housing Process' agenda of the Ministry. This and other such agreements have created tension between those members benefiting from the housing delivery and those non-beneficiary members - specifically where little control over repayments of subsidies existed and as Mark Swilling from Stellenbosch University observed, where "vertical financial flows had broken the horizontal flows of social capital". See Swilling, M. 'Beyond co-optation and protest: Reflections on the FEDUP alternative', in Van Donk, M., Swilling, M., Pieterse E. and Parnell, S. eds., *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2008)

If someone was to ask what this thesis is about, the short answer would be that it is a search for a revised and credible mandate to explore spatial relationships through critical narrative and a more revolutionary form of practice. With more distance between the question and the departing nod, the proposition can be expanded by saying that the thesis aims to investigate the value of locating contradictory architectural imperatives when attempting to understand the nature of uneven development in the urban field. Argued through issues related to ownership and subversion in contexts where tracts of urban space are sometimes taken over or appropriated by otherwise marginal groups, and as evident in informal settlements, by re-adapting civic symbols and in building as a form of protest or re-alignment. This is visible in most contested territories, along borders and in the temporal occupation of space. The explorations and propositions are supported through empirical investigations in a number of such sites in South Africa where these tactics are increasingly becoming controlled and institutionalized - while at same time exposing new forms of social awareness, a growing autonomous resistance from still marginalised groups and pointing towards innovative spatial formations.

Although the case studies were limited to the South African context it did not exclude the import of references and empirical data from related contexts. Most notably through conversations and explorations afforded by attending conferences in Edinburgh, Sao Paulo, Johannesburg and Istanbul, and through project work in Buenos Aires, Chicago and Tokyo. More important however, is the fact that the spatial concerns that were explored through the research and as informed by the empirical investigations, are significant in our understanding of city building processes in any context. The fact that uneven development and technological mobility are as present in shrinking cities as in exploding urban contexts, that the boundaries between formal and informal expressions of ownership are collapsing and that our relationship with the natural and constructed ecologies are all but innocent, provided the evidence through which abstract concepts that underpin our spatial relationships could be explored. For as long as uneven and spatio-temporal conditions persist a dialectic interrogation of the evidentiary conditions of the city building process, through the abstract notions that create such unevenness in the first place, will hold methodological promise. Abstract notions of power, ownership, difference, identity, and spatio-temporality can be located within the triangulated relationship framed by concepts of memory, freedom and truth and experienced in the everyday expressions of fear and desire - propositions that will be further explored throughout the thesis. The often contradictory attempts at allowing for fluid urban conditions along with the desire for control and predictability manifest in the constructed environment as dense sets of power relations - and as stated in the opening paragraph, underpin the very structure and agency within society.

As designers we can ask whether it is possible that our thinking and making activities - when dealing with spatial concerns at the intersection of art, design and science - require new and innovative ways of exploring and sharing ideas, and if that seems feasible, asking how do we make such concerns visible. How do we go public with our concerns? What structural

adjustments are required in the many communication protocols we use and is there a reason to add significant meaning beyond the infinite stream of constant communication and real-time sharing of experiences and ideas? Towards which end do we concern ourselves with a certain criticality in our mandate as architects and designers?

The category of spatial concerns is dense and increasingly complex as the world is becoming more and more urbanised and connected. In our lifetime 70% of the world will be living in some form of urban condition and in many instances the concept of city no longer sufficiently describe these conditions. Perhaps Saskia Sassen is correct by preferring to talk about 'cityness'.<sup>7</sup> Equally, the concept of living sounds too simplistic and hides the competing forces of identity formation, of subversion, of resistance, of claims to ownership and above all - the claims to a right to the city as evident in the patterns of migration speeding up the processes of urbanisation. The time is certainly right for asking how do we make spatial concerns visible, how do we explore and talk about the things that concern us and how, and where do we search and locate contradictory architectural imperatives in the urban field?

The thesis aims at rendering these spatial concerns visible by deliberately adopting a more pluralistic research methodology and dialectical approach that allow the internal contradictions in our city building process to emerge from underneath our entrenched, formal and expert propriety conventions. We can argue that those concerns that are essentially spatial, are a particular category of things we as designers are mandated to understand. The concept of *concern* implies a much broader view than the concept of *thing* when looking at outcomes of human effort and suggests the thinking that precedes the making and the use that follows. Also suggesting that, whereas an object may result from understanding facts (material characteristics, ergonomic constraints), concerns are those matters that may create conflict or uncertainty. As Latour has it – we need to understand the difference between matters-of-fact and matters-of-concern.<sup>8</sup> Simply put, concerns as a subcategory of things include both those mundane objects of our cultural production and the more profound constructs of the collective mind that direct social and environmental relations - including this particular category here being called spatial concerns. Throughout this thesis the word spatial is being used as in our understanding of socially produced space. The purpose of emphasising the concept of 'socially activated space' - as operative strategy underpinning the spatial concerns raised above - is to recover the 'social' in moments of appropriation and subversion with a more reflective stance towards notions of difference, identity and the spatio-temporal occupation of space. By implication, aiming to add a deeper level of criticality to our understanding of how the informal features within the more abstract constructs that direct structure and agency within cities where all manner of de facto legal and extralegal groupings are laying claim to the opportunities offered by networked urban environments.

---

7 Sassen (2007) pp276-289

8 Latour, Bruno. "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik, or How to Make Things Public", Latour, B and Peter Weibel, eds., *Making Things Public - Atmospheres of Democracy* (London: MIT Press and ZKM Centre for Art and Media Karlsruhe, 2005), pp14-41

# PART 1

## STRUCTURE, METHODS, QUESTIONS AND PROPOSITIONS

*As suggested in the introduction, the thesis is questioning the instrumental nature and enabling potential of architecture. First by including the fluid, unstable, temporal, and competing conditions along with the grounded, predictable, and physical when considering constructed environments and urban society and second, by considering how translations of a more reflective and relational approach to urban questions impact on spatial relationships and social transactions. Chapter One expands upon some of the issues mentioned in the introduction by defining the thesis structure and the methods employed. Chapter Two introduces the research questions and propositions at the core of the thesis. The arguments are strung together in a narrative that includes excursions into the site where empirical investigations are located. As such, also the first evidence of how the very structure of the document is deliberately being put to use in supporting a revised methodology allowed for throughout the research.*

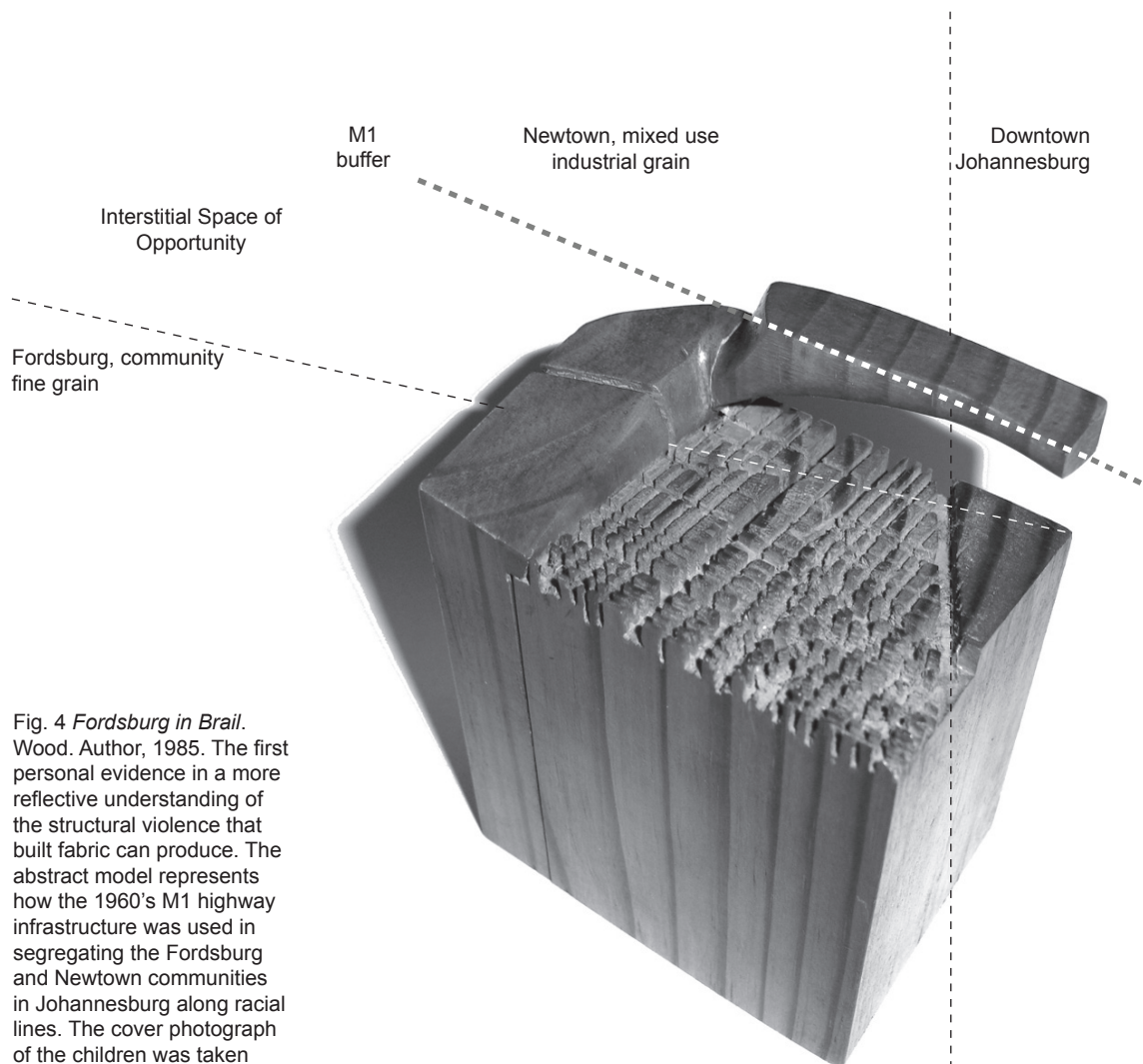


Fig. 4 *Fordsburg in Brail*. Wood. Author, 1985. The first personal evidence in a more reflective understanding of the structural violence that built fabric can produce. The abstract model represents how the 1960's M1 highway infrastructure was used in segregating the Fordsburg and Newtown communities in Johannesburg along racial lines. The cover photograph of the children was taken underneath the highway

## Chapter One Structure and Methods

### Field of Enquiry

The research straddles the fields of philosophy and applied social science - between concepts and things and between *thinking* and *making*. As suggested in the introduction, the research follows a cross-disciplinary investigation along intersecting itineraries aiming at a degree of ontological clarification in the discourse dealing with spatiality in the many complex relationships existing between architecture, infrastructure and technology. As such, always returning to confront issues of place, of spatio-temporality, and of environment. Also questioning what constitute a critical or projective practice and the possible paradox in, and tension between critique from the outside (including from grass root activists) towards the *expert* disciplines, and on the other hand, practice that influences the disciplines from the inside out. This may suggest a collective act of inventiveness of all those involved in the thinking, the making, and the use of constructed environments – whether physical buildings, landscapes or infrastructure, and all those *architectures* and *landscapes* populating electronic space (dataspaces, network architecture, ICT infrastructures).

Although comfortably akin to *Assemblage Theory*,<sup>5</sup> the hypothesis does not assume an unconditional stance towards such, or any purely philosophical approach when wrestling with urban problems. On the contrary, it will be argued that research dealing with the complexity of urban issues requires the import of unorthodox methods, pluralistic methodologies and empirical evidence that sometimes cut through these assemblages through biopic investigations that reveal micro-ecologies very different in formation than those found when contemplating insights obtained through macro-scale investigations of urban landscapes.

The thesis suggests that the limits of historical materialist enquiry typically encountered in urban research can, and should be informed by discourse bridging into other disciplines when investigating the urban condition (landscapes, territories, fields) and spatial concerns in general. The marriage of a historical materialist tradition with the more organic lines of argument in process-driven dialectics can render those seemingly predictable or less problematic concerns as internally contradictory - as such transforming the theoretical landscape that is so often employed in service of revised relationships of power and revised protocols in practice - from the inside out. The value of allowing this infusion becomes clear through the approaches to urban research by such scholars as David Harvey and Doreen Massey and as informed by the thinking of Whitehead (process-based philosophy), Althusser (continents of knowledge), Jameson (cognitive mapping), Foucault (heterotopia), Giddens (structuration theory) and

---

5 Manuel deLanda argues that much of social research dwells in the in-between, or intermediate levels that are neither micro nor macro levels of ontological investigation, and leading to a degree of disconnect in our understanding of social networks, cities, or regions. He argues that assemblage theory – appropriated from the thinking of, among others, Gilles Deleuze can lead us to a more holistic understanding. See De Landa, Manuel. *A New Philosophy of Society – assemblage theory and social complexity* (London: Continuum, 2006)

more recently the work of Fritjof Capra and Manuel de Landa - emphasising an understanding of processes, flows, fluxes, temporality and relationships rather than the analysis of single entities, structure or closed systems. As Harvey suggests, "Dialectical enquiry is itself a *process* that produces *permanences* such as concepts, abstractions, theories, and institutionalised structures of knowledge which stand to be supported or undermined by continuing processes of enquiry."<sup>6</sup> Grounding such a statement is the conviction that structure and agency constrain each other, while at the same time, allowing for the mutation of *permanences* that emerge from sets of transactional relations in everyday life.

### Usefulness

The research appears useful in understanding two related concerns currently playing out in the urban field. First concerning discursive practice moving away from the textual logic of deconstruction towards the biologic of integrated systems corroboratively being explored by artists, designers, entrepreneurs and scientists. As ambitious in scale as the building of *Masdar City*,<sup>7</sup> an urban complex promising a carbon-neutral, zero-waste footprint in the wealthy kingdom of Abu Dhabi, to small scale, inventive ways of hauling drinking water or drinking through straw-like filters from what little water is available in arid sub-Saharan countries.<sup>8</sup> This pro-active stance and contextualised, systemic approach to complex problems is not new. The work of the biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela in the 1970's provides evidence of the value in looking at the world more holistically and have informed thinkers such as Niklas Luhmann in sociology, Llya Prigogine in physical chemistry, Manuel De Landa and Fritjof Capra in the philosophy of science, and the work of Robert Rosen and Janine Benyus as biologists researching living systems. We are seeing revised protocols in collaborative research in the alliances between art, design and science - informed by changing attitudes, large scale territorial re-configuration, deeper insights into the nature of social and ecological systems, new technologies and greater mobility.

At the project scale there seems to be a fascination with work attempting to establish so-called *truths* by exposing processes of making and patterns of use before, during or after the *event* - often framed through the principles and language of complexity science. At a larger scale, a similar fascination with urban projects that are attempts in activating industrial wastelands

6 Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* (London: Blackwell, 1996), 55

7 Masdar, in Arabic meaning the source, is being built by the *Abu Dhabi Future Energy Company*, a subsidiary of *Mubadala Development Company* at a projected cost of US\$22 billion. A 6 square kilometre city approximately 17 kilometres southeast of Abu Dhabi and beside the International airport. Importantly, it will be the headquarters of the *International Renewable Energy Agency* (IRENA). The principle consultants are the British architectural firm Foster and Partners and with the design of the *Masdar City* Headquarters by Smith and Gill Architects from Chicago.

8 The *Hippo Water Roller* designed by JL Petzer and JP Jonker from South Africa won a Design for Development Award from the *Design Institute* of the SABS in 1997. This is just one of many examples where small, but inventive and crucial design ideas translate into meaningful change. Another example is the Swiss designers Vestergaard Frandsen Group's mobile personal filtration system, otherwise known as the *LifeStraw*, which filters water teeming with typhoid-, cholera-, and diarrhea-causing organisms safe and drinkable. During a May 2010 visit to an exhibition of "Design for Difference," the director of the Japan Industrial Design Promotion Organization (JIDPO), Miss Lei-Mei Julia Chiu remarked to author that almost all visitors to the exhibition expressed their surprise that the objects are considered *design* - stating that it looks more like an engineering exhibit!

through an indexical obsession with field operations that are translated and deployed through a new generation of diagrams - often becoming a mutation of past versions of the picturesque<sup>9</sup>.

A particular troupe of projects within the larger field of landscape urbanism, or when entering from another door, termed ecological urbanism argue that production protocols should reflect forces in the urban field, be driven by a revised understanding of nature and of natural systems, and reflect time as an important variable in our production of architecture within cultural landscapes<sup>10</sup>. The 1999 Downsview, Toronto competition asking to turn a former military base into a public park includes a number of proposals from designers working under this banner - James Corner (Field Operations), Stan Allen, Rem Koolhaas (OMA), Bruce Mau, Bernard Tschumi, Foreign Office Architects among many others selected from the 179 entries. Similarly, projects that are re-configuring abandoned non-places or projects appropriating those interstitial spaces existing under the radar of bureaucratic malfunction, and challenging the boundaries between disciplines and conventional protocols. The work of the group *Motor City Blight Busters* in Detroit is an important example of such grass-roots initiatives<sup>11</sup>. In other instances a more reflective, poetic approach as in the work of artist Julieta Aranda proposing a revised expression of our appropriation of the concept of time and the relationship between space and time<sup>12</sup>.

The second concern currently visible in the urban field relates to claims being made for a right of access to opportunities offered by urban life being voiced by the marginalised segments of society, by displaced or migrant groups and by the young, highly mobile creative class. Also claims being made by the privileged under a banner of 'new urbanism' to the perceived opportunities resulting from a re-insertion of a form of 'the suburban' into the hard core urban field, and with large tracts of urban fabric aggressively being re-configured, or alternatively, slowly being gentrified through various tactics. The sociopolitical and economic mandates assumed by the various role players exhibit an increasing complexity. Whether through tangible and immediate need from the ground up in moments of disaster, or being argued through ethical or moral concerns aimed at a revised future condition - such as the debate about the need for "cities of refuge" that will create a safe and hospitable transition to the ebb of stateless or homeless minorities. Equally, those demands resulting from privileged groups asserting their right to alternative lifestyles - whether a demand for mobility or a demand for public acknowledgement and expression of such lifestyles.

---

9 Bob Somol calls this the 'indexical fallacy'. Somol, R.E. "All Systems GO!: The Terminal Nature of Contemporary Urbanism," *Harvard Design School*. Boston: Prestel, (2001): 126-135

10 The term 'Landscape Urbanism' was coined by Charles Waldheim and is being developed in response to the pioneering work of James Corner, Stan Allen, and others. The Corner / Allen competition entry for Toronto's Downsview Park (2001) remains a highly regarded example of a proposal grounded in these principles.

11 A nonprofit organisation started by John George in the Redford Neighbourhood of Detroit in the early 1990's; and essentially harnessing community labour and resources in recycling abandoned houses, resisting illegal occupation, and returning properties to the care of the community. Spin-off initiatives include an artist collective, food programs and negotiating ownership opportunities with the city council. More information on their website at [www.blightbusters.org](http://www.blightbusters.org)

12 Bonaspetti, Edoardo. "Julieta Aranda - a special project for Domus," *Domus*. Milan: Editriale Domus 927, (July / August. 2009): 112

These claims, concerns and realities often play out within the framework of an emerging re-directive practice - most notably advocated by Tony Fry among others<sup>13</sup>. An attempt, in part, at re-imagining the role of design when engaging with more autonomous actors in the urban field, re-thinking the relationship between architecture, infra-structure and technological mobility, and in doing so, redefining the mandate entrusted to 'expert' disciplines and bureaucrats. The "Critical Mass" initiative by cyclists taking over downtown streets during peak traffic on every last Friday of the month is an example where such action forced the hand of cities in creating more extensive and safer cycle routes.<sup>14</sup> Another example is the work of architects Alfredo Brillembourg and Hubert Klumpner through their practice "Urban Think Tank" and their commitment to place the social reality of a site at the forefront of political discussion and effect change through direct intervention.<sup>15</sup>

The research will render these altered definitions, revised understanding and re-directive practice protocols useful when considering the complexity of contradictory architectural imperatives visible in the urban field.

### **Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology**

It was assumed that there is a difference between what we would describe as method or describe as methodology, to boot, assuming that the door through which one enters a particular field of research opens through underlying priors that will influence the framing of research questions and therefore also the notion of ontological and epistemological truths. It also assumes that methods are rarely consistently rigorous and openly objective when tactically employed in service of complex socio-spatial research questions. The epistemology underpinning the social sciences (and increasingly even the natural sciences) questions the value of scientific enquiry conducted through the traditional naturalist's approach - more so when it relies for the most part on experimental or statistical methods in locating new knowledge. The thinking of Feyerabend is particularly important in this regard and has influenced scholars such as Richard Rorty and Paul Churchland - all of whom warn against the institutionalisation of the limits of scientific enquiry<sup>16</sup>.

---

13 Fry, Tony. *Design Futuring: Sustainability, Ethics and New Practice* (Oxford: Berg, 2008). Fry introduces the concept of redirection as a political, philosophical and practical activity that becomes the key driver in our rethinking of design practice. Redirection is positioned as a revised protocol for collaboration - moving designers from a marginal position often doing little more than reinforcing unsustainable practice - towards a mandate informing and building long-term "sustain-able" (Fry's terminology) practice outcomes

14 Similar bike rides started in Sweden in the 1970's but became more visible after the first such last Friday action in San Francisco in 1992. Critical Mass actions take place world-wide and with each city having a unique characteristic. The "Chicago hold-up" blocking traffic and lifting bikes into the air, the "Rat Control" movement building cycles out of re-appropriated parts and material and using alleys and informal pathways, or the naked critical mass riding taking place in London and other cities.

15 Brillembourg, Alfredo and Hubert Klumpner. "Rules of Engagement: Caracas and the Informal City" in Hernández, Filipe, with Peter Kellet and Lea K. Allen, (Ed). *Rethinking the Informal City - Critical Perspectives from Latin America*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 119-136

16 This is of particular interest in his last book (unfinished at the time of his death in 1994). Feyerabend, Paul. *Conquest of Abundance: A Tale of Abstraction versus the Richness of Being* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)

Moving beyond the tactics of method and the ambiguity inherent in defining a methodological approach, it was assumed from the outset that the research questions require a methodology outside of naturalism, and indeed, challenging the borders of the constructivism tradition. Accepting ontological complexity requires different types of evidence. This was acknowledged by Max Weber when observing “we are cultural beings, endowed with the capacity and the will to take a deliberate attitude towards the world and to lend it significance.”<sup>17</sup>

This capacity that Weber hints at introduces families of evidence that are obscured when only observing the visible physical world. We see this when observing ownership patterns, monetary and social capital flows, ideas about sovereignty, real and perceived mobility. The usefulness of defining much broader sets of epistemological tools and employing carefully designed methods of procedure will allow concomitant variations to display intrinsically embedded casual relationships - in example our thinking about empathy, authority, security, or convention (Searle 1995, 2; Moses & Knutsen 2007, 11). This does not free the researcher from taking care of facts, quite the opposite, as any rigorous comparative study will combine deductive and inductive approaches to test facts in support of hypotheses when dealing with the import of casual relationships. As Whewell argued more than a century ago; “Facts are the materials of science, but all facts involve ideas” - discreetly emphasising the role of ideas within the nature and context of knowledge, and the social or collective meaning of knowledge.<sup>18</sup>

The methodological doubts cast by Comte, Mill and Marx among others, were fuelled by methodological anarchists - among them Foucault. To Foucault “discourse in general, and scientific discourse in particular, is so complex a reality that we not only can, but should, approach it at different levels and with different methods....” Stating that “historical analysis of scientific discourse should, in the last resort, be subject, not to a theory of the knowing subject, but rather to a theory of discursive practice”.<sup>19</sup> A few years later, in a 1975 lecture, Foucault was suggesting that it may be time to articulate “what is at stake when knowledge(s) begins to challenge, struggle against, and rise up against the institution and the power- and knowledge-effects of scientific discourse”.<sup>20</sup> Working both within and along those interstices where subjugated knowledge can reveal the multiplicity of obscured or neglected insights available to us, and when allowing local knowledge to intersect and challenge the conventions

---

17 Weber had a significant impact on current ontological stances where explorations are aimed at perceptions of the world rather than what the world is. An ontological twist starting with Kant, developed by William Whewell (1794-1866) and growing in significance through the work of Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), Martin Heidegger, Paul Ricoeur and Hans-George Gadamer. See Weber, Max. “Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy.” in Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*. trans., ed. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949) [1904]

18 The importance of the thinking and the subsequent influence of William Whewell (1794-1866) is well argued in (Moses and Knutsen 2007, 173-196). Specifically his challenge to the naturalist’s reliance on an empiricist epistemology – arguing that although we have accumulated vast quantities of knowledge about the world, we cannot show that it is *true* knowledge, or even knowledge about the *real* world.

19 Argued in the late 1960’s and early 1970’s. \*See (Foucault 1970), xiv

20 Foucault, Michel. *Society Must Be Defended - Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, trans., David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003) 12

of scientific discourse.<sup>21</sup> Advocating for *thinking* and *making* that go beyond accepted strategies of research - challenging and deliberately allowing for an architecture of thinking and making moulded from the very processes inherent in the lived intensity of the *other* as manifesting in the everyday.<sup>22</sup> Lefebvre must have sighed in relief and Harvey certainly picked up on this turn by Foucault towards a realisation for the need of a more practical politics and acknowledging the limits of reflective discourse. Searching for collective identity, new social agreements, revised social ecosystems and “the exploration of potentialities for change” is a fundamental motif in Marxian dialectical thinking (Harvey 1996, 56). Infusing the historical materialist view with the more organic form of dialectic reasoning (as opposed to the “strong version” of dialectics as in the work of Engels), has re-introduced the sociopolitical into our understanding of space, place and environment - most notably through the thinking of the French philosophers (Lefebvre, Foucault, Derrida), in applied mode through analytical philosophy (Feyerabend, Giddens, Rorty) and more recently in the work of David Harvey, Edward Said, Edward Soja and Doreen Massey. This spatial turn includes the re-evaluation of our relationship with natural systems and the significance of a systemic approach in our *thinking* and *making* that challenges superficial or narrow obsessions with the factual.

Urban research dealing with the sociopolitical realities requires a sincere attempt that in Feyerabend’s terms, ensure that “all traditions have equal rights and equal access to the centres of power.”<sup>23</sup> Therefore also accepting that there exists a definite ontological pluralism (Nietzsche, Foucault, Capra) in the concept of *verstehen*<sup>24</sup> (Simmel, Weber) and that we require a holistic understanding of social phenomena in terms of relationships (Dilthey, Heidegger, Gadamer) - engaging in a research methodology that will complete a full “hermeneutic circle” as propositioned by Dilthey.<sup>25</sup> This concept will be reintroduced in subsequent chapters as an important turn in our understanding of spatial practices and show how an understanding of what *praxis* really means has been at the core of the hermeneutical tradition of philosophy. Actively expounded by Anthony Giddens in his appropriation of Comte’s idea of a ‘double hermeneutic’ when emphasising the two-way relationship between the ideas embedded in social science enquiry and ideas in the collective mind through everyday practice. This was

21 In Foucault’s thinking, subjugated knowledge(s) is (was) resurrected under the banners of “life, not knowledge” “the real, not erudition” and “money, not books” and including both historical knowledge(s) present in functional and systematic ensembles; and previously disqualified, non-conceptual, naive, inferior, or obscure knowledge(s). An active strategy since the 1960’s by scholars such as De Certeau, Lefebvre and Foucault.

22 This is demonstrated in the research project for the French Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Infrastructure under the interdisciplinary programme “Art, Architecture and Landscape” that was initiated by Doina Petrescu and Constantin Petcou and undertaken between 2005 and 2007. Also see Nicolas-Le Strat, Pascal. *Interstitial Multiplicity*, trans., Millay Hyatt (ISCRA, 2007) \*Defining *interstices* as what is left of resistance in large urban complexes - resistance to normativity and regulation, to homogenization and appropriation - embodying what is still available in the city.

23 Feyerabend, Paul. *Science in a Free Society* (London: New Left Books, 1978), 9

24 A German word signifying the “understanding” and “interpretation” of meaning and human activities and introduced by Max Weber and George Simmel as interpretative understanding into the individual social sciences, where it has come to mean a systematic interpretative process in which an outside observer of a culture (such as an anthropologist or sociologist) relates to an indigenous people or sub-cultural group on their own terms and from their own point-of-view, rather than interpreting them in terms of his or her own concepts.

25 *Verstehen* can mean either a kind of empathic or participatory understanding of social phenomena. Wilhelm Dilthey appropriated the concept in support of his propositions on the hermeneutic circle.

clearly also the intention behind Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' when propositioning the dialectic nature of socially constructed *conventions* framing practical activity and the social *inventions* structuring, supporting and often controlling such practical activity. (Bourdieu 1977, 72)

It is beyond the scope of this discussion to dwell on the importance of language. Suffice to say that reality cannot exist independently from language (Ferdinand de Saussure, Thomas Kuhn). What is more important to state is the fact that any normative framing at the cost of local knowledge will be avoided and that in the words of Richard Rorty it will be more valuable "to keep the conversation going rather than finding the objective truth" (Rorty 1979, 377) and with Rorty clearly hinting at an epistemological pluralism and doubting the innocence of facts (Moses and Knutsen 2007, 197).

In short then, the research assumes a methodological approach that favours a search for meaning rather than absolute truths or universal codes and does so through thickly descriptive narratives. The research will be problem-driven rather than method-driven and allow for a significant contribution by human understanding and agency - those contexts where conditions make knowledge possible within the framework of an assumed methodological pluralism, and feeding for the most part on empirical investigations located in fractures and as the flotsam of realities carved in interstitial urban spaces.

The case studies and the empirical investigations are not outside of this approach but wholly integrated, even though employed in different ways. For the most part acting as building blocks seeking to move from a purely empirical level of exposition to a level of general statements - allowing a narrative to emerge that gives the reader a more direct experience of the interplay between theory and the realities on the ground. In some instances a case study initially served merely as 'plausibility probe'.<sup>26</sup> This was the case with an article on the Constitutional Court in Johannesburg.<sup>27</sup> First in testing the scholarly promise of the general propositions proposed for the thesis, and second, building on the credibility derived from the researcher's familiarity with the context. A more complete argument for the selection of all *sites* of empirical investigation follows in chapter two.

### **Structure of the Document**

The structure of the thesis document mirrors the methodological approach followed throughout the research and empirical investigation. It attempts to understand the meta-discourse and how it translates into the lived world - and through a primary concern with the instrumental nature of constructs dealing with space, place and environment. It is fair to suggest that such a discourse is hardly possible without understanding the epistemological

---

26 A theory confirming case study (Lijphart, Eckstein) and as discussed in (Moses & Knutsen, 2007), 134

27 Reynders, Hennie. "Appropriation of an Architecture for Truth and Reconciliation, Constitutional Hill, Johannesburg South Africa" *Edinburgh Architecture Research (EAR)* 30, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, (2006)

foundation of historico-geographical materialism as developed through second wave Marxist interpretations of the socio-spatial dialectic. The work of Henry Lefebvre and his re-assertion of space in critical theory - followed by, among others, Foucault, Castells, Harvey, Giddens, Soja, and Massey - became a useful and pivotal point of entry in understanding our thinking about place and space. This exploration happens in Part Two, with Chapters Three and Four simultaneously introducing concepts that would become key in arguing the thesis and central propositions.

Part Three introduces a series of linked case studies as illustration of certain propositions and does so by working from the small and immediate scale, to larger contexts and more abstract triangulated sets of relationships. As stated earlier, *in allowing a narrative to emerge that gives the reader a more direct experience of the interplay between theory and the realities on the ground.*

In Part Four the key concepts that inform the research questions and the empirical investigation become one narrative and concludes the thesis. The arguments are presented along a line of thought primarily dealing first, with the spatial formations of power relations and forms of resistance to uneven development and second, by referencing project work where spatial translations of the propositions provide evidence in support of the thesis. To clarify the spatial nature of the empirical investigation within the broader body of research it is necessary to remember that the research is aimed at uncovering possible instrumental spatial formations in temporary and particular sites of struggle. Visible in collective action that captures and translates the social, economic, and political strategies of a moment. Both Part Three and Part Four follow the notion of “discursive formations” when defined as heterogeneous ensembles that consist of discourses, bureaucratic institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, legal frameworks, scientific statements, and those “philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions” (Foucault 1980, 194) - and by accepting the complexity, instability and constantly mutating nature of identity formation, of territorial re-configuration, of the tensions inherent in the processes of *becoming* and the ideas about *difference* and the *other* (Foucault, Deleuze, Bhabha, Anzaldúa).

## Chapter Two Questions and Propositions

Social research addressing uneven development questions *what*, and *how* we are to learn from responses by communities who are living in sites of contest day in and day out. Families and communities negotiating borders, no-man's land and contested fractures in the social and urban fabric, and impacted upon by internal and external power relationships playing out in the urban field. At the same time asking what qualifies a site as being scarred, fragmented, or nonnegotiable? What is the nature of reconstruction and re-configuration processes in such contested sites? What can we learn from the visible and invisible actors, including extra-legal operators (illegal immigrants, contraband pushers), criminal networks, informal networks, mobile actors (cross-border operators, guest workers) - all occupying such sites? Who define what is legal and extralegal?

From within certain disciplinary positions we are seeking evidence that meaningful and stimulating environments can result from the mandates entrusted to those supposedly knowing how to wrestle with these questions and tangible evidence that the role of architecture - in the widest definition - is indeed enabling. In this search there is an increasingly critical, collective voice converging through social and environmental activism begging for a new understanding and a revised mandate. The research questions below set out to frame the ambitions and limits of the investigation, as much as the spatial concerns that have informed the questions in the first place.

### Research Questions

When raising questions about *what*, and *how*, we are to learn from responses by communities who are *living* such sites of contest also require an acknowledgement that such sites typically fall within the jurisdiction of at least one, but often any number of bureaucratic mechanisms of control in service of dense sets of power relations. Prompting further questions: What can we learn from urban management strategies, and similarly, from urban management failures? How does fluid or temporal sociopolitical activity migrate between society's strata and between technologies? What triggers are at play in such mutations and migrations? Such questions are allowed with a paradoxical willingness to explore the internal contradictions that mark the itinerary along which a deeper understanding of the fluid, unstable, temporal, and competing conditions of uneven development can be obtained.

The broader question seeks to investigate the relationship between labour, capital and control in the transformations of place, space and the environment. A series of second order questions will be taking a closer look at the role of design, art and science in moments of appropriation, subversion, temporality and collaborative practices, and framed by triangulated sets of abstract concepts that allow for a degree of discursive plurality. Together, asking if there is a possibility of locating new forms of critical narrative, a more revolutionary form of practice

and the potential of establishing a radically different and productive relationship between social and physical infrastructure.

### **Hypothesis**

It is propositioned that a revised understanding about the potential of architecture can become visible and useful when investigating urban conditions where contradictory architectural imperatives seem to coexist. These 'sites' include border conditions, contested territories, dramatically re-configured landscapes such as in post-apartheid South Africa, Palestine or post 9/11 United States, and in those 'sites' often occupied by invisible 'others' (migrants, the homeless, criminal networks) - rendered extralegal to different degrees by society. These sites are often marked by extreme conditions of uneven development and can best be defined through an understanding of the spatial organisation of sociopolitical sets of power relations - including formations of resistance being fuelled by the desire and fear of marginalised groups.

The use of the word *contradictory* is deliberate. It harbours the seeds of two important propositions. First the classical idea that an aporetic line of questioning - a notion that presents an internal contradiction or logical disjunction in a text, argument, or theory, and therefore which can be described through a further paradoxical argument - is valuable in rendering complex questions visible. Second by introducing the idea of a double imperative when analysing concepts, when attempting to locate and understand the value of such conceptual thinking and by considering the relationships between the absolute and the relative, between the universal and the particular. Examples of such problems can be found in the attempt to build a more sustainable environment while at the same time consuming resources to do so, or on a more abstract level, the idea of "forgiving the unforgivable" as with the attempt at reconciliation through the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, Chile and elsewhere.

The thesis will argue first, that the concepts 'power' and 'resistance' already harbour the possible coexistence of contradictory spatial imperatives that typically exist as visible or invisible formations. Second, through a concern with conditions on the ground, hoping that an upstream investigation of acts of appropriation and acts of subversion in the urban field will reveal a more nuanced understanding of the forces involved in territorial re-configuration and uneven urban development. The thesis assumes that these concerns are essentially spatial and that an understanding of the social and spatio-temporal nature of urban conditions remains a first requirement.

### **Aims**

The primary aim of the research is to render such contradictory imperatives visible when considering the ideal of equality and claim to ownership in the constructed environments through which we interact, transact and search for significant meaning in our daily lives. A secondary search aims at locating such contradictory imperatives through collaborative *thinking* and *making* where practice finds itself in the triangulated relationship existing

between art, design and science. These research aims are an attempt at understanding how we can address uneven urban development, how to acknowledge the “right to the city” and how to allow for an ever increasing technological mobility.

### **Empirical Explorations**

With the acceptance of the value of a more pluralistic methodology, and more explicitly, the acceptance of Feyerabend’s vision of a free society “where all traditions have equal rights and equal access to the centres of power”<sup>28</sup>, it brings to mind an incident in the early history of the colonial ambitions at the southern most part of Africa. Again reminding the reader that this is also the *site* of most of the empirical investigations used in illustrating and supporting the propositions put forward in this thesis.

#### **Excursion One: Locating and Naming a Place**

Feyerabend employed Galileo’s methodological pluralism and in example, Galileo’s violation of prescriptive rules of science when, in 1610, he produced a heliocentric view of the world. It is in great part due to Galileo and his contemporary astronomers’ work that early explorers could successfully have negotiated the route around Africa’s southern-most cape in search of alternative trading routes to the East. A mere decade after Galileo’s death - ending his years of house arrest for daring to propose such a heliocentric theory - the Dutch had established an outpost on this remote cape. An early caller to the Cape of Good Hope, Father Guy Tachard (1648-1712) arriving in the bay during May 1685, observed “The Cape of Good Hope, as it appears when coming from Europe, is a long series of mountains which run from north to south and terminates as a cape in the sea” (Tachard: 1689. 271). “Towards the centre of this bay the Dutch have built a pentagonal fort under the Table Mountain... a low-lying island is left to port, called Robben Island, in the centre of which the Dutch have planted their flag.” Father Tachard was one of six French Jesuit mathematicians on their way to the East, and another notable companion on the frigate *La Maligne*, François-Timoléon de Choisy, delightedly observed; “we shall eat green things”. He was correct in his assumptions as the garden of Governor Simon Van Der Stel was well established in support of the pioneering community and their employers, the East-India Company.

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1685 Father Tachard observed: “At the entrance to the Garden they [the Dutch] have built a large structure, where dwell the Company’s slaves, in number, it said, about five hundred, of whom some are employed in the cultivation of the garden and the rest at other necessary tasks. Towards the middle of the garden, on the side facing the fortress, there is a little pavilion in which no one lives. The ground floor contains an open vestibule that looks towards the fort and the garden, with two rooms on either side. Above there is a chamber open on all sides...”.

By 7 June observations started to provide answers and Father Tachard recorded; “The immersion of the first satellite took place at 10 hours 5 minutes 40 seconds by the uncorrected clock.... After the immersion of the first satellite from the shadow of Jupiter, and having compared the observations of the height of the sun made in the mornings and evenings

---

28 Essentially an argument about the emancipation of the individual mind. See Feyerabend, Paul. *Science in a Free Society* (London: New Left Books, 1978), 9

of June 3 and 4... it was found that the clock was ahead of the sun on both days by 28 minutes [so that] the true time of immersion was 9 hours 37 min. 40 sec.... His [Cassini's] tables of eclipses calculated to the nearest second give this same immersion as at 8:25:40; [so that] the difference of meridians between the Cape of Good Hope and Paris is 1 hour 12 minutes, that is to say 18° difference of longitude [actually 16° 10']. Thus, taking the longitude of Paris from the first meridian passing through the Isle of Fer [Hierro], the most westerly of the Canaries, as 22,5 degrees according to the same author [actually 20° 16'], the longitude of the Cape from that same meridian will be forty degrees and a half, little different from that given by the modern charts."<sup>29</sup>



Fig. 5 and 6 Left, a map titled *Fort de Goede Hoop*, 1665 and including a layout of the *Kompanjie Tuine* [gardens]. Cape Archives, Cape Town, Map File M3-10. Right, a drawing of the structure in the *Kompanjie Tuine* [gardens] from where Father Tachard conducted his explorations. Titled *Le Fort des Hollandois au Cap de Bonne Esperance*. Original in the Cape Archives, Cape Town

29 Observations by François-Timoléon de Choisy arriving on the frigate *La Maligne* within “twelve leagues” from the Cape of Good Hope on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May 1685. In 1668, at the age of 24, he was a notorious transvestite in Paris society, but then reformed in rural solitude, and by 1671 was living in a monastery. In 1676 he acted as secretary in Rome to four French cardinal-conclavists, and was unsuccessfully proposed as Ambassador to Siam – only to be appointed as “coadjuteur” He arrived with Chevalier de Forbin who was indeed appointed as Ambassador to Siam with Father Guy Tachard (one of six Jesuit mathematicians) ordered by King Louis XIV to be sent with the Ambassador to Siam. The others included Fathers Gerbillon, le Comte, Visdelou, Fontenay, and Bouvet. Lamare, a French engineer was also among the visitors and maps obtained by him under suspicious circumstances found their way back to France - including details of a 1685 mining expedition into the interior conducted by Governor Van Der Stel See: Raven-Hart, Rowland. *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702. The first fifty years of Dutch colonization as seen by callers in the Cape Archives* “D/R 10/3” would mean “But the Diary has this for March 10” on the year as indicated in the Letters and “Dagregisters [diary] (“DR”) of the Council of the East-India Company (p.265). Also see: Tachard, Guy (1651-1712). *Voyage de Siam des peres Jesuites, envoyés par le Roy, aux Indes à la Chine. Avec leurs observations* (Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1689). \*Additional engraved title page, dated 1688. Dedicatory epistle signed: Guy Tachard. The observations were made during the first voyage to Siam in 1685. A second voyage took place in 1689 with as many as 16 Jesuits eager to contribute to the knowledge of distant lands. Father Tachard wrote that “we were provided with the Tables of the satellites of Jupiter... also a gift of several large telescopes” [and sea-charts, quadrants, clocks, microscopes, thermometers, barometers, etc.] p.271 (Item 55). Navigation by stars visible in the night sky were the primary method of navigation during the 17th century and one of the most important contributions after Father Tachard was by the Abbé Nicolas Louis de la Caille (1713-1762) sent to the Cape in 1751 by the French Academy of Sciences specifically for that purpose. De la Caille was equally obsessed with measuring the *Arc of Meridian* in order to prove that the earth’s shape is indeed oblong - a fact which his teacher Cassini did not believe. Apart from unfortunate mistakes caused by the gravitational pull on his plumb bobs from Table Mountain and Piketberg, his work over the two year period was astoundingly productive and important. The Cape Arc of Meridian is being considered as world heritage site and of global importance in the history of astronomy.

This short reflective excursion brings a number of central issues in this thesis to the front, and to wit, visually illustrating their import at the time of the first colonial settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. First, the flag on Robben Island announcing ownership - the same island where Nelson Mandela will become a *prisoner in the garden*. Second, the fortification and the garden in support of the enterprise - including reference to the slave quarters positioned away from the formal structures and close to the garden where labour was required. Third, the desire to locate the *cape remote* more precisely by establishing the exact longitude through scientific observation and through the naming of places and natural phenomena – Robben Island, Table Mountain, the Cape of Good Hope. An entry into the *dagregister* (diary) of the governor during the same month noted that the hedge of bitter almond trees planted to create a secure border between the community and the dangers of the interior is slowly taking root.

Explorations, flags, fortifications, gardens, names, positions, and borders - such is the language of territorial configuration and the beginning of altered power relations.

The concepts about space and place and territorial re-configuration that will be explored through this thesis will often be argued against the empirical investigations called forth through ideas about occupation and de-occupation, convention and invention, truth and identity as visible observations in the history - but more importantly - the current realities of a changing South African sociopolitical landscape. The empirical explorations (both case studies and excursions) inserted throughout the text will for the most part illustrate observations after the *bibles were traded for the land*, and useful when arguing and testing propositions put forward in the thesis.

Although in agreement with the ideas of an interpretative understanding as argued by Max Weber (1858-1918) and by Alfred Schultz (1899-1959), a more flexible and strategically de-constructed critical human geography will require the creation of a *politicised spatial consciousness* (Foucault, Haraway, Soja) that allows new insights into socially produced space and the spatiality of architectural interventions - recalling the notion of “spatial fix” and the tension between conservation and destruction in the urban field (Harvey 1977, 1978). The re-configuration of territories in South Africa between the years following the Second World War and beyond the first democratic elections of 1994 offers a unique opportunity to investigate these ideas, and more importantly, to search for emerging theories and practices that may impact on our understanding of spatiality. The period under investigation exhibits extreme re-configuration of large tracts of land, visible power struggles, complexity, instability, and ever-mutating identity-formation. A framework of empirical research along such *discursive formations* can be broken into the following layers of investigation:

**Topics and their intersections:** Investigates typical sets of power relations, tactics of control and resistance, the mutation of identities, and the attempts at the appropriation and subversion of the spatial as evident in contested territories. Becoming reflexive, de-constructed, and sociopolitically informed explorations into those discursive territories where knowledge is

manufactured. This broader investigation remarks on the similarities and the differences observed through studies of before- and post-apartheid urban conditions in South Africa, leading into the more context specific investigation dealing with local knowledge.

**Local knowledge:** De-constructing the official mandates, the processes, and the recommendations of the two commissions that formed the bookends to the Apartheid era. In addition, contextualising the work by systematically researching the meta-narratives as translated into, and used in the planning proposals by experts, through media coverage, and political position statements - investigated through the myriad of circumstances that allowed the practice of apartheid to become accepted, and then challenged, and the architecture that became instrumental in response to the intensities, affects and desires of the controlling minority and the marginalised majority.

**Subjugated knowledge:** The examination of how such circumstances emerge required a closer look at the subjugated knowledge being captured and translated through artistic responses, protest actions, and the suppression of such resistance - both in support and in opposition to the re-configuration of the sociopolitical landscape. Detailed biopic examples of such re-configuration of the sociopolitical landscape and the resultant spatiality are explored by locating contradictory architectural imperatives in those concepts that emerge from the excursions. These examples seem to suggest the inevitable manufacturing of 'self-evident' truths surrounding the discourse on difference, conflict, reconciliation, and forgiveness.<sup>30</sup> Such 'truths' are very different from the healing truth, or the "truth of wounded memories" referred to by Judge Mohamed as one of the commissioners on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.<sup>31</sup>

The case studies following on the broader empirical investigation exist as spatial flotsam caused by the results of two profoundly significant investigations mandated by the political powers at play. First the 1954 Commission tasked to find a way forward in the socioeconomic development of the indigenous population in the then *Union of South Africa*<sup>32</sup>. Second, the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)* mandated to repair the damage done in the years between and remembered as the infamous 40 years of *Apartheid* policy in South Africa<sup>33</sup>. The

30 Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu who co-chaired the Truth and Reconciliation Commission recently publicly warned the controlling political party leaders of the foolishness of excluding those that made change possible from the benefits of the very change to democracy. Mail & Guardian, Letters to the Editor, 5 January 2006

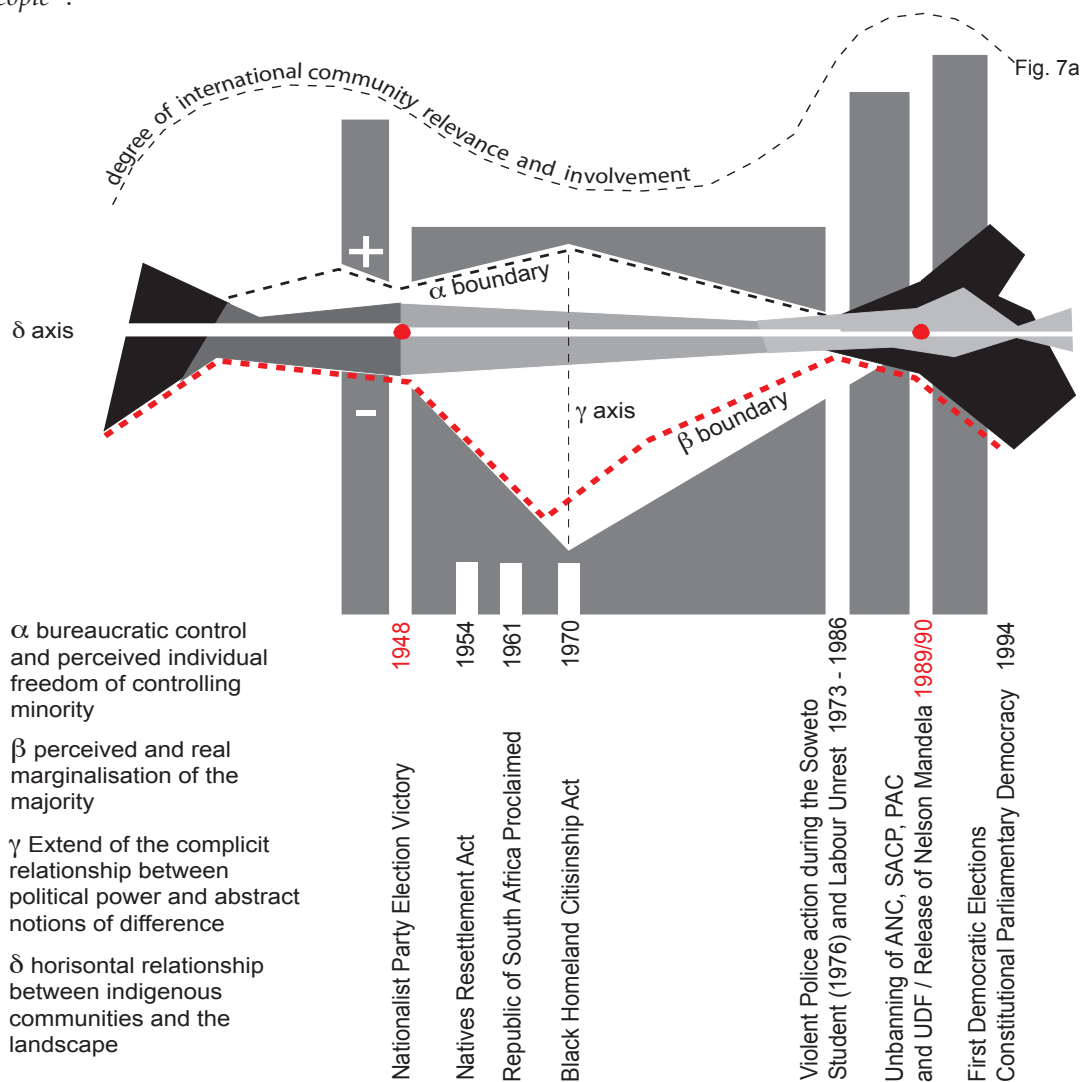
31 As Arch Bishop Tutu explained, "we were not a criminal court, we established facts on the basis of a balance of probability." Allowing those who came to testify to tell their stories, and as another commissioner, Judge Albie Sachs observed, there were different orders of truth which did not necessarily mutually exclude one another: forensic factual truths, social truths, and truths established through collective experience. See Tutu, D. *No Future Without Forgiveness* (London: Random House, 1999), 33

32 A *Union* formed out of the Cape Colony and the region called Natal under British rule since 1820, and the two independent states of the Transvaal Republic under President Paul Kruger and the Free State under President Brand after the defeat of the latter two states in the *Second Anglo-Boer War* of 1899 – 1901. The Union of South Africa was constituted in 1910 and remained a subject with limited self-governing powers in the Crown of Britain's extended regions until 1960.

33 Britain, as colonial power with shared rule in the Union of South Africa, transferred full power to the independent Republic of South Africa on the 31<sup>st</sup> of May 1961.

impact of uneven development progressively increased along with the reach and complexity of bureaucratic control mechanisms and the simultaneous perception of a heightened certainty of individual liberty by the minority in control. Supported by post-war growth, fuelled by international trade, and manufactured on the firm belief in difference and of a moral superiority, happening at the cost of the majority who found themselves increasingly marginalised, and having to survive in a very narrow band of opportunity as abstractly represented in Fig. 7a and 7b.

A context where the minority in control based their actions on an abstract vertical relationship between the individual and a higher sense of existence, while the marginalised majority practiced a more horizontal relationship between the group and their forefathers, between the community and the landscape - and with a firm belief that *people are people through other people*<sup>34</sup>.



34 The African *Weltanschauung* (world-view) or principle commonly known as *ubuntu* in the Nguni languages and as *botho* in the Sotho languages. \*See expanded definition in the glossary

As Desmond Tutu has often explained in his public lectures, this is not 'I think therefore I am' but rather, *I am human because I belong*. Diverse and intersecting trajectories in the appropriation and subversion processes in South African cities manifested on many layers and in different fields - including those occupied by art, architecture, and technology. As stated earlier, the re-configuration of territories in South Africa between the years 1948 and 1994 offers a unique opportunity to investigate these intersecting trajectories. The period exhibits extreme re-configuration of large tracts of land, visible power struggles, complexity, instability, and an ever-mutating process of identity-formation.

Each of the case study sites were selected with the aim of informing the broader empirical search, adding to the body of theoretical research, and in addition, satisfying the methodological approach argued at the beginning.

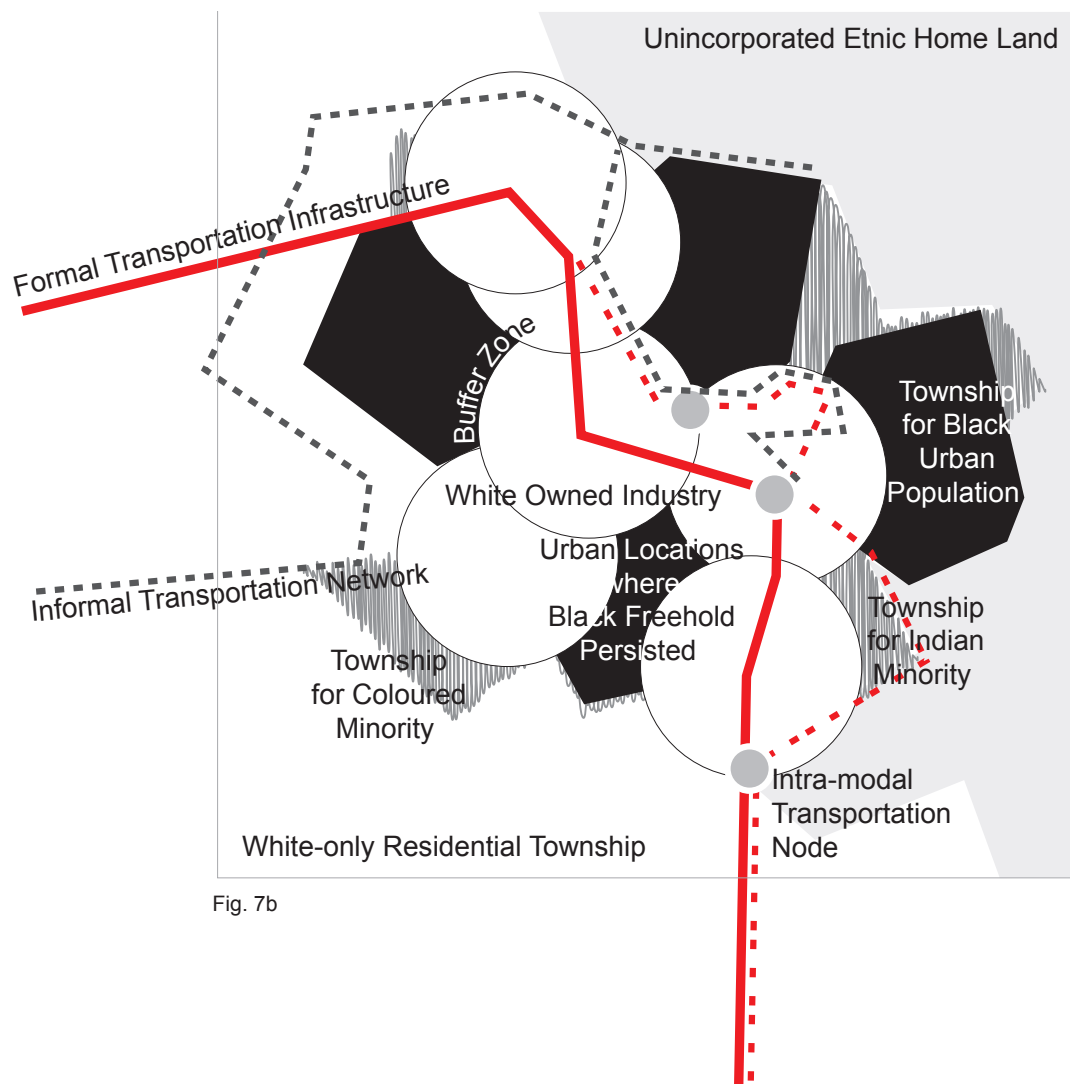


Fig. 7b



Fig. 8 *African Adventure (detail)*, mixed media installation of sculpture, Jane Alexander, 1999-2002. In this case exhibited in the "Africa Remix" exhibition at the Johannesburg Art Gallery during 2007, and earlier exhibited in Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Munich (2004), London (2004), Paris (2006) and Tokyo (2006), among other international venues.

The sites were selected with the aim of illustrating certain propositions and an increased understanding of the research questions without disrupting the narrative flow. The sites can be characterised as being:

- Prototypical in the larger project of re-configuration
- Exhibit the complexities of the sociopolitical and economic frameworks
- Inherently spatial translations of these frameworks
- Accessible and sufficiently documented in either previous studies and/or through the media

Historically the changes observed in these sites are framed within, on the one hand, the modernisation practices during the period of neocolonialism now belonging to the distant past, and on the other hand, the period of a first democracy emerging as the 'truth' for generations to come in a distant future. The reader is reminded of four distinct moments anchoring the political history of South Africa. First, the Nationalist Party's shift away from recommendations contained in the 1955 report on development prospects for the then Union of South Africa.<sup>35</sup> Second, the *Sharpeville Massacre* of 21 March 1960 and years later, the local student uprisings of 16 June 1976 that started the shift, among other equally significant changes, towards a reclassification of the black majority as actual *residents* rather than *aliens* in their own country. Third, a start in the unbanning of political parties and the release of Nelson Mandela in 1989, and fourth, the adoption of a new constitution and an agreement that led to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1996.

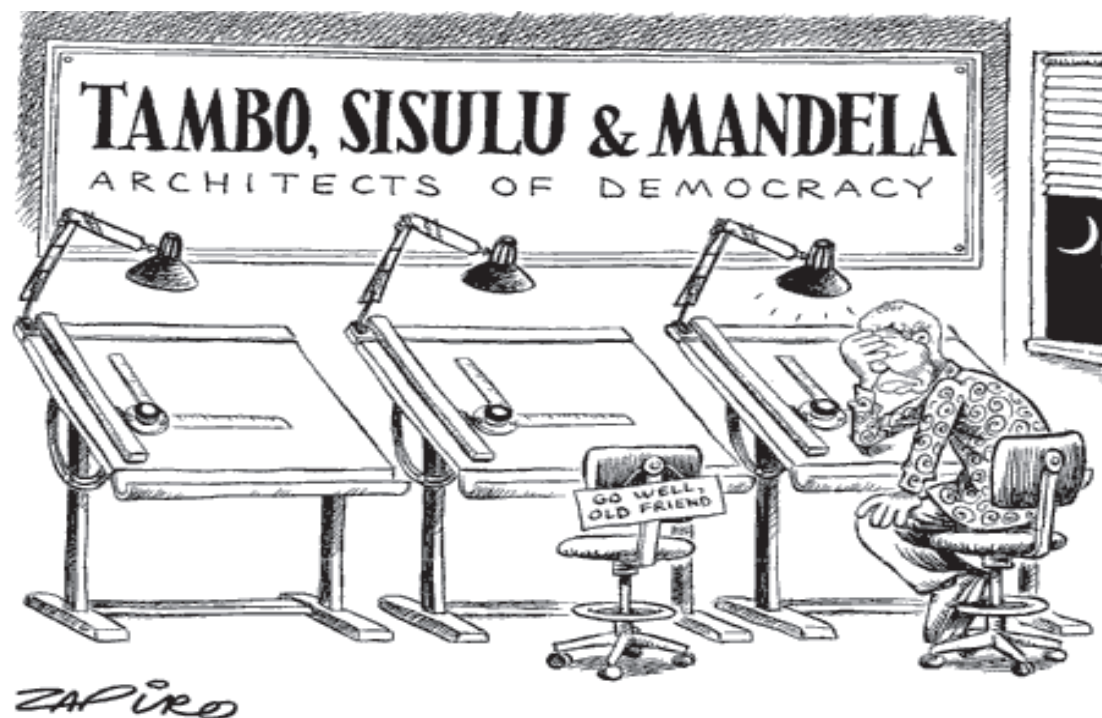


Fig. 9 *Architects of Democracy*. Cartoon by Zapiro, Mail and Guardian, 9 May 2003

35 Unie van Suid-Afrika. *Samevatting van die Verslag van die Kommissie vir die Sosio-ekonomiese Ontwikkeling van die Bantoegebiede binne die Unie van Suid-Afrika*, UG. 61/1955. Pretoria: Staatsdrukker, 1956



Fig. 10 Scene from the play *Ubu and the Truth Commission*. Directed by William Kentridge and written by Jane Taylor, with the Handspring Puppet Company and Dawid Minnaar, Busi Zokufa, Louis Seboko, Adrian Kohler and Basil Jones. Market Theatre, 31 July - 30 August 1997. Photograph by Ruphin Coudyzer, 1997

# PART 2

## LANDSCAPE / TERRITORY / FIELD

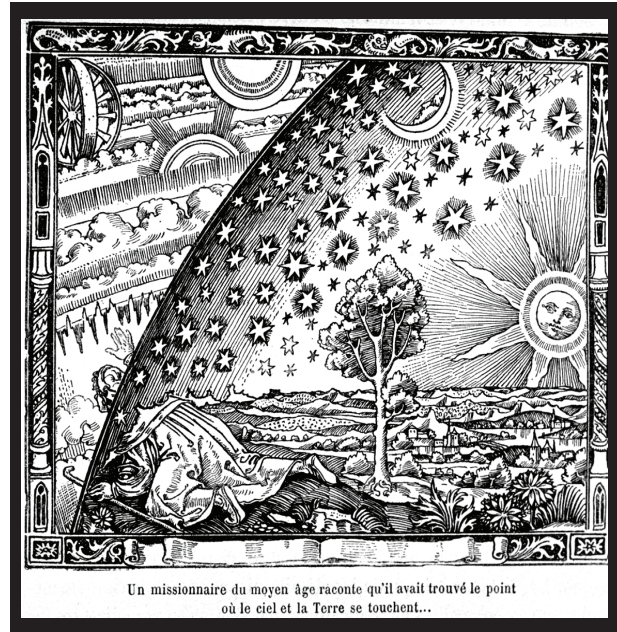


Fig. 11 Representation of the famous “flat earth” woodcut showing Archytas of Tarentum stretching his hand towards the border of the universe. Original artwork by Camille Flammarion (1842-1925) and first published in *L'Atmosphère: Météorologie Populaire*, (Paris: 1888) 163

*Reflections and propositions about the importance of place, of spatial organization, and the nature of that enigmatic relationship between convention and invention play an important role in contemporary discourse on ownership, identity, and control. More so where the spatial is afforded due prominence in thought and practice (institutionalised and in the everyday), and instrumental to our production of culture. The discourse around place and space rely heavily on philosophical investigations that frame and contextualise the questions, or at least intersect significantly with a particular field of enquiry. In Derrida's view the philosophical tradition has, since Aristotle, imported the architectural model as metaphor for a kind of thinking which in itself cannot be architectural - a kind of urbanistic metaphor,<sup>36</sup> and with the question of architecture in fact that of place, of the taking place in space.*

*“.... to raise the question of architecture as a possibility of thought, which cannot be reduced to the status of a representation of thought .... whereas there may be an undiscovered way of thinking belonging to the architectural moment, to desire, to creation”*

*- Jacques Derrida in Architecture Where Desire Can Live<sup>37</sup>*

<sup>36</sup> Derrida interviewed by Eva Meyer for *Domus*, No. 671 (April 1986): 17-24

<sup>37</sup> Derrida mentions Descartes' *Mediations* and the *Discourse on Method* as being full of such architectonic representations, which, in addition, always have political relevance. \*See Meyer (1986)

## Chapter Three

### Place, Space and Environment

In the tangle of places, spaces and hybrid environments constituting the urban agglomeration communities collectively assign importance to certain places and claim ownership over very particular sites by defining the boundaries through use, with symbolic markers, in language and art, and through legal and bureaucratic agreements. Most visibly however, through the technology of infrastructural systems that in many instances intersect and diffuse the very same boundaries so carefully constructed in the first place. In support of this enterprise we create supporting structures that exist in places often lacking identity and any significant reference to the local vernacular traditions - described by Marc Augé and others as *non-place*.<sup>38</sup>

Over the course of history ideas about place intersected with abstract notions about space, the control of space, the movement through time and space, and the relativity of our attempts at objective description. During the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century this discourse was dominated by the French school (Foucault, Lyotard, De Bordo, Lefebvre, Deleuze, Derrida), with strong import and overlap into German counter parts (Frankfurt, Vienna), and in the latter part of the century imported into North American post-structuralist discourse.<sup>39</sup> The abstraction, presentation and representation of the spatial include the manipulation of our sensory experience, and has in time become increasingly contingent on the manner through which we control, communicate, and subvert the relationship between place and space. The philosophical grounding of these processes delineates the discursive territory that will be explored below. The reader is again reminded that the concerns raised in the thesis are essentially spatial and with that in mind, a deeper understanding of the social and spatio-temporal nature of urban conditions remains a first requirement. Part Two establishes a historical frame of reference of ideas about place, space and the environment that will be necessary in arguing the more abstract propositions in the chapters that follow. This is an important reflection in our understanding of socially activated space and in Harvey's words "... the triumvirate of space-time-place .... in relation to the process of socio-ecological transformation."<sup>40</sup> It seems meaningless to consider space and time without considering location and the philosophical frame through which events become meaningful. More so when aiming to understand social relationships and the processes through which environments are created.

The practice of defining and describing ownership or wealth, for example, functions at the intersection between our ideas about space, time and place. Not only the actual ownership of

38 Augé, Marc. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 2009), 77

39 During the 1990 we saw almost all of the French philosophers' seminal texts being translated into English and eagerly imported into North American discourse. But as Jeffrey Nealon illustrates, sometimes with the loss of required subtlety and with serious misappropriation which is due to errors in translation, or a too casual stance in the import. He mentions a Derridean catchphrase often used in North American texts, "*there is nothing outside the text*" as being very different from the use by Derrida as "*there is nothing outside context* (il n'y pas de hors-texte)" See, Nealon, Jeffrey, "Beyond Hermeneutics: Deleuze, Derrida and Contemporary Theory," in *Between Deleuze and Derrida*, ed. Paul Patton and John Protevi (New York: Continuum, 2003), 163.

40 Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 209.

the immovable, but also the moments that precede ownership and the moments that follow on the loss of ownership, and therefore also those thoughts about speculative appropriation that may never materialise into the actual taking.

Even though we have allowed objectivism and rationality to categorise our thoughts and actions with the advent of Cartesian-logic, we still tolerate, and in certain moments insist, on such a collapse between place of ritual and space of memory. An example of such an intersection can be found in the ancient Greek seasonal ritual, *Thesmophoria*, of burying dead pigs in pits in the earth before seeding the field,<sup>41</sup> and one of very few exclusively female rituals tolerated by the city fathers and even acknowledged on the Greek calendar. Here place and space collapse into metaphor, exist in ritual, are entrenched in collective understanding through repetitive enactment of practice in physical place, and are captured through memory and myth. More contemporary examples of such dialectic constructs can be found in mapping, time-share, and travel protocols. Equally so in extralegal spatial practices that are very real, yet formally marginalised and often ignored by formal institutions and bureaucratic authority. The latter example suggests that not all of these spatial expressions develop through mutually beneficial agreements. We just have to remember the conflict and territorial re-configuration where colonial exploitation superimposed ideological frameworks over existing ones and introduced new intersections between place and space with new strategies for the appropriation of territory. Countering such processes of appropriation in most cases result in subversive strategies and tactics, immediate and violent (as in so many wars) or incremental and discreet (as through the Tango<sup>42</sup>). Both the act of appropriation and the act of subversion take *place* in time at the intersection of *place* and *space*, and manifests in the constructed environment. The *political*, as implicated by such examples, will remain close to the centre of the arguments throughout Part Two and features prominently in observations and propositions put forward in Part Three and Part Four of the thesis.

Similarly, the idea of ownership, control, and the appropriation of place are informed, supported and enhanced through the manipulation, mutation, and experience of such places. Naturally the experience of place is not contingent on ownership, although it is difficult to imagine a condition where there does not exist some form of indirect *claim* from us being in a specific place at a specific moment. We are invited into someone's home, we enter public space by virtue of being part of a community, we visit a site as tourist by virtue of paying and being encouraged through the media, or even more obscurely, by being embedded as a photo-journalist in a war zone. We experience space (virtually) by watching a film, and even more abstractly by reading about it. The *space in the margin* filled by notes of a famous philosopher makes the particular copy of a book more valuable, whereas living on the margin may have very different meanings to many different people. Needless to say, all experience of place

41 Richard Sennet gives an excellent contextualised description of this practice, see Sennet, Richard, *Flesh and Stone* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994), 70-73.

42 For a detailed analysis, see Naa Norle Lokko, Lesley. "Tango: A Choreography of Urban Displacement," in *White Papers, Black Marks – architecture, race, culture*, ed. Betancour, A & Hasdell, P (London: Athlone Press, 2000).

or space remains highly subjective and depends on the relative position of she or he who experiences, and on them who daringly observe and describe.

Throughout this part of the thesis the thinking of Henri Lefebvre will remain the gravitational centre around which references, reflections, and arguments will be constructed. This was in part a methodological decision, in part tactical, and in part speculative. It is hoped that the reasoning will become clear and show how Lefebvre's thinking can be articulated and projected in support of our current thinking about the nature of social practice and the instrumentality of spatial relationships. In using Lefebvre's thinking in this manner one cannot escape the emphasis that he places on historical materialism, dialectical materialism and as such, process driven discourse analysis that remained central to his work. Lefebvre's work is in that sense the bridge between narrow Marxist views and those that has build upon his (Lefebvre's) arguments for a revised understanding of socially activated space. David Harvey, Edward Soja, Doreen Massey, Rob Shields and Neil Smith among others, all share different degrees of debt to Lefebvre and to Marx through Lefebvre. What makes Lefebvre particularly relevant is his insistence that, "sociopolitical contradictions are realized spatially... [with] ... contradictions of space thus mak[ing] the contradictions of social relations operative." and further that "...it is only *in* space that such conflicts come effectively into play, and in so doing they become contradictions *of* space." Lefebvre qualifies this by arguing that "for conflicts to be voiced, they must first be experienced, and this without subscribing to representations of space as generally conceived."<sup>43</sup>

As such, calling for a theory that transcends representational space on the one hand and representations of space on the other. This is part of the task at hand and without the intention of proposing a universal truth, also the task of locating contradictory architectural imperatives when exploring and translating spatial concerns in the urban field.

### **Place and Space in Contemporary Discourse**

This first section defines and reiterates some key ideas in their *exact specificity of occurrence* and by determining their *conditions of existence*,<sup>44</sup> while at the same time attempting to define this *formal history of ideas* with the more subjective counter notions of tradition, of influence, of resemblance, of evolution, of meaning (Foucault: 1969), and as these exist in the reflexive or institutionalised categories or types of discourses, of say, philosophy, literature or science<sup>45</sup>.

Allow me, with some scholarly liberty, to establish a threshold as pivotal point from which to reach back and project forward. First, to uncover the manifest discourse, or as in Foucault's view "the attempt to find that which was already articulated in the semi-silence that precedes

---

43 Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, trans., Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 363-365.

44 Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*. trans., A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), 28. Originally published in France under the title *L'Archéologie du Savoir*, 1969 and *The Discourse on Language* (Appendix) under the title *L'ordre du discours*, 1971.

45 Ibid. 22

it"<sup>46</sup> - and second, to search for the unity that may emerge and lead us in the subsequent sections to explore the more liberal boundaries of contemporary, albeit more uncertain, discursive territories in the space-time-place construct.

Lefebvre's *La production de l'espace* (1974) can serve as such a liminal point of entry. Translated into English as *The Production of Space* (1991), it can perhaps be viewed as the keystone in his influential reflection on the social production of space and urbanisation between 1968 and 1974. In writing at this pivotal point in the late sixties and early seventies, Lefebvre extended this threshold in our thinking about place and space back to 1910 and projected it forward to the changes in the global sociopolitical landscape of the late eighties.

"..... the fact is that around 1910 a certain space was shattered. It was the space of common sense, of knowledge (*savoir*), of social practice, of political power, a space thitherto enshrined in everyday discourse, just as in abstract thought, as the environment of and channel for communications; the space, too, of classical perspective and geometry, developed from the Renaissance onwards on the basis of Greek tradition (Euclid, logic) and bodied forth in Western art and philosophy, as in the form of the city and town"<sup>47</sup> (Lefebvre 1991, 25)

This deliberate introduction and appropriation of Lefebvre's work does not indicate an unqualified acceptance of his work's relevance or enduring quality, *per se*, but does offer a relevant threshold to gaze back to similar pivotal moments in our re-evaluation of spatial constructs, while at the same time affording a reach towards possible future explorations into alternative understanding, practice, and reflective discourse. The use of Lefebvre's work for such purposes seems credible by virtue of his deliberate and confirmed attempts to keep his thinking inconclusive, open-ended, and above all, multidimensional. This is in spite of readings which see him continuing the *situationist* project of *detournement* through his proposed revolutionary spatial practices (Ross 2005). More important are those readings which see his work as a bridge into contemporary left wing environmentalism (Shields 2001), the modern source of the dialectic, and the pivotal point in the *spatial turn* of urban theory (Harvey 1996).<sup>48</sup>

Concerning the latter possibility we refer back to the introductory remarks. First, *what* does our mutating understanding of the space-time-place construct offer in terms of contemporary acts of appropriation, of affirming identity, of situating bodies or events; and second, *what*

---

46 For the purpose of this section, and in most part throughout the essay, we assume the methodological distinction made between the *analysis of thought* and that of the *analysis of the discursive field* as outlined in Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969); and whereas this distinction include the subtle differences between knowledge as *connaissance* (a particular corpus of knowledge), and knowledge as *savoir* (knowledge in general and therefore the totality of *connaissance*)

47 Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, trans., Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 25

48 His 1939 paperback, *Dialectical Materialism*, (as Marxist primer) has been translated into over two dozen languages and reprinted in over a dozen editions since 1967. Lefebvre figured as the most translated French philosopher during the 1950's and 1960's.

remains to be explored in the manner through which such notions are translated, challenged, and re-appropriated in order to become significant and actual in our lived experience.

These questions, tied in the same knot, can be explored by pulling on either end, and are what seduced and frustrated Lefebvre in the promises of that which is modern, new, or avant-garde, and which claims of social transformation he viewed as illusionary. Lefebvre contrasted the modern (novel, transitory, and active) and the quotidian (familiar, everyday) as historically contemporaneous and interrelated counter balanced categories. Refusing to accept the death of subjectivity, he argues for a practice where conflicts, tensions, cracks, and fissures - a shifting ground that continually opens to new potentials - and which at the same time presents a historical picture that posits distinctions, hierarchies, and causality - retains a commitment to political agency and action<sup>49</sup>.

In Lefebvre's view, Descartes's thinking was the decisive point in the working-out of the concept of space, and the key to its mature form - bringing to an end the Aristotelian tradition which held that space and time were among those categories which facilitated the naming and classifying of the evidence of the senses. Within the context of Descartes and Cartesian logic, space has therefore entered the realm of the absolute<sup>50</sup>. The thinking of Descartes (1596 – 1650) during the first half of the seventeenth century was situated on a similar threshold condition. The idea of *internal place*, of the limits of the *emplaced body*, although still reflecting the Hellenistic obsession for delimiting the body by place, begins to question the limits in the body-place construct, as tentatively remarked by Aristotle in his questioning;

“... just as every body is in a place, so in every place there is a body; so what shall we say about things that increase in size?”

The hermetic origins of place and space, and the Renaissance idea of infinite space, can be traced back to the Atomists, Epicurus and the Stoics, and as explicitly formulated by Lucretius and Sextus Empiricus, and “with subtle fervour by many generations of philosophers in the wake of Aristotle” (Casey 1997, 116). Place, which assumed an all-inclusive (albeit still only in a metaphysical sense), status by the fourth century created the context in which the idea of a dynamic boundary (*peras*) was fast becoming obsolete. A paradoxical moment in which the liberation of *place*, that all-inclusive, boundless dimension gave way to *space* through the recognition of the importance of place in the first instance. Equally through the acknowledgement of the existence and understanding of *infinite space* that would later lead to early eighteenth century ideas of *site*, and which came to assume a number of the tasks

---

49 McLeod describes this dimension of Lefebvre's work as perhaps the most compelling, and of strategic importance for the post-modern moment. \*See her 1997 introduction to his *Critique de la vie quotidienne* (1947); Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*. trans., John Moore (New York: Verso. 1991) and in which she mentions that Trebitsch's preface to the first volume is one of the best introductions to Lefebvre's thought available in English

50 On the opening page in *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre describes the Cartesian logic of space in Western thought at that moment as “... object opposed to subject, as *res extensa* opposed to, and present to, *res cogitans*, space came to dominate, by containing them, all senses and all bodies.”

formerly reserved for *place*. Both Descartes and Leibniz argued that the place-space construct is in fact contingent on the existence of a binding principle imbedded in the idea of *chōra*<sup>51</sup> (narrowly defined as *room*, or *room* to move in), and with Leibniz the idea of *site-space* as indefinite *extension* becoming the dominant spatial module of the modern age, affecting every aspect of modern life: architecture, medicine, schools, and prisons. By the end of the era, as Casey puts it, “place has become the faceless minion of space”<sup>52</sup>

Such was also the notion of space for those who came in the wake of Descartes and Leibniz, but as Doreen Massey argues, a line that eventually took-on its own flight path along the line of philosophy that lead from Spinoza to Bergson to Deleuze, and which rejected the negative obsession with fragmentation for a positive engagement with external relatedness and an emphasis on affirmation<sup>53</sup>. The rejection of a static contemporaneity in favour of a dynamic simultaneity where neither time nor space is reducible to the other, but distinct, yet co-implicated. On the side of space, there is the integral temporality of a dynamic simultaneity. On the side of time, there is the necessary production of change through practices of interrelation (Massey: 2005).<sup>54</sup> But this insight only came much later.

Between the years 600 and 1500 CE we have moved from three distinct threshold conditions. First, from a perplexed Archytas imagining himself at the end of the world - stretching out his staff into what is outside of the body, outside of place, second to the condemnations of the year 1277 CE issued in Paris on request of Pope John XXI, of any doctrine that denied or limited the power of God (including the power to move the world) and giving virtual *carte blanche* to explorations of spatial infinity so long as such ideas are linked to God’s omnipotence. Third, and finally back to the Renaissance philosophers’ troubling question informed by available Latin translations of Aristotle’s own questions whether the earth in fact does move, and if it did, the question of the nature of that space beyond the discerning heavens.<sup>55</sup>

It is only through the late modern insights of Kant that we see Aristotle’s questions being addressed with sufficient adequacy and after Kant, critiqued, developed and explored by

51 Giordano Bruno argued in his 1584 treatise that “*space makes room for place*” and thus building on the ideas of Nicholas of Cusa (1401 – 1464) who was the first to insist that “*the perception of the universe is relative to the place of the observer*”. In an account given by Sextus Empiricus, Cusa suggested a generic space of intangible substance, and then recognising at least three roles or functions of such ‘space’ - void (*kenon*), place (*topos*), and room (*chōra*). Casey, Edward. *The Fate of Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 83, 117

52 The year 1600 also marked the end of one of the most critical thresholds in the history of the discourse on place and space. The well-known impact of the Church’s fearful resolutions has already put Giordano Bruno in prison by 1570, Campanella was in prison for more than 30 years between 1592 and 1628, and Galileo soon to be under house arrest. Casey (1997). 334. The pope, Galileo’s erstwhile friend, became furious and ordered a Roman Inquisition - finding Galileo as heretic and confining him to his estate at Arcetri (1632) The death of Galileo’s influential friend Federico Cesi two years earlier, and together with Galileo, one of the most important members of the *Academy of the Lynxes* (Europe’s first scientific society founded in 1603), certainly contributed to the fate of Galileo. With Cesi as leader of the Lynxes and having strong influence in Rome, Galileo’s fate may have been different was his friend still alive. \* Also see Gould, 39

53 Doreen Massey in her discussion on the horizontalities of deconstruction. Massey, Doreen. *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005), 49-54.

54 Ibid. 55

55 See (Casey: 1997), 106-7

Husserl in his insistence on the primacy of the 'lifeworld' (*Lebenswelt*), Whitehead in his concerns with the spatio-temporal, and by Merleau-Ponty in his work on human experience in space and in the further definition of the field of phenomenology introduced by Husserl earlier. This interest in the specificities of activity in place and as projected in space (emplacement) re-emerged from under the weight of the twin modern obsessions with infinite space and chronometric time.<sup>56</sup> Irigaray, and Deleuze and Guattari have all added significantly to our understanding of an expansive vision of what place is all about, and all have to a certain degree been informed by the Bachelardian idea of *topoanalysis* and Foucault's definitions of *heterotopic* space. For Lefebvre, place remained essentially the extension of lived experience manifest within, and instrumental to, our complex spatial relationships. In searching for a possible unifying theory on the production of such a *social space* Lefebvre imports the idea<sup>57</sup>, through Hegelianism that;

".... 'production' has a cardinal role: first, the (absolute) Idea produces the world; next, nature produces the human being; and the human being in turn, by dint of struggle and labour, produces at once history, knowledge and self-consciousness - and hence that Mind which reproduces the initial and ultimate Idea."<sup>58</sup> Thus Hegel's notion of the 'concrete universal' and the idea of an abstract universality in the concepts of *production* and the *act of producing*<sup>59</sup>

At the same time however, Lefebvre criticises Hegel's misapprehension of the role of space and of the corollary role of violence when viewed with the *State* as the master of the space of production and the relationships in production, thus acting within the notion of sovereignty. This relationship must, according to Lefebvre, imply a space against which any act of violence, any subversion, is directed. Lefebvre strongly argues for the instrumental nature of space when contemplating the totality of social practice as it translates to and from power struggles, labour, knowledge, etc., stating that "... each new form of state, each new form of political power, introduces its own particular way of partitioning space, its own particular administrative classification of discourses about space and about things and people in space."<sup>60</sup>

From body and thing and region we come to the world, but we do so only insofar as the event of place is active throughout - and with place recognised as an un-delimited, de-totalised expansiveness, resonating regionally throughout the unknown as well as the known universe. Thus, as Casey argues "rhizomatic in the structure of emplacement and in the many ways in which place figures in human and nonhuman settings."<sup>61</sup> For Lefebvre, space in the urban context becomes a *concrete abstraction* by virtue of its definite, measurable contours, and also

56 Ibid. 332

57 Ibid. 68

58 See section 2, *Civil Society*, in Hegel, G.W.F. *The Philosophy of Right*. Trans., T.M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), and on Hegel's views on the particular, on universality, and on "*the principle of self-sufficient particularity*," i.e., individual liberty. p182. A very useful introduction to Hegel's views on production and commercial life can be found in an anthology of classic texts compiled and edited by Patrick Murray.

59 Ibid. 15

60 See (Lefebvre 1991), 281

61 See (Casey 1997), 336

because it can enter into social existence and become the bearer of a whole series of new relations.<sup>62</sup>

Emplacement in space requires at least a partial re-configuration of territory and of spatial relationships, which in the *social* context imply the *political*, and in turn are tactically deployed through production and consumption protocols, controlled under the disguise of *economic* strategy. The complexity of this relationship is universally understood, but what remains unresolved (for all involved parties), is the collateral *damage* resulting from these contesting forces. The subjective nature in the perception of such an impact, the quantitative-qualitative problematic or the ideological barriers to change, are all beyond the scope of the discussion here. What is of concern here, is the necessary acceptance of the essentially *spatial* implications of the social, political and economic frameworks. Philosophers, geographers, sociologists, and designers work willingly or unwillingly within this reality. For example, the feminist social theorist Doreen Massey acknowledges in her most recent book the profound impact and lasting influence of Lefebvre's thinking on her own work and our contemporary ideas about the power of spatial relationships in the production of culture<sup>63</sup>. She references the line of thinkers from Lyotard, Derrida, and Tschumi to De Certeau (1984), Sennet (1970), Mouffe (1991), Nancy (1991), and Laclau (1990); yet never really argues beyond the questions already asked by Lefebvre 30 years earlier, coming back again to the proposition that the political resides in the *way* we think about space and not so much about *what* we think about space.

The key concerns raised by Lefebvre between 1968 and 1974, stemming in part from his earlier three-volume *Critique of the Everyday*, time and time again returns to questions about the tension between logic, physical and social realities in which the proliferation of mathematical theories about space aggravate the problem of knowledge in the social sciences. Asking "How were transitions to be made from mathematical spaces (from the mental capacities of the human species, from logic) to nature in the first place, to practice in the second, and thence to the theory of social life - which also presumably must unfold in space?"<sup>64</sup> The related question about the limits constructed in mental space is raised against the idea that the modern field of inquiry known as epistemology has inherited and adopted the notion that the status of space is that of a 'mental thing' or 'mental space', and since the philosophical ideas about space have been corrected by mathematical logic - thus exercising a fascination upon philosophers, writers and linguists. The result has been the broad proliferation of 'sets' (ensembles), some practical (Sartre), some historical (Clouscard), and all accompanied by their appropriate 'logic'<sup>65</sup>.

Lefebvre introduces his line of questioning by exploring the possibility that knowledge and action are the enabling drivers in the nature of space and in the protocols of production that are spatially deployed in space. In a certain sense, suggesting the possibility of a 'unitary theory'

62 See (Lefebvre 1991), 119

63 Masey, Doreen. *For Space* (London: Sage, 2005).

64 See (Lefebvre 1991), 2

65 See (Lefebvre 1991), 2

that defines the relationship between the *physical*, the *mental* (logical and formal abstractions), and the *social*. Therefore a “logico-epistemological space”, the space of “social practice”<sup>66</sup> and assuming that “... any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships - and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products).”<sup>67</sup>

Lefebvre’s thinking and his body of work is essentially political. The *Production of Space* is no exception, and perhaps his keystone and most integrated attempt at sociopolitical reflection on the relationship between knowledge, labour, and social practice<sup>68</sup>. *La production de l’espace* can certainly be viewed as the culminating work in the seven published works written by him on urbanisation and the production of space between 1968 and 1974. This work came after his break with France’s Communist Party in 1956, and his formal exclusion in 1958<sup>69</sup>. It also came after a long engagement with ideas about daily life, Marxist theory, and general revolutionary politics - interpreted against the ever increasing complexity of social, economic and political frameworks. Without ever dogmatically rejecting ideas or discourse, he engagingly questions the idea of structuralism, of critical theory and deconstruction, of semiotics, of Foucault’s views on power, and of Sartre’s version of existentialism<sup>70</sup>.

When writing in 1974 Lefebvre states that only Nietzsche, since Hegel<sup>71</sup> “has maintained the primordially of space and concerned himself with the spatial problematic - with the repetitiveness, the circularity, the simultaneity of that which seems diverse in the temporal context and which arises at different times.” He quotes Nietzsche as saying “I believe in absolute space as the substratum<sup>72</sup> of force: the latter limits and forms”<sup>73</sup>

The emphasis on production protocols and the inherent *violence* in establishing such protocols within the relationships which lead to the creation of a product, to production, distribution, and to consumption, exhibit a marked influence from Marx’s writings of which Lefebvre had an intimate knowledge and a high regard. The earlier work of Emile Durkheim (1858–1917)

66 Ibid 7, 9, 11

67 Ibid 83

68 Guy Debord criticized Lefebvre’s idea that the temporal ‘moment’ is all important and suggested that it should rather be viewed in *spatio-temporal* terms as ‘situation’. Lefebvre was initially closely associated with the Situationist’s ideas and only in the late 1960’s started to question their obsession with the visual rather than ‘ways of seeing’. This criticism was very consciously countered in his later work on urban processes and the production of social space

69 The break with the French Communist Party came in the wake of his criticism and description of the horror of Stalinism in his *Khrushchev Report* of 1956

70 Lefebvre had an intimate knowledge of philosophy and the arts, and specifically the thinking of Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud, and close connections to the Surrealists and Situationists. Although he was excluded from the Communist Party he never doubted the profound influence of Marxism on his life and his work. For a useful overview of Lefebvre’s life and work see David Harvey’s *Afterword* as published in the English translation of *The Production of Space* Trans., Donald Nicholson-Smith. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991)

71 Hegel, G.W.F. *The Philosophy of Right*. Trans., T.M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 22

72 The term *substratum* was re-introduced by Locke via the classical Greek atomists Democritus (c.460 – c. 370 BCE) and Epicurus (341 – 270 BCE) and reflect back on arguments by earlier philosophers and thinkers such as Galileo, Descartes and Boyle. Nietzsche’s use of the word *force* must be read in its widest sense

73 See the collection entitled (mistakenly according to Lefebvre); Hegel, G.W.F *The Will to Power*, fragment 545, Eng. Ed, ed. and trans., Walter Kaufmann (New York: Randon House, 1967), 293

on behaviour in space, in an almost *vulgar* Marxism fashion, also referred to class struggle and other social spatial systems under equilibrium or under contested conditions, arguing for the significance of social space, but with a footing in the emerging fields of sociology and social anthropology<sup>74</sup>. Durkheim's work dealt with social relations in space at both the empirical and cognitive levels, often in a structural-functional mode, and which led several social anthropologists to search for more process-driven situational analysis models<sup>75</sup> (Kuper 2003). But as Kuper notes, irrespective of differences in emphasis, all these studies essentially dealt with "*systems on the ground*" which gave way to the formation of "*social field*" developments concerned with the spatial aspects of social structure<sup>76</sup>. As such in close proximity and sensitively aligned with the work of Lefebvre in the years that lead to the student and labour demands of May 1968, and returning to the pivotal moment on the threshold where we started from. It may be useful to remark at this point that Lefebvre returned to Nietzsche on more than one occasion, and most searchingly, in an attempt to solve the paradox of an almost impassable gulf between the sign (event, moment) and that of authentic reality, of lived experience. This state of paralysis left the 'total person' in a weakened position to serve as a libidinal and mobilising force in social change.

What has become clear in the wake of the May 1968 events is that the Cartesian notions of space have been replaced by very strong ideas about the spatiality of social practices (control, identity, ownership, production) and although Lefebvre is employed as the *threshold* figure here, his work needs to be contextualised within the background of prior texts. The more important to mention here being the work of Martin Heidegger (*Being and Time*, 1927) and (*Building Dwelling Thinking*, 1954); and that of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (*The Phenomenology of Perception*, 1945) and Gaston Bachelard's (*Poetics of Space*, 1957).

Shields refers to the shifting balance between these forces as the historical 'spatialisation' of an era, with Lefebvre going beyond his contemporaries to present a coherent theory of the development of the different systems of our socio-spatial reality (Shields 2001). What we need to add in clarification is Lefebvre's development of the three axes along which to analyse and understand space. The *perceived space* of the everyday, the theoretical (abstract) *conceived space* of geographers and planners, and thirdly, the *lived space* of the imagination kept alive in moments accessible through the liberal arts. In this view becoming all of our spatial practices tactically deployed and impacting upon the totality of our lived experience. The totality of lived space to which Lefebvre refers to in *The Production of Space* was developed further in

74 Hilda Kuper speculates that Durkheim, together with Mauss were the first to deliberately import the idea of "social space" into sociological theory, although as she admits, the general theory of space was part of a continuing intellectual discourse and that the significance of locality as a principle in the structuring of social relations had been established. See Kuper, Hilda. "The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space" in Low, S & Denise Lawrence-zúñiga, *The Anthropology of Space and Place – locating culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 247

75 Ibid 248 \*Kuper mentions the work of Gluckman (1958) on situational analysis, elaborated in terms of "networks" and "extended case method" by Barnes (1954), Epstein (1961), Van Velsion (1964, 1967), Colson (1958)

76 Ibid. 448-9 Kuper mentions the work of Radcliffe-Brown (1952) in this regard; and in terms of more ethnographic presentation, the work of Leach (1954) and Lévi-Strauss (1963).

his later writings on the city and became *differential space* and in later work further explored through his so-called *rhythm-analysis*.

In a lecture delivered in 1967 Foucault succinctly captures the feeling of most of his contemporaries when saying that “our epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites.”<sup>77</sup> These *sites* are defined by Foucault as becoming increasingly *heterotopic* in nature and “absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about.” It is beyond the scope of this thesis to reference this specific view in great detail. Most readers will be familiar with the principles of so-called heterotopias and the examples as distinct as that of boarding schools, psychiatric hospitals, cemeteries, the movie theatre, landscaped gardens, museums, fairgrounds, motel rooms, and on the other end of the scale, sixteenth century European colonies in the far corners of the world<sup>78</sup>. Foucault’s idea of spaces that act as *heterotopias* are still being attributed to certain spatial configurations today and will be referenced again in the section on *Appropriation* and *Subversion* later in the thesis. Of equal interest is Lefebvre’s citations on the work of the Surrealists, Dada, the avant-garde movements in general, and particularly the work of Magritte as examples of art, literary comment and fantasy regarding other possible readings of spatial organisation. Included are underground, subversive and revolutionary spatial practices of slum dwellers, aliens and others who project alternative spatial practices.<sup>79</sup>

A very important difference between Lefebvre and most of his contemporaries, perhaps with the exception of De Certeau, Hannah Arendt, and later Rorty, is Lefebvre’s insistence that lived experience in *differential space* needs to be understood against the background of alternative spatial practices. We see Arendt seeking to reclaim the *lost treasure* of the revolutionary spirit of public freedom through action, and as such having many parallels with Habermas’s analysis of communicative action that is oriented towards a mutual understanding (Bernstein 1983).<sup>80</sup> The description of spatial practices in the social arena, and attempting to agree on the proper definition of praxis, has been at the core of the hermeneutical tradition of philosophy. Habermas, for one, shows how deeply embedded the claim to communicative reason is in our everyday forms of social life and of reproduction. Habermas (independently from Heidegger and Gadamer and similar to Lefebvre, was working in a Hegelian-Marxist tradition in his argument “that any adequate social and political theory must involve an interpretative or hermeneutical dimension”.<sup>81</sup> He agreed with Gadamer “that the concept of ‘praxis’ which was developed in the last two centuries is an awful deformation of what practice really is”.

---

77 Published shortly before Foucault’s death in 1984 by the French journal *Architecture / Mouvement / Continuité* in an unedited form

78 Foucault reflects on the Jesuit colonies founded in South America in which human perfection was effectively achieved and existence regulated in space with city layouts in which Christianity marked the space and geography (placement of church, school, cemetery, houses creating a public space with two axes forming a cross)

79 See (Lefebvre 1991), 39

80 See (Bernstein 1983), 44

81 Ibid. 42

Bernstein refers to what has become known as the *Gadamer – Habermas debate* and as a further contribution (which includes Arendt and Rorty among others) to a movement beyond objectivism and relativism. Their debate circled around the proper use and critical value of philosophic hermeneutics, and although they both seemed to have searched for an autonomy and legitimacy of a *praxis* that is distinguishable from *technë*, they disagreed about the consequences and with many of their differences related to their alternative definitions of what constitute *praxis*.<sup>82</sup>

It was only with the work of Deleuze and Guatarri, and fuelled by questions from Derrida that we see a closer affinity with Lefebvre's aim of moving beyond the mere interpretation of social practices into the possibility of active social practices, and finally exorcising the *Cartesian Anxiety*.<sup>83</sup> But as Massey argues the ideas of Derrida (on chaos and risk for instance), of Deleuze and Guatarri (of smooth and striated space), and of Lyotard (on libidinal spaces) remain locked up within textual discourse and do not get translated into *praxis* in the manner which Lefebvre petitions (Massey: 2005).

### **Emerging Landscapes and Contested Territories**

The philosophical underpinnings in the applied and human sciences are unquestioned. The overlap between, the impact of, and the degree of borrowing between the subaltern fields of thought - such as anthropology, architecture, art, sociology, or literature - are accepted, and indeed encouraged in late-modern and contemporary theory and practice. What follow below is an overview of place-space constructs grouped under *Territory, Landscape, and Field; Gender, Race and the Spatial Tactics of the Marginalised;* and of *Embodied Space*. This is not intended to be an exhaustive or complete overview of these fluid fields but as a necessarily bridging discussion between Part Two and Part Three of the thesis.

Reading across the surface of these various subaltern fields one soon realises how textured the discourse has become, how fluid our communication technology supports our interactive social transactions, while at the same time defining an infinite boundary along which territories (abstract and real) are being contemplated and contested. Anthropology enters the sub-field of the place-space debate with academic research and empirical studies that look at border issues, migration patterns, identity, multi-sited and global phenomena, segregation through planning protocols, and does so, equipped with new conceptual frameworks about space and the spatial understanding of our social practices. Social anthropologists have shifted their perspective on place and, in a manner of speaking, by fore-grounding the spatial dimensions of culture (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003). The field increasingly extends its reach beyond traditional concerns (identity, locality) and addresses the contemporary concerns of the spatial through work in embodiment, inscription, marginalisation, trans-national and globalization

82 Ibid. 43

83 Ibid. 228-229. \*Also see; Patton, P & John Protevi, eds. *Between Deleuze & Derrida* (London: Continuum, 2003). Specifically Jeffrey Nealon in "Beyond Hermeneutics: Deleuze, Derrida and Contemporary Theory"

issues. What follows are some of these concerns that will again surface in Part Three of the thesis.

**Landscape, Territory, Field** Whether we look at a specific people and their context, as Nancy Munn in her descriptions of the Australian Aboriginal Landscape (Munn 1996), or more generically as in the work of Edward Soya in his description of post modern cityscapes (Soya 1989), notions of place exist simultaneously in the land, in the urban field, in people's minds, in their customs, and in their bodily practices. This view holds true for the subaltern fields of anthropology and sociology, and in similar or translated readings for all involved in the description, control, manipulation, and conservation of landscape, of territory and of field.

The words *landscape*, *territory*, and *field* are introduced in a deliberate attempt to extract overlapping and mutating definitions and implications through our use of such terminology. At first glance it seems that all three of these terms can be explored through the Bachelardian idea of topo-analysis, and although one can certainly follow such a narrow and quasi-scientific route, there seems to be a more complex sociopolitical construct at work, as was certainly Bachelard intention. Throughout this thesis it has been argued that our bodily and social practices, our ever mutating conventions and inventions, in fact, the whole of our cultural production are essentially a spatialisation of our social, economic, and political frameworks. Strategically configured and tactically deployed *designs* taking *place* in *space*. An etymological analysis and contextualisation of the exact meanings of these terms are beyond the scope of this thesis. What needs to be explored is more closely related to Lefebvre's aim of highlighting contents (thought and practice) and therefore the social (spatial) protocols related to, and resulting from these different descriptions at different moments in time.<sup>84</sup>

In discourses dealing with the built environment, and more specifically as understood in the fields of architecture or urban sociology, the terms landscape, territory, and field have always included the object and subject, the user in space and in the context of affected collective groups or geographies. What differed and mutated throughout the various moments in this trajectory were our points of view (physically and abstractly), the technological interfaces that made such differing views possible, our ability to transcend real and perceived obstacles and a willing (even under protest) capacity to adapt.<sup>85</sup> In a mere 150 years we have moved from perceiving our surroundings by walking, from horseback, to fast moving rail cars cutting in straight lines across the landscape, and soon thereafter looking down on cities from balloons, from towers, skyscrapers, airships, and flying machines. In drawing aerial maps of conquered territories, and in a very short span of time, lowering our gaze on the man-made in contrast to the earlier views towards the heavens.<sup>86</sup> This further and faster reach into distance was

---

84 See Lefebvre 1974) 18

85 De Certeau for one, argued the individual's unique ability to manipulate and challenge situations, through what he called a "network of anti-discipline." \*See (De Certeau 1984)

86 Lefebvre provides us with one such a reminder of how this relationship with the heavens above translated into a cosmological representational of space, as in the road to Santiago de Compostella (*the field of stars*) that leads the pilgrim on his or her path of redemption. Ibid. 45

supported by new communication technology. First the expansion of the mail services and of the media, then the telegraph, the telephone, radio, photography, and soon photographs wired through radio waves, television, computing machines, satellite transmission, and by 1960 the digital networks and Internet which is fast becoming an integral part of an emerging worldwide webcam and surveillance network (De Sola Pool 1976; Schivelbuch 1988; Thrift: 1996).

As our ideas about *landscape* developed from the picturesque to that of cityscape, to that of control over territories, so did our notions of *territory* as fixed and bounded change to that of a field of forces that remain fluid, interactive and chaotic<sup>87</sup>. From the idea of the *field* (definable in place through abstract space), to the moment where we are now in a phase where such virtual fields exist in electronic space and are mediated through highly interactive communication technologies (Coyne 1999; McCullough 2004; Campanella 2004). In a more abstract reading we can propose an intersection between the above ideas about landscape/territory/field with that of reach/speed/reflex, thus coming closer to Thrift's ideas of an integrated *machinic complex* when he argues that;

"... this complex of telegraph, bicycle, cinema, telephone, mail, rail, gas, and electricity innovations was socially produced together in complex ways to help reshape the spaces, times, rhythms, experiences and representations of urban life"<sup>88</sup>

Going beyond the *machinic* view, Richard Coyne argues that we have entered an unprecedented moment in human history with our networked information and communication technologies acting as a *giant nervous system* of the planet.<sup>89</sup>

As suggested earlier, hinted to by the illustration opening Part Two of the thesis, our desire to reach ever deeper into space started with Archytas of Tarentum pushing his staff into the unknown at the end of the world in a gesture of testing the plausibility of his dictum that *to be is to be in place*. The speed at which this thrust is still being desired is reaching a fearful moment in the estimation of some, while our reflex remains one of an impatient need for even greater interaction, flexibility, and mobility. If we look into this mirrored world of desire and fear, of beauty and pain, there still appear the equally impatient shadows of the marginalised and the frustrated.<sup>90</sup>

87 The work of James Corner and also Charles Waldheim describes this condition through their teaching and practice in *Landscape Urbanism*. A term which were proposed by Waldheim in response to collaborations with James Corner

88 See (Thrift 1996) 39

89 See (Coyne 1999) 4

90 The author acknowledges the influence of many writers in the formation of this piece of poetic reflection. Paul Virilio (*Open Sky*) (*Unknown Quantity*), Gilles Deleuze, Felix Guattari, Nigel Thrift, Wolfgang Schivelbuch, Thomas Campanella, Malcom McCullough among others – all addressing parts of these triangulated relationships.

**Gender and Race and the Spatial Tactics of the Marginalised** Culturally patterned behaviour respond to spatial orientation and location and as argued in the field of *proxemics*.<sup>91</sup> It is the inscription of the sociopolitical in spatial terms that produces gendered body spaces and their representations, as argued in Bourdieu's view, becoming the *habitus* where the body, the mind, and the emotions are simultaneously trained<sup>92</sup>. It goes without saying that such behaviour is often willingly endorsed, often tactically modulated, but more often than not, highly controlled and contested. One of the most eloquently and rigorously argued discourses on the spatial implications of gender politics can be found in the work of Elizabeth Grosz when she argues against the *silencing and endless metaphorisation of femininity* in the cultural production of identity and of spatial relationships.<sup>93</sup>

Returning to Lefebvre for a moment it is surprising to find that he remained rather traditional in his patriarchal definition of male and female spaces and bodies, and under Feminist critique, still untouched by Commonwealth and American theories of 'third' alternatives (Shields: 2001, Massey: 2005, Ross: 2005), although one can speculate that he subconsciously included such an understanding under his view of 'being totally human'. He certainly was very much part of the avant-garde and liberal movements throughout his life

If we look beyond gender or race-specific discourse we see two distinct trajectories in contemporary debates around issues of marginalisation. First, the realisation that no developed region, no formal institution, or no private corporation can persistently escape sociopolitical or ethical accountability for their actions, and that this is in part due to the highly networked information and communication technologies (ICT) that these frameworks have helped to create in the first place. Second, we see how marginalized groups use subversive or counter strategies which employ the very same ICT networks. An example of this ethical dilemma is the similarities between the illegal downloading and circulation of music by the privileged and the illegal tapping into infrastructure by extralegal communities (Lessig 2004).

However, the concern here remains the spatial implications of such tactics. It is hard to imagine any contested boundary or field where such subversive tactics are not contingent on an at least the partial re-configuration of spatial relationships. The *social practice* in subversion (Lefebvre) or the *networks of anti-discipline* (De Certeau) are tactically realised in differential space. A space which Lyotard wishes to dissect into the most gruesome of detail, fill with the libidinal desire of subversive operators and with the most extreme of abstractions. We find Lyotard's propositions relating to the realities and processes of difference in the establishment of identity, signification, and locality remaining independent of any secondary attempts at

---

91 A field of study pioneered by Edward Hall since the mid-sixties, and essentially looking at the influences of culture on spatial perception and behaviour.

92 He applies the concept of *habitus* as field where social status, moral convictions, and class issues becomes embodied in everyday life. Moving beyond structuralist analysis he allows for the asymmetry of gendered spaces, movement through space, and a system of generative and instrumental dispositions (Bourdieu: 1984, 214)

93 See (Grosz 1995, 124). Pointed out with specific reference to Irigaray's ideas of Platonic *chōra* and to Derrida

re-presentation.<sup>94</sup> In Lyotard's discourse the liberating, opening up of the *Libidinal Economy* draws parallels with the body but without any of its delimitations, and is as such in opposition to the traditional notions of political economy and the body proper. (Lyotard 1974).<sup>95</sup> The idea of embodied space is political to its very core.

**Embodied Space** If we accept that embodied space can only be realised through our sociopolitical frameworks and therefore also acknowledge possible tensions between linguistic representation and ideas of *lived experience* (Lefebvre, De Certeau, Massey), then it naturally encapsulates any ideas about how human and other bodies<sup>96</sup>, including nonhuman bodies occupy (appropriate), negotiate (through movement), reflect and respond (through language, art, and technology) in space. Either as individual body, as a discreet group of bodies, or as larger collectives interacting with the environment through the *social skin* of our world (Hall 1966, 1973; Turner 1995; Munn 1996).

### **Mutations in the Urban Field**

In Derrida's reading of architecture as *place-as-event* and where that which is built features as *non-static anti-sites*, resembles Foucault's *heterotopic* spaces as possible arenas of resistance, or at least of difference and are both re-empowered and re-empowering.<sup>97</sup> Similarly, we see the revalorisation of place in Heidegger's expansive views of place as *dwelling, nearness*, and the event of *appropriation*; and with his earlier emphasis on *region* which is further explored in Deleuze and Guattari's ideas about nomadic space - thus becoming the epitome of *smooth space* and which retains the idea of region - to the point where place coincides with region and become equated to an undefined locality that can be considered as a *local absolute*.<sup>98</sup>

Importing the idea of territory again, the discussion on the appropriation or re-appropriation of space (momentarily or in prolonged periods) requires the modification of the old. As Deleuze and Guattari argues;

"..... the vectors of deterritorialization is always inseparable from correlative reterritorializations" and where "reterritorialization does not mean returning to the original territory, but rather refers to new ways in which deterritorialized elements recombine and enter into new relations in the constitution of a new assemblage ....."<sup>99</sup>

Melvyn Webber was one of the first urban theorists to talk of the *non-place* urban realm and who predicted the increasing visibility of the impact of such non-places on our traditional notions of *common place*. A prediction based on the increased desire for individual freedom,

94 See the definition of libidinal band/skin in the glossary of terms at the end of this essay

95 See Williams, James. *Lyotard – Towards a Postmodern Philosophy* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1998), 45-46

96 The notion of the multiplicity of the *body* now extends to the social body, the physical body, the body politic, the consumer body, and the medical body. \*See (Low & Lawrence- Zúñiga 2003, 3)

97 See (Casey 1997, 335) in a reference to an interview with Derrida in *Radical Philosophy* (Autumn 1994), 32

98 Ibid. 335

99 See (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 509)

greater personal choice, increased mobility and networked information technologies that made it possible to disconnect from a shared interest in physical place (Webber 1964).

By the second half of the twentieth century space has become absorbed into place and in the form of *spaces* (not space), as earlier suggested by Heidegger in *Building Dwelling Thinking*. A disinherited *place* as in the event of *spacing-out* as suggested by Derrida and which occurs outside of all historically and institutionally sanctioned places. There are similar hints in Deleuze and Guattari with their description of *smooth space*, in Nancy's idea of *open spaces*, and even more so in Lyotard's ideas of *libidinal* sociopolitical territories. All of these descriptions are in anticipation of non-place, yet fully aware that the formation of place and non-place is tied in the same knot and therefore indefinitely mutating from the one to the other.<sup>100</sup> Only when appropriated (or, more precisely, expropriated) do places become closed-in and closed-down sites - which, failing to be genuinely spaced-out, are spread thin in a technological landscape consisting merely of positions, distances, bare locations and barren relations and lacking any sense of region and destitute of depth (Casey 1997, 340).

The process of *disembodiment of place* fuels the creation of temporal zones that can be described as placeless *non-places* which exist in prolonged moments of mutation. This happens in part because current ICT protocols seem to undermine the real lived experiences possible in anthropological space (Webber 1964; Boyer 1994; McCullough 2004). These and other readings suggest that such a *disembodiment* is present and active in the abstract relationships defined by the triangulated concepts of *landscape-territory-field*, and *reach-speed-reflex*. By implication therefor more specifically with the processes of production, distribution, and consumption, and which brings us back to Lefebvre's argument for differential space.

The limited definition of *non-place* - in reference to Augé's measure of places lacking identity, history and relationality with which Part One of the thesis started - now expands in the final instance by distinguishing between the social transactions that seem to support *place* as opposed to those that are required to support *non-place*. Now also distinguishing between the organic behaviour in *anthropological place* as opposed to the regulated, ICT network driven behaviour in *non-place*.

---

100 See (Augé 1995, 80). Where Augé refers to Merleau-Ponty realization that we need to draw a distinction between *geometric space* and *anthropological space*, with the latter in constant state of transformation

## Chapter Four Emerging Discourse and Cross-disciplinary Enquiry

Chapter four is a look at neither place nor space *per se*, but at the emerging discourse and practice which deliberately or by default, seems to blur the boundaries between physical space and electronic space, between convention and invention and between traditional disciplines involved in the creation of the built environment.

### Convention and Invention

The rather enigmatic relationship between electronic space and the notion of concrete place presupposes a second discreet relationship of equally enigmatic character - that which exists between social behaviour and technological innovation. Subsequent layers of default relationships expose a more complex set of probability patterns and can, with a degree of scholarly liberty, be defined as part of a *complex adaptive system*<sup>101</sup> of cause and effect, insertion and displacement, desire and fear, beauty and pain.

One such default question addresses the nature, complexity and density of the various interfaces through which we transact, and the manner through which such interfaces activate, alter, or destroy our cultural output as it passes through design into matter.<sup>102</sup> Elsewhere described as the integrated, nonlinear thinking and making process of design activity.

Technological innovation is for the most part driven by industry and market forces finely tuned to our collective sensibilities and mutating conventions with examples of the UPC (barcode), RFID tracking technology and the reality of constant surveillance. In the pages that follow diverse examples, case studies, and references will be used in arguing that the innovative integration of technologies shape our behavioural patterns, which, in turn impact on the technology interfaces and the physical environment that constitute the *site* (space) of our interactions. In this sense *technology-as-environment*<sup>103</sup> and *environment-as-technology*, includes things and thinking, materiality and consciousness, invention and convention. The references and examples are deliberately taken from many discreet fields, called back from many histories, and with many speculative associations - illustrating the mutating nature of the relationship between invention and convention with the *social body* a *chimera-like* concept

---

101 A proposition that falls along the thinking of Prigogine (1989); Deleuze & Guattari (1987); Braudel (1983); Maturana & Varela (1992) and that has been at the core of research into organizational structures (initially natural, and more recently also artificial), and since the 1960's *Santiago Theory* thesis.

102 A phrase borrowed from Kubler, Billy *The Shape of Time* (New Haven, New York: 1962). Various excellent texts describe these processes in any number of overlapping fields. Sennet in *Flesh & Stone* (built environment); Mark Taylor in terms of abstract relationships between art, architecture and religion in *Disfiguring*, Roberto Calasso in *The Marriage of Cadmus and Harmony* (myth, memory)

103 See Pierre Bourdieu's *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) in context of the argument put forward by Aidan Davison in *Technology and the Contested Meanings of Sustainability*, (Albany, NY: SUNY, 2001) "*Technology-as-environment names those composite wholes, those habitats, within which nature, people, and their productions belong to each other.*"

figuratively portrayed with a *lion's head* in electronic space, a *goat's body* in physical place, and a *serpent's tail* in those interstitial spaces of the urban field.<sup>104</sup>

### Transaction Interfaces

The world around us is a contested space that is essentially political and strategic, and furthermore, reflects the *whole* of our social, economic and political transactions in a manner that often renders an attempt at isolated analysis meaningless. In example, to view Rimbaud as *enfant terrible* as is often done, seems naïve against the context of the politics of his day (Ross 1988). Both Brecht and Benjamin viewed his work as a powerful reaction against the passage from market capitalism into the synchronic expansion of a new geographic world system<sup>105</sup>. In this sense poetry as art form reflects the moment equally well when compared to media reactions, technological advances, or sociological debate - each field *living* the moment from a specific perspective. As the complexity of the interfaces through which we gain access to the world around us increases, we often hear the *footsteps of giants muffled by the white sound of crowds running*<sup>106</sup> behind popular sentiment. Our cultural product becomes co-modified, new thinking often stifled, and speaking metaphorically - we end up with *Galileo under house arrest*<sup>107</sup> for daring to propose a heliocentric view of our world.

Using a more recent proposition from our search for meaning in the universe, the concept of *red shift*<sup>108</sup> may be a useful analogy to the idea that our transaction interfaces are altered and impacted upon by the gravitational forces of the struggle between convention and invention. When new ideas are proposed we experience resistance from entrenched conventions and technologies - often calling upon each other for reinforcement. Our complex legal framework that operates in opposition to the forces of extralegal migration by disadvantaged or displaced groups is a strong reminder, as is the battle for institutional control over the Internet's public domain (Lessig 2004). Predictably, technology responds, and we see sophisticated border control technologies and rituals shaping that particular environment, not to speak of demonstrations, media hype and a multitude of related issues.

---

104 In Greek mythology the idea of a chimera was described as a *fire-breathing female monster with a lion's head, a goat's body, and a serpent's tail*. In contemporary science, a chimera would indicate an organism containing a fusion or mutation (or through grafting) of genetically different tissues. In example when two early embryos would become one instead of producing twins

105 Brecht's phrase "an eccentric poet going for a walk" is an efficient way of summing up and dismissing the mythic interpretations of Rimbaud as *poète maudit*, and praises his lyric work as important historical narratives. Most importantly as a young man coming to terms with the late 19<sup>th</sup> century construction of colonial space

106 An expression of frustration used by the author on a number of occasions, and in an attempt to illustrate the danger of ignoring the need for new approaches in design thinking

107 The pope, Galileo's erstwhile friend, became furious and ordered a Roman Inquisition - finding Galileo as heretic and confining him to his estate at Arcetri (1632) The death of Galileo's influential friend Federico Cesi two years earlier, and together with Galileo, one of the most important members of the *Academy of the Lynxes* (Europe's first scientific society founded in 1603), certainly contributed to the fate of Galileo. With Cesi as leader of the Lynxes and having strong influence in Rome, Galileo's fate may have been different was his friend still alive. See (Gould 2000, 39)

108 A term defining the measurement equation used to calculate the shift of light's movement caused by the gravitational forces of black holes

As mentioned earlier, the illegal tapping into service networks by informal communities are similar to the illegal hacking of computer networks or the downloading of images or music by millions of privileged technophiles. These subversive strategies have become as much part of our urban transaction protocols as the protest march, and clearly a deliberate counter to traditional frameworks. The density of these organisational frameworks questions old realities and may in fact fuel an additional set of prosthetic inventions, new professions and elaborate social behaviour patterns. The security interfaces at our airports are an example. The essential values of our transactions are therefore adjusted to circumstances that are governed by complex sets of relationships in the manner through which we learn, communicate, or move.

**Configurational Technologies** Technology does not develop according to an inner logic but is instead a cultural product that also contains the patterns of the condition of its creation and its use. In our current moment there appears to be consensus that the “black-box” of technology must be opened to expose the socioeconomic and political patterns embedded in both the content and the process of innovation (Williams 1996). This proposition calls for a more evolutionary and interactive approach to innovative processes similar to the ideas behind configurational technologies - therefore *configuring* rather than simply *describing* the user and user interfaces. Within this process of *configuring*, one must also consider those actors in a less privileged position to influence change (i.e. marginalised or developing communities) and even nonhuman actors (i.e. microbes). This argument may lead to a more useful theory of the relationship between technology and society and will require the inclusion of those characteristics of our material world that in fact may even constrain human capacity.

The thesis places design as perhaps the single most important force in the discourse that attempts to frame and understand the social shaping of technology. Not design as stylistic or formalistic activity, but design as the approach, the strategy, the system of ideas, and the tactical deployment of such for the benefit of the user and the environment. Art, architecture, science, engineering and philosophy all share the principles embodied in the classic definitions of *disegno*<sup>109</sup> and of *techné*. Collaborative practices in the past and the present have undeniably shown the value of working across boundaries and it most certainly features very strongly in the relationship between convention and invention.

The urban landscapes of today, and specifically the linked global cities, are highly strategic sites for many new operations that exert sophisticated claims in the frontier zone, and assume concrete forms in both electronic space (global) and physical place (local). Similarly, one can find a sub-set of unique expressions of similar patterns in the contested ground between legal and extralegal networks.

---

<sup>109</sup> The word “design” entered the English language in the late 1400’s or early 1500’s with the verb taking precedence half a century later. OED 2002 and Webster’s 1913

It is hoped that the critical discourse concerned with these forces can excavate emancipatory powers, create, and make new possibilities visible. As the thirties atonal compositions of Schoenberg<sup>110</sup> freed new forms of musical composition from the dominance of the classical canon, we can perhaps again begin to look at an altered set of relationships. These inventive contexts thrive on legitimate argument and depend on deep insight into systems of ideas constructed around discreet conceptual schemas. A critical narrative, an altered description of revolutionary practice and a revised mandate are required, that together with a new set of socioeconomic and political interactions and social practices (as envisioned by Lefebvre), can produce new institutional frameworks and re-configure some of the existing.

**The Falling Height of Technology** Paul Virilio argues for the exposure of the *time accident* in the context of an *accelerated temporality* that affects our moral position in art as in politics. In his introduction to the exhibition *Unknown Quantity*<sup>111</sup> held in Paris during the winter months of 2002 and 2003 under the aegis of the *Fondation de France*, and with sponsorship by the *Fondation Cartier pour l'art Contemporain*, he quotes Paul Valéry as follows:

“In the past, where novelty was concerned, we had almost always seen only solutions or answers to very old - if not indeed age-old - problems... The novelty of our present situation consists in the unprecedented nature of the questions themselves, not of the solutions, in the statement of the problems, not the answers to them. Hence a general impression of powerlessness and incoherence predominates in our minds”<sup>112</sup>

That was 1935, and since then we have become more and more exposed to a kaleidoscope of incidents and accidents, catastrophes and cataclysms, in which we are endlessly running up against the unexpected (Virilio: 2003)<sup>113</sup>. We are at a moment when man-made catastrophes outnumber natural disasters by a significant margin, Virilio again;

“If, in fact, invention is just a way of seeing, of grasping accidents as signs or opportunities, and if, according to Aristotle, “the accident reveals the substance”, then the invention of the substance is also the invention of the accident.”<sup>114</sup>

---

110 To quote Kwinter; “Arnold Schoenberg’s art was to set internal (mathematical) properties and mechanics of organized sound tectonics into motion in such a way as to avoid actual tonal references that could pollute a work with cultural and psychological baggage”. Through his composition one is asked to listen for “shapes”, mirror images, internal symmetries, and coloration contours that cultivated an awareness of temporal geometry never before attempted outside African and Indian traditions

111 The exhibition *Unknown Quantity* followed on the 1990’s exhibition titled *Speed* and also sponsored and exhibited by the *Fondation Cartier pour l'art Contemporain*. As the historian Marc Bloch observed during the nineteen-thirties, “Contemporary civilization differs in one particularly distinctive feature from those which preceded it: *Speed*. The change has come about within a generation” Also see Wolfgang Schivelbusch

112 Valéry, P (1957): *La crise de l’intelligence*, Euvres Complètes, I. La Pléiade, Paris, 851

113 Virilio, P. ed., *Unknown Quantity*, translated from the French by Chris Turner (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 5

114 Virilio, (2002) 7

In the context of mass production, mass consumption, and of automatic operations, the consciousness about the instrument or specific technology is replaced by a consciousness of its successful operation and its catastrophic meltdown. The accident has become automatic and function seems to exist only outside of consciousness. Chernobyl in 1986 and the Twin Towers in 2001 - two moments that exceeded all limits previously set by religious or philosophical ethics. Indeed, to use not weapons, not military instruments, but simple vehicles of air transport to destroy buildings, while being prepared to perish in the operation, is to set up a *fatal confusion between the attack and the accident*.<sup>115</sup> The magnitude and quality of the deliberate accident thus used to the detriment of the technology and of innocent lives sacrificed.

The previous section argued for a deeper understanding of the relationship between convention and invention. In the following section it is argued that invention in its classic definition also includes a sense of the uncovering of the hidden.

The Chernobyl incident of 1986 and the New York City Twin Towers attacks of September 2001 are used as deliberate markers in a new set of questions that may even have caught Paul Valéry off-guard. At Chernobyl we saw people willing to sacrifice themselves to save others<sup>116</sup>. In the New York City attacks we saw people willing to commit suicide in order to kill others. Within their different contexts each group is held up as a new kind of hero. At Chernobyl we hear the politicians and scientists avoiding responsibility and guilt, and in New York the televised admission of the terrorists' responsibility - also without admission of guilt<sup>117</sup>. These catastrophes go beyond the accident as part of the fruit of progress and of labour, and indeed beyond our discourse where the accident is sometimes viewed as a form of "*art brut*". On a philosophical level we are facing questions about accountability and our collective ethical position, about our relationship to space and to time, and indeed knowledge. On the frontier of our daily social, economic and political transactions we are entering an altered landscape constructed out of new forces outside our immediate grasp. The two examples clearly benefit Virilio's thesis that both speed (time) and distance (space) are collapsing into an altered reality where an understanding of function exists outside of our collective consciousness. The disappearance of time and space impact on technological inventiveness, on response, and on mutating conventions, and it must be clear that communication and information technology fall squarely into this black hole. But these two examples direct our questions towards a further unique speculation.

115 Virilio, P. ed., *Unknown Quantity*, translated from the French by Chris Turner (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 8

116 Hundreds of the so-called *liquidators* sacrificed their lives in the months following the disaster in order to save the lives of others. In the words of one doctor talking to the wife of a fireman, "... he is no longer a human being but a radioactive object that must be deactivated. He has radiation sickness ... he has two weeks to live" Excerpt from the Chernobyl diary, see; Aleksievich, Svetlana. *Inspired by Evil* (unknown publisher), 1999

117 In an interview filmed by Andrei Ujica on the occasion of the *Unknown Quantity* exhibition, Virilio remembers a French minister of health stating "I accept I am responsible, but not guilty" after the blood contamination debacle in France.

With the collapse of the relationship between time and space, between anticipated accident and deliberate catastrophe, between citizen and terrorist, we also see the translations of such unpredictability into a meshwork of new sets of relationships between technology and our social, economic and political transactions. These interfaces are a new hybrid, a new mutation of the relationship between electronic space and our physical environment. What needs to be introduced at this point are questions related to the impact on systems and conventions that survived these changes and which are entrenched in a myriad of social, economic and political frameworks. Perceptions of private and public space, privacy and mobility, access to capital and material resources, perceptions around identity, ownership, and place. These questions exist on a nonlinear scale with a remarkable fluidity in relevance, incidence, or probability.

If the accident lives in the shadow of all technological invention, so does the opportunity to learn and to apply new insights,<sup>118</sup> with a new way of seeing and a new way of understanding.

What follows is a speculative hypothesis around our urban management strategies in response to these realities and more specifically, the deployment of such strategies through deliberate, and sometimes merely *default* interfaces that exist in the relationship between electronic space and physical place. As such looking beyond the *logical art* of inhabiting the accident - notwithstanding the shock of such a possibility - and towards the social shaping of technology and the social dimensions of design activity that may result, and may indeed be required, if we wish to turn problems into opportunities.

### **Technological Mobility and Urban Management Strategies**

There is little doubt that the convergence of information mining, the fluidity between information and communication technologies, our current re-evaluation of security protocols, and disaster management strategies represent an at least partial re-configuration of our territorial organization. However these multiple territories are re-configured, we certainly need a revised narrative and new definition that will capture with far greater clarity the interdependence between electronic space (global) and localised transaction interfaces.

The large metropolitan areas of today, the so-called *alpha* and *beta* cities of the world have emerged as strategic sites for these revised sets of conditions. The nexus where the formation of new claims, new realities and altered perceptions materialize and assume concrete form. Within the realm of reasonable probability and predictable scale we have even come to terms with this business of living *inside the accident* and as such, have become emancipated from the fear related to the accidents' nature. We follow each other at high speed on congested highways in the shadow of a possible pile-up. We raise families and invest our fortunes on

---

118 An interesting example of the relationship between invention and convention comes from the *floating machine* called *Il Badalone* invented by Filippo Brunelleschi in 1426 for which he was presumably granted the first ever recorded patent as *inventor* (Ross 2000). A perceived problem of floating construction material down the Arno resulted in an invention, which at the same time gave birth to a new convention in the form of patent law. But in the shadow of the invention lived its accident. The *Il Badalone* failed and lost its cargo of 100 tons of Carrara marble 25 miles from Pisa.

the fault lines of the earth's crust, and we read about the latest terror attacks on our morning commute on crowded trains. An example closer to home can illustrate the point.

When temporary scaffolding on the side of the Hancock Tower broke loose on a stormy Chicago afternoon in 2002, tumbled down, and killed two tourists on street level, an effective emergency operation deployed within minutes. Two hours later the only trace of the accident stared back at viewers from the headlines of local newspapers and television screens. The accident was treated as routine event in the lives of police and traffic officers, medical emergency workers, pedestrians, photo journalists, building investigators, and even more so by all who received the news second hand. Hours later the accident gave way to a return of *normality*, and with the only visible trace remaining the due legal process of claims and counter claims that are still in process years later.

This kind of operation has become as *automatic* as the accident itself. The various actors and affected parties exhibit a complex meshwork of specialists and a sophisticated ability in their strategic deployment. We see similarities in the deployment at all scales and across many types of catastrophe, from wild bush fires, floods, to the collapse of public buildings - not to mention the so-called *surgical* military operations across zones of conflict. These operations take place against the background of a deep understanding of the characteristics of the *site*, the territory and the forces that impact on the landscape. The goals are directed at the long-term success of such urban management strategies, deployed in the shortest possible time, and with the least visible *scarring* of the landscape. Strangely part of a meta-architecture, *taking place in space* (Derrida 1986).

The industries that support these strategies through research, the development of new technologies, the design and marketing of new products, training, and the mining and dissemination of information, are often embedded in both public and private domains. The funding cycles and political use of these embedded networks cut across military, medical, scientific, and academic institutions. The aim or urgency of technological development oscillates between the poles of absolute necessity (as with the SARS epidemic), and at the other end, mere entrepreneurial or opportunistic searching<sup>119</sup>. What remains to be observed, is the direct relationship between the more formal structures of these industries and the role that the media and critical artistic expression - both formal and underground - can, and indeed do play.

We have grown accustomed to be shielded from the horrors of death (both natural and unnatural), that of poverty, or the effects of child labour behind academic discourse and media censorship. Perhaps the most problematic issue in our urban management protocols remains

---

119 An example of pure opportunistic misuse of a larger reality is the alert level colour wheel marketed on the Internet for \$5 after the September 11 attacks - showing yellow, orange and red segments to be adjusted whenever the US government issued a new alert level

the blurred notion of accountability between politics, science, industry, the media, art, and architecture. Similarly also the question of what should remain discreet, and what should be exposed, what should be allowed to slip into our collective subconscious and what should remain real, naked, and within reach? With the thesis only hinting at these relationships it should suffice to say that these issues are embedded in a complex meshwork and that we need to define, understand and internalize the *why* and the *how* of our responsibilities.

### Excursion Two: Urban Play

During the fall of 2002 the author asked a group of design students to manage a recovery operation of a 1893 sunken ship off North Avenue Beach on Lake Michigan, Chicago. The operation had a 23 day window, and the beach as *site* had to accommodate archaeologists, diving crews, construction workers, a moving company, a film crew, and the inevitable crowds of curious onlookers - along with a temporary exhibition of the process. It soon became clear that no ready stylistic or aesthetic precedent existed and that a new representational language was required. Throughout the process live information about weather changes and city code infringements were fed into the decision-making process. In addition, the beach had to appear untouched after the project. The most useful precedent came unexpectedly from the John Hancock scaffolding incident described above and in the form of a purely urban accident management process with the creation of temporary zones, borders and the complex relationship between electronic information and very real site conditions, to name but a few.

Author again explored the concept in a subsequent project under the title of *Urban Play* at the University of Pretoria in 2005. A very large sinkhole that caved in a section of the M1 highway leading to Johannesburg prompted the idea of using the natural disaster resulting from fractures in the dolomitic geology as plausibility probe. This time a scenario in an upmarket shopping centre where a sinkhole in the parking garage exposed valuable archeology finds that prompted a similar rescue and reconstruction process that had to be managed spatially over a limited window of time. The 'cast of actors' again included archeologists, scientists, construction crews, documentary film teams, journalists and the curious public.<sup>120</sup>

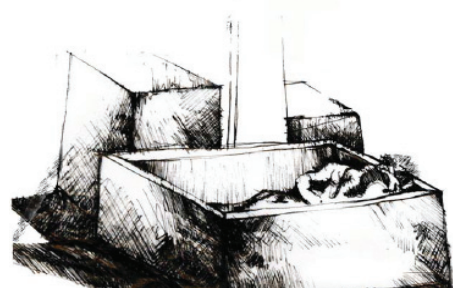
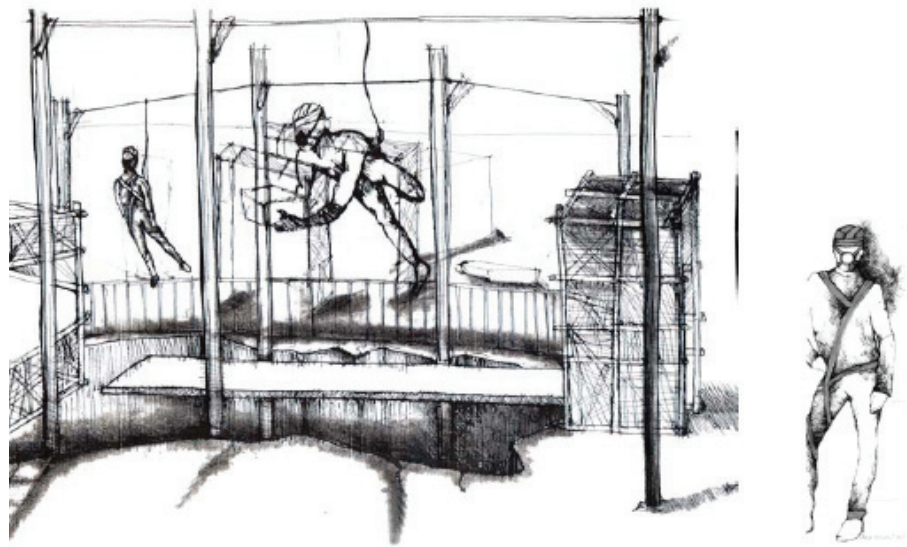
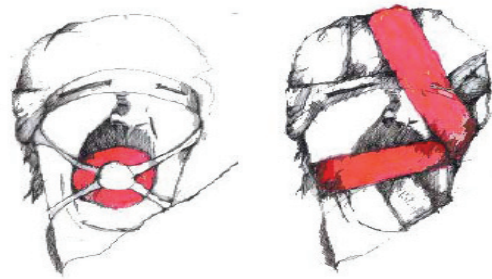


Fig. 12 *Urban Play*. Jason Wiggin, University of Pretoria, 2005. In this project the event space was managed with performative acts directly related to archetypal notions of what labour means to each of the disciplines. The spatial relationships were established through the movement of bodies and their respective expression of their labour - in certain instances with prosthetic devices

120 The School of the Art Institute of Chicago project (*Thresholds*) was formulated by the author and developed with Assistant Professor Carl-Ray Miller and a group of third year interior architecture students. The University of Pretoria Project was formulated and developed by the author under the title *Urban Play*.

What both projects showed was the difficulty of working outside known stylistic precedents and representational formats and the remarkable similarities in the decision-making processes between the actual disasters (Hancock incident; sink hole) and the fictional projects. Both groups of students acknowledged the steep learning curve of an open-ended design strategy and the value of understanding the more abstract notions of the relationship between the hidden and the visible. The projects allowed the collapse of the subject and the object, the accident and the opportunity, the virtual and the real.

The two illustrations below come from the same project and show conceptual ideas for sets and costumes during the process of exploring narrative content and design constraints.



The simultaneous existence of accident and of problem, and the resultant chain of management operations and opportunities, manifests itself best in the various deliberate interfaces and sets of default interfaces that function as intersection between the invisible and the visible, between the role of abstract space and of physical place. It follows naturally that these intersections will then also become the *text* linking professional and popular representations of both question and answer. Historically these relationships reflect the nineteenth and twentieth century's technological response to a better understanding, but also the control, discipline, and representation of the *citizen body* - often viewed as a hierarchical network of systems and forces.<sup>121</sup> These *sites* of our discourse, our actions, and our daily living have become highly contested territories that are defined and controlled by ever mutating interfaces that often undermine the transfer of significant information and impact on our perception and the manner through which we consolidate personal, and ultimately, our collective memory.

The *sites* where we obtain significant meaning have collapsed into a single layer of zero depth where the "I" searches for the "am I" being searched for. Perhaps as perplexing and as wondrously magic as the hall of mirrors so playfully constructed during the late Renaissance, and the architectural simulacrum of realism in film. The very idea of *site* and the technology that captures and represents the *site* have been transformed by this collapse<sup>122</sup> as did the *site* from where we store and retrieve our memories and information. The knowledge required to manufacture a bomb comes from the very *site* being destroyed by the explosion.

In as much as our urban management strategies reveal the nature of the accident, or in as much as a film can make the viewer aware that he or she only sees a construction - processes made visible through art, architecture, or concurrent engineering can reveal the dual character of being both inside or outside of such constructions. Of being both present in virtual space and physical place, connected to both the abstract idea and tangible reality. The *Face Robot* designed as companion for the elderly, collapses the difference between virtual and real companionship through visual representation and programmable audio tracks. In a similar fashion the artist Orlan, documenting her successive facial and bodily alterations, diffuses the boundary between corrective and cosmetic treatments with no real beginning and no real end. It can be argued that the possibilities of this coexistence of seemingly opposing processes are not yet fully realized, and that work in this *in-between* realm can lead to new insights into the value and nature of the collaborative project.

---

121 The work of the French brothers August and Louis Lumière reflects this dualistic concern. Becoming renowned in popular discourse as the *inventors* of modern day cinema (1895), their (specifically August's) research focused primarily on scientific and medical research into diseases and experimental physiology. (Mirzoeff 1998) The latter also being the field in which their use of cinematography proved to be the most useful - a symptomatic example of the broader disregard for the cultural implications of the technological interdependency of science, technology and of popular culture

122 Beatrice Colomina refers to Dziga Vertog's film *The Man with the Movie Camera* (1929) in this regard; "... it is not just that the new space of the city is defined by the new technologies of representation; those technologies are also transformed by the city"

### Emerging Forms of Spatiality and Social Awareness

Earlier in this section a proposition was put forward as a call for a more evolutionary and interactive approach to innovative processes similar to the ideas behind configurational technologies, stating that a revised mode of thinking *about configuring rather than simply describing the user and user interfaces*<sup>123</sup> may be more beneficial to society. As a field of enquiry, the *social shaping of technology* (SST) has rendered social processes problematic and opened up sociopolitical debate obscured by technological determinism and related simplistic models (Williams 1996).

Technologies are not neutral, but are fostered by groups and by institutions to preserve and control social, economic and political transactions. SST discourse has drawn attention to the close and reciprocal mutation of technology from the moment of conception (invention) to the eventual application, and in most cases also consumption. These attempts have drawn wide attention to the public policy issues at stake, and the possibility of a more pro-active and accountable stance by both user and supplier (Williams 1996).

SST research focuses for the most part on ways in which social, institutional, economic and cultural factors have shaped the *direction* and *rate* of innovation, the *form*, *content*, and *practices*, and lastly, the *impact* of technological change in society. In a critique of technological determinism and retrospective assessment of cost and benefit, the SST approach holds out the prospect of a much more strategic intervention and deeper understanding of the complete process. Perhaps the most promising outcome to date from the SST field of research has been the questions raised against the gulf between the *social* and the *technical*, and therefore between the social sciences and the natural sciences and engineering. Models are beginning to emerge which address the dual character of technologies - not only as *socialized nature*, but also as *naturalized society* - and include the realization that the deployment of technological invention does indeed change the parameters on which we interact (Williams 1996; McCullough 2004).

Most researchers in this field, whether involved in the sociology of scientific knowledge, industrial organisation, public policy or socioeconomic change, now tend to move beyond the notion that technological innovation is an *applied science* and proposes a more *integrative* model of innovation. This implies feedback cycles, upstream analysis and the acknowledgement that the moment of implementation is an important part of the process. In this approach technological development is viewed as a spiralling rather than linear process, and *creates* "the possibility of the development of technologies which are at the outset intrinsically constituted in terms of user needs and requirements ... ". (Fleck 1988)

---

123 The terminology of an established field of study pioneered through research at a number of universities in the United Kingdom, of which the RCSS unit at the University of Edinburgh is currently a driving force. Also see (Williams, R & David Edge 1996)

There is the story about the discovery of the *St Vincent panels* in the great cathedral of Lisbon that tells of a very large hole in the masonry that was covered for years by large, dusty wooden panels. Church goers used to hang their coats on this makeshift rack, and it was only when someone thought of reconstructing the hole with something more permanent, that the Renaissance paintings were discovered at the back of the panels. This story offers a wonderful metaphor to the concealed link between the social sciences (art, design, philosophy), and the natural sciences and engineering<sup>124</sup>. As artists and designers we tend to hang our coats on the back of scientific and technological research, but are reluctant to reciprocate with equal rigour and deep research. It may yet be best to remove the dusty volumes of work that prevent open dialogue, understand the historical significance and install a more permanent framework to hold-up the *church* of socially responsible design.

Describing and understanding the relationship between electronic space and concrete place is one such attempt that will require the opening-up of this *hole* and the establishment of cross disciplinary bridges that is founded upon accountability, rigour, and a sincere realization that design must add value beyond the stylistic repetition of form making. In fact, it is suspected that social engagement from within a more relational dialectical frame is indeed *the* bridge that researchers on both sides are searching for.

New territorial organizations and resultant urban management strategies seem to exist in a mutated environment, with as yet, very little transcendence over our entrenched protocols. We experience, or rather *see*, immaculate surfaces of operations and communications networks flashing as *smooth space* on screens with zero depth. The era of production and consumption has yielded to the Protean era of networks, of branching, of contact, of contiguity, of feedback, and generalized meshwork of interfaces (Baudrillard 1999). We sense an increasing abstraction of elements and functions towards a homogenization of a single virtual process that dislocates gesture, time and space, body-space relations and ultimately affects the relationship between electronic space and concrete place. The visible and the invisible processes seem to inhabit this in-between space where the ethics of politics have become the new aesthetic - increasingly visible in popular media where the virtue of justice and equality, among other ethical concerns, is cloaked in politically correct language and representations that do not account for the realities experienced in the everyday. The banner under which the Iraq war was started is a familiar example, as is the *green-washing* of ecological concerns by politicians, the media and global companies as part of strategic marketing initiatives.

We are on a threshold - where leaving the harness of appearance behind - we can enter into a more meaningful interaction with the constructed environment through art, design and our cultural product at large. Working within these parallel worlds of electronic space and concrete

---

124 A story that emerged from Eduardo Corte-Real during a debate on the Internet Ph.D. List during March 2004

place, we can create and open up divergent opportunities and add significant meaning to the process of *coming into being*, and of finding an identity fitting to our current realities.

The pluralistic methodology and dialectic line of reasoning argued for in Part One are being applied here with a desire to ground the understanding of the materialities of space, place and environment. The spatial concerns raised throughout the following chapters are constructed and grounded with the open-ended view that process driven dialectics allows. As Harvey argues throughout most of his work, "Transformations of space, place, and environment are neither neutral nor innocent with respect to practices of domination and control, [but] are fundamental framing decisions - replete with multiple possibilities - that govern the conditions (often oppressive) over how lives can be lived"<sup>125</sup>.

In focussing on processes, flows and relationships rather than discreet objects or systems as allowed for through dialectic reasoning, we can begin to understand the internal contradictions that are inherently evident in the constantly mutating spatial relationships within which we interact and transact. This approach requires a contextual awareness and interactive intelligence that moves beyond our traditional description of environments - whether natural, artificial or virtual.

---

125 Harvey is sceptical of the possibility to ground our understanding of the materialities of space, place and environment within cultural and social theory if confined by narrow metaphorical explorations as occurs, for example, in the work of Foucault in his argument for a spatial concept of *heterotopia* as a field for radical action. See Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 44-45



# PART 3

## MEMORY / FREEDOM / TRUTH

Fig. 14 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearing into the death of the Guguleto Seven, Cape Town, 1997. Detail of a photograph by Jillian Edelstein



*The preceding chapters have brought us to a moment where it is useful to jump out of the line of battle between past and future. A useful position to be in and as reflected upon in Kafka's fable "HE" from "Notes from the year 1920".<sup>125</sup> Aiming to see new realities from the sideline before jumping back into the perpetual struggle between entrenched conventions from the past and emerging inventions begging a future. An occasion where we arrive like characters with a brown paper bag over our heads inscribed with the memory of spaces and systems as predictable, stable and controlled. We stumble blindly into a condition where memory, freedom and truth seem to be collapsing into new assemblages where revised ideas about ownership, invention, control, identity, desire and fear inform our social being. Removing the bag from our heads we encounter new protocols in how to transact, negotiate and make sense of an urban field where known relationships between convention and invention have been replaced by a strategic play of appropriation and of subversion now happening in electronic space as much as in physical environments, to boot, playing out beyond what we remember as nation state boundaries, known protocols of production and delineated social agreements.*

125 First translated from the German by Willa and Edwin Muir and included in Kafka, Franz. "The Great Wall of China" (New York, 1946). The parable is put to use by Hannah Arendt in arguing the "path paved by thinking" in her propositions about the dilemmas inherent in political philosophy at that moment when Marx argued that philosophy and its truths are not external to man's actions but internal to society. See Arendt, Hannah. *Between Past and Future - six Exercises in Political Thought* (New York: Viking Press, 1961), 7-14

*Emerging physical and virtual landscapes are mirrored in a spatio-temporal frame where contemporary financial instruments exist - at least until it plunged us into a global financial depression - as highly networked capital flows outside of bureaucratic mechanisms of control. Where new and old technologies merge and fluid social networking behaviours wrestle old thinking to the ground with innovative resistance and agility.*

*We find half of the world population in or attached to what we call cities. In another 40 years three quarters of the world population will be urbanised with most mega-city assemblages in Asia, Latin America and Africa. By 2015 it is estimated that 42 people per hour will be added to the population of Mumbai, 23 per hour to Mexico City and 58 per hour to Lagos - a growth driven by birth as much as migration from other areas stabilising or shrinking.<sup>126</sup> Each new individual arriving within the urban fold demands access to opportunity, desires freedom and meaningful identity with the same sense of urgency that others want to protect their rights obtained through birth or the accumulation of wealth and power. World forums and grass root activists debate these perceived rights to the city while queues of legal and illegal immigrants outside the offices of departments of immigration and domestic affairs are as commonplace as refugee and transition camps in zones of conflict or disaster. Surveillance and security data protocols capture everyone in the wealthy northern hemisphere and have led to an estimated 700 major databases containing information on each average working class individual. In the UK it now requires 50 items of personal information to renew a British passport and the country has spend £4 billion on CCTV cameras and equipment in the decade between 1994 and 2004. Translating to roughly 2 cents per day per legal resident or the equivalent of a bag of flour per week for a sub-Sahara family. In spite of the UK becoming the most surveyed society in the world, only about 3 percent of a sample set of robberies captured on CCTV in London during 2006 led to successful convictions. At this threshold moment there are no longer any other, other. What binds each of us together - at rather phenomenal speed - is the merging of old and new technologies, constant mutating relationships of power, shifting real and perceived boundaries, a globally networked risk in our economies and locally grown forms of resistance equally global in its reach. This is also the occasion where our understanding of what freedom means is being reassessed. A freedom which Derrida has placed in "a democracy to come" and which the juridico-political cannot yet approach. This sense of liberty carries with it the burden to forgive the unforgivable and the willingness to create zones of refuge for the displaced within re-conceived rights to the city. Can our desire for freedom be satisfied by a return to past philosophical traditions with freedom perceived as a process of thought where man could at will reason himself out of the world? Can significant freedom be achieved through self-actualisation alone and divorced from politics and the collective as embodied in certain notions of the modern? Or is it possible that we may require a return towards the freedom possible when experienced by the many through an active political life as understood in the classical sense.<sup>127</sup>*

*"This is not to suggest that we ought to restore an essentially classical concept of the city by giving it new attributes and powers; neither would it be simply a matter of endowing the old subject we call 'the city' with new predicates. No, we are dreaming of another concept, of another set of rights for the city, of another politics of the city."  
(Derrida: 2001:8)*

*All such assemblages - whether existing or dreamed about as in Derrida's proposition of cosmopolitan cities of refuge<sup>128</sup> as a place for reflection and being other than merely 'new cities' - have a distinct spatial implication and result from sets of power relationships further explored in the following chapters Again stressing that such assemblages are inherently spatial and at the core of revised practice protocols, revised responsibilities of an academy educating expert professionals dealing with constructed environments, and in the minds of each of us as we go about our business of living.*

126 Predictions from *The Urban Age Project* by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society. See Burdett, R and Deyan Sudjic. Eds., *The Endless City - the Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society* (London: Phaidon, 2007)

127 Hannah Arendt traced this trajectory in her "exercise" on "What is Freedom". See Arendt, Hannah. *Between Past and Future - six Exercises in Political Thought* (New York: Viking Press, 1961), 156

128 See Derrida, Jacques, *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness* (London: Routledge, 2001), 3-24

## Chapter Five: Appropriation in the Urban Field

### *Ownership, Invention and Control*

At the Hague in November of 2000 David Harvey ended the fourth Megacities Lecture, "Possible Urban Worlds" by emphasising that urban questions to be posed, are of two sorts.

"First, to gain some sense of the link between the production of space as one of our specific species powers and the other elements of competition, collaboration, diversification, temporal re-ordering and the transformations of environment. The second is to pull together some consensus around the pattern of all of these shifts in relationship to some radically different alternative in terms of social and environmental relations and the long-term prospects for life-chances for all."<sup>129</sup>

The questions raised by Harvey and indeed his complete body of work (as indebted as it is to Marxist thought on historico-geographic materialism) must be understood against the role that *praxis* plays for those thinkers that have pursued Lefebvre's concerns - as explicated in these questions by Harvey - and in an attempt to keep the social tied within the space-place construct. Taking ownership, inventing and introducing new ideas and new things (whether financial instruments or communication technologies) and devising, demanding or subverting control over resources, systems or the flow of people appear in direct relationship to the dialectical critique by Marx of Hegel's notion of what constitutes human effort. Marx acknowledged that there are practical contradictions preventing us from becoming our "true species-being." From the critique of Hegel to the critique of political economy to the diagnostic analysis of the contradictions inherent in capitalism - Marx brought us to an earlier threshold in the demand for "revolutionary praxis" (Bernstein 1971, 40). David Harvey has contributed significantly in building the bridge from philosophy to critical urban geography from where new insights since the late sixties became possible. The categories of questions that Harvey raises in "Possible Urban Worlds" concern us all.

To make sense of the "link between the production of space as one of our specific species powers" and the re-configuration of large tracts of urban fabric and of environment through "competition, collaboration, diversification and temporal re-ordering" we can argue that all modes of appropriation (ownership), all entrepreneurial efforts (invention) and all desire for predictability (control) revolves around the desire for, and fear of power. Manifesting as the many *thick* sets of power relationships through which we transact with each other within spatially and systemic codependent urban and natural ecologies. The word *power* is

---

129 A lecture delivered on the 16th of November, 2000 in the series sponsored by the Megacities Foundation, started in the Netherlands as a direct result of an initiative taken by UNESCO who asked the International Academy of Architecture IAA to focus attention on the problems of the explosively growing megalopoli. During 1995 Prof. Jan Hoogstad, representative from the Netherlands in the IAA, started a nuclear group of experts and professionals in order to develop a programme of activities that would bring the topic of urban development and growth to a wider platform of debate. See; Harvey, David. *Possible Urban Worlds* (London: Megacities Foundation, 2000)

used here in its broadest sense. An understanding of *power* as being pervasive and invested across multiple fields of forces embedded in structural violence as much as in institutional or bureaucratic obsessions and strategies of control. A rather three-dimensional power able to secure compliance through the shaping of collective desire and fear and by “imposing internal constraints under historically changing circumstances” (Lukes 2005, 25, 108).<sup>130</sup> From here then only a short step to reading the three-dimensional power argued for by Lukes as akin to acknowledging the relational and contradictory processes present in the creation of the built environment. Spatially expressed as a revolutionary force in the constantly mutating relationship between forms of production and forms of consumption - or in Marxist terms between capital and labour, between appropriation and subversion - where, in Harvey’s argument, the spatial is under constant threat of being annihilated as capitalist protocols desire its own reproduction. This was Harvey’s thesis in 1973 with the publication of *Social Justice and the City* and remains the central theme in all his formal work as geographer and social theorist.

“Whatever else it may entail, the ‘urban’ implies the creation of such a built environment as a resource system to facilitate capitalist production, exchange and consumption. This provides us with one clear point of contact between the study of the ‘urban’ and the study of capitalist society. And if our epistemological stance is correct, then the study of the ways in which the built environment is created and of the physical form it assumes will reveal a great deal about the nature of capitalism viewed as a totality. The built environment internalises within it the contradictory relations inherent in the accumulation of capital.” (Harvey 2001, 82)

This is not about defending or criticising Harvey and his employment of Marxist relational and dialectic thinking. What is being propositioned is that there is value in investigating the complexity of the urban field through the internal relations that constitute the condition. There are three important qualifying positions in this stance. First, and in agreement with Harvey, seeking to understand society from within rather than as abstraction constructed from the outside in a world of ‘things’. Second to argue for the rights of the collective when talking about society rather than the rights of the individual as is the case in capitalism’s purest form - as such ignoring the baggage carried with capitalist obsessions and concentrating on the notions of freedom, collective good and equality among other democratic ideals embodied in the constitutions of free societies. Third the acceptance that not all assemblages are stable or predictable, that not all members of a society are at the same distance from achieving their full democratic ‘right to the city’ and that competing forces in the urban field are essentially fluid and often temporal. This third qualifying position acknowledges “the contradictions arising out of the often antagonistic relations between the capitalist production system and non- or pre-capitalist sectors which may exist within capitalist economies (domestic sectors, peasant sectors, and so on) or be largely external to them (as in some Third-World countries or socialist

---

130 Lukes, Steven. *Power - a Radical View* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), (2nd edition), (1974)

countries)” (Harvey 2001, 80).<sup>131</sup> But moreover, it also asks that we accept such contradictions as being part of the fluid processes constituting mutations in the urban field. Chapter Six returns to this proposition with evidence from case studies and an expanded argument.

The argument for these three qualifying positions is becoming particularly clear when looking at the ideologies, strategies and tactics employed in the creation of spatially segregated worlds as is the case in Jerusalem where physical and other mutations are impacting on the lives of ‘others’. Deployed through spatial tactics and relational protocols aptly termed the *principles of conflict urbanism*.<sup>132</sup> Abstract relationships in a space conceived as zones, borders and lines that translate as physical barriers to individual movement and virtual checkpoints in a global security network that push borders to the point wherever one may find oneself at a given moment in space and time. The geopolitical frameworks that orchestrate conflict and exercise control over groups of people are taking place in abstract space and by the management of access to opportunity through economic instruments that depend on the very same spatial relationships. In extreme conditions these abstract relationships touch down and become physical barriers or the flotsam of ruined lives. We see occupied territories defined by barriers, empty big box retail under foreclosure or a line of stranded refugees fighting for a right to a new life. Spatial strategies that translate, in example, as yet another barrier being constructed in Jerusalem, layers of security protocols extending jurisdiction beyond US national boundaries or laws restricting the freedom of people not dissimilar than under past *Apartheid* policies in South Africa. Strategies that are abstractly conceived within macro level relationships, virtually deployed through sophisticated support systems and technology - yet spatial and real when experienced from the receiving end where the local interacts and transacts on the ground. We see this in Jerusalem where infra-structural projects are currently becoming almost impossible due to fragmented zones of control and an equally fragmented bureaucracy - a spatial control of a peculiar three-dimensional character as argued and illustrated by Eyal Weizman in *The Politics of Verticality*.<sup>133</sup> “Becoming a “temporary suspension” of those living with fewer and fewer rights against revised spatial arrangements within a constantly shifting geography.<sup>134</sup> The triangulated relationship abstractly framing concepts of ownership, invention and control allows sets of power relations to manifest spatially. Neither the framing, nor the concepts employed in this proposition are static and mutates fluidly through spatio-temporal moments

131 Harvey states this as a third category of contradictions in the dialectic thinking of Marxist theory when dealing with capitalist ideology centred on the domination of labour by capital. The other, for Harvey, being the antagonism between capital and labour and the antagonistic stance of the individual to his or her own class interest. See Harvey, D. *Spaces of Capital - towards a critical geography* (New York: Routledge, 2001)

132 The discussions, workshops and projects under the banner of *Learning from / for Jerusalem* that started in 2003 through collaboration by IPCC Jerusalem, the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design, Jerusalem, the Berlin University of Arts and ETH Zurich and the subsequent collection of essays produced under this banner allows for a profound insight into the spatial complexities of such conflict urbanism in a particular *site*. See Misselwitz, P and Tim Rieniets, eds., *City of Collision - Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism* (Basel: Birkhauser, 2006)

133 In discussion with the author during April 2003 and with more recent references given by Sari Hanafi in her contribution to “City of Collision” where, for example, water reservoir and distribution projects for villages in zone A and B becomes impossible because pipelines are not allowed to cross zone C. \*See Hanafi, S. “Spaciocide” in Misselwitz, P and Tim Rieniets, eds., *City of Collision - Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism* (Basel: Birkhauser, 2006), p94

134 Ibid, p96

as the process skews from a desire to own, a drive for entrepreneurial freedom to invent and a bureaucratic obsession for control. At the same time there exist an internal contradiction where the desire to resist from within the system, or externally through a fear of being marginalised, allows for novel forms of appropriation and subversion.

We need to imagine the relational and essentially spatial nature of abstract concepts, such as *power*, as not being simply a directed power over another, but constituting networked sets of power relations with influence over vast territories and codependent nations. With this broader understanding of such abstract concepts of *power, memory, freedom, truth, identity and control* as propositioned in the thesis, the value of employing a series of triangulated conceptual frames becomes clearer. The philosophical content and practical application of insights revealed through such a conceptual frame, in all possible disguises, become the whole of the translated concepts as it activates social relations and manifests spatially. Concrete barriers, secret tunnels, no-fly zones, coded gestures and digital messages - all dividing and binding communities.

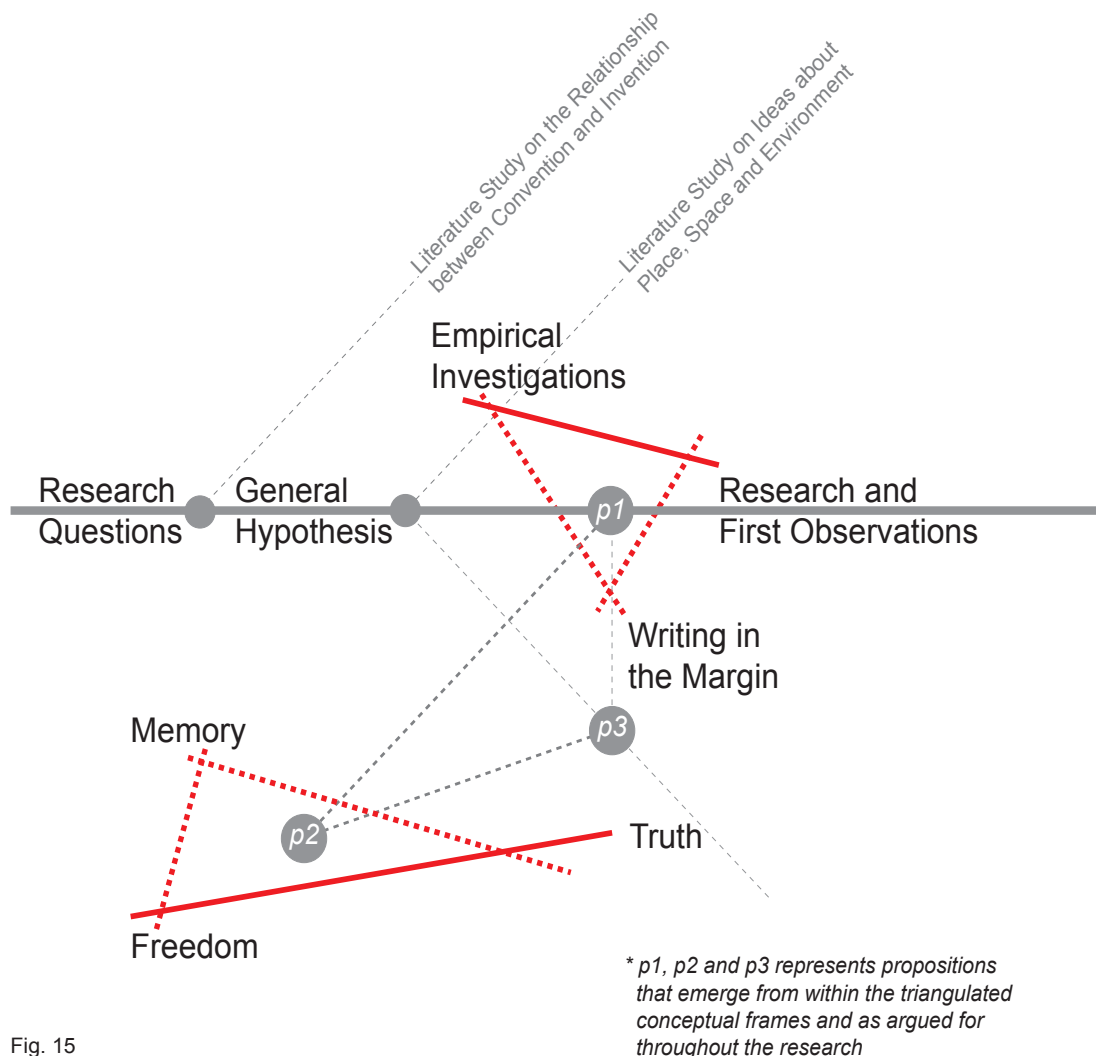


Fig. 15

Fig. 15 on the previous page abstractly illustrates one such conceptual frame that allows for a deeper understanding of the related concepts of *memory / freedom / truth* and in an ironic twist, also the frame that defines power and without revealing its most important secret - the fact that none of these concepts are innocent.

Most readers will agree that the colonial and post-colonial history of South Africa is probably the most compact of recent histories illuminating the issues under discussion and provide for an opportunity to import empirical insights through case studies and excursions into discreet events. The first excursion included in Part One introduced the founding colonial settlement and a second excursion below explores some of the narratives that have shaped the cultural history since then. These and other excursions are not case studies *per se* but supporting histories making a more persuasive reading of the empirical explorations and theoretical propositions possible.

In discussing the case of South Africa it is generally understood that the seeds of a policy of separate development, a notion of difference from the *other* and a strategy of controlled coexistence germinated long before the Apartheid government were in place. The roots of segregated rights and livelihoods can be found in the early nineteenth century, when British occupation of the Cape drew the colony into the world economy with the need for cheap labour in support of its wine and grain exports.<sup>135</sup>

Two hundred years after the *bibles were traded for the land* opportunistic circumstances and entrepreneurial ambitions coupled with greed, added to the complexity of power relations through the discovery of unprecedented diamond, and soon thereafter, gold deposits. The discovery of diamonds in the interior of South Africa in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century and the problem of housing a migrant labour force to work the mines at Kimberley<sup>136</sup> required a policy of control and a search system to prevent the theft of diamonds. The desire to control and isolate the workers throughout their 'contract' resulted in a housing typology known as the *compound* and by 1889 the roughly 10,000 strong black workforce at Kimberley was housed in seventeen closely controlled compounds. It has been argued that the coercive aspects of labour recruitment and disciplinary forms of the South African model is closely related to the Australian history of the convict system (Kennedy 1984, 38) and not dissimilar than the conditions on the diamond mines of Brazil at the same time (Wasserfall 1989, 91).

135 The administrative machinery was put into legislation by the British High Commissioner in Natal, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who imposed a comprehensive system of segregation on the colony between 1845 and 1876.

136 Diamonds were literally picked up in the veld. In 1868 a 21.25 carat diamond on the farm *De Kalk*, in 1869 an even larger stone on the same farm and in 1871 a 83.50 carat diamond on the farm *Vooruitzigt* belonging to the De Beers brothers. Within months a rush of men have created 800 claims. The Colonial Commissioners moved-in to claim the territory on behalf of the Cape Governor and with the establishment of *Griqualand* (land belonging to the Griqua people) as Crown Colony. The name changed from *Vooruitzigt* (Dutch) to "New Rush" (a vulgar term in the eyes of Lord Kimberley as Secretary of State for the Colonies) to Kimberley by proclamation dated the 5th of July, 1873. By 1873 it grew into the second largest town in South Africa (after Cape Town) with a population of 13,000 whites and 30,000 blacks. Kimberley boasted the first South African stock exchange (1881) and the first city in the southern hemisphere to install electric street lighting (1882). See Sparks, Alister. *The Mind of South Africa – The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (London: Mandarin, 1990)

With the discovery of gold deeper into the interior in 1886 the Kimberley compounds became the model for a building programme “on a scale which outstripped the Kimberley prototypes” (Chipkin 1998, 151). The Johannesburg and Witwatersrand mining revolution after the discovery of gold “was based on imported metropolitan capital, advanced technology and a rigid control over the largest component of the labour force via the migrant labour system” and as Chipkin states, with the essential element being that of controlled access to a vast supply of cheap African labour.



Fig. 16a An image from the nineteen fifties showing the dramatic influence of mining activity along the gold-belt - in this case looking south-west from Johannesburg. Image from the archives of AOC Geomatics



Fig. 16b One of many examples where informal settlements are encroaching onto undeveloped mining land since 1994, as in this case in Ekurhuleni, Gauteng Province, South Africa. Photograph by Andrew Watkins, 2010

Against this background of a housing typology that served the conditions of industrialisation and the first influx of migrant workers (both forced and voluntarily) we see the first tentative experiments with an architecture of domination. From Kimberley and Johannesburg as enclaves of power under the disguise of entrepreneurial activity, to Pretoria as ideological centre from where the sociopolitical and economic landscape of the *Union of South Africa* (1910-1960) and the current *Republic of South Africa* (1961-) would be shaped.

### Excursion Three: Constitutional Hill

Standing on the ramparts of the old Boer Republic's fort<sup>137</sup> on Braamfontein Ridge in Johannesburg allows for good views towards the green residential suburbs to the North, with a closer view of the inner city high rise neighbourhoods of Hillbrow and Berea to the South, and Braamfontein with the University Of The Witwatersrand directly west. Unknown to the general public, the William Cullen Library at the University holds a special treasure of three very large paintings succinctly encapsulating South Africa's history - from that of becoming a marker in the search for a route to the East, of being colonised in succession by the Dutch, British, German and the French<sup>138</sup>, and finally of becoming a free and inclusive society in 1994. The first painting by Amshewitz on the left of the library atrium (fig. 17) depicts the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama at the moment in 1497 when King Manuel I handed him his seal of approval and instruction. The second painting by Colin Gill facing the visitor on entering the atrium captures the British Settlers arriving at Algoa Bay in 1826 after safely rounding the Cape of Storms (fig. 18).<sup>139</sup>

These two earlier works painted in the thirties and shipped to South Africa from England, reflect the social and political reality of the moment it wishes to portray, and significantly, also the sentiment around the time of each work's respective date of production. The third painting on the right by Cyril Coetzee (fig. 19) was commissioned for the library in 1995, an equally significant date, and imports past histories in a layered reconstruction of myth, memory, and invented narrative.

In this enigmatic fold of the early Modernist library one is confronted with the representation of each of those discrete moments that were to become the seeds of the future South Africa. At first a moment of heroic and entrepreneurial ambition, then a moment of claiming ownership under an ideology of superiority and difference, and in the most recent moment, a reflection upon, and a projection of relative reconciliation between the culturally diverse groups collectively referred to as the rainbow nation. A nation constituted of the native born, those that came with a superior ability to claim ownership, and the many others that arrived through circumstance.

137 Often also referred to as Kruger's Old Fort, and in reference to President Paul Kruger (1825-1904), who was the first president of the young *Transvaal Republic*.

138 The Dutch in 1652, eager to establish a trading post and supply stop for their journeys between Europe and the East, the French Huguenots in 1685 fleeing religious persecution, the British Settlers imported to occupy and defend the Cape's East frontier in 1820, and with Germany taking control of *Süd-West Afrika* (Namibia)

139 The Cape of Storms; "...and which Ptolemy, Pompey, Strabo, Pliny, nor any authors knew of..." (Landeg White, translation for Oxford University Press, 1997) – beautifully described in *The Lusíads* by Luís Vaz de Camões as first published in 1572. A 1884 translation by J.J. Aubertin reads as; "I am that mighty Cape occult and grand" and distinctly closer to the Baroque context of Camões – see endnote 6 below. His epic undertaking (for the most part started, and worked at, during his stay in India after following the same route around the Cape of Storms in an attempt to escape repercussions following a duel), was inspired by Vasco da Gama's first journey around the Cape to India in 1497. His first success was repeated a few years later, and in 1524 he returned to India as Viceroy.

Travellers arriving in Southern Africa, now as in the past, soon discover the realities from which traditions have been moulded. The landscape, the many histories, the indigenous knowledge and perceptions all reflecting the polymorphic national character, which, through too casual an observation, can easily appear fragmented and woven into an unpredictable patchwork.



Fig. 17



Fig. 18

Narratives of a people, their locality, their origins, and their cultural mutation often resemble a fluid incorporation of myth, song, story and quasi scientific facts underpinning the work of cultural historians. This holds equally true for Southern Africa where the early encounters between Europeans and Africans on the subcontinent began as a meticulously documented history through the extensive journals of the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama's first of three journeys from Lisbon via the Cape to India between 1497 and 1499, and later

being re-conceived<sup>140</sup> as myth by the European Luís Vaz de Camões in his 1572 epic *The Lusiad*.<sup>141</sup> This epic reveals the realm of Adamastor<sup>142</sup> (fig. 20) as a dual abstraction where monotheistic Christianity is subverted by the more fluid cosmology of the Classical pantheon.

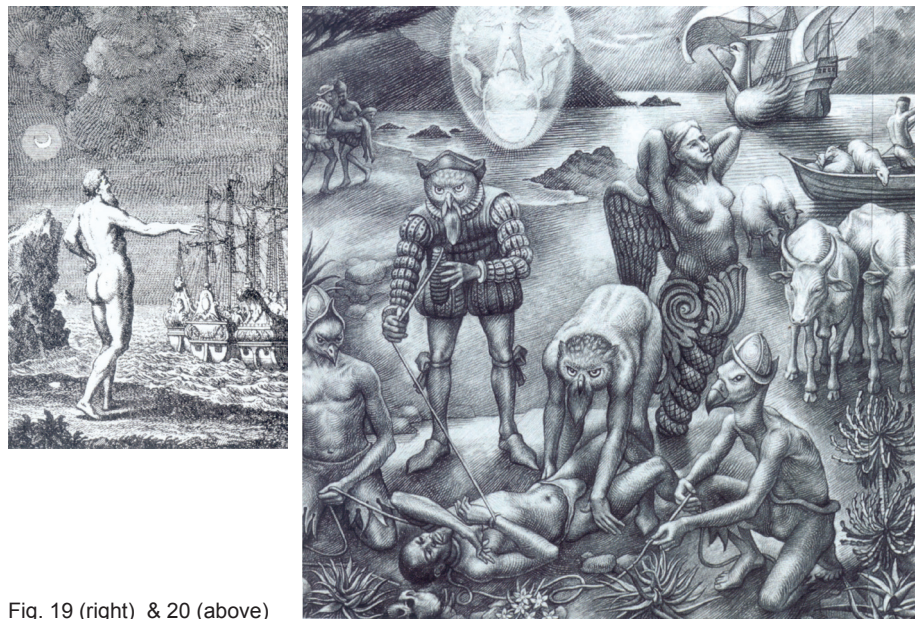


Fig. 19 (right) & 20 (above)

Adamastor emerges from the sea as a mythical giant to warn against a realm where danger and wonder, beauty and pain coexist. This was a cape of implacable hostility at the southernmost point on the African continent, where Europeans met the Khoi for the first time. In his projection of the myth onto Africa, Camões elaborates further: “Adamastor, his ‘flesh’ transmogrified into hard earth, his ‘bones’ ... turned to rocks all rough and strange is transformed by the gods into this cape remote”. He is the “horrid monster” who guards the passage around the southernmost tip of Africa.

But as is true in myth, the vernacular is not a static expression, and appears to live many lives and die many deaths. It hides in the shadow of memory through times of change. Only when we become aware of a consistency between incompatibles can we say we have crossed the threshold of the enigmatic and have removed the cloak that shields the birth of the next phase in the mutation of tradition. In these moments memory slips from the hands of the craftsman into new life and becomes a new form - a metamorphosis of the old.

140 Brink, Andre. P. “A Myth of Origin” in *T’kama-Adamastor – inventions of Africa in a South African painting*. Ed. Ivan Vladislavić (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000)

141 Camões, LV de. *The Lusiards*. trans., JJ Aubertin (London: Kegan Paul, 1884)

142 Concerning the origins of the name Adamastor, we can learn from Rabelais, F. *The Heroic Deeds of Gargantua and Pantagruel* (London: publisher unknown, 1933) that Adamastor was the twenty-second in line of sixty forebears of Pantagruel. Again, Camões tells us that Adamastor was one of the giant Titans who rebelled against Zeus and desired the nymph Thetis and on a moonlight night rushing to embrace her ‘angelic form’, finds himself clutching not the object of his desire, but a rock. In the instant of his passionate embrace, he is himself transformed into the rocky Cape. In Greek mythology however, reference is made to the ‘untamed’ or ‘wild’ Adamastos, and with the name Adamastor for the first time appearing in Latin in the fourth century CE

In retrospect one is tempted to think that Cyril Coetzee's T'kama-Adamastor (1995) painting was the first necessary step in crossing the threshold through a translation process of what could become an architectural equivalent in the redevelopment of Constitutional Hill as site, and a line of thought that will become clearer in what follows. Into the second decade beyond the transition into a democracy South Africans are still negotiating the threshold where the translation of collective memory, the redefinition of identities, and the appropriation of important sites result in the re-configuration of territories through conflict, through agreement and through compromise.

Constitutional Hill, as such a site, straddles a typical Highveld ridge, although in this case a watershed with water flowing into the Atlantic, and from the other side, into the Indian Ocean. Below the surface a 300 mile long river of gold intersects with the site, the history of the city, and the history of each individual in the country. The site holds layer upon layer of significant memories that became the excavated, the engraved, the extruded, and the reconstructed product of a multitude of histories. A cursory glance over the 1899 Fort, the 1910 prison extensions, the 1940 Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital<sup>143</sup>, the new Constitutional Court, or the emerging complementary buildings and public spaces does not expose the richness, or the complexity of the site.

The same ridge became the preferred location for the Victorian mansions of the new gold barons and industrialists enjoying the northern aspect in the direction of Sterkfontein and one of the oldest known sites of human settlement, now a World Heritage Site known as *The Cradle of Humankind*. From this viewpoint the wonder of industrialisation must have been seductive and threatening to the indigenous communities, and equally so for the many different tongues of the miners on the other side of the ridge. Johannesburg exploded into reality with the discovery of gold in 1886 and the young Republic, under President Paul Kruger in the capital Pretoria, 30 miles north, was forced to defend their riches and very soon also their proclaimed independence from British Colonial rule. The first Anglo-Boer War was won by the young Republic but soon followed by the subversive Jameson Raid on Johannesburg - orchestrated by Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit in 1895 - yet again quelled by Kruger's commandos.

A few uncertain years later saw the start of the second Anglo-Boer War which lasted from 1899 to 1902 and led to the building of a fort on the ridge, but with not a single shot fired as Kruger decided instead to fortify and defend the capital Pretoria. Between the two wars, from the years 1881 to 1899, four Boer Republic fortifications were constructed on the hills around Pretoria to the designs of French and German military engineers<sup>144</sup>. In Johannesburg, the Old Fort on Braamfontein Ridge was used as a temporary prison during the war years and by 1910 with the formation of the Union of South Africa, became an official prison of increasing notoriety.

---

143 The 1940 Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital and Nurses Home (designed by Gordon Leith) are to be redeveloped as inner city residential accommodation that will further allow for the appropriation of the Constitutional Hill precinct

144 What is perhaps less known is the fact that as many as 250 fortifications were constructed in the Pretoria district during these inter-war years, and with many sites lost or extensively damaged through urban development. Some of the sites still show the layered alterations done by the successive waves of political control over the region. See Thomson, Barrie. "The Forts of Pretoria - our vanishing history." *Lantern*, 38.2 (Pretoria: Foundation for Education, Science & Technology, 1989)

From its inception prisoners were segregated, first according to colour, and naturally also by gender. Treatment, amenities, food and privileges favoured white prisoners, and discriminated against prisoners of “mixed blood” and most severely against black prisoners. By the time of the Miners’ Strike or so-called Rand Revolt of 1922, the Old Fort and the prison were slowly disappearing from collective memory.<sup>145</sup> By 1948, with the National Party firmly in power, the city and the privileged minority had effectively erased the site from memory.

The idea of white or “pure blood” superiority has a long and troublesome history and is not unique to South Africa. This belief in hierarchical differences among races was being translated far beyond the prison walls. Numerous scholars have reflected on the arrogance of the colonial rulers’ assumed position as “keepers of the land” and the direct translation of such a superiority complex<sup>146</sup>.

The topography of the site and the labyrinth of built structures allow for two distinct moments in reflecting upon the relationships between those in control and those being controlled. The first, or controlling position, allowed a view down from the ramparts of the Old Fort into the prison courtyards below and the city of gold beyond; the second confined position, a view from looking up from within the walls to those that guard and the sky beyond<sup>147</sup>. The re-configuration of territory in colonial South Africa (as in all colonial histories) relied upon the deliberate and clear definition of the boundaries between those in control and those who had to be controlled and marginalised. The creation of these zones of control, these border conditions, started almost immediately after the Dutch created their provisions post at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. Within the first few years of Jan van Riebeeck’s arrival at this remote cape the Dutch had the idea of dismembering the outpost from the rest of the continent by creating a canal between Table Bay and False Bay. The project proved to be too ambitious, but they did create a hedge of Bitter Almond trees and a fence of poles - parts of which still exist - and in an attempt to separate the people of the peninsula from the indigenous people of the interior. From this first boundary and the second frontier zone created by the British Settlers along the eastern reaches of the occupied land followed line after line of physical and abstract constructs based on ideologies of absolute difference and of gross indifference.

By 1885 (one year before the discovery of gold at what was to become the Witwatersrand goldfields) European politicians, grouped around a map of Africa during a Berlin meeting, arrogantly divided the continent among themselves. These boundaries ignored ecological units, ethnicity, and moral belief systems and they have persisted beyond colonial rule into the realities of today. In such moments of significant change, it is left to artists to capture,

---

145 Effectively also hiding politically unwanted individuals from the minds eye. At different times, and in response to different circumstances, the Boer General Christiaan de Wet, and both the iconic human rights activists Gandhi, and Mandella

146 See Hermann Giliomee and Alister Sparks for a view from within South Africa. Sparks, Alister. *The Mind of South Africa – The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (London: Mandarin, 1990) and with a more recent and perhaps more balanced view, Giliomee, Hermann. *The Afrikaners – biography of a people* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003). In recent years various international conferences, discussion forums, and research units have argued similar observations. One such example is the *OpenDemocracy* debate on “Multiculturalism: Translating Difference” and where authors such as David Goldberg, Paul Gilroy, and Neal Ascherson discuss the complexities underlying spatial tactics in multicultural societies. <<http://www.opendemocracy.com>> (9 January 2005)

147 Popular belief holds that political prisoners communicated with the outside world through coded hand signals visible to compatriots in surrounding flats on the ridge, and with a clear view into the prison courtyards

to remember, to translate, to reflect and to protest. Becoming, in Carol Becker's words the "mnemonic aids" that capture and make sense of acts of arrogance, of indifference, of remembering, and of attempts at extracting the truth and forging a degree of reconciliation.<sup>148</sup> During the years of struggle it was the arts - and notably through literature and drama - which most visibly opposed the spatial control exercised over the marginalised majority. Within the framework of the new constitution we are seeing the re-configuration of public and private space in an equally liberal re-appropriation of the spatial by all sectors in the democratic society, and with the complementary work of artists co-opted in support of such public projects.

In looking at a people and their context, as this excursion does, one finds notions of place and space existing simultaneously in the land, in the urban field, in people's minds, in their customs, and in their bodily practices. In a manner of speaking one navigates the shifting balance in the socio-spatial field. In order to understand such historical 'spatialisation', one needs to understand the perceived space of the everyday, the theoretical conceived space of politicians and their geographers and planners, and equally, the lived space of the imagination kept alive and rendered significant through the liberal arts. This understanding appears along the trajectory intersecting these categories, and describing the relationship among many such sites existing in physical place and abstract space. Although it is the Constitutional Hill site which is being explored here, the reader is reminded that the project is evolving along with similar projects - including the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, the Nelson Mandela Museum in the Eastern Cape, the Hector Pieterson Museum in Soweto, the Robben Island Museum, and the Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth<sup>149</sup>. More abstract, ongoing projects - in example the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Commemoration Project<sup>150</sup> - may prove to be the most enduring and rigorous in continuing the process started by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

As stated in Part One, the Constitutional Hill site in Johannesburg served as plausibility probe for many of the propositions put forward in this thesis. As one of the sites of empirical investigation it exists within a political landscape that is complex, fascinating and layered. Whether studied through the lens of classic historical materialism, as a biopic investigation illustrating informing postcolonial discourse, or with a more pluralistic methodology as argued for in this thesis.

148 Becker, Carol. "Memory and Monstrosity", *Performance Research*, 5.3 (New York: Routledge, 2004)

149 Lesser known projects included an innovative archaeological search to locate the grave of Enoch Sontonga (the composer of sections of the new South African anthem) in the Braamfontein Cemetery that was started in 1995 by among others, archaeologists of the University of the Witwatersrand; and the years of convincing the French government to return the remains of Sara Baartman (better known as *Saartjie Baartman* in its diminutive Afrikaans form) who was taken to England as curiosity in 1810, sold to an animal trainer in France in 1814, exhibited to the public, scientists and artists by Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, spend her last years among other exotic fauna and flora in the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris, and upon her death in 1816, was dissected by George Cuvier, catalogued, and kept in the depths of the *Musée de l'Homme*. \*The remains of Sara Baartman were finally returned to South Africa at the beginning of 2005. Also see the much awarded documentary film *The Life and Times of Sara Baartman: the Hottentot Venus*. First Run/Icarus Films. Dir. Zola Maseko. 52 minutes, colour, 1998

150 The Centre of Memory and Commemoration Project is a collaborative project spearheaded by the Nelson Mandela Foundation, and includes archival projects, exhibitions, and publications. Worth mentioning are the "466/64: A Prisoner Working in the Garden" exhibition and subsequent publication *A Prisoner in the Garden - opening Nelson Mandela's prison archive*. Nelson Mandela Foundation (Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2005)

The various sites that together provide the empirical insights can be visualised as in the diagram below and positions the selected case study sites abstractly within the post-apartheid spatial narrative.

Within the process of re-configuring the South African landscape we see certain sites appearing as iconic markers towards which most people (both citizens and visitors) respond with acceptance and optimism. These sites circle the gravitational pull of hope instilled through the constitution and the truth and reconciliation process. Fig. 21 illustrates two such markers. The Constitutional Hill site (C) and the Newtown Precinct (N). Closer to the core of what democracy should hold for the majority we see sites unaffected - places such as Winterveld (W), other areas slowly integrating with the larger fabric, as is the case with Denneboom in Mamelodi (D) and Alexandra (A) in Johannesburg. Yet other sites remain disconnected from the collective memory and seems particular to smaller groups in society. The Museum of Struggle at the 'Red Location' (R) in Port Elizabeth falls in this category. Each of the sites exhibit unique characteristics, yet overlap in their significance and in the formations that intersect and became part of a larger discourse.

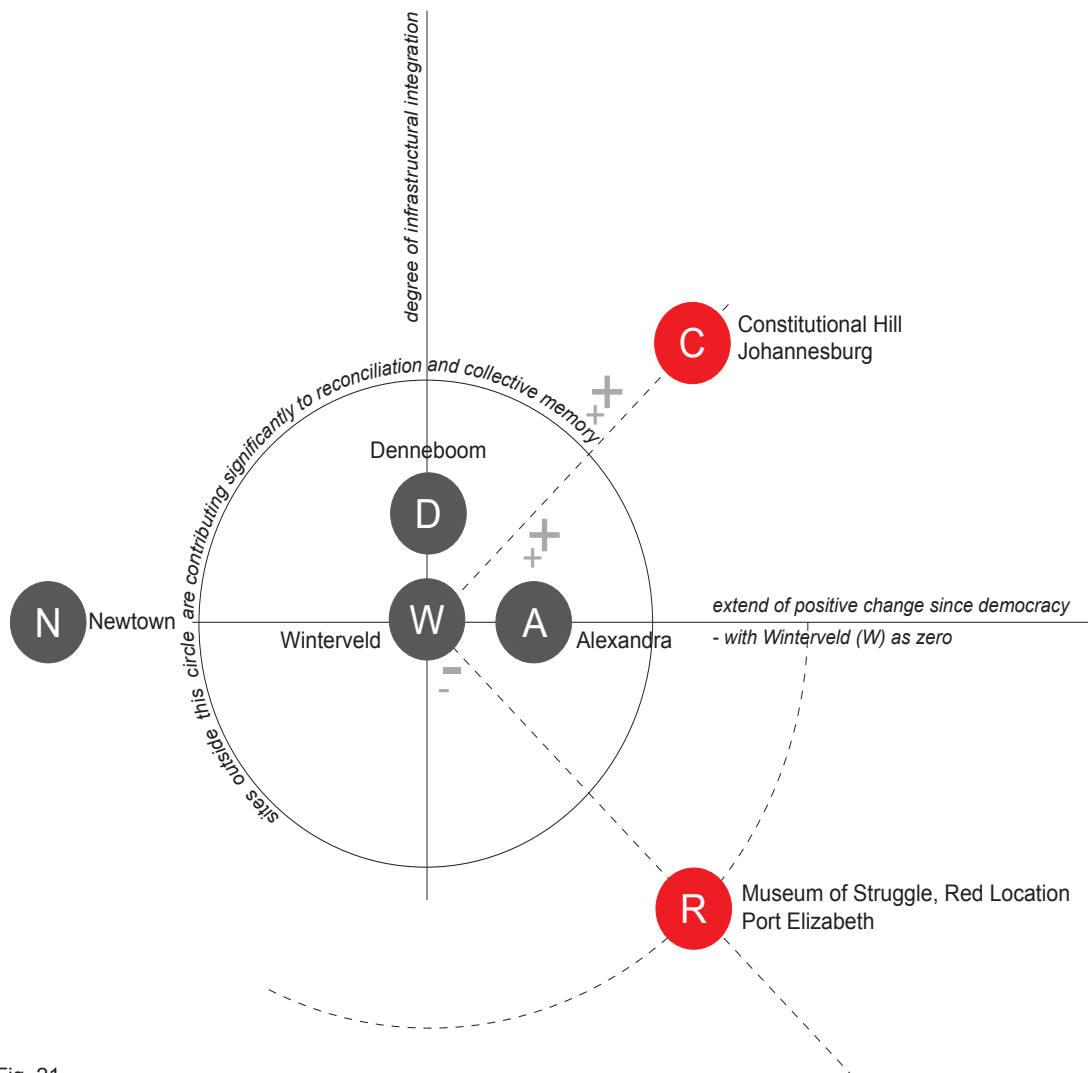


Fig. 21

From a politico-juridical perspective the performance of space is abstracted and quantified. This was true under the colonial expansion and the minority controlled Union of South Africa, and remains true under the present government. Planners, architects and engineers sit awkwardly between governmental planning agencies, entrepreneurial and opportunistic developers, and the affected communities. The language and representations being used to keep this triangulated dance routine going is finely tuned to each respective audience, and secretly coded when used privately. Each of these stake-holder groups sees a triangulated set of relationships surrounding them without fully comprehending their relative stance and employing their own coded language to make sense of the relationship and to vent frustration. Power relations in South Africa have, and are still being choreographed through representations finely tuned to their respective audiences. During the period from 1930 to the late 1950's people were grouped into 'tribes' on the fringes of the cities under the banner of mother-tongue education and the benefits of a healthy home life. Different spatial models were investigated and tested. Outside Pretoria in the township of Vlakfontein,<sup>151</sup> housing designs translated from first vernacular 'kraal' configurations were being built. What we know now was that these model towns were part of the obsession to order and clean, control labour flows, and resulted in gender and ethnic selective urbanisation. Slums or 'black spots' were portrayed as criminal and immoral places. Thousands of people were moved from racially mixed and culturally vital neighbourhoods into segregated new towns, and migrant workers into ethnic selective hostels. This process started with the 1913 Land Act, intensified through the period of rapid urbanisation between 1933 and 1948, accelerated and became entrenched within the politico-juridical formation of the Nationalist Party after winning the 1948 election. It is important to note that the case of South Africa does not simply reflect another example of race prejudice but that the idea of difference, superiority and the need for segregation expressed under Apartheid was also fuelled by a belief among the Afrikaner minority that their survival in the land was a divinely ordained right.<sup>152</sup> By the time of the creation of the Republic of South Africa in 1961, the post-war generation of the white minority in control perceived their individual freedom and superior standing as a given.

With the abolition of apartheid and as part of the negotiating process we saw socioeconomic and sociopolitical proposals being portrayed in almost utopian fashion. After the failure of the inclusively negotiated and consensual Reconstruction and Development Programme<sup>153</sup> (RDP), a team of technical experts whose claim to legitimacy lay in an econometric modelling exercise - criticized from outside and inside the ANC - proposed the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), and used the globalization narrative to argue for its

---

151 Vlakfontein is now called Mamelodi. Denneboom Station is located at the principle modal transfer node as one enters Mamelodi and is one of the sites of empirical investigation

152 As President Malan expressed in coming to power in 1948; "Our history is the greatest masterpiece of the centuries. We hold this nationhood as our due for it was given us by the Architect of the Universe ..... Indeed, the history of the Afrikaner reveals a will and a determination which makes one feel that Afrikanerdom is not the work of men but the creation of God." Quoted by Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: Cal., 1975), 28-29

153 Ideas put forward by COSATU during the 1993 'reconstruction accord' and put into place after the ANC election victory of 1994 The RDP Base Document, consisting of 146 pages was widely distributed



material realities on the ground.<sup>155</sup> The idea that neo-liberal policies would lead to a 'trickle down' of opportunities has been proven wrong, and as David Dewar rightly argues, poverty cannot be tackled obliquely, stating it as one of the few lessons that have emerged absolutely unambiguously through international case studies over the last few decades<sup>156</sup>

It is within this reality that the majority of South Africans must exist. The sprawling, low-density, fragmented and separated form of South African cities is aggravating and entrenches poverty, inequality and unemployment. Dewar, among others, argues for a policy of controlled compaction or implosion to increase the performance of prototypical South African urban environments (Dewar, 1991). From the podium of academic discourse it seems logical to argue for integration and a more compact, diversified environment. The reality is however more complex. As example, in places like Winterveld hardly anything has changed. Contiguously envisioned as a contributing regional source of labour for the benefit of the capitol Pretoria, and now part of the larger metropolitan planning zone of Tswane, the region remains as much an anomaly in the post-Apartheid urban landscape as it was from it's beginning. In other examples high density depressed remnants of past segregated townships that exist within or in close proximity of city cores are under pressure from an uncontrolled influx of people in search of opportunity. Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain on the fringe of Cape Town and Alexandra in the heart of Johannesburg show such fractures.

Beyond the mainstream narrative of those in power and those responsible to communicate change to those on the ground, remains the reality of poverty, rare opportunity, critically high unemployment figures, and one of the highest HIV/AIDS infection rates in the world. This is relatively well observed and commented upon, locally and internationally. Less visible and hardly commented on are the subversive tactics of illegal immigrants, criminal networks and gated communities privileged by past and current bureaucratic malfunction. It is within this tangled set of power relations that another species of 'site' is emerging. Sites where the intensity of forces on the ground creates a series of interfaces of variable viscosity. Legal frameworks shadowed by extralegal activities, formal trade patterns subverted by informal networks, systems of sophisticated technology subversively being challenged, complex social organisation misrepresented through the media, access to capital translated into control and ownership, and with the survival tactics of the marginalised creating fluid and dynamic forms of activism. Degrees of resistance and activist practice exist in any healthy society. Yet, in contested territories subversion and appropriation follow intersecting trajectories that are

---

155 See Hart, G. *Disabling Globalization – Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), p33

156 David Dewar has been intimately and critically involved with planning, research, modelling, and planning practice in South Africa, most notably in his role within the Urban Problems Research Unit at the University of Cape Town. See Dewar, D., Watson, V. et al. "The Structure and Form of Metropolitan Cape Town: Origins, Influences and Performance". University of Cape Town, Urban Problems Research Unit, Working Paper No. 42, 1991

often privileged over other forms of social expression, and exist as a parallel set of power relations grounded in different sociopolitical frameworks.<sup>157</sup>

Locating the 'other' in the South African sociopolitical landscape - from whichever relative position one wishes to search - inevitably leads one into the trap of a series of colonial dispositions. Even after inverting perceptions and creating a framework of acceptance over a decade of democracy, uneven development, territorial conflict, and misrepresentations play out in claims to ownership of space. Such claims are both materialistic and symbolic, and translate into competing ideas about the performance of such spaces.

### **Truth, Forgiveness and Memory**

Territorial re-configuration in South Africa, as in many other contexts, happened in the past under a banner of self-determinism and the perceived benefits of the dominant development paradigm peculiarly fashioned to serve the sociopolitical agenda of the controlling minority, and more recently, the undoing of past processes under the banner of reconciliation and forgiveness through processes of reconstruction and development. Undoing also "the cumbersome and highly inefficient process of occupying territories, cities and buildings" employed under Apartheid to occupy the institutional and infra-structural life of the suppressed cultures (Ingraham, 1998: 204) The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the adoption of a very progressive constitution are the mechanisms used in undoing the wrongs of the past, while projecting desire, truth, and hope into the future.

In the case of South Africa, as is surely also the case in similar sites of conflict and territorial re-configuration after relative reconciliation - Chile, Germany and a number of Eastern European countries - there is evidence of a deep desire for truth, forgiveness and an eagerness to reposition previously obscure mnemonic aids within formal and public space. Not surprising, the processes involved in making these desires as real as possible are less abstract than at first glance. The *art of memory* employs gesture, theatre, dance, song, art, documentary photography, markers of physical places and architecture that all exist in or manifest as distinct spatial constructs. Often mundane gestures that signal political alliance or food choices available at taxi ranks displayed as crude menus in *fanagalo* - that context specific *lingua franca* composed of a mixture of Zulu, Afrikaans and English.<sup>158</sup> In other instances carefully crafted and strategically employed installations or performances that cuts to the bone in its beauty and pain - as in the play *Ubu and the Truth Commission* (1997) or the performance designed by Strangelove depicting the life of Sarah Baartman.<sup>159</sup> Larger and more permanent devices include urban

157 See Bayat, A. "Uncivil Society: The politics of the informal people", *Third World Quarterly*, 18.1, (1997): 53-72, and Castells, M. "Grassrooting the Space of Flows", *Urban Geography*, 20.4, (1999)

158 Fanagalo - as South African variant - is the only Zulu-based pidgin language, and is a rare example of a pidgin based on an indigenous language rather than on the language of a colonising power. As second language it was used by hundreds of thousands of people as a language of instruction and interaction in contexts where people of different ethnic backgrounds had to function together.

159 "They look at me and that's All They Think" directed by Carlo Gibson with actress/performer/choreographer Neliswe Xaba staged in Johannesburg, Cape Town and France. The company Strangelove consists of Carlo Gibson and Zimek Pater.

and architectural projects, such as the redevelopment of Constitutional Hill, and the range of projects described above. These projects, installations and vernacular gestures exist in those interstitial spaces of opportunity in the overlap of the triangulated relationship between the desire for truth, for forgiveness and for memory.

In the run-up to the first democratic elections of 1994 protracted negotiations among politicians, clergymen, and behind the scene actors resulted in what became known as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which started its work under the chairmanship of Archbishop Desmond Tutu<sup>160</sup> in 1995. All South Africans were given the option to confess, and as a reward for a full and honest confession, could receive indemnity and collective forgiveness.<sup>161</sup> The collection of confessions, stories, and explanations became five volumes in a recorded attempt to bridge the far reaches of a people's personal and collective - although as many would rightfully interject - subjective understanding of the monster that was Apartheid. This is where the process stopped, and what the media coverage did not achieve during the life of the commission, is being played out through post-commission debate, literature, and art. The ongoing attempt at healing through the truth and reconciliation process includes ritualised re-enactment, the telling of events as people experienced them and building upon the mandate as originally entrusted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission towards the transformation of personal pain into collective responsibility.<sup>162</sup>

The importance of the relationship between *memory*, *freedom* and *truth* became painfully clear during the tenure of the TRC. This triangulated relationship became the theatre of forgiveness where act after act allowed such abstract concepts to move beyond juridical impulses. Derrida talks about an "ecology of memory" that can never be normal under circumstances where the *forgiving of the unforgivable* is being asked; in his words, "a madness of the impossible". Questioning the role of institutional mediation and the desire for justice, punishment or some form of reparation (Derrida: 2001). In this frame it may be useful to see the formal role, indeed the mandate of the TRC, as one of reconciliation only. Any individual or collective call for absolute forgiveness as any desire for punishment surfaced first through recorded testimonies and later in conflict captured through everyday practices, art and politics outside the reach of the commission. A willingness to allow *memory* to aid in this baring of *truth* allowed the translation of *freedom* to take hold. This remains the hope of all actively engaged in the reconciliation process, then as now.

---

160 Desmond Tutu was the Archbishop of the Anglican Church of South Africa, and his deputy on the TRC, Alex Boraine, a previous minister of the Methodist Church in South Africa

161 Instructed through the mechanism of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 (Government Gazette 1995) and to "provide as complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes, and extent of gross violations of human rights" committed between 1 March 1960 and 5 December 1993. See Holiday, Anthony. "Forgiving and Forgetting: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." *Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa*. Eds., Nuttall, S & Carli Coetzee (Cape Town: Oxford UP, 1998)

162 Becker (2004), 60

This process is now entering a more mature and reflective stage with concepts of forgiveness and memory, desire and fear, beauty and pain being translated into new alliances and new identities through ongoing explorations through art and in the lived environment by disciplines as diverse as archaeology, urban planning and architecture. The re-configuration of the physical and the imagined at Constitutional Hill contain most aspects of the changing circumstances since the drastic sociopolitical shift and visibly and succinctly condense the many histories and the many possible futures. During the years of struggle before democracy, the personal for the most part became the political and artists lived inside their stories, entangled in a web of the personal and the public, the story and the history.<sup>163</sup> De-constructing the Apartheid years through processes of remembering and forgetting is ultimately predicated on the functions of memory, and the enigmatic possibility that truth can be evoked. The archaeological nature of this work ultimately means that one has to return to the silent or silenced landscapes of the past.<sup>164</sup>

At this point it is useful to introduce the mechanisms that were used to create the reconstructed representations of histories and possible futures on the Constitutional Hill site - not the least through a number of discreetly provocative architectural interventions.

In 1990 – a year after the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Pan-African Congress (PAC), and other political alliances existing outside of the formal political and legal structures during the years of Apartheid – architecture students from the University of the Witwatersrand were asked to remake the spaces of confinement at the site of the Old Fort and prisons on Braamfontein Ridge. Since then a dense network of events led to what is today called Constitutional Hill and the democratic ideals that became the absolute principles embodied in the constitution, the relative forgiveness and healing achieved through the truth and reconciliation process, and the re-articulation of meaning through art, architecture and shared reflection. A few years later in 1998 Lindsey Bremner of the School of Architecture at the University of the Witwatersrand put the site forward as a possible location for the intended new Constitutional Court. She was supported by Judges Kriegler and Sacks among others, and the Johannesburg Metro Council agreed by appointing conservation architects Derek and Vivienne Japha, together with Professor Herbert Prins, to survey the existing and establish conditions for an international architectural competition. The jury included architects Charles Correa and Geoffrey Bawa and requested six project teams to develop their first stage submissions further before awarding the first prize to the Durban based group OMM Design Workshop & Urban Solutions with Janina Masojado, Andrew Makin and Paul Wygers. Up to this stage the project was controlled by the public works department and it took the establishment of Blue IQ in 2001, as semi-autonomous agency under the Gauteng Provincial Administration, to secure finance, create

---

163 Brink, André. "Stories of History: Re-imagining the past in post-apartheid narrative." *Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa*. Eds., Nuttall, S & Carli Coetzee (Cape Town: Oxford UP, 1998), 32

164 Ibid. 32

the management protocols, and finalise the appointments<sup>165</sup>. The Constitutional Court, certain sections of the museum installations in the Old Fort and the urban space now called *Constitutional Square* opened in early 2004<sup>166</sup>. The Gender Commission Building on the site of the old women's goal was again the result of an open architectural competition won by local architect Kate Otten, and opened to the public at the end of 2005.

Conceptually, the competitions asked for an architecture that will reflect the principles of freedom, equality, dignity, democracy, non-racism, non-sexism, social justice, rule of law, and reconciliation as embodied in the constitution. It reminded architects to reflect upon the timeless tradition of African court proceedings that take place under a tree within the community and with full access and respectful observation by the young, by women, and in certain instances even by outsiders.

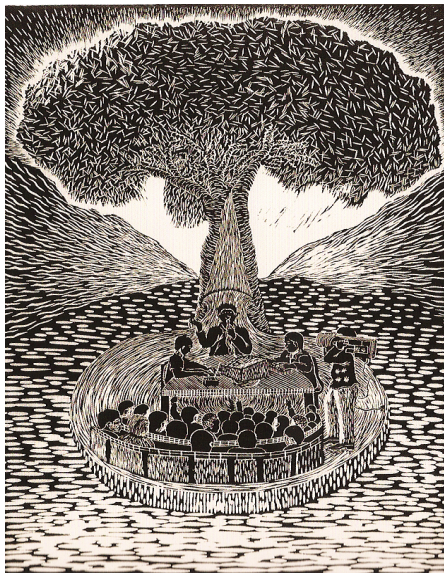


Fig. 23 "Making Democracy Work"  
A linocut by Sandile Goje representing  
the idea of justice under a tree

Early nineteenth century travellers recorded the open debate and remarkably democratic structure of decision-making processes<sup>167</sup> and what is commonly described and now understood by all South Africans, both black and white, as the principle of "ubuntu"<sup>168</sup> - ideas about sharing, charity, and cooperation, and most clearly defined through the Xhosa proverb which holds that people are people through other people.

165 Blue IQ was tasked with the project development of 11 prestigious sites considered to be of national importance

166 Other projects include the creation of roughly 950,000 square foot of complementary commercial and residential development which will double the current investment of roughly ZAR425,000,000 (£45,000,000) that went into the creation of the public buildings and space, the acquisition of art, dynamic and continuing art and museum installations and media coverage. Various institutions, governments and individuals contributed to the process and specifically in acquiring relevant and significant art work. The passionate and unrelenting efforts by Judge Albie Sachs needs specific acknowledgement. This *reach* by an individual beyond his primary role is one example of many similar commitments by individuals involved in the bigger *project* of community building in the South African society.

167 See Lichtenstein's accounts of 1803. Lichtenstein, H. *Travels in Southern Africa: In the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*. Vol. 1 & 2 (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1928, 1930)

168 In the Nguni languages *Ntu* is the ancestor who established human society and directed communal living in a society to be run to the benefit of all. *Ubu* refers to the abstract ideas of what it means to be human.

The entrance foyer of the new court is perhaps the most direct translation in the attempt to create a space for gathering in the shade of a tree as symbolic marker of place (fig. 23 on previous page and fig. 24 below). Other architectural devices include the court chamber constructed from re-used bricks salvaged from the male quarters of the old prison, and of which only the vertical staircases remain incorporated into the new building, and the articulated sunscreen of the western facade constructed from square bronze plates on which artists captured past memories through provocative etchings (Fig. 25).

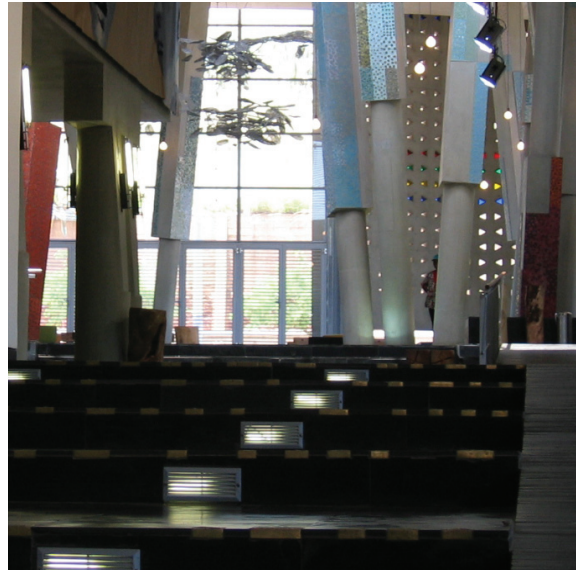


Fig. 24



Fig. 25

Certainly the reader will agree to the possibility of architecture or urban development projects moving beyond stylistic limitations, beyond subjective and partial interpretation of the social call, and into active, significant social practice as part of the cultural production of identity, reconciliation and of just spatial relationships. The translation of such utopian ideals as embodied in the constitution requires at least a partial re-configuration of territory and of

spatial relationships, which in the social context imply the political, and in turn are tactically deployed through production and consumption protocols, controlled under the disguise of economic strategy. The processes leading to the public projects, as is the case with the Constitutional Hill project, accepted the essentially spatial implications of the social, political, and economic frameworks that are challenging the way we think about space, rather than what we think about space and the making of place.

How the unforgivable can ever be forgiven, and what role art and design will play in the healing of the country, remains a paradoxical question - an aporetic dilemma which has remained the source of a continuous, mutating cultural project in human history. A project existing on the margins of an infinitely long, ever shifting frontier to which artistic and architectural practice are mandated to add significant meaning. In the case of the Constitutional Hill project the appropriation of ideas, processes, and the physical re-configuration of the space, required active collaborative commitment from all involved and affected. This process started with the student projects, the discussions with ex-prisoners, the open competition, the salvaging of reusable material, and the showing of Kentridge's *Nine Drawings for Projection* - a process which continues in the installation of etchings transferred from messages collected from visitors to the site. The architecture allows for views into the court chamber and the proceedings within, for casual visits to the circulation spaces functioning as art galleries, and for social interaction on the great African steps leading to the higher plane of Constitutional Square.

The deliberate and the organic processes of using art, craft and community involvement in the development of the project created a collaborative context which benefited the outcomes. The use of simple but strong imagery makes the site and the architecture accessible, and it is hoped that this modesty will illustrate the potential strength of such alternative processes going beyond mere stylistic and formalistic solutions. The collaborative making of place is an ongoing process and includes regular art installations, performances and further elaboration of the architectural project in an attempt to establish a fourth vernacular in the South African architectural lexicon. In almost exactly one hundred years the country has moved from the representation of unity under the banner of *Strength through Unity* (Eendracht Maakt Macht) and where the envisioned unity excluded the so-called 'nonwhites', to that of an iconographic exploration in the creation of an inclusive social space and a more open-ended reflection on the past and future on a threshold of change.

South African sociopolitical history is layered in acts of appropriation and re-appropriation, in the occupation and de-occupation of sites and territories, in tactical resistance and shrewd subversive manoeuvring. The birthplace of guerrilla warfare during the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War, of extreme control in the movement of people remaining engraved in the landscape and the minds of people, of highly sophisticated counter tactics that saw a resistance movement forged in the trains and taxis during hours of daily commuting, when group gatherings were outlawed under a state of emergency, and the capacity of a people to negotiate a peaceful transition. Carol Becker remarks "on a South Africa never looking forward without looking

back ...” suggests a patient, yet innovative ability to appropriate without fear and to react with subversive resilience when challenged.

Not all of these liberating processes benefit the social planners’ dream of an integrated and lived-in environment, and as the flight of the rich (both white and black) into gated residential and commercial estates, and the monotonous fields of newly created low-cost housing clearly attest to. The idea of liberty embedded in the constitution facilitates such counter productive options and can very easily translate into subversive protocols which can undo that which the Constitutional Court project clearly does achieve.

### **Differential Space and Subaltern Multi-location**

It was argued that the desire for truth, the desire for forgiveness and the importance of memory exist as abstractions and moreover, in relationship with material manifestations where informal gestures of the everyday are encouraged, tolerated or controlled through spatial relationships within the urban field. What should be observed is that the value of such spatial relationships are at risk when the instrumental logic of abstract space ignores dialectic contradictions by suggesting false imperatives - often concealing the inherent violence of such abstract notions of space. This becomes clear, in example when considering abstract financial relationships instrumental in the control of real or speculative surplus value of labour, land and capital - often resulting in territorial re-configuration and conditions of inequality. These relationships reveal more than need, desire or fear. Embedded within this larger network of spatial relationships is a coexisting, fine grained impulse for resistance with further contradictions. This is visible in the *thick* sets of relationships across many scales. Globally in the control of production and distribution flows and locally in examples of the distribution of basic food through informal vendors in the context of a nonexisting physical infrastructure such as in Haiti or Bangladesh. In both of these more unpredictable contexts specific financial instruments have helped to overcome the absence of physical infrastructure and the difficulty of accessing formal institutions. In the case of Haiti the robust social network among women selling fresh produce aided by micro-finance initiatives linked to financial education outside of the formal institutions, and in Bangladesh, through a government initiative of smart card technology allowing millions of small farmers access to finance, education and management skills.<sup>169</sup> These examples hint at tensions and contradictions in what we perceive as outside of our control and that what seems within reach; a strange coexistence of obscure spatial representations and actual lived space.

---

<sup>169</sup> Although not alone, the *Fonkoze* initiative established in 1994 in Haiti is the largest micro finance provider focusing on female clients and offering tiered loan products in response to the needs of different customer segments while ensuring that customers understand these products through a robust financial literacy program. Similarly, the issuing of smart card access to banking, financial management skills, technology transfer and data sharing through a government initiative promise to build capacity among the 20 million small farmers in Bangladesh. The first \$100 million will be distributed in the form of fuel credits. See <http://news.bbc.co.uk>. 16th February 2010

In the case of South Africa the many layered attempts at uncovering truth, allowing reconciliation, reconstruction and the redistribution of assets (including the implied opportunity of translating knowledge into power) play out within complex spatial constructs. When considering how the abstract notion of *forgiving the unforgivable* in post-Apartheid South Africa has led to the creation of numerous projects aiming at projecting a future where all citizens can actively contribute to an equitable social life, we see that the everyday realities for the majority have not changed. Representations of equality through spatial abstractions attempt to satisfy an appetite for equality that is often nothing but a second order abstraction in service of institutionalised sets of power relations - visible in popular media, corporate reports and academic discourse. In its most vulgar form when using images of racially, smiling couples advertising for gated community living outside the city core. Suggesting here that sociopolitical contradictions are realised in spatial terms where "... the contradictions of space thus make the contradictions of social relations operative.



Fig. 26 "Land Claims" Cartoon by Zapiro for the Mail & Guardian, 27 March 2001

In other words, "spatial contradictions 'express' conflicts between sociopolitical interests and forces and it is only *in* space that such conflicts come effectively into play, and in doing so they become contradictions *of* space" (Lefebvre, 1991: 365). Ownership - real or perceived - is closely tied to perceptions of being marginalised. Being rendered without agency, pushed into a space defined by difference and deliberately denied access to free cultural expression. Existing within a subaltern bandwidth of opportunity implies more than simply being

oppressed<sup>170</sup>. It includes ignoring mnemonic practices and ways of knowing and those deliberate protocols controlling movement, social interaction, a free voice and access to opportunities enjoyed by others. Gayatri Spivak and a number of postcolonial writers have made this distinction clear - Homi Bhabha in his writing on cultural identity and notions of difference, Boaventura de Sousa Santos in a desire for cosmopolitan legality within the idea of an "equality of difference", Joanne Sharp, like Spivak before her, defining the arrogance of Western knowledge when looking down on the *other* and their forms of logic or different ways of knowing. These arguments can equally be located within the broader and formal development discourse when considering how the subaltern is created. As Victoria Lawson argues in her critique on mainstream development theory of "not including the subjects voices and opinions in development policies and practices" and for the most part disengaged from local, community, class, ethnic and gender issues (Lawson: 2007)<sup>171</sup>.

---

170 De Kock, Leon. "Interview With Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa." *A Review of International English Literature*. 23.3 (1992): 29-47

171 Lawson, Victoria. *Making Development Geography*. (UK Hodder Education), 2007

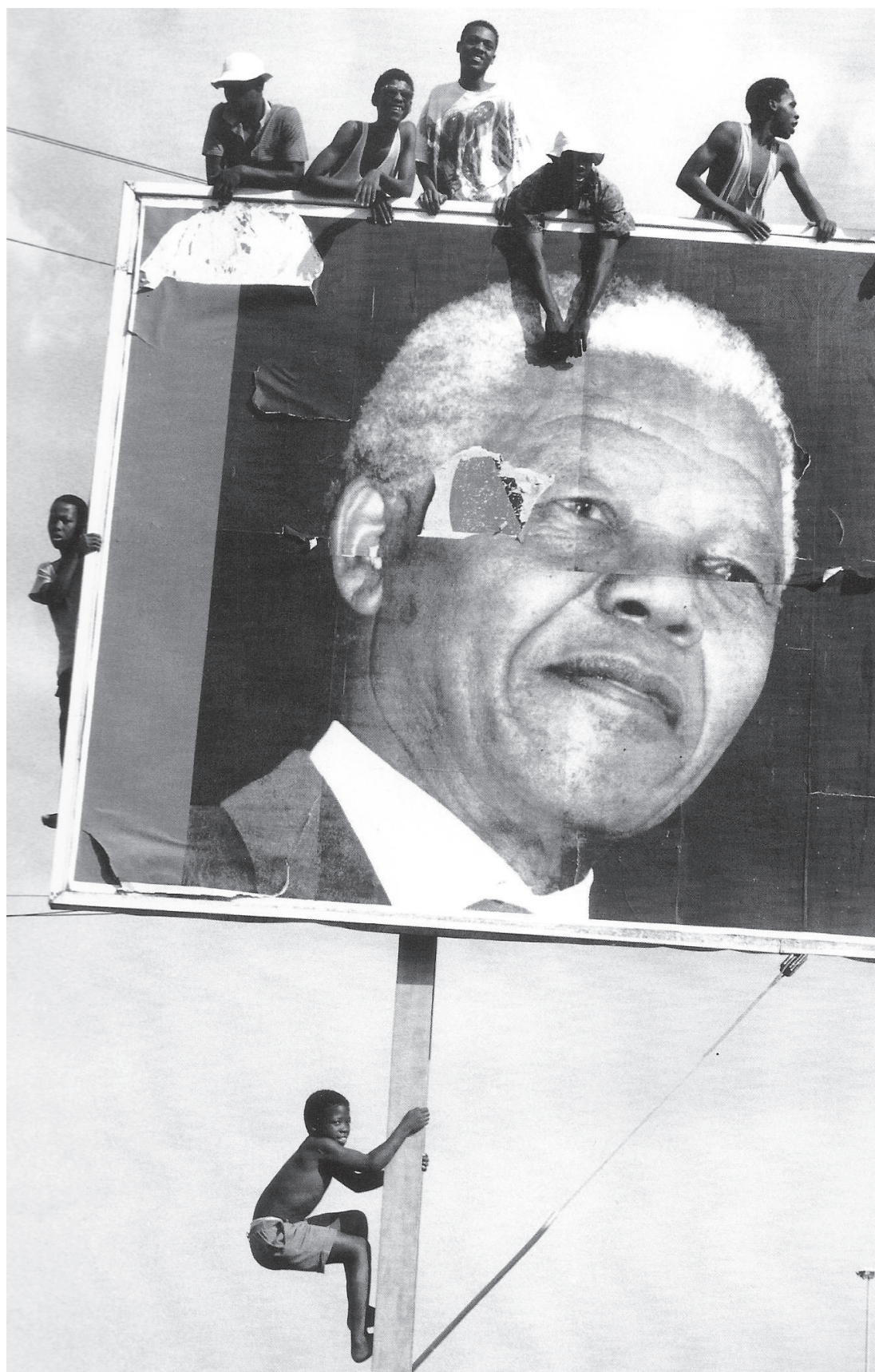


Fig. 27 Supports awaiting the arrival of Nelson Mandela in a Natal township. Lamontville, Ian Berry, 1994

## Chapter Six: Subversion in the Urban Field

### *Identity, Desire and Fear*

The “epistemology that can tell the difference” between significant and insignificant differences or “otherness” is one which can understand the social processes of construction of situatedness, places, otherness, difference, political identity, and the like. And ..... the relation between social processes of construction of identities on the one hand and the conditions of identity politics on the other”

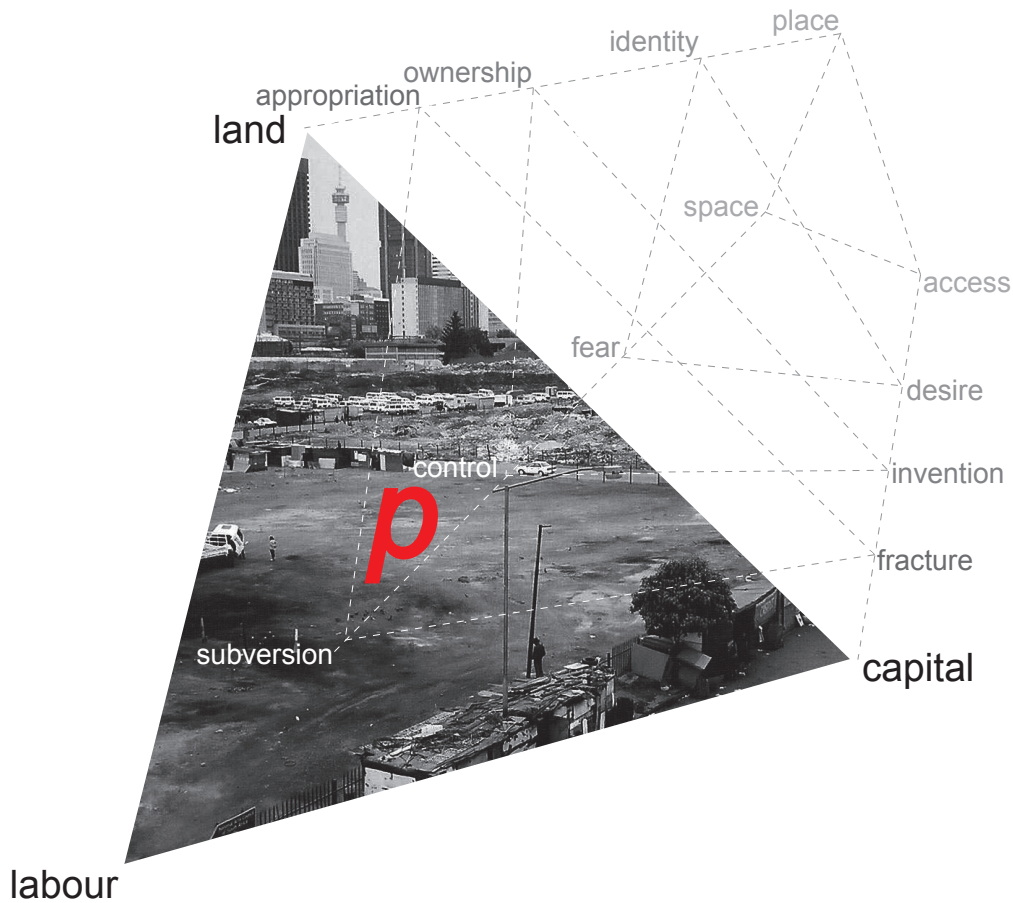
David Harvey (1996) 363

#### **Difference, Coexistence and Spatial Segregation**

If building a sense of nationhood and defining a shared identity relies on a group’s ability to believe in each other unconditionally, it is possible to imagine that any external threat (imagined or real) can very easily allow a more or less healthy sense of self determinism to become obsessively nationalistic. The discourse and power relations under the banner of such nationalism will create certain hybrid forms of disciplinary power mandated and actively translated through institutions and practices aimed at preserving the group and fuelling a deeper sense of nationalism. This is true on many different scales - within a singular state (e.g. South Africa), within regions or alliances (e.g. the Common Wealth of nations) and within institutions (e.g. the academy). It becomes even more pronounced and immediate where a dominant group needs to coexist with other groups perceived as different and threatening - even if the *other* is in the majority. This was, and still is the case in South Africa and for example in certain Balkan States, US States bordering on Mexico and acutely so in a city like Jerusalem. Similar self-preservationist tendencies is evident in institutions and systems that control production, create structure and define agency - in most cases in support of the larger political framework desiring to sustain control, identity and power. I say in most cases, as it is equally possibly that the very same principles are at play in the desire to subvert or replace the dominant discourse and power relations. This is certainly true where concerns about militant particularism (e.g. race, ethnicity or gender conflicts) becomes activated through universalistic politics (e.g. ideas about liberty, freedom or human rights), locates itself and find significant expression outside of the dominant internal discourse (e.g. when an almost global reaction helped in ending minority Apartheid politics in South Africa).

This process was evident in the general history of South Africa and the more specific moments in the country’s trajectory viewed through a lens of historical materialism that has created the permanence and surreal structures that became Apartheid space. But having said enough about the history of South Africa through earlier excursions in the thesis and through much critical post-colonial discourse in general, what needs elaboration here is the triangulated relationship between *identity, desire* and *fear* that activated internal contradictions from both the inside and the margins of the system - evident in the revolutionary spatial practices that influenced social and political relationships before, during and after Apartheid.

The triangulated relationship between *identity*, *desire* and *fear* frames the subversion that played out in the urban field and the larger project of re-configuring the South African social and political landscape. None of these concepts can be meaningfully defined without the other and the knot that binds these concepts together is present in all transformative activity where agency is spatially located, and as Harvey tells us, the locus of agency *is* everywhere. Everywhere precisely because the agents of change are everyone, everywhere.<sup>172</sup>



Power, Structure and Agency [p] - framed by the Triangulated Relationship existing between Land, Labour and Capital - Spatially negotiated through various Subsets of Triangulated Sets of Power Relationships

Fig. 28 Braamfontein Ridge visible from Newtown with informal living and trade structures in the foreground, Johannesburg: Author, 1999. The subsequent Newtown Cultural Precinct initiative and new housing development have changed this part of the city that used to be the most vibrant location of resistance art, music, and with the Market Theatre - known as the "theatre of struggle" that opened in 1976 under the direction of Barney Simon - one of the very few places where racially mixed audiences could interact. \*Overlay of sets of power relations as discussed in the text. Photograph, Author, 2001

172 See (Harvey 1996, 106)

The collective 'mind' as surface for the inscription of power<sup>173</sup> (Foucault, 1977), also mirrors the utilitarian technologies of government deployed to satisfy the desire of a population. In this sense desire exists in an enigmatic relationship with fear, in the same way that power relates to resistance. In the context of contemporary postcolonial, post cold war, and post 9/11 capitalist societies, we see disciplinary techniques and utilitarian philosophies coexisting in an attempt to create a secure matrix within which it remains possible to say yes to the desire of populations, while in fact denying concessions. This tendency is at the core of problems resulting from uneven development

The directional force of agency and the distinctly spatial character of such forces can be illustrated by a prototypical example - showing in this case how such a dynamic triangulated relationship can deploy as a transformative process in multiple locations, in space and time, and with and long-lasting consequences.

Within the context of segregated development in South Africa the control of labour flows in support of industrial production resulted in the constant movement of workers between temporary dormitory townships, place of work and rural households where family structures were partially restored over weekends. Essentially resulting in long-distance travel between bantustan roots and metropolitan areas where shorter journeys took place between dormitory townships located within white cities as the places of employment - a rather typical scenario for migrant labourers and their families. In most cases travel times were long, social activity restricted to the commuting and work environment, and dormitory township environments lacking in choice. Public transportation was concentrated along routes with the highest degree of density and modal transfer from bus to train to bus was typical - often resulting in travelling times of anything from three to five hours per day.<sup>174</sup> Walking to and from the nodes of connection added even more time to the daily journeys of the least mobile and poorest segments of society. The segregation policies extended across all scales and systems - from beaches to bus stops, ticket counters to toilets, banks to bridges and schools to staircases. The relatively costly public transportation, the inflexible routes, the unreliable schedules and long walking distances created a perfect opportunity for private taxi operators willing to take

173 Foucault argues that power is "inscribed with semiology as its tool; the submission of bodies through the central control of ideas; the analysis of representations as a principle in a politics of bodies that was much more effective than the ritual anatomy of torture and execution..." This must be read in the context of the revolutionary practices used as background in; Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Picador, 1977), 102

174 These travelling times were true for the roughly 73% of the 2,1 million commuters living relatively close to the largest metropolitan areas (Durban-Pinetown and Pretoria-Witwatersrand) but for the less fortunate long distances of walking and long waiting times for busses or trains added significantly to the overall commuting time. See Pirie. G.H. "Travelling under apartheid" in DM Smith ed., *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1992), 172-181. The author employed a gardener between 1984 and 1986 that entered the country illegally as adolescent boy after walking from Malawi to South Africa. Illiterate and marginalised to the point that helping in gardens for a daily fee and food was his only choice. In his case travelling from Winterveld (where a great many illegal immigrants rented from *shack farmers*, he had to leave his house at 4:30 am each weekday in order to arrive at our office by 7 am. Walking to the nearest bus took 30 minutes, and the weekly combined bus and train commute eroded 50% of his income. During the two years in our employment his self-made house was destroyed twice by the regional authorities - first as it was situated within the alignment of a future road (that was never constructed), and second, when exposed by the landlord as being extralegal when he was unwilling and incapable to pay for the landlord's silence.

you where you need to be and to boot, at similar or lower cost. Much of the connecting bus transportation options were controlled by operators having obtained prized licences from the then Department of Bantu Administration and Development. The resultant emergence of private taxi networks were a unique form of subversive resistance against the artificially elongated commuting journeys (at first servicing the long-distance routes) and soon mirrored and complemented by the many overlapping urban taxi networks. The organisation of the taxi networks is organic and systemically integrated. Although now much more regulated and controlled through local taxi associations, regional and national union chapters and subjected to government oversight since the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act in 1990 - yet the fluid relationships, social character and strategic importance remain.

Against this background three very important and defining generative *architectures* appeared. First, the emergence of a unique spatial organisation at nodes where the taxi networks intersected with formal public transportation. Places where long-distance and urban networks each created an environment where informal trade (from fruit to haircuts), a unique food culture (a fusion of ethnic preferences), extralegal transactions (from drugs to forged temporary work permits) - mediated through a *linqua franca* that bridges language and cultural differences<sup>175</sup> - inhabited interstitial spaces between infrastructure and industry. These nodes were for the most part located within the buffer zones that divided white owned property and dormitory townships. Here space became socially activated and the places where real information, basic goods, and opportunity circulated. Flowing from these nodes throughout the networks a second defining practice became one of the only meaningful and safe tactics of building a politically informed majority. Trains and taxis became the moving targets where activists could inform, where resistance could be consolidated and where some of the most violent clashes between rival parties and ethnic groups took place. But beyond the violence there was above all the opportunity to inform, share and plan and it is well known how this default opportunity has contributed to the survival within, and the resistance against the system. During the *States of Emergency* when outdoor gatherings were prohibited trains and taxis became the places of religious worship, of resistance art and performance, of union activism and political rallying. The carriages which became used for political activism was often the third from the back of the train and were called *Emzabalazweni*, translated as *in the struggle*. As Pirie remarks; "In a remarkable perversion, trains were used to undermine apartheid rather than simply serve its labour and segregation requirements."<sup>176</sup>

A more devastating consequence of the segregated social landscape resulted in the third generative condition. It is a well researched and documented fact that HIV infection patterns

---

175 In the case of South Africa a shared language called *Fanagalo* rooted in a mixture of Afrikaans, English and Zulu. Although the pidgin developed in the mining industry, it naturally spread into contexts where workers shared transportation networks, informal trade opportunities and a common sociopolitical platform. *Fanagalo* is the only Zulu-based pidgin and a rare example of a pidgin based on an indigenous language rather than on the language of the colonising power.

176 Pirie. G.H. "Travelling under apartheid" in DM Smith ed., *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1992), 176

followed long-distance itineraries where casual sexual encounters form part of a migrant lifestyle and together with fractured family structures, aggravate attempts at curbing the spread of the virus. This was particularly true during the initial phases of the effort at understanding and controlling the spread of the HIV virus.<sup>177</sup> As early as the late 1940's studies showed evidence that labour related migration practices correlates with the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and studies since the late 1980's addressing the spread of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa concur.

If one attempts to find meaningful spatial and contextual indicators in these studies it is clear that the definition used to frame migratory status is not sufficiently tuned to the reality on the ground where overlapping patterns of temporality and marginalisation result in atypical migratory experiences. Also, that empirical data excludes, for one, rape and homosexual acts when quantifying the frequency and impact of sexual behaviour.<sup>178</sup> The fluid migration patterns in South Africa and across borders in the region are essentially a spatial set of relationships that frame both the opportunities and the risks associated with such a constant flow of mostly temporary, displaced individuals. An everyday practice in a constructed space-time-environment impregnated with the seeds of a pandemic disease. As illustrated in the above examples it is impossible to disregard the predominantly spatial framework supporting peculiar sets of power relations that defined labour and capital flows, the resultant acts of subversion, the flow of black market goods and even diseases associated with migratory patterns. A legacy of unique and complex spatiality where structure and agency inhabit both perceived and real space during the formative years of segregated development and during the years of dismantling and re-configuring large tracts of land and deep rooted convictions.

The triangulated relationship of *identity, desire* and *fear* through which this chapter is framed is certainly not neutral. What the relationship allows is the construction of view points from where the spatio-temporal relationships between groups in a society and between internal contradictions within the social systems that define power relationships in the society, can be rendered visible. The spaces described in the examples above allowed for the creation of meaningful alliances across ethnic divisions (civil rights movements), the expression of a new food and language vernacular (invented through need and cross-cultural influence), and the ability to identify with shared processes (mundane daily frustrations and a profound sense of

177 Research indicated that migrant males would typically have several sexual encounters with different partners during the work week and very often also on the way during long-distance travel between city and rural family visits over weekends. Research by the Human Sciences Research Council, see, among a large body of research; Zuma, K., Lurie, M.N., Williams, B.G., Mkaya-Mwamburi, D., Garnett, G.P. & Sturm, A.W. *Risk factors of sexually transmitted infections among migrant and non-migrant sexual partnerships from rural South Africa. Epidemiology and infection* (Pretoria: HSRC 133(3), 2005), 421-428

178 Studies suggest that further research of the social and epidemiological implications of migration at both ends of the migration spectrum is needed. See; Lurie, Mark and Abigail Harrison, David Wilkinson and Salim Abdool Karima. "Circular migration and sexual networking in rural KwaZulu/Natal: implications for the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases" in *Health Transition Review*, Supplement 3 to Volume 7 (Canberra: Australian National University 1997), 17-27; in which the authors also note that the existence of a Zulu word, *ishende*, or "man on the side" indicates that sexual activity among migrant labourers' wives in the rural setting is probably under-reported. *Ishende* has also been translated as 'roll-on' for, like a deodorant it is something that goes on under the arms to mask and keep something secret.

marginalisation). The identity constructed around the very expressive football head-gear and paraphernalia being exported as uniquely South African during the FIFA 2010 World Cup – including certain dance routines, shared language and the signage system to indicate which taxi route you desire - all share the same roots in the spaces of segregation and resistance. But such identity formation does not happen along a linear, easily defined itinerary. The desires and fears of all societal formations grow from conflicting forms of spatio-temporality where struggles to change spatial relationships exist within the moment and within the very same space. The desires and fears expressed and captured through repeated narrative - both in everyday language and in more sophisticated forms - create the permanencies that emerge as communities define their relationship to the order imposed from outside and from within. As Harvey argues in accord with Habermas for the need of a process-based “metanorm” and in more dialectic, practical terms in agreement with Lefebvre - that to break with cultural residues of racism, gender inequality and the like - requires a break with the processes of internalisation rather than the discursive categories it produce.<sup>179</sup>

If we take a biopic look at Denneboom Station in Mamelodi on the north-east fringe of Pretoria as very real *site* deep inside the abstract representation of fig. 7 in Part Two, we can track the complete historical geographic reality of the site’s emergence, the many layers of appropriation and subversion and since the eighties - the spatio-temporal re-ordering in attempts to integrate and open-up spaces of opportunity. Fig. 29 and 30 below respectively show an aerial view and a diagram defining spatial relationships.



Fig. 29 First Phase of the Denneboom Intra-modal Transportation and Commercial Node  
 Reynders Cronje Bolt Architects, 1989/91

The black community of Mamelodi (originally called *Vlakfontein* with the first 16 *rondawels* (houses) for workers built in June of 1953), was typical of many dormitory communities

179 Harvey insists that “universality can never be avoided.... but universality must be construed in dialectical relation with particularity.” (Harvey 1996, 362). It is worthwhile to remember the Gadamer-Habermas debate and Habermas’s scepticism of any universalistic claims in hermeneutics and the danger of distorting the role of scientific understanding of social life. See (Bernstein 1983, 38-44)

created during the years of Apartheid politics in South Africa. The town was informally called Mamelodi (mother of melodies) in honour of President Paul Kruger who it is said, could imitate many different birds. In the early sixties blacks were forcefully relocated from within Pretoria and from the town Lady Selbourne and moved to Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Ga-Rankuwa - and soon thereafter effectively segregated from industry and white communities by a 150 meter wide buffer zone along which a commuter rail transported cheap labour to the capital city, Pretoria. Mamelodi was officially established in 1962 and with the original plan allowing for one entrance into the township from the light industrial area to the South. A single, strategic entrance was common and allowed for very efficient control of the community. Denneboom Station - directly east was the primary node where rail and bus transportation connected to the township. The diagram below shows the station in its developed phase after 1990 and belies the fact that the station was hopelessly underserved and nothing but a dust bowl of activity as people transferred from one mode of transport to the next. The name *Denneboom* (Pine Tree) referred to a clump of pines that were growing close to the intersection and spreading out west towards the Coloured Township of *Eersterust* (place of first rest). Sammy Marks (a highly respected Jewish business man originally from Lithuania who came to the South African diamond mines via Sheffield and a very close friend of President Kruger of the Transvaal Republic) created among other, a distillery, a glass and bottling factory and brick works at *Eersten Fabrieken* (first factories) on land adjacent to the rail now serving Mamelodi and with that, the only station on the line before Denneboom Station was developed.

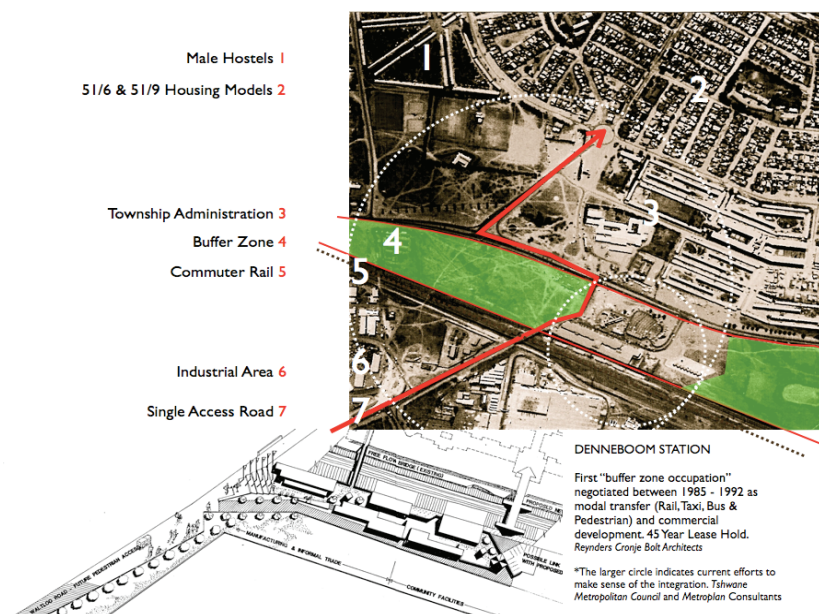


Fig. 30 Urban typologies around Denneboom Station, The green buffer zone divides the white-owned industrial township from the black dormitory township of Mamelodi

In 1989 our practice, *Reynders Cronje Bolt Architects* saw the opportunity to propose the development of the buffer zones around the many stations serving black communities.<sup>180</sup> Mamelodi was chosen as first prototypical development based on its historic relationship to the capitol and the bureaucratic systems that controlled the population. It took little more than a year to negotiate a renewable forty-five year lease and to get the many role players on board with the idea. Those included the Department of Transport, the Rail Commuter Services, the city councils of both Pretoria and Mamelodi – and more importantly, the local citizen, taxi and informal traders’ organisations. We formed the company Railco (Pty) Ltd and took control of the design, marketing and community involvement phases. In early 1991 the development proposal was sufficiently secure and could be sold to one of the larger financial institutions with substantial shareholding by the local community. The site was highly contested and the claims to access by informal traders, long-distance and local taxi operators and the needs of the commuter rail services had to be accommodated throughout the design and construction phases. The town is slowly becoming more and more integrated within the surrounding urban fabric and with the civic and public space now being upgraded by the city council in partnership with the community and private sector. The success of the development relied on three facts. First, the integration of codependent systems (modes of transport, informal trade, community involvement and proximity of choice), second, the density of the desperately underserved community, and third, the rather novel financial relationships created in the model.



Fig. 31 & 32 Signage directing customers towards the food stalls at an informal long-distance taxi rank (left), and a structure doubling as occasional car wash or seasonal fruit and vegetable stall (right). Denneboom Precinct, Mamelodi. Author, 1989

The Denneboom case study is included here as illustration of how the distinction between private and public, between urban and architectural concerns and between physical and social infrastructure no longer applies. What took place at Denneboom over the course of 40 years can be described in the following statements:

<sup>180</sup> This was the first commercial development on this scale to be done in urban black communities and the first commercial use of buffer zone land. In the subsequent years many similar developments followed and much of the supporting rail infrastructure developed in partnership with the private sector. Second and third phases in the development followed and in 1995 our practice was asked to complete a rail corridor study along this line.

- A certain liquification of Modernist planning and architectural obsessions with control and predictability through the subversion of enforced functional movement patterns that in time became spatial expressions with a distinct social character.
- The sense of ownership went unchallenged and the social infrastructure establishing itself around fluid patterns of informal trade and transport related activities became an exclusive network across regions and with very little insight by the controlling minority in the character and importance of this movement, bar for objections to the visible spatial expression, that by nature retained a high degree of mobility and tolerance.<sup>181</sup>
- The appropriation and subversion of bureaucratically controlled space resulted from the lack of choice in a socially, economically and politically constraint context. These acts were not so much directed at the centre of power as it was a spontaneous and organic process of creating a space that responded to everyday needs in a somewhat meaningful way and in time, became a space of shared, collective intelligence.
- The importance of taking ownership and carving a discreet niche within the capitalist frame started with pockets of resistance and informal activity. Once this pattern had achieved a degree of networked permanence by the late seventies it became a vital force that harboured enormous productive potential - both economically and politically. The majority that was three times over divided and marginalised - first by being denied the fruits of their labour, second on racial grounds and third, being forced into segregated ethnic locations - were finding ways to activate the very context of their spatial dislocation.
- Much of the vitality and unique urban tactics remain in spite of post-apartheid development and re-integration projects seemingly eroding the organic, fluid and spatio-temporal characteristics of sites such as Denneboom. The relationship between physical infrastructure and social (or citizen) infrastructure remains active in the social processes that aim to build a larger black middle class while at the same time, extralegal networks seem to flourish through bureaucratic malfunction. Many (although certainly not all) urban re-configuration projects ignore the characteristics of spaces of resistance and in so doing, the importance of context and socially codified space.

As was illustrated in the diagram positioning the case study sites within post-apartheid spatial narratives (fig. 21 in chapter 5) the Denneboom site in Mamelodi is resisting formal institutional dominance and is in the process of becoming less impacted upon by past spatial policies. The coexistence of formal with informal and legal with extralegal networks, and the advantaged position of being well connected to the centre of Pretoria have created new opportunities of appropriation and subversion. An example can best illustrate this statement; as in the case of Jamon who, as self-employed building contractor, lives close to opportunity in the Nelson Mandela informal settlement abutting Mamelodi on the East. Jamon owns a

---

181 It is not uncommon to see flattened cardboard boxes hidden in trees or under refuse bins in the dark hours - only to become surfaces to unpack fruit or vegetables during peak commuting hours. Similarly, bus shelters would become impromptu photo booths or a pile of bricks the seating of young men playing *morabaraba* (Shangaan) or *unlabalaba* (Xhosa) - a popular strategy board game - often made of found objects. Women selling cooked foods would travel with their cookware and utensils to allocated spots controlled by strongmen for a cut of their takings.

house in a rural Kwa-Ndebele (where his legal Ndebele wife lives), and is on the waiting list to receive a government subsidised property in a new extension of Mamelodi. His tenancy in the informal settlement is a condition for being awarded property in Mamelodi and this will become the couple's third property if one were to include his ancestral land holding in the Eastern Cape where he was born as Xhosa to royal family lineage in 1953.<sup>182</sup> That is if one was to exclude the property of his second wife of Sesotho descent living much closer in Mabopane 30 km north of Pretoria where she is also expecting a government subsidy to build a house. Jamon knows Denneboom Station well - including the often violent behaviour of young men trying to work their way to the front of the queue or across the pedestrian bridge by pulling and stabbing with sharp objects and which can include pocket knives, bicycle spokes or even forks. For this reason and the ease and fluidity of the taxi networks many commuters avoid the trains if at all possible. Living in the informal settlement and being self-employed also means that Jamon is not paying any taxes and effectively counted as unemployed in census data. To be eligible for a government subsidy through the *Reconstruction and Development Programme* (RDP) he circumvented his unemployed status by furnishing a letter from a white building contractor eager to keep him available for occasional temporary employment.<sup>183</sup>

### **Discursive Plurality in Re-adapting Civic Symbols**

The Denneboom / Mamelodi case study may not be of relevance on a national scale but does expose certain important principles playing out in many similar contexts where survival tactics and autonomous practices inform the relationship between the informal and formal layers of everyday spatial experience in South Africa as much as in Brazil, Turkey or India. It was a deliberate decision to present a case study of rather intimate scale first. With the South African history introduced in the preceding chapters from the macro scale towards the more specific - working from the interstitial spaces where change occurred first towards those issues informing larger scale structural change and agency. The excursions and case studies in the text that follows are aimed at completing the circle.

#### **Excursion Four: Memory and Truth / Beauty and Pain**

In an interview with Eve Bertelsen in 1990 Albie Sachs proposes that "What I would like to see is much more risk-taking in our cultural endeavours, much more exploration, much greater willingness to face up to contradictions and difficulties; ..... now that in South Africa we are moving out of the phase of - you can call it defensive affirmation, survival strategies, survival based on a vision of the future - towards affirmation positions. As I say; preparing ourselves for

---

182 Jamon left the Eastern Cape at the age of seventeen (with only grade 4 school education) for Johannesburg where he found work with Grinaker and later Murray & Roberts (both large construction companies). His skills as contractor were acquired during these terms of employment - but without prospects of becoming anything more than a bricklayer earning the minimum wage, he started working for himself in 1989 - now earning twice the minimum wage although, as he himself agrees, without the benefits of younger, employed people now protected by progressive labour laws. He has two sons, both finishing high school at the date of the second interview and soon applying for university acceptance. \*Interviews by author on 20 Nov. 2005 and 11 Jan. 2007..

183 Other forms of dual employment arrangements include workers in food processing plants selling the same products through informal networks with the consent of their employers in an effort to introduce new products into rural contexts or boost turnover. It is not uncommon to see the same product in a supermarket and outside in the street on the way to a station being sold out of the back of a car.

freedom".<sup>184</sup> *Preparing Ourselves for freedom* was also the title of a 1989 paper delivered at the African National Congress (ANC) seminar of exiled cultural workers, and after being published in a South African newspaper, resulted in a very active debate to which Sachs later remarked, "the culture of debate is perhaps more important than the debate of culture."<sup>185</sup>

The *sites* with which groups and larger civic identities associated were naturally predicated on colonial and later nationalist cultural moments on the one hand and on *sites* of origin, struggle and collective ritual enactments on the other hand. The overlapping cultural frameworks coexisted and found expression in language (place names, narratives), artistic representations and ritual enactments. Two overlapping cultural cartographies and two different calendars of annual events. In example, the Modernist painter J.H. Pierneef, who became the iconic artist of the nationalist's view of the country, constructed views of the landscape that excluded reference to indigenous peoples or their vernacular - even when such evidence was clearly there in the actual frame.<sup>186</sup> When the topic was that of indigenous culture it was again depicted on its own. In the physical construction of dwellings where white and black had to coexist through necessity, one finds model spatial organisation reflecting the idea of cultural difference and segregation politics. A Victorian or Cape Dutch farmhouse (depending on the family's European roots) and a group of dwellings in the regional vernacular for the farm labourers within hearing distance from the kitchen door. Shared space was for the most part restricted to the kitchen and the yard where adults, children and dogs from both sides crossed paths when negotiating labour, social and religious relations. The degree of congeniality depended entirely on individual character and personality and no generalisation would be fair. On a slightly larger scale the same organisation between white rural towns and black villages occurred. From this mild version of segregated, yet coexisting living that mutated organically until the twenties to the fully fledged deployment of Apartheid policy, took one single, over arching realisation that the growth of the economy (specifically after the thirties depression) depended entirely on the utilisation of the country's critical advantage of abundant natural resources and surplus labour. A more detailed discussion on this issue appears below in the section on structural violence - suffice to say here that the relations between mostly black labour and exclusively white capital in the urban areas and industrial corridors were already etched-out by the thirties and visible in the overlapping cultural cartographies mentioned above.

With the first democratically elected parliament and majority rule in place after the 1994 elections many whites and other minority groups feared that monuments, sacred sites, public art and place names would soon be erased

184 Published in Bertelsen, Eve. *ADA - Art / Design / Architecture*, Issue 9 (Cape Town: Jennifer Sorrell, 1990/1991)

185 The paper appeared in a South African Newspaper on the 2nd of February 1990 - the day that President F.W. de Klerk presented his historic proposal for reform to the nation. - and later published in; Sachs, A. "Arguments about cultural freedom" De Kok, Ingrid and Karen Press (eds). *Spring is Rebellious* (Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990).

\*Lawyer and political activist, Albie Sachs is now one of the judges in the South African Constitutional Court  
186 Jacob Hendrik Pierneef (1886-1957). \*William Kentridge, among others, reacted against the picturesque because of the inherent lie of the horizon less, open, unoccupied veld - a trope very much part of the colonial representation of the country as empty and unoccupied prior to European arrival, and for Kentridge best exemplified in the work of Pierneef. See; Enwezor, Okwui. "Swords Drawn" in *Frieze Magazine*, Issue 39 (March-April 1998)

and with that, the place and history of the *white African tribe*.<sup>187</sup> What was perhaps not understood is the fact that taking ownership is a more powerful act than erasure, even more so when the past oppressor is being ignored in the moment of appropriation. Certainly many place names were changed and colonial and nationalist representations and formal art in public buildings partly replaced with more representative or previously marginalised artists work - and rightly so. It would be naive to the point of absurdity to wish for a peaceful democratic future without change. It is here where art - specifically literature, fine art and performance art - become instrumental in building a critical narrative that bridges the different cultural traditions, yet allows for a space of reflection where identities can mature.

To quote Carol Becker, "Transitional South Africa never looks forward without looking back. In this spirit, new public buildings such as the Apartheid Museum, the Nelson Mandela Museum, the Legislative Buildings for the Northern Cape Province, the Hector Pieterse Museum, Soweto, and now the Constitutional Court Complex are becoming mnemonic aids to buried emotions. Artists who played key roles in the struggle against apartheid are creating a visual language to express the complexity and contradictory nature of locating history and vision in physical space" (Carol Becker: 2004)<sup>188</sup>

At a recent book launch of William Kentridge *Nose*, Jane Taylor remarked that wrestling with, and appearing as a constant throughout Kentridge's work, "is the complexity of growing up in a country where there was a persistent demand for political engagement. The double imperatives of history and subjectivity, or obligation and freedom."<sup>189</sup> In an earlier work by Kentridge, *Ubu and the Truth Commission*, the play follows the political, military and criminal exploits of Ubu - a kind of parodic Macbeth who, together with his wife, attempts to seize all power.<sup>190</sup> The work was adapted by Jane Taylor from Alfred Jarry's puppet-play *Ubu Roi* that was originally performed with marionettes in 1888.<sup>191</sup>

187 The idea that South Africans with Afrikaans as mother tongue is the "white tribe of Africa" at first implied those Afrikaners contributing to a new culture with its own language through a mixture of Dutch, German and French that emerged at the Cape and more specifically, became a distinct grouping of families that settled with the idea of South Africa as their future. This would include those families that left British colonial rule in 1838 for the interior and also those that stayed but kept contributing to the language, religion (mostly Dutch Reformed), literature, and culture in general. The first reference to this concept by a European was when Hendrik Biebouw, in 1707, told a landdrost "...ik ben een Afrikaander..." (Giliomee, 2003, 22-26). This concept has since mutated and include all those whites that consider themselves as South Africans. Contemporary writers such as Breyten Breytenbach, Antjie Krog and JM Coetzee among many other very important individuals - together with more popular artists such as the singer De La Rey - have added layers of complexity to an ongoing debate and expressions of the idea.

188 Carol Becker has visited regularly and written extensively on the role of the arts in South Africa - both before and after the change into a democratic society. Becker, Carol. "Memory and Monstrosity." *Performance Research* 5.3. New York: Routledge, 2004

189 Jane Taylor wrote the play *Ubu and the Truth Commission* for Handspring Puppet Company and William Kentridge in 1996 and in the same year curated *Fault Lines*, a series of events about issues of truth and reconciliation. She is Visiting Professor at the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of Chicago. The book *William Kentridge Nose* is the culmination of a four-year collaboration between the artist and David Krut Print Workshop (Johannesburg, New York). Jillian Ross collaborated with William Kentridge since 2006 on a series of prints that was to elaborate on Kentridge's work on the Shostakovich opera *The Nose* (2010), commissioned by the Metropolitan Opera, New York. The prints, now simply called 'Nose', were imagined as a journey with Kovalyov and through Russian history. They reflect on music, ballet, the history of Western art (Russian and otherwise) and the various fortunes of the Communist party in its Soviet and South African incarnations. See Kentridge, William. *Nose - Thirty Etchings*. Johannesburg: David Krut Publishing, 2010

190 Produced by *Mannie Manim Productions* in association with the *Market Theatre*. The work by the *Handspring Puppet Company* (Basil Jones and Adrian Kohler) was directed by William Kentridge. With actors Dawid Minnaar, Buzi Zokufa and puppet characters Basil Jones, Louise Seboko, Andrian Kohler and Buzi Zokufa. TRC Research by poet Antjie Krog. Animation by William Kentridge. Choreography by Robyn Orlin. Set Design by Adrian Kohler

191 A first theatre performance took place in Paris on the 10th of December 1896

Kentridge stands hand in hand with artists from many disciplines and diverse backgrounds often intersecting and at times deliberately collaborating. The spectrum of art practices and the venues and media found expression in the vernacular, the popular and in deeply serious reflection. From mining hostels room murals to the more reflective art of Kentridge. From the music culture in deep Soweto to the protest poetry of Tatamkulu Afrika.<sup>192</sup>

To return to Judge Albie Sachs quoted at the beginning of this excursion it is important to remind the reader with how much conviction Justices Sachs and Mokgoro used art as the seeds in developing “an artworks programme that has brought delight to thousands of visitors to the [Constitutional] Court, made explicit the connection between art and human rights and established a new paradigm internationally for the role of art in public buildings” As Justice Sachs observes, “at the core of the Bill of Rights and of artistic endeavour represented in the Court is respect for human dignity. It is this that unites art and justice...”<sup>193</sup>

Here artwork is not used as applied decoration but completely integrated and as architect Andrew Makin reminds, that “many parts and components of the building were set aside in the planning process to be conceived by people *other* than architects and made by processes other than the industrial and technological.”<sup>194</sup> The African belief that we are *people through other people* became the guiding principle, translated through architecture and art, and unfolding the Constitution in time and space. The photograph below shows artists gathering for a briefing on the artworks programme in a courtyard at the Old Fort Prison in August 2001 (Fig. 33 on the following page).

Apart from works commissioned for the building project and the longer term mandate of the art programme many other important pieces were acquired or donated. One such piece “quietly testifying to the ironies of South African history” as remarked by Bronwyn Law-Viljoen, is *Dogs of War* created by Adrian Kohler for the Handspring Puppet Company’s 1997 production of *Ubu and the Truth Commission* described above.<sup>195</sup> The suitcase that forms the body of the three-headed *Brutus* once belonged to Kentridge’s father, Sir Sydney Kentridge, QC and was given to him by trade union leader Solly Sachs, the father of Justice Albie Sachs. Sir Rodney Kentridge was counsel for the community in the enquiry into the 1960 Sharpeville massacre<sup>196</sup> and in 1977 for the family of Steve Biko during the inquest into his death.

192 Mining hostel rooms (for migrant male workers divided by ethnic group) were highly individualised and ranged from abstract representations to surface decoration with beer bottle labels. \**Deep Soweto* was called the “wild west” and night spots such as *Blue Fountain* owned by ex-gangster turned author Godfrey Moloi, was as famous as *Kippie’s* at the Market Theatre. \*\*Tatamkulu Afrika is a prize-winning poet who came to South Africa from Egypt in 1922. The name Tatamkhulu was given to him during his contact with ANC activists.

193 From Sachs, Justice Albie. “Art and Freedom”, Law-Viljoen, Bronwyn (ed). *Art and Justice - The Art of the Constitutional Court of South Africa*. (Johannesburg: David Krut Publishing, 2008)

194 Andrew Makin of OMM design workshop (Durban) who, with Urban Solutions Architects and Urban Designers (Johannesburg) won the international competition for the design of the Constitutional Court

195 In Law-Viljoen and Karen Nel. “Art and Justice” in Law-Viljoen, Bronwyn, ed., *Art and Justice - The Art of the Constitutional Court of South Africa*. (Johannesburg: David Krut Publishing, 2008)

196 During a protest against the carrying of pass books at the Sharpeville police station on 21 March 1960 the police opened fire and killed 69 people. In the week that followed thousands of blacks joined the protest and by the end of the week 18,000 people were detained and a *State of Emergency* declared. A number of key PAC players were arrested and sentenced to death with an international outcry against the incident, the trial and the Apartheid Government’s policies. What became known as the *Sharpeville Six* and UN Security Council *Resolution 134* is now remembered on the 21 March each year as *Human Rights Day* in South Africa and earmarked as *International Day for the Elimination of Discrimination* by UNESCO



Fig. 33 Artists in the courtyard of the Olif Fort on Constitutional Hill being informed of the intentions of collaboration and the different sites for art. Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 9 August 2001. Photograph by Vanessa September



Fig. 34 "Dogs of War" Adrian Kohler, for the Handspring Puppet Company production of Ubu and the Truth Commission, written by Jane Taylor / directed by William Kentridge. First performance in 1996. Artwork now in the permanent collection of the Constitutional Court

The three-headed Brutus mentioned above represents the political, military and criminal tactics of a South African system with a body devouring all evidence of credible resistance that only became exposed during the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. But this is also a story of global attention to war crimes, reparations, the right to refuse and the search for truth. These issues are no longer confined within the limits of discourse

but are increasingly becoming tied to spatial concerns through territorial re-configuration and by re-adapting civic symbols. The writing of a new constitution for South Africa and the extraordinary collaborative process of creating an architecture and environment where principles of access to a full community life, dignity and equality are translated in spatial terms are more than mere “mnemonic aids” as referred to by Carol Becker (Becker, 2004). The integrity of the process become as important as the quality of the architecture and more so in defining ways of acting upon what are being experienced in the every day. The process shows the possibility of searching beyond the residue of inequality and structural violence for a clean break with past practices locked in a discursive mode, and in so doing, moving beyond the processes of internalisation that prevent meaningful change.

A project that was completed in 2006, a year after the Constitutional Court and also the result of an architectural competition, share similar ambitions but manifest in a very different way. The *Museum of Struggle* as first phase in the development of the Red Location Cultural Precinct in the New Brighton industrial area of Port Elizabeth seems, at first dislocated and inaccessible. The name “Red Location” derived from the rusted corrugated houses that were originally built as concentration camp housing for Boer women and children during the second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902).<sup>197</sup> After the war the structures were moved to the outskirts of Port Elizabeth to house British soldiers and upon their repatriation, given over to local black families in an ironic turn of circumstance. The Red Location community, as such established in 1902 became one of the most organised resistance groups with notable political leaders in Govan Mbeki, George Pemba and John Kani among others. The community became visibly active during the initial phases of the resistance and the competition called for a museum to commemorate the individuals, the community and the first passive resistance against the notorious pass laws that was staged at the Red Location railway station. The competition was won by the practice of Noero Wolf Architects based in Cape Town and has since completion won numerous awards and international recognition - including the RIBA International Award, the RIBA Lubetkin Prize and the World Leadership Forum Award, all in 2006.

The *Red Location Museum of Struggle* is not a museum in the traditional sense and in Becker’s terms, rather a mnemonic aid in the healing of the country. A place located within the actual community and conceptually using nothing but light, material and acoustic qualities in creating place. Visitors are allowed to enter the “memory boxes” where different readings of the struggle can be experienced and then retreat between the boxes for private, quiet reflection. The twelve “memory boxes” in this instance are 6 meters square on plan and nearly 12 meters tall and are in reference to the metal trunks that male, migrant mine workers were allowed to use for keeping their personal belongings while living in ethnically segregated hostels. These

---

197 These structures were moved from the Uitenhage concentration camp in 1902

trunks were colourfully individualized, as were the walls above the concrete bunk-beds in the hostel rooms. As Gerneke remarks - "folk art at its best."<sup>198</sup>

The interior also provides an auditorium, archive, temporary exhibition space and a restaurant. The landscape allows for group activity focussed on a stage and screen and a large wooden pergola structure covering the public space in front of the main entrance to the museum. The architecture - in its somewhat New Brutalist use of concrete block work, corrugated sheet metal and industrial form - responds to the typologies and material fabric of the area. The monochrome exterior in stark contrast to the subtle introduction of colour in the "memory boxes" and natural light filtering into the interior.

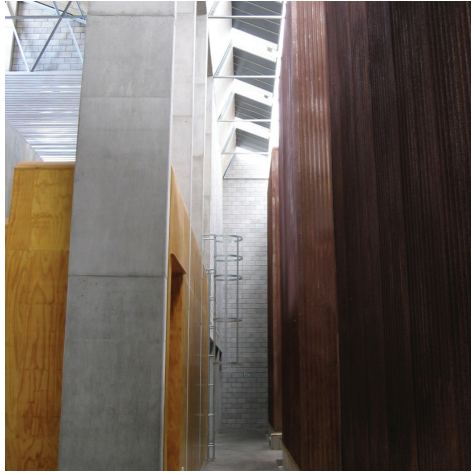


Fig. 35a



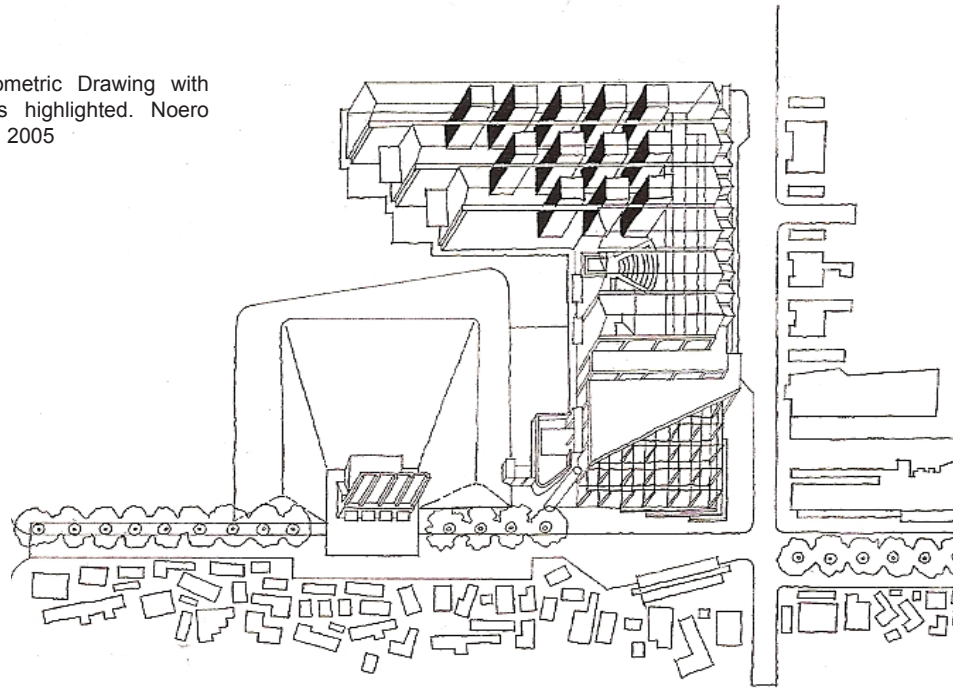
Fig. 35b

It is difficult to find sufficient evidence of whether the architecture will have a meaningful impact on the social fabric of the community within which it is located. Although the architects urban framework includes public spaces, a habitable wall with seating and new housing typologies, it clearly viewed the museum as a large, closed *memory box* in itself. By not inviting active community participation in the process of making and with less activated social space than what is the case in the *Constitutional Court* in Braamfontein, the *Apartheid Museum* in Johannesburg or *Freedom Park* in Pretoria - the social opportunities that the project here wishes to address, seem lost. A first phase of new housing was built on the street facing the eastern facade of the museum but it seems tentative in its response to social expression of community and not robust enough in the attempt at flexibility. The public spaces surrounding the museum and the linkages to the rail and other nodes of formal and informal activity appears disconnected and ignored. Part of this is due to the fact that the larger vision of the architects (as expressed in their competition entry) was not realised in this phase of the project's

198 Gerneke, Carl. "Red Location Museum of Struggle" in Joubert, Ora, ed., *10 Years + 100 Buildings - Architecture in a Democratic South Africa* (Cape Town: Bell-Roberts, 2009). \*Carl Gerneke was also a member of the competition jury and has remarked in a personal interview with the author on the very well-managed design competition when author and Gerneke visited the site together during April 2006

development.<sup>199</sup> The architecture is highly regarded, and rightly so - providing an important marker along the development of sociopolitical resistance in the country's history. Should the site in future become more integrated with the larger physical and citizen infrastructure it can potentially transcend the current limited reading and the perception that the development of community infrastructure was sacrificed and priorities skewed.

Fig. 36 Axonometric Drawing with Memory Boxes highlighted. Noero Wolf Architects, 2005



The *Red Location Museum of Struggle* is part of a successive troupe of architectural monuments erected along the historico-geographic itinerary on the road from trading outpost (1652), colonial occupied territory (1820), Union of South Africa (1910), a Republic under the control of the minority (1961) and an eventual state of inclusiveness and democracy (1994-).

Starting with the *Fort de Goede Hoop* in Cape Town (1666), the *Union Buildings* in Pretoria (1910), the *Rhodes Memorial* in Cape Town (1912), the *Taal Monument* in Paarl (1965), the *Voortrekker Monument*<sup>200</sup> in Pretoria (1948), the *Constitutional Court* in Johannesburg (2004) and *Freedom Park* in Pretoria (2008), all belonging to this tradition where architecture becomes the symbolic marker of new sets of power relations and an anchor in identity formation.

199 Noero Wolf. "Museum of Struggle, Red Location Cultural Precinct, Port Elizabeth" in Iain Low, ed., *Digest of South African Architecture - Negotiating Extremes - Global Condition / Local Context* (Cape Town: Picasso Headline (Pty) Ltd., 2005/2006)

200 Interestingly, the *Voortrekker Monument* designed in 1938 by Gerard Moerdijk (1890-1958), completed in 1948 and opened in 1949, resembles the *Völkerschlachtdenkmal* monument in Leipzig. Moerdijk's design was one of two entries that he submitted to the jury - with the other design being built at the University of Pretoria as the *Merensky Library*.

### Thinking and Making as a Form of Control or a Form of Protest

Vernacular culture in South Africa has a special term for a fence in the *Fanagalo* pidgin and half jokingly, refers to a low fence between neighbours as a “stop nonsense.” With the appearance of gated communities and high, impenetrable walls a new term was needed and it was not long before these became known as “Jerusalems.” In spite of democracy and a highly regarded constitution the intellectual and social distance between a “stop nonsense” and a “Jerusalem” remains the distance measured as inequality between rich and poor. In other contexts, say the Palestinian Territories, the distance may be the measure of imbalance in technological mobility, in sophistication of physical infrastructures and in access to sufficient choice. In the real-world Jerusalem - walls, barriers and checkpoints, in short the architecture of conflict - is what permits populations, in Wendy Pullen’s words “... behind them to grow horns.”<sup>201</sup>

“The wall is assigned a one-dimensional role and the control of movement becomes an insidious and primary weapon widely used in civilian conflicts. This produces a new type of topography, created by barriers and check-posts that remake the existing landscape and dominate every aspect of daily life, physical, psychological and symbolic”.

Physical barriers have long ago lost the ability to control the movement of people or prevent attack. All that effectively remains of the idea behind the *hedge of bitter almonds* planted by the colonial occupiers *in a cape remote* as protection from the interior, and all that remains of the barriers between Israel and Palestine, are the collective frustration and skewed perceptions of the *enemy growing horns* beyond. The symbolic and perceptual power of such physical expressions of control elicit equally measured forms of resistance, not only by actively involved groups, but similarly by the media, the many disciplinary institutions and a growing number of activist organisations. The processes through which such desires for control and such subversive protests are created and managed, share the same technologies, the same media infrastructures and are located within the triangulated concepts described earlier.



Fig. 37 Palestian labourers walking past a billboard advertising apartments with a view over the Maale Adumin settlement in Palestine, and part of the occupied territories of the West Bank. Photograph by Menahem Kahana, AFP, Getty Images, 7 June 2009

201 Pullen, Wendy. *A One-sided Wall* a paper published as part of *Conflict in Cities* (Cambridge: Department of Architecture, 2004) \* Research Unit hosted in the Department of Architecture at the University of Cambridge and funded by a grant from the Economic and Research Council of Great Britain. <http://www.arct.cam.ac.uk/conflictincities/CINC01-t.html>. Accessed on 4 April 2010, 10:06pm

Johannesburg was the subject city of an *Urban Age* project by the *London School of Economics* and the *Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society* during 2006. The research done before, during the July 2006 Conference in Johannesburg and subsequently refined, appear in the highly regarded publication "The Endless City." The publication represents a significant milestone in the Urban Age Project<sup>202</sup> that now includes research on nine metropolitan regions of the world and which investigated New York (2002), (Shanghai (2003), London (2004), Mexico City (2005), Johannesburg (2006), Berlin (2007), Sao Paulo (2008), Istanbul (2009) and with Chicago in process for 2010. The author has been following the LSE research with much interest since 2006 and attended the Johannesburg and more recently, the Sao Paulo and Istanbul conferences. The research outcomes presented and shared at the conferences, as published in "The Endless City" and disseminated in workshops and peer reviewed journals are highly regarded within academic circles. What is lacking in all of these different modes of discourse and representation of data is a real insight into the inner workings of the very things being recorded and described. As such, there is a sense that the work remains safely situated within the academic tradition, confined in the discursive mode and lacking a dialectical pluralism. To observe and describe conditions of inequality or informality may satisfy the research agenda of social scientists or planning professions, but it ignores the fact that research into such topics need to translate into real change. But how can we bridge this internal contradiction where much needed enquiry, the sharing of insights and the accumulative value of networked collaborative research do more for the careers of academics than for those communities being studied?

This dilemma has always plagued the academy and in an ironic paradoxical twist, the academy is now being studied with equal interest and rigor from the outside. The enquiries into certain United Nations programs, the resistance by some African and Latin American countries to allow genetically modified food stock entering their system and the legal victories by traditional communities in Sub-Saharan Africa when threats to patent medicinal plants were made, are some examples. May this be the reason why researchers are reluctant to acknowledge the unknown quantity or quality of their explorations? Why the less quantifiable forces operating in the interstitial spaces of the urban field only features by default or through casual remarks? Whatever the reasons, what needs to be illustrated here is that research remaining in observational mode - even when highly regarded within the academy - can in fact miss the very mandate entrusted to the effort. Similarly can efforts to engage with real problems disregard the will of the people as evidenced in the examples above.

The text and statistics defining Johannesburg in the 2006 LSE *Urban Age* project seems to achieve a high level of objective statistical description but ignores the dynamic nature and potential of citizen infrastructure. The window through which the research and commentary are being delivered opens to a space occupied by geography, planning, economics and sociology where

---

202 Burdett, Ricky and Deyan Sudjic. Eds., *The Endless City - the Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*. (London: Phaidon, 2007)

the interdisciplinary explorations circle for the most part around the gravitational centre of expert disciplines. The voices (and the knowledge) from grass root activists, artists, extralegal networks and those living outside of institutionalised formations are only present by default. Perhaps Deyan Sudjic acknowledges this awkward position when titling his introduction to the section on Johannesburg as *The View from Outside*.<sup>203</sup> His description of past and continued inequality, the increasing unemployment and the effect of corporate flight to suburban locations are as accurate as his observation when saying that “In Johannesburg, the threats facing all cities are present in their starkest, bleakest form, but it is also a place filled with a vitality that rivals all others”. Those that live in the city and those involved in the multilayered efforts to preserve the good and carve out a future understand the “threats” and feel the “vitality” in a manner that renders any research from a distance rather inconsequential.

If we take a careful, biopic look at such core neighbourhoods as Newtown in old Johannesburg or Kliptown in deep Soweto, a different reality appears. Evidence indicates productive multiracial, nonviolent resistance that succeeded in keeping conflict politics alive and activated resistance art in the pursuit of a shared belief in the future of the country. The form that such nonviolent and positive resistance took, was rhizomatic, spatially fluid and highly persistent. Above all, it understood how to occupy the interstitial opportunities opening up within the cracks of bureaucratically controlled space. A strategy of inserting people driven programmes that are linked to communities of shared concerns. Not in a forceful or controlled manner, but by capitalising on the very productive relationships that existed between space, people and shared forms of social expression. Within one square mile centred around the old Johannesburg Fruit and Vegetable Market neglected spaces were being transformed into a theatre, Jazz bars, photography workshops, art spaces, informal markets, cafe societies where multiracial arguments spilled into street performance and spaces where those defined as extralegal could disappear. The area was strategically bisected on the West by the M1 motorway that divided Newtown as remnant of white industrial space from Fordsburg with a predominantly Moslem community. On the North a large, under-used rail shunting yard, and to the South, mining land with supporting industries of warehousing. As such, Newtown exhibited very similar characteristics than the many *Soho districts* of cities build upon explosive industrial growth. What matters most is that the critical force embedded in Newtown had the ability to forge a growing sense of political awareness across cultural and racial divides and in so doing, opened-up a space for tolerance, reflection and pro-active change. It was in this context that Barney Simon became the driving force behind the Market Theatre, where William Kentridge, Clare Stopford and the Handspring Puppet Company could deliver performances that prevented a culture to repeat its mistakes, where David Goldblatt could start a workshop in 1989 to bring photography to marginalised children, where Kippie Moeketsi and Hugh Masekela played Jazz to multiracial audiences, where sculpture could be made from re-cycled

---

203 Sudjic, Deyan. “A View from Outside” in Burdett, Ricky and Deyan Sudjic. Eds., *The Endless City - the Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*. (London: Phaidon, 2007)

steel in an abandoned power station and where informal housing and shops existed in the shadow of skyscrapers.



Fig. 38 Informal retail and living at the edge of Newtown, looking north-east towards downtown Johannesburg. Author, 2001 This site has now been completely redeveloped and the new mixed-income *Brickfields* project by the Johannesburg Housing Company (2005) and the *Metro Mall Transport Facility and Traders Market* by the Johannesburg Development Agency & Blue IQ (2002) are two projects supporting the historically vibrant Newtown Precinct.

After 1994 Newtown became the proud example of possibilities for a *new* South Africa. The *Newtown Cultural Precinct* - in addition to the activities mentioned above - now includes *Museum Africa*, a very large public square, new low cost, mixed-income housing, upgraded infrastructure and venues for a multitude of emerging businesses and creative production. The same creative persistence and cross-cultural effort happened in Kliptown and in many diverse contexts within the South African cultural landscape. The fluid and discreetly coded, rhizomatic nature of such systems of resistance cannot be described or understood when looking top down. In fact, it defies traditional definitions of spatially constructed relationships and requires a revised set of protocols when investigating interaction, internalisation and translation.

In largely generalised terms the research outcomes of the *Urban Age* project do not reflect these subtle realities, nor does it, after seven years of research, sufficiently acknowledge the possibility that a revised mandate and more pluralistic dialectic may be required. Saskia Sassen, who is a founding *Urban Age* researcher and one of the most respected researchers in urban sociology and economics admits as such when she states:

“Urban agglomerations are very often seen as lacking the features, quality and sense of what we think of as cities. Yet urbanity is perhaps too charged a term, charged with a western sense of cosmopolitanism of what public space is or should be. Instead, “cityness” suggests the possibility that there are kinds of urbanity that do not fit with this large body of urbanism developed in the West”. Saskia Sassen (2007)

Sassen admits to the need for a revised understanding of how seemingly similar urban contexts (when analysed on the systemic level) can have very different patterns of occupation and use at the level of concrete, material interaction within the urban field. Also that the centrality of place in a context of global processes “engenders a transnational economic and political opening,” that together with the loosening of identities, are creating new formations in the claim for a right to the city. Time will tell how the *Urban Age Project* will shift towards a more pluralistic research methodology and dialectic in the sharing of ideas while accounting for, and integrating Sassen’s growing awareness of these internal contradictions.

My own research indicates that what the Urban Age Project team is arriving at - specifically as articulated by Saskia Sassen and Richard Sennet - is the realisation that traditional frameworks of defining the urban are no longer sufficiently able to account for emerging assemblages of urbanity. Not only in conditions where density and growth are acutely present - but also those regions and cities shrinking or in cases where the urban periphery has embedded itself politically more securely than the core. The case studies and other empirical evidence gathered in South Africa and elsewhere, suggest that the constantly mutating urban environment of the present and future will be characterised by coexisting formations of formal and informal activity, oscillating periods of relative stability and visible instability, dynamic rhizomatic networks appropriating outdated infrastructures - and above all, a highly mobile citizen infrastructure in constant opposition to the uneven distribution of material resources, opportunity and rights. In short, the translation (both in abstract and material terms) of a rather enigmatic, triangulated relationship existing between identity, desire and fear.



Fig. 39 Early morning in an informal settlement on the fringe of Johannesburg. Ian Berry, 1961

### Structural Violence

As referenced earlier, Foucault argued in *Discipline and Punish* that power, when “inscribed with semiology as its tool,” exerts extraordinary control over bodies in space, and specifically so through the centralised construction of ideas and representations of the other.<sup>204</sup> It is conceivable that such a strategy can go unchallenged when embedded in the accepted principles of a politics of the other - as was the case during the period of colonial expansion and up to the first decades after World War II. The protracted and incremental nature of building the narrative of difference and deploying its physical manifestations erode human rights at a cancerous pace. The Nationalist government in South Africa inherited a framework of social, economic and political concepts that were already inscribed within minds as much as in the landscape. An inequality in the process of becoming the mainstream narrative and together with an everyday practice waiting to be institutionalised. The author is in agreement with Marian Lacey when she argues “that the ‘native problem’ was not one of ‘danger to white civilisation’ but of managing labour coercion and control in the interests of the various capitalist sectors” (Lacey 1981, 273).<sup>205</sup> Specifically the mining and agricultural sectors which were expanding as new technologies and a larger networked infrastructure became instruments in lifting the economy out of the depression. This was done on two fronts. First touting the *swart gevaar* (“black danger”) to gain political momentum during the 1929 elections and creating the idea that the Africans were the real danger and second, by aggressively replacing black workers with unemployed, poor white workers - even when the white workers did not yet possess the necessary skills. In example, from 1924 to 1936 the African workforce employed by the South African Railways and Harbours divisions declined from 75% to 57,8% while the white workforce increased from 9,5% to 28,9%.

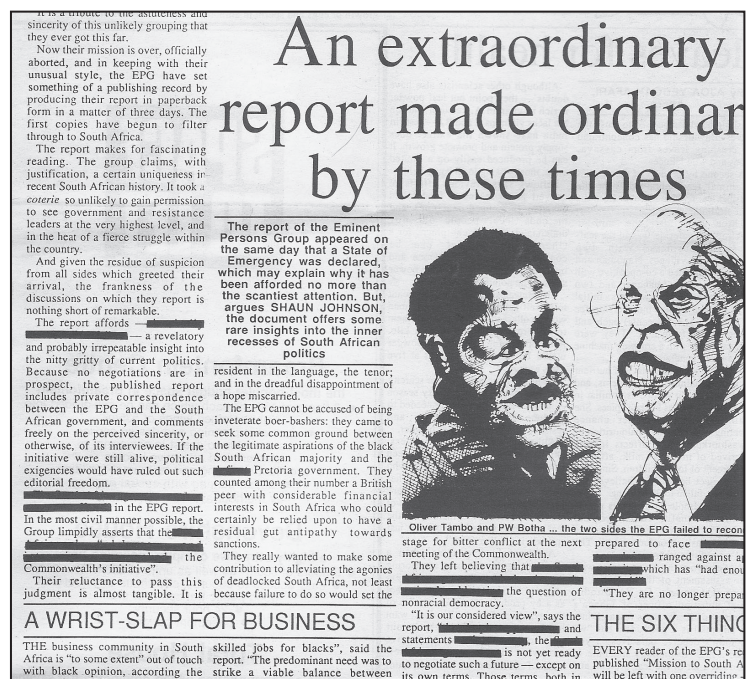


Fig. 40 Self-censored reporting on the Eminent Persons Report. The Weekly Mail, 20 June 1986

204 Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish* (Ney York: Picador, 1977), 102  
 205 Lacey, Marian. *Working for Boroko - The Origins of a Coercive Labour System in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1981) \*This is an excellent source on the subject and very thoroughly researched. \*\*It is worthwhile to read “the Mind of South Africa” by Alister Sparks in conjunction with Lacey’s research

Such statistical data hides the more important fact that the real strategy was to secure certain categories of jobs for unemployed whites and by effectively separating them from the significant mass of African workers who could be exploited and controlled.<sup>206</sup> The 1922 Rand Revolt by white labour made this clear to politicians and a succession of laws very quickly translated such intentions into reality - beginning with the 1923 Natives' (Urban Areas) Act that regulated Africans into controlled locations as degraded workers.

The forced control of the rights of the majority, specifically the right to choose where one lives or works, did not go unchallenged. Some observers at the time argued that the resistance was motivated through an irritation with the restrictions in townships as opposed to the freedom existing in unproclaimed land.<sup>207</sup> The influx control mechanisms that were intended to balance population influx with industry's real labour needs depended on a workable township ("location") system where by law, all pass-bearing Africans were meant to register and stay in the segregated locations. The 1923 Act had however expressly excluded informal settlements that had mushroomed outside municipal boundaries. Alexandra as peri-urban freehold area that will be discussed in Chapter Seven includes a graphic representation of the successive acts of parliament that impacted on the rights of the majority. Other towns that were excluded from the 1923 Act include Sophiatown in Johannesburg, Lady Selbourne in Pretoria and Fingo Village in Grahamstown. It was only natural that these areas would attract extralegal and legally pass-bearing families wishing to escape the stricter control of the new townships.<sup>208</sup>



Fig. 41 *Sophiatown*. Famous for an unprecedented vitality during the fifties and incrementally dismantled in the decade that followed. Jurgen Shandenber, DRUM, 1950

206 Lacey (1981)

207 Ibid, 256

208 Ibid, 257

The problem of creating a workable administrative system and physical infrastructure that could regulate the relationship between labour, capital and land required vast investments in bureaucracy (both in management and enforcement) and the development and re-alignment of physical infrastructure. In a few short decades millions of people and their material existence became the bold brush strokes on a very white canvass. A landscape where desire existed in an enigmatic relationship with fear in the same way that an obsession with power related to acts of subversive resistance. As illustration of this precarious relationship Schalk le Roux references a 1957 case in the *platteland* (country side) close to Venterspost, where a community of Muslims in resistance to the Group Areas Act that prohibited new buildings for ‘Asiatic’ occupation, converted an existing concrete reservoir into a Mosque. The walls were raised, openings for doors and windows created, a mihrab provided and a minaret built. According to Le Roux, Group Areas inspectors were so impressed that permission was granted for the provision of ablution facilities and the mosque ironically survived as symbol of protest.<sup>209</sup>

Planning, engineering and architecture were in service of this large scale re-configuration of the landscape - from awkward moments of tolerance as in the example above, to the very aggressive use of forced removal under the various acts of parliament, the creation of buffer zones (illustrated in the Denneboom case study) and the use of infrastructure to divide different ethnic groups as illustrated in the Newtown case study. Such drastic moves in which desire and fear could be activated to such a degree are hardly conceivable now. In the context of contemporary postcolonial, post cold war, and post 9/11 capitalist societies, we see disciplinary techniques and utilitarian philosophies coexisting in an attempt to create a secure matrix within which it remains possible to say yes to the desire of populations, while in fact denying concessions. This tendency is at the core of problems resulting in uneven development but clearly has its roots in the historico-materialist frame that preceded and still lingers in the more sophisticated tactics of today. Hardly any of such old style hard industrial and physical forms of structural violence can go unnoticed today. This is not to say that all bureaucratically sanctioned, uneven and disciplinary forms of urban development are now in the open - to the contrary and as discussed throughout the thesis - we see how these desires are now playing out in much more sophisticated environments.

---

209 In a personal interview with author, 31 July 2001. Also see Le Roux, Schalk. ‘The Transvaal Mosque - Towards a Theory of Precedent’ in Fisher, Roger and Schalk le Roux with Estelle Maré, eds., *Architecture of the Transvaal* (Pretoria: UNISA, 1998)

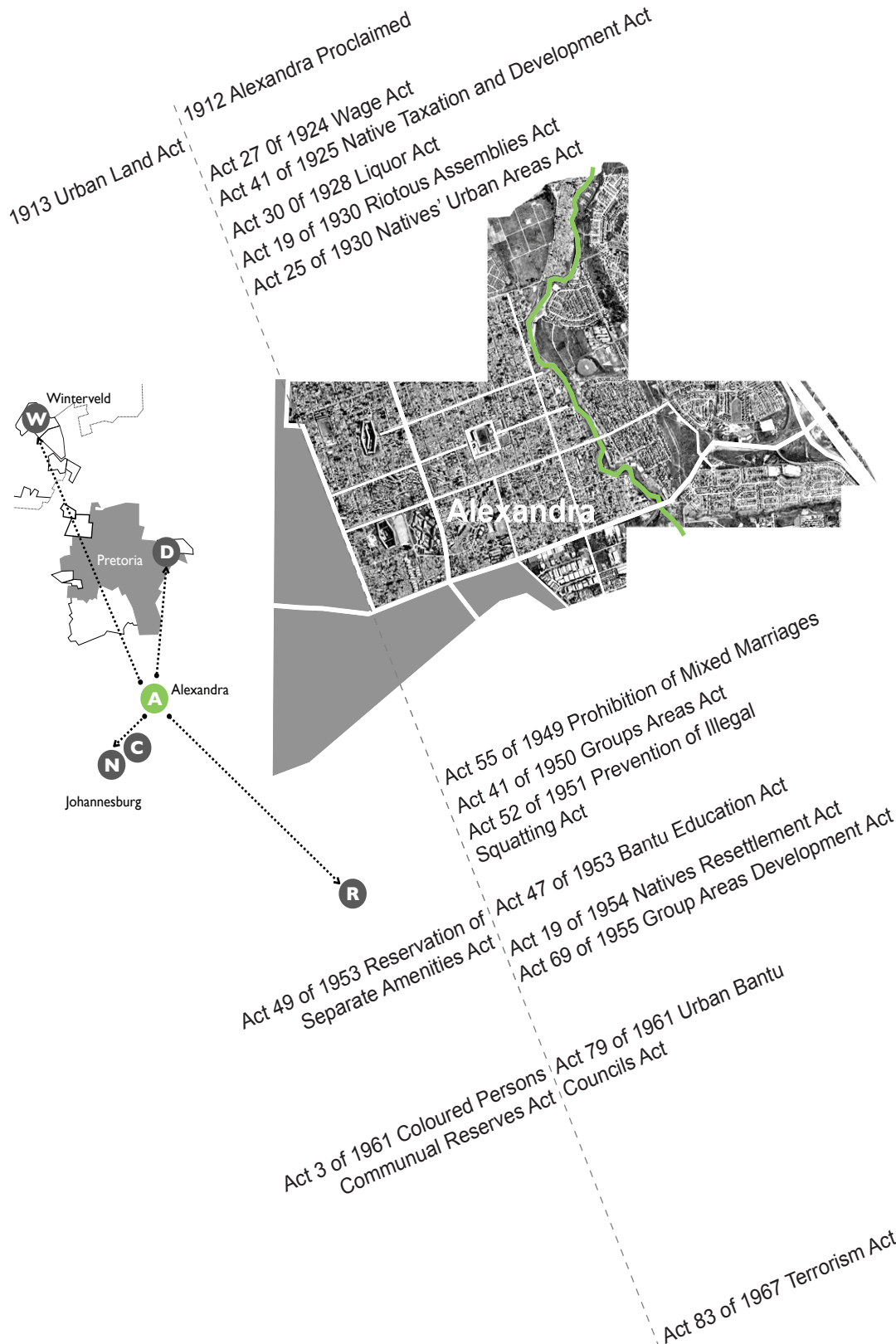


Fig. 42 Alexandra relative to Pretoria and Johannesburg. Superimposed over this diagramme is a time-line of a few of the numerous Acts of Parliament that restricted movement and choice for the majority of South Africans and that impacted severely on spatial relationships and the expression of a vital urbanity as understood in other developing countries at the time. With Alexandra proclaimed before the 1913 *Urban Land Act* and the subsequent Acts allowing forced removal, it became one of the few townships where individuals retained their freehold title. Author, 2007

## Chapter Seven: Fracture in the Urban Field *Access, Space and Place*

During the 2002 *World Summit on Sustainable Development*<sup>210</sup> held in Johannesburg, or to be more correct, in the *Sandton Convention Centre* located comfortably safe to the north of Johannesburg, a reporter for the *Star* newspaper reflected on the contrast between Sandton's wealth and Alexandra's poverty a few miles to the east.<sup>211</sup> The report tells that the "glimmering Sandton skyline" was visible from the "mostly grey landscape of structures oozing shades of squalor." Sandton is certainly made to impress with its wealth and the series of connected developments where one can stroll unaffected from the five star *Michelangelo Hotel* to *Sandton City*, from *Sandton Square* to the *Sun International Hotel* and via skywalk back to the *Sandton Convention Centre*. If one is impressed by such a display of wealth the "oozing squalor" within sight must certainly be a shock and for those without choice looking back, the opulent environment must hold a degree of marvel. Many other 'views' would afford a similar realisation. The Diepsloot informal settlement next to wealthy, gated *Dainfern Estate* or when driving from the Cape Town International Airport past the dense settlements of Khayelitsha and Langa to the *mother city* and its splendour.

Such "a view from the outside" similar to what Deyan Sudjik experienced during the *Urban Age* conference in Johannesburg referred to earlier, obscures the robust social network that underpins what outsiders experience as an ostensible fragility. In the case of Alexandra this is particularly true.

As one of the few 'mixed' areas during *Apartheid* South Africa where freehold rights were legally vested in the individual, the town was excluded from the first phase of "black spot" removals in white areas. This island of preserved dignity attracted African workers who was denied the right to stay permanently in cities or towns. Where for the majority of workers who were condemned to a migrant's existence open to exploitation, the inability to build equity and facing a fractured social infrastructure, the option of living close to work in a relatively unrestricted community like Alexandra was an attractive option. When proclaimed in 1912 the town was designed for 70,000 inhabitants to standards below that of low to middle income neighbourhoods. But with the demand for a place in town other than the new government locations, Alexandra's landowners responded by constructing backyard units and collectively over time, by allowing informal structures to infringe on public space and across common borders. Estimates of the actual current density varies between 170,000 and as high as 350,000 inhabitants. In fact, there is evidence that the real density does change in a seasonal fashion

---

210 In his opening speech, the then South African President, Thabo Mbeki urged the international community to strive for a shared prosperity, saying that "a global human society based on poverty for many and prosperity for a few, characterized by islands of wealth, surrounded by a sea of poverty, is unsustainable". The Johannesburg conference aimed at extending the mandate of United Nations Agenda 21 formulated in 1992 during the *Earth Summit* held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

211 Marshall, Leon. "Summit to bridge the divide - development challenge lies between Sandton's towers and Alexandra's shacks." *Saturday Star*, Insight Section. 20 July 2002

as migrants return home, illegal immigrants arrive from outside South Africa's borders or with changing employment opportunities in the region. In an interview with one of the *Alexandra Renewal Project's* engineers it was explained how tracking refuse content, quantity and dispersal patterns became one of the most accurate indicators of density and the perennial influx of people.<sup>212</sup> In what is known as "Old Alex" west of the Jukskei River and illustrated in fig. 43 below, the density is approximately 6,700 people per hectare as opposed to the newer development on the east bank where roughly 1,800 people per hectare are more typical of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing densities.

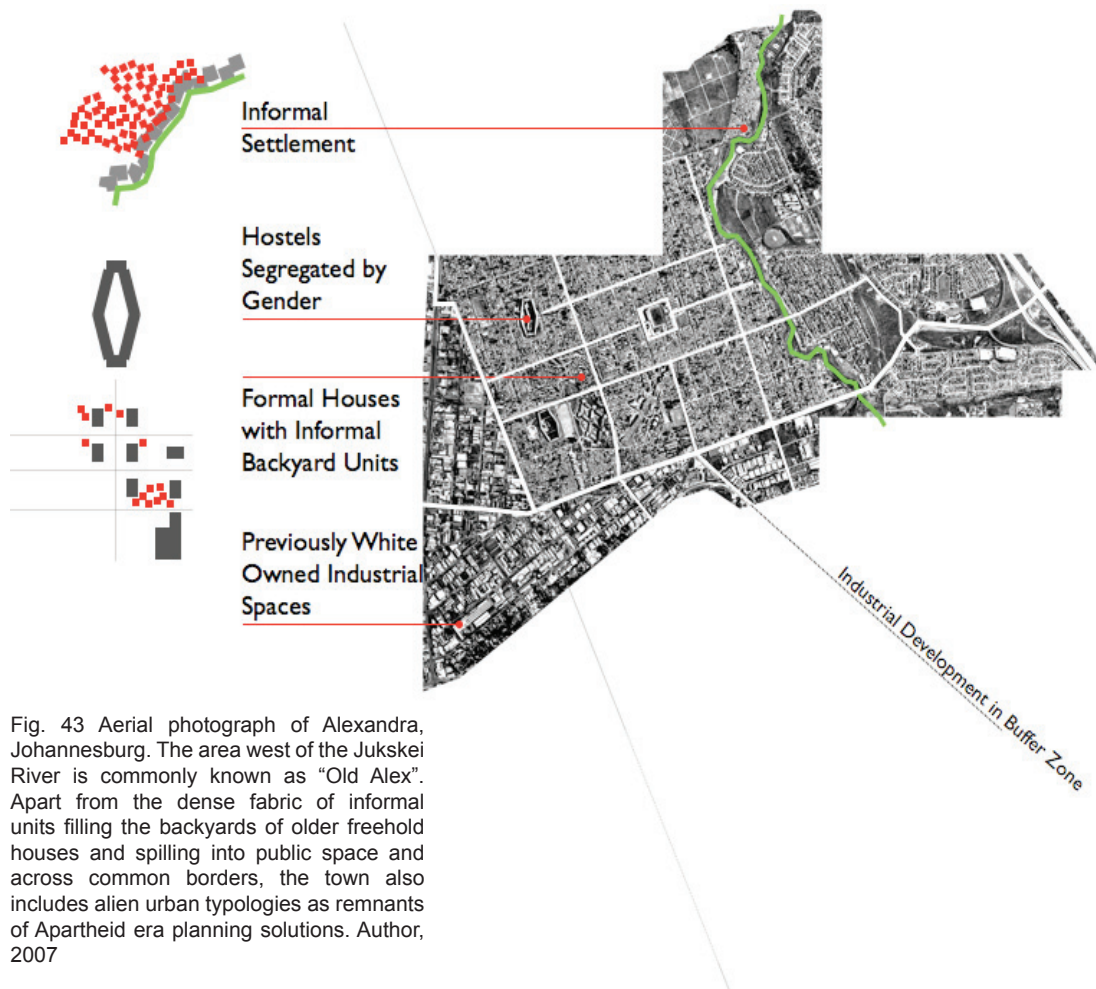


Fig. 43 Aerial photograph of Alexandra, Johannesburg. The area west of the Jukskei River is commonly known as "Old Alex". Apart from the dense fabric of informal units filling the backyards of older freehold houses and spilling into public space and across common borders, the town also includes alien urban typologies as remnants of Apartheid era planning solutions. Author, 2007

This sponge-like ability of Alexandra has contributed to the diversity of its population and the vitality of communal life and as reflected upon by Nelson Mandela on his year spent in the town while working as a legal clerk in a law office, Alexandra is an "exhilarating and precarious

212 Interview with Lance Fenn, Project Manager: Infrastructure of the *Alexandra Renewal Project* during a site visit by author on 8 August 2006. The *Alexandra Renewal Project* is one of past President Thabo Mbeki's presidential projects launched in June 2001 aiming to radically improve the physical, social and economic environment.

place.” The first structures on the farm Zandfontein and that was to become Alexandra, were those of Hey Nxele Mbanjwa’s family. He was brought to the farm as a cook by a certain Mr. Papenfus in 1904 and who allowed the first adobe huts to be used as donkey refreshment stop for the delivery of milk that his farm produced for Johannesburg. Other people drawn to the opportunity of work settled around the Mbanjwa family and by 1912 the farmer had the farm proclaimed and sold the properties exclusively to native arrivals in anticipation of the 1913 Urban Land Act that was to prevent freehold property in the hands of Africans. The history of Alexandra is that of living under constant threat of being removed and numerous attempts did succeed in moving people to new locations in Soweto and Tembisa.



Fig. 44 a) Informal living within the flood plain along the Jukskei River, b) A communal water point, c) Entrance to a *Spaza* shop and d) Trading fresh vegetables and offering a phone service

It is estimated that between 1958 and 1973 some 56,000 people were removed and resettled. From 1948 onwards Alexandra was administered by the Peri-Urban Health Board who controlled the township through the issuing of permits and temporary passes while actively expropriating freehold property under the various Acts making “black spot” removal legal. At the same time the construction of gender segregated hostels started with the Madala and Nobuhle men’s hostels completed by 1972 and a women’s hostel in 1981. Resistance to the pass

laws, removals, the increase in bus fares and the education policy resulted in the formation of strong civic alliances and sense of community. The “dark city” (so called because it did not have any electricity until the eighties) became one of the most cohesive communities during the years of struggle and resistance. The legal grounds upon which freehold property gave a real sense of ownership, together with the proximity to a fast growing industrial complex and acting as central node in a vast social network, gave Alexandra residents the resilience to survive. A final attempt to remove Alexandra during the early years of the seventies led to the establishment of the “Interim Residents’ Committee under chairmanship of Reverend Sam Buti in 1974, and through chance and circumstance, saved Alexandra from the bulldozers. Reverend Buti’s father and the then Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr. Piet Koornhof’s father, were both ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church and their friendship extended to their sons. With the repeated threat to destroy Alexandra, Reverend Buti appealed to his now powerful friend by asking; “My mense praat van ‘die erwe van ons vadere’, en vra: Hoe moet ons verstaan?” (My people talk about the land of our fathers, and ask: How must we understand?) Addressing the minister in his own language of Afrikaans was common as many Africans could speak either Afrikaans or English in addition to their mother tongue and one or more other native languages. This was a plea that any sensitive Afrikaner could understand and within a few days Buti received a call that said “Alexandra will remain”.<sup>213</sup>

The resistance to Apartheid policy from within, and from outside through international sanctions, led to the abolition of influx control in 1986 and a slow change in attitude. The population of Alexandra exploded and informal dwellings increased from 7,000 to 20,000 between 1987 and 1991. Roads, school playgrounds, service servitudes and the flood plain along the river became a dense fabric of structures. In the years following and up to the announcement of past President Thabo Mbeki’s presidential development plan for Alexandra in 2001, the town was under a different kind of threat as the one ‘master plan’ after the other proposed to regulate and clean-up the urban fabric under the rubric of modernism’s ideals. First in 1980 when the same Minister Koornhof proposed seven new suburbs with an own central business district, light industry, new schools, sport complexes, a park and a dam so that Alexandra could become a ‘garden city’. Between 1981 and 1984 close to 300 new houses were indeed built on the East bank but soon proved too expensive for Alexandra’s residents. With the abolition of influx control in 1986 and the surge in country-wide resistance and violence, the ‘master plan’ became known as the ‘urban renewal plan’ but remained shelved as tensions and violence escalated in the run-up to the first democratic elections in 1994. In this period tension between hostel dwellers, the local community and various illicit ‘landlords’ renting vacant industrial space to those displaced by the violence, resulted in the death of 60 people, the injury of another 600 and overall displacement of 10,000 people in the area south of the hostels known as “Beirut”.<sup>214</sup>

213 Buti, Reverend Sam. *Alexandra, I Love You* (Johannesburg: Alexandra Liaison Committee) 1983

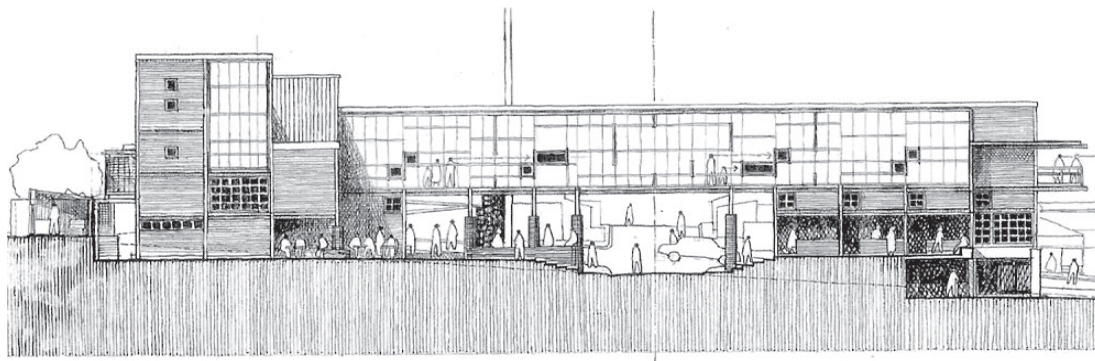
214 Interview with Zodwa Tlale, Alexandra Heritage Centre during a visit by author, on 8 August 2006

Post-democracy calm lead to another 'master plan' in 1998 proposing the erection of three storey 'super-blocks' with each providing housing for 3,000 people. Again the community passively resisted and the only outcome of this cycle was the erection of an athletes village of 1,700 detached houses for the All Africa Games of 1999. With a strong alliance among the civic associations, all who now had direct links to the ANC government since democracy, a first realistic and all inclusive, reflective and collaborative forum started to address upgrading possibilities<sup>215</sup>. When past President Thabo Mbeki announced his 2001 campaign of upgrading communities most in need, Alexandra benefited with R1,3 billion (£100 million) and the Alexandra Renewal Project was established. The mandate included clear directives on community participation, the transfer of knowledge, skills development and the upgrading of community services, the environment, public space and in building civic pride through the conservation of important sites. Since its establishment 7,000 people have been relocated out of the flood plain, 2,400 houses have been build and another 11,500 are in process, 3,000 trees have been planted and a comprehensive water-bourne sanitation system installed. Collaborative initiatives have resulted in the establishment of a lifeline counselling office, the Bombani Shelter for Abused Women and a number of private/public commercial developments - with the R70 million waterfront development and a shopping centre supported by the Alexandra Chamber of Commerce being the first. The Alexandra Heritage Centre (2008) designed by notable architect Peter Rich for the Department of Environment and Tourism in collaboration with the Alexandra Renewal Project deserves special mention for the architectural response to context and an open-ended programmatic agenda. In Anne Fitchet's words, "an architecture choreographed by the design team but scripted by the community".<sup>216</sup>

For Alexandra, the most immediate benefit from the *World Summit on Sustainable Development* was the donation of 16 computers, a call centre, audio-visual equipment, television sets, screens, projectors and cameras used during the conference. As welcome a gift as technology can be, it pales in comparison to the positive shift in bureaucratic attitude and the continued contribution that community volunteers, concerned citizens and countless professionals are making. The social infrastructure in depressed, marginalised or evolving informal communities does not need *things* but the time and space to take ownership, resolve internal conflicts and grow out of poverty in an organic fashion. In that sense resembling vernacular traditions - not in formalistic or aesthetic terms as so often expressed in architecture circles - but in the spatial relationships that inform the gradual process of building oneself out of informality or poverty through social networks, the sharing of resources and the freedom of expression embodied as basic human right in all progressive constitutions.

215 Some of the famous Alexandra residents now in power and in popular demand include, past President Nelson Mandela, first lady Zanele Mbeki, ex-Mozambican President Samora Machel, cabinet ministers Alfred Nzo and Joe Modise. Other famous names include musicians Hugh Masekela, the Dark City Sisters and artists and writers such as Dawid Koloane and Mongane Serote.

216 Fitchet, Anne. "Alexandra Heritage Centre" in Joubert, ORA. *10 Years + 100 Buildings - architecture in a democratic South Africa* (Cape Town: Bell-Roberts, 2009) 136



Alexandra Heritage Centre, Peter Rich Architects, Alexandra, 2008

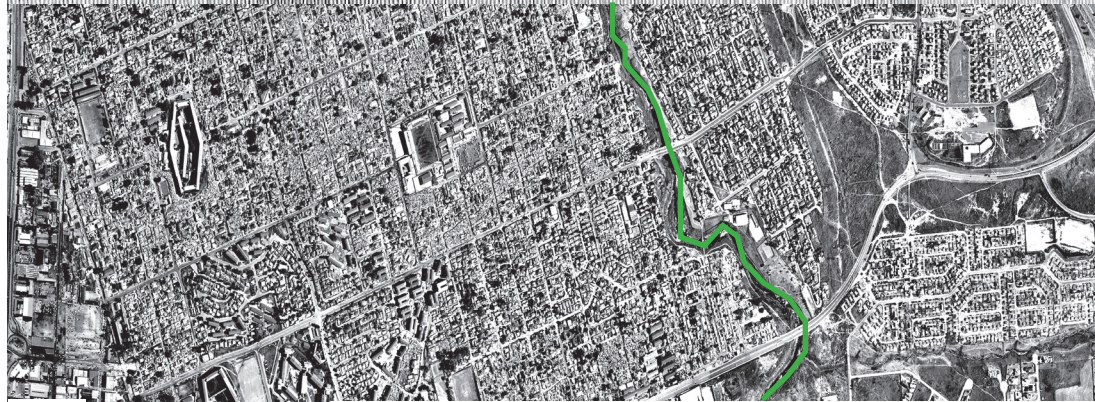
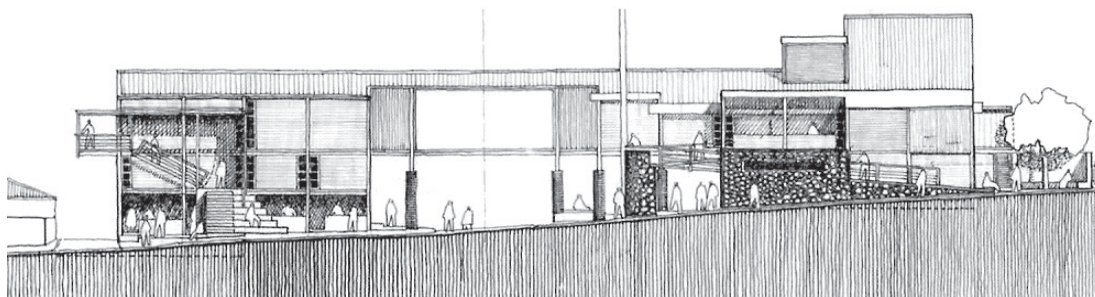


Fig. 45 Alexandra, 2004 - Hostel Typology in fine grain urban fabric

The Alexandra Heritage Centre designed by Peter Rich (2008) that responds well to the fine grain of the urban fabric. A very different response than the gender segregated hostels designed in the 1970's. The historic photographs capture the emergence of a resilient community from its origins in 1912 to the queues of residents waiting to vote for the first time in 1994.

# PART 4

## LOCATING CONTRADICTIONARY ARCHITECTURAL IMPERATIVES

Fig. 46 Hiati Earthquake Survivors, 13 Jan. 2010. Logan Abassi, Minustah, Getty Images



*The preceding chapters have presented a number of propositions, have used excursions along the way to contextualise the empirical explorations and offer a theoretical grounding for the concluding part of the thesis. Part Four will consolidate the arguments by importing key concepts from the preceding chapters, by defining a framework within which certain contradictory architectural imperatives can be located and by concluding with an argument calling for a revised approach and understanding of transformative processes in the urban field.*

*“There is no single moment within the social process devoid of the capacity for transformative activity - a new imaginary; a new discourse arising out of some peculiar hybrid of others; new rituals or institutional configurations; new modes of social relating; new material practices and bodily experiences; new political power relations arising out of their internalized contradictions.” (Harvey, 1996) 105*

*Within a more relational view of space, time and environment as argued for throughout the thesis there remains the over-arching question about the nature and possibility of any transformative processes, if indeed such exist? More specifically asking what tensions result from the internal and contradictory imperatives of professions involved in the shaping ideas about of space, time and the environment and in which moments can we locate the possibility of a revised mandate for, and relationship between the expert disciplines and the communities they serve? The search throughout the thesis lead to a conviction that these questions are of an essentially spatial category of “things” that concern all those involved in the creation of the built environment. Therefore also requiring a particular “species of practice” that requires a revised approach to the thinking and making of things as part of a more committed stance towards the spatial concerns that are at the core of the mandate to create on behalf of others. What follows in the concluding sections below will argue first, that there are no longer any other, “other” and second, ask how these spatial concerns can be made visible and along which itineraries may we uncover a more revolutionary form of praxis.*

*The research and explorations never assumed any ‘a priori’ principles beyond the idea that the concerns are essentially spatial and should be dealt with through an understanding of process-driven sets of power relations. Although Colonial powers arrogantly occupied distant lands by approaching the new frontiers as a ‘tabula rasa’, it obviously was not. In the same sense that the other cannot be considered the “other” without consequence and poverty not simply the making of the poor. The argument for a more pluralistic research methodology driven by concerns containing internal dialectical contradictions has been made in Part One of the thesis. As a reminder it may be useful to state once more that the lens of dialectic materialism through which much that has been argued here, is only being used as a guiding principle in search of a philosophy of change. In that sense an attempt to reconcile theoretical dichotomies of social systems that exist in notions of structure and agency, micro and macro urban scales and the subjective and objective fallacies in discourse. In short, the search for an understanding of the dynamic relationship between agency and structure, framed within triangulated sets of conceptual spatial relationships and with an eye on the warning by Bernstein, “that if we want to know how [concepts] work, we must watch them at work.”<sup>215</sup>*

*Each of the sections that follow also present case studies and project work of which author has an intimate knowledge. In a number of cases the work was in part developed as a further plausibility probe and translation of the more abstract propositions put forward in the thesis. To include projects where such direct involvement feature was a deliberate decision and where applicable, will be contextualised within the ‘family’ to which such work belong.*



Fig. 47 Installation by Jason Gillette as part of the GFRY Studio Exhibition and Symposium at the Ashahi Art Square, Tokyo, 29 March 2010. Abstract representation of the relationship between physical and social infrastructure. In this instance the work slowly disappeared as visitors took glasses of green tea from the installation upon entering the exhibition space

215 Bernstein (1971) 255

## Appropriation and Subversion in the Urban Field

When considered in spatial terms the concepts of appropriation and of subversion are present in blatantly vulgar moments and on the other end of the scale, in disguised form, poetically dressed to seduce. Within this spectrum all acts of occupation or de-occupation, of desiring to own and control, as much as to resist and escape - inform the meta-narratives that describe agency and impact on the relationships and resources that allow structure to achieve a sense of permanence in space.

This can best be illustrated by looking at a specific city as case study. Most readers will be more than familiar with the history and social, economic and political realities of Detroit. Beyond the popularised conception of a hollowed core where the wealthy has fled to the fringes and left an unsustainable central core of poverty - described as a *doughnut* where nothing is left of the original city fabric - to the city as site for films such as *Scarecrow* (1973), *Blue Collar* (1978) and *Gran Torino* (2008) among scores more. A once iconic city of industrial production that became undone through the racial tension between workers and management during the late sixties and early seventies. Subsequently, also an urban field further impacted upon by the annual *Devil's Night* ritual of burning abandoned buildings (mostly housing stock), the miles of express ways that fragments rather than connects the urban fabric, the levels of poverty and gang-related crime, the failed attempts at revitalising the core through the spectacle of sports and the vulgar rags to riches seduction of casinos.

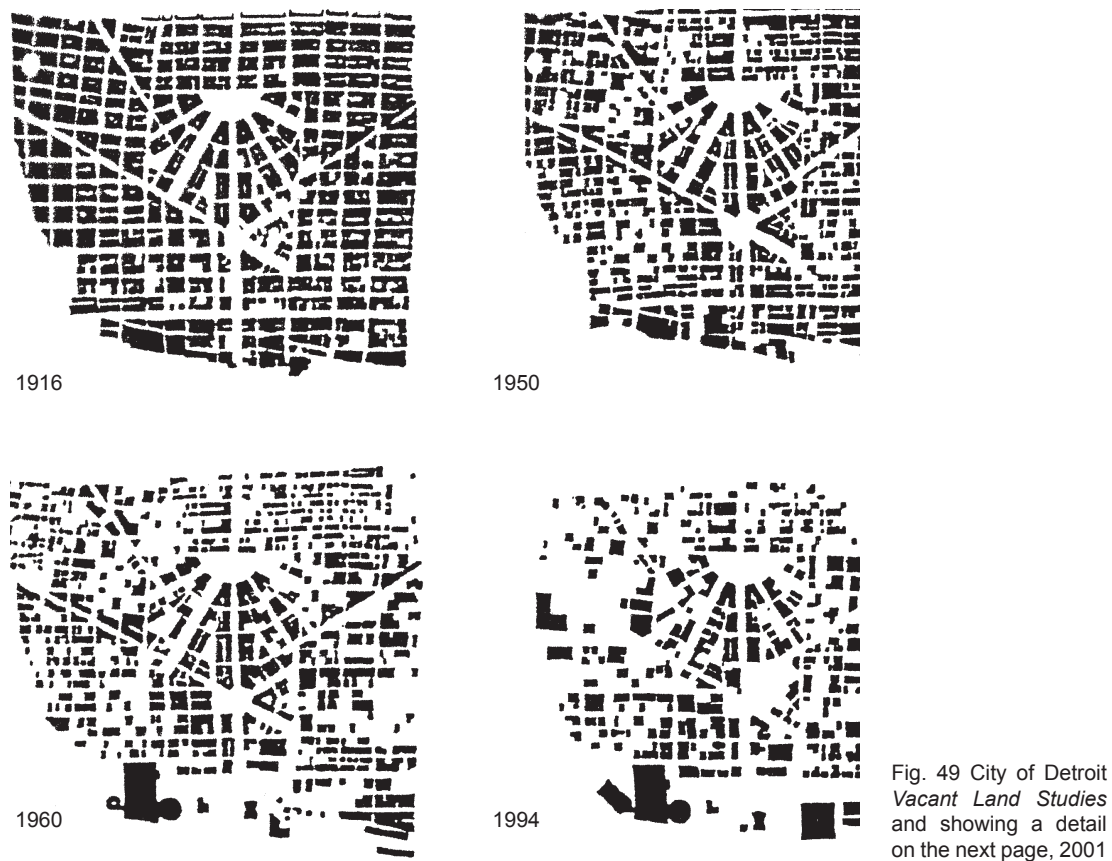
Detroit exploded into prominence fuelled by industrial manufacturing between the first decade of the twentieth century and late fifties and then declined from a peak of 1,8 million to 900,000 inhabitants by 2008. The sprawling city limits spreading over 139 square miles can fit the footprints of Manhattan, Boston and San Francisco combined.



Fig. 48 *Winnersville*. Detroit landscape, photograph by Georgia Daskalakis, 2001

The wealth produced by blue collar labour migrated with upper management and supporting service providers to the fringe where it remains one of the highest per capita income zones in the United States and in stark contrast to the below poverty rate of the inner city. The explosive growth, followed by the shrinking of Detroit, is as well-known as the attempts at healing the fractures in a divided Jerusalem or salvaging the flotsam of segregated *Apartheid* cities in South Africa.

What is common in all extreme cases where cities experience explosive growth, or decline as opportunity and population migrate or fracture in years of conflict - and true for all cities considered as healthy centres of stability, predictability and venues of equal opportunity - is the fact that the relationship between physical infrastructure and social infrastructure is for the most part controlled through a constant evolving relationship between appropriation and subversion.



The characteristics and nature of this relationship is determined by the social system that defines agency and structure. In Detroit's case the city politicians responded to the annual *Devil's Night* arson spree by increasing the annual budget for cleaning up the sites and removing the evidence. More than 150,000 houses have been lost in this process. In 2001 alone the city spent \$20 million in removing burnt-out fabric, and to wit, offered anyone willing to start urban farming a free tractor to do so (fig. 49).<sup>216</sup> By January 2009, in the wake of the

216 Daskalakis, G, Charles Waldheim and Jason Young, eds., *Stalking Detroit* (New York: Actar), 2002

recent global financial crisis, the medium house value in Detroit fell to \$7,500 and the city's municipal bonds were downgraded to junk status.<sup>217</sup>

In contrast to the city's desperate attempt at hiding the fractures, local communities started in accepting a more pro-active and by some definitions, subversive role. *Devil's Night* was countered by armies of volunteers acting as human shields under the banner of *Angel's Night*. Local communities started not-for-profit educational workshops, urban agricultural projects and social counselling services. One of the most notable and successful initiatives started in the community of Redford where, under the exceptional leadership of John J. George, the initial occasional barricade of houses used as drug distribution points kept the gangs on the move and disrupted their operations. Houses were saved and in a subsequent agreement with the city officials, now manages numerous sites and are recycling building materials under the name of *Motor City Blight Busters*.<sup>218</sup>

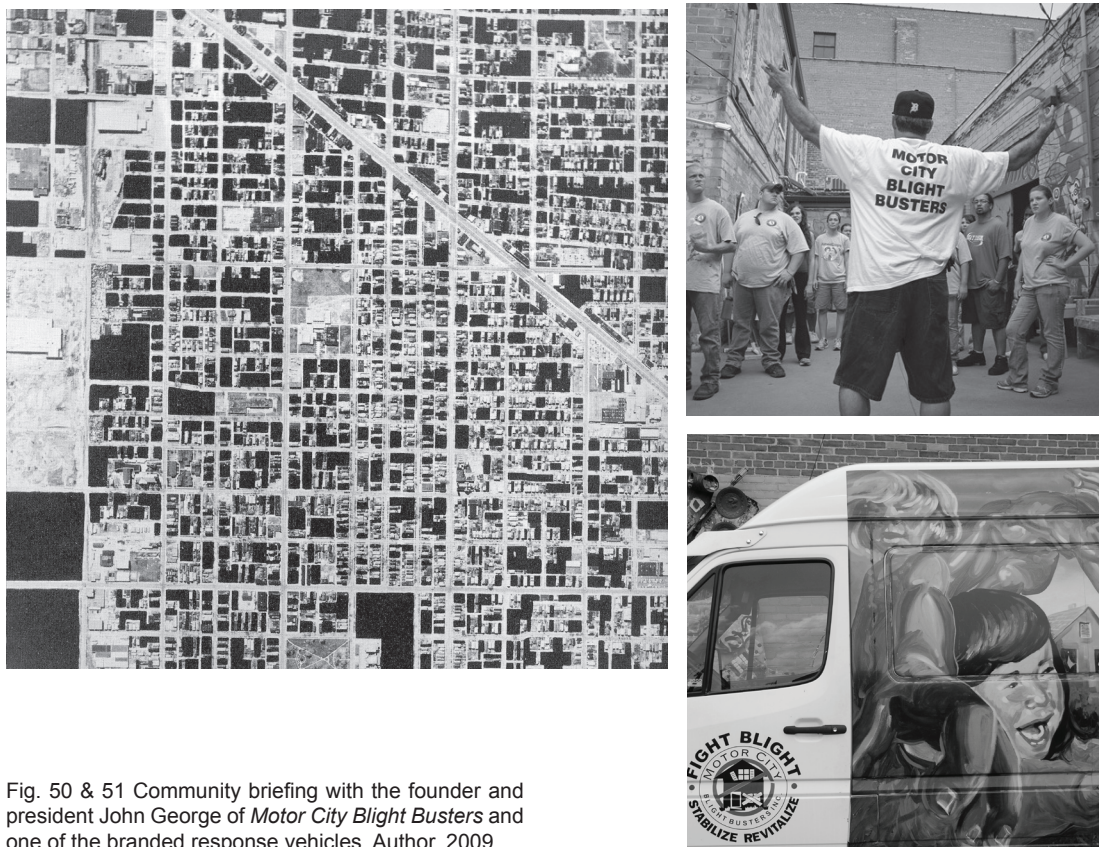


Fig. 50 & 51 Community briefing with the founder and president John George of *Motor City Blight Busters* and one of the branded response vehicles. Author, 2009

The initiative now includes the *Redford Artist Village*, workshops, feeding programmes and neighbourhood clean-up drives. Over the course of its 18 year existence more than a 120,000 volunteers have contributed physical help. Those in control of the bureaucratic functions

217 See Graham, Leigh. *Detroit and the Reality of Shrinking Cities* published on the web site of "Change.org" and "Poverty in America". <http://uspoverity.change.org/blog/view/detroit>, accessed on 1/7/2009 7:53 am. Another useful source of journalism on Detroit is available through the Detroit Free Press, in existence since 1833.

218 Over the past 18 years *Motor City Blight Busters* have painted 684 houses, secured 379 abandoned buildings, renovated 176 houses and constructed 114 new homes. Interview by author on site with John George on 12 July 2009

(politicians and planners alike) and the entrepreneurial, profit-seeking developers still active in Detroit, were not capitalising on the fact that communities are invested and capable, that alternative forms of spatial re-configuration may be needed and that a collaborative effort earlier in the process could have changed the course of the city.

Chicago that once faced a similar threat to its downtown loop had the foresight to counter manufacturing job losses by creating a sense of control and security in the downtown and by creating financial incentives to attract investment as the manufacturing base slowly got replaced by service industries (mostly education and legal). Abstract structural adjustments that came before formalistic and more fickle beautification projects. The one exception in Chicago was Mayor Richard Daley's aggressive programme of keeping the city free of graffiti and disorderly behaviour. The graffiti blaster trucks is as visible on the streets as police patrol cars. This obsession with order and security go as far as pruning the natural growth of trees for a visually open field of surveillance and heightened sense of safety. In a certain sense "blight busting" on a grand scale, but with hardly any community input.

Also in Chicago - at a very different scale - the communities along the three-mile abandoned but remaining infrastructure of the Bloomingdale Rail, coexists in a symbiotic relationship with drug pushers, homeless shelters and late night revellers that all use the industrial era infrastructure laid down in 1872 and elevated in 1910. In disuse since the eighties, still intact and now overgrown, it has been appropriated by condominium owners abutting the structure, by regular joggers and dog walkers and a variety of marginal groups involved in extralegal activities. What has become known as the Bloomingdale trail and actively formalised by the *Friends of the Bloomingdale Trail*, is still privately owned by the *Canadian Pacific Railroad Company*. On their web site the *Friends of the Bloomingdale Trail* warns its members not to trespass or compromise their efforts in securing the infrastructure for future public use in an attempt to turn the 2,7 mile raised structure into a public space similar to the *High Line* project in New York City that was recently completed at a cost of \$150 million.<sup>219</sup>

Just before sunrise one morning during July 2009, one of the author's independent study students involved in research on citizen infrastructure and himself an active user of the Bloomingdale Trail, installed a self-made wooden staircase from a sidewalk along a prominent street to the top of the line. The impromptu public access was illegal but very quickly became actively used, discussed on blog sites, shared on *Flickr* and reported upon in the printed press. The student (who's name is withheld) has compiled initial empirical data on activity patterns along the line and the installation of the staircase was an attempt to see how visible access would change certain behaviour patterns. The most telling result was the quick uptake of

---

219 A disclaimer and warning on the web site of the *Friends of the Bloomingdale Trail* read, "The Bloomingdale railroad embankment is private property, owned and maintained by Canadian Pacific Railroad. Friends of the Bloomingdale Trail does not endorse or condone trespassing. Accessing the railroad illegally may threaten our long-term ability to open the Bloomingdale Trail to full and complete public access. Help us save the Bloomingdale and open it to the public: Don't trespass"

the event through social networking media and the fact that the *Friends of the Bloomingdale Trail* claimed ownership of the object. A report in the *Chicago Reader* quotes one user as saying “Someone even bolted a nice wooden ladder to a wall at Ashland near Walsh Park..... pieces of a steep wooden staircase remained bolted to the wall, but a pile of lumber was on the ground. On one of the boards someone had written in Sharpie, Seriously, please don’t take this?! We are trying to make this a public access way. Don’t take it!”<sup>220</sup> When this student joined the studio investigating Detroit and Beppu the following semester he reflected by saying “ My investigations of infrastructure lead me to abandoned elevated train lines, vacant freeway overpasses, and disparate Ballardian elements of the city. Soon, though I came to realize that the social agents at work within these spaces had just as much or more of a role in authoring the emergent narratives than the concrete forms that lured me there.”

In another project emerging out of the same studio, this time through collaborative work in the community of Beppu in Japan, two graduate students of architecture Audry Grill and Rebecca Midden, leased a parking spot from a Beppu resident in the Nagaya neighbourhood and erected a makeshift community garden. Essentially a gathering space created by re-using beer crates, grass mats and locally sourced growth medium. The garden was in place in early December 2009 and then given over to the community during a workshop session. We returned three months later in March 2010 and found the garden completely appropriated by the community of mostly elderly women.



Fig. 52 & 53

The studio, known as the GFRY Studio within the Department of Architecture, Interior Architecture and Designed Objects at the *School of the Art Institute of Chicago* was conducted by Professors Hennie Reynders and Thomas Kong, together with an interdisciplinary group of students - Jason Gillette, Audry Grill, Rebecca Midden, Gabriele Muracchioli, Ramkrishna Raheja, Brendan Post, Daniel Whiteneck, Ye-Eun Whang and Wonbin Yang. The studio was joined in Tokyo and Beppu by architect Kenta Kishi and Bachelor of Interior Architecture student Sono Miyakawa. A number of community members, city officials, local architects, designers and students joined in the workshops and contributed logistically. The studio is funded by the *Motorola Foundation*.

220 Greenfield, J. “The Bloomingdale Trail: Urban Oasis or Devil’s Playground?” *Chicago Reader* (12 August 2009)

The garden reflected a vernacular tradition in Beppu where micro-ecologies of ornamental or vegetable growth - often created by re-using waste products - is well understood. The students' project was a natural complement to this tradition of sharing resources and respecting invisible property lines - as much through convention as by necessity. Fig. 52 on the preceding page is from a guide issued during a workshop with the community and illustrates the context and intended community participation. The idea of appropriating public space, sourcing material and collective intelligence with the aim of re-activating social life were discussed during two community events in the old part of Beppu City and in a third, day-long event in Tokyo where the team's work was "performed" during an exhibition and symposium in the *Asahi Art Centre* on 29 March 2010 (fig. 53 and 54).



Fig. 53 & 54 Exhibition and Symposium views. GFRY Studio, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, Exhibition at the *Asahi Art Centre*, Tokyo, Japan, 29 March 2010. Author, 2010

The explorations and propositions coming out of this studio varied in scale and location but shared a commitment in exploring revised itineraries along which to negotiate spatial concerns and a respect for the community to which the work responded. The concerns addressed by each project belonged to one or more of the overlapping fields identified by the team as *Critical Narrative* and *Revolutionary Praxis*, *Citizen Infrastructure*, *Social Networks* and *Interstitial Spaces of Opportunity*.



## Designing for Difference - there is no longer any other, *other*

Throughout the thesis it has been argued that our cultural production has direct impact on socio-ecological relations, as has the socio-ecological an impact on our cultural product. As was suggested in the introduction, *concepts that attempt to describe the notion of city or urbanity are becoming increasingly contradictory as urban agglomerations compete with fundamentally altered natural ecologies and as traditional boundaries between formal and informal social expressions of everyday life erode*. Also that increasing unevenness and technological mobility, by default, produce *innovative forms of resistance and new forms of social expression that render archetypal notions of the city powerless and outdated*. Even more so when acknowledging that the material embeddedness of spatial relationships are in constant contest with the fluid social processes of temporality, identity formation and ideas about difference. Further, that such observations and propositions are supported by numerous empirical investigations in sites all-over the developing world *where survival tactics are increasingly becoming controlled and institutionalized - while at the same time exposing new forms of social awareness, a growing autonomous resistance from still marginalised groups and pointing towards innovative spatial formations*. As world economic protocols crash in the virtual domain and political frustration leads to new forms of resistance in the physical world, one thing is becoming clearer. There is no longer any other, other.

Against this background I would like to suggest a twofold proposition grounded in Lefebvre's belief that socially produced space emerges from the ground up, from the people. A social space in direct contest with that abstract space constructed through bureaucratic control (of nations, of regions and institutions) and where such abstracted spatial relationships are instrumental to the tactics of maintaining order.<sup>221</sup> First by propositioning a critical negation of the current limits of our understanding of difference, and second, by suggesting that the mandate of architecture in its widest reading, needs to be freed from its complicit relationship with practices that sustain socio-cultural and political hegemony.<sup>222</sup>

How can we conceive of such a notion? Shall we rather say; *should no longer be*, or perhaps, *can no longer be*? No, the thought is deliberately strunged together as an affirmative reading of the possibility of coexisting identities. As such setting up a seemingly contradictory interpretation about our ideas of difference, diversity, identity, community and the *other*, and with the proposition implicitly suggesting a revised sense of belonging in space and time. An inclusive right to take part, share responsibility and belong - and in agreement with Anzaldúa in her suspicion of linear temporal notions of being in time and space that denies the possibility of living multiple identities simultaneously.<sup>223</sup> Resisting the tendency of equalising and neutralising difference, but rather allowing difference to become active within complex temporal frames without the need to define, assume or defend particular identities in order to be accepted in

221 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, tr. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 370

222 Felipe Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects* (London: Routledge, 2010), 16-23

223 Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999)

a community. Furthermore, if we can agree that social activity takes place in space and can concur on what we mean by the word spatial - then multiple histories and loyalties can coexist simultaneously in an individual as much as in a group by dislocating the desire for sameness and commensurability.<sup>224</sup> It is in reflecting on these seemingly contradictory conditions when stating "there is no longer any other, other," that I am propositioning a critical negation of the current limits of our understanding of difference. If the ideal of community is narrowly defined as homogeneous and with a reliance on unproblematic presence, then we are ignoring the anticipated complexity of what things - including the city - mean to us. There are others, indeed many others - but no longer any other, *other*.

A short excursion through two moments in history - referenced in earlier chapters - may allow the proposition to become active. The first is in reference to the classical Athenian culture and the insistence that female bodies, together with the bodies of slaves, are cold bodies that were to be denied active participation in discourse and in contrast to the warm bodies of men who actively and fully enjoyed the opportunities offered by the city.<sup>225</sup> These hierarchical boundaries were acknowledged in the philosophical propositions, the oral traditions, the logistical organisation of food production and on the annual calendar of festivities. Exclusive female rituals that emerged in an attempt to reject such passive oppression - often cloaked in darkness and shielded behind categories of labour - signalled a refusal to suffer passively and navigated the power relationships of the time by stepping out of the conditions imposed by male dominance.<sup>226</sup> The second reference takes us a thousand five hundred years later to 1810 and the abduction and forced migration from Southern Africa to London of the Khoikhoi girl Sarah Baartman. Paraded as spectacle, displayed as scientific oddity, later kept captive in the *Jardin des Plantes* in Paris and finally dissected by George Cuvier, with her body parts catalogued and stored in the *Musée de l'Homme*.<sup>227</sup>

Such wholesale and deliberate marginalisation, opportunistic exploitation and blatant erasure as in the references above no longer feature in the constitutional frameworks of liberated and educated societies that have moved beyond slavery, beyond inequality, and beyond racism and gender bias. Yet as we all know, sophisticated mutations allow for strategies of marginalisation, disciplinary inequality and denied access to persist in nearly all societies. There is clear evidence that we are reaching a critical falling height as more people are now in or attached

224 Michelle Bastian, "The Contradictory Simultaneity of being with others: Exploring Concepts of Time and Community in the Work of Gloria Anzaldúa", *Feminist Review*, 97, 2011

225 Richard Sennett, *Flesh and Stone – the Body and the City in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1994), 68-70.

226 Sennett, *Flesh and Stone – the Body and the City in Western Civilization*, 80-82.

227 Cuvier was the father of comparative anatomy, the chairperson of anatomy of animals at the Museum of Natural History in Paris, secretary of the Academie des Sciences and professor at the Collège de France. Cuvier first saw Baartman when his mentor and eventual archrival Etienne Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire exhibited the "Hottentot Venus" to a group of painters and scientists. Baartman's remains lived in case no. 33 in the Musée, and later in parts of the museum still dedicated to anthropological research until 2004 when, after years of negotiations, the French government allowed her remains to be returned to South Africa for a formal burial. The compelling true story can best be understood through the award winning film by Zola Maseko, *The Life and Times of Sara Baartman – the Hottentot Venus*, Johannesburg: 1998, colour, 53 min.

to cities, a constant drifting of migrants and refugees are demanding hospitality and outdated power relationships are fracturing. These realities have direct impact on our understanding of sociopolitical relationships in the urban field. First, through the realization that boundaries are being erased on all fronts - between countries, between disciplines, between technologies and between city and periphery. Second, through the emerging networks used in identity formation and affiliation that are based on an increasing technological mobility and the fragmentation of these territories - both abstract and physical. Third, through the increasingly loud claim for a right to the city and the opportunities afforded by having choice, and fourth, the challenges to outdated power relations that constrain agency and create myriad forms of disciplinary inequality.

In proposing a critical negation of the current limits of our understanding of difference requires a critical and dialectic mode of enquiry and practice - an approach that will remain useful for as long as internal contradictions persist, and as David Harvey argues, when positioning the powers of "discourse" in relation to the non-discursive aspects of social life.<sup>228</sup> An inter-textual analysis that can illustrate how "discursive effects mark out a complex "trace" across a variety of seemingly independent discursive domains, sometimes presaging disruptive effects but in other instances offering hidden supports to pervasive ideologies."<sup>229</sup> It can therefore be argued that the desire to acknowledge multiple identities in our understanding of difference hints at a radical pluralism that includes a desire for truth, tolerance and contextualised narrative. Such desires exist on the one hand as abstractions (in literature, art and ritual) and on the other, in relationship with material manifestations where informal gestures of the everyday are encouraged, tolerated and negotiated through spatial relationships within the urban field.

What should be observed is that the value of such spatial relationships are at risk when the instrumental logic of abstract space ignores dialectic contradictions and radical pluralism by suggesting false imperatives - often concealing the inherent violence of such abstract notions of space. This becomes clear, for example when considering abstract financial relationships instrumental in the control of real or speculative surplus value of labour, land and capital - often resulting in territorial re-configuration and conditions of inequality. These relationships reveal more than need, desire or fear. Embedded within this larger network of spatial relationships is a coexisting, fine-grained impulse for resistance with further contradictions. This is visible in the thick sets of relationships across many scales - globally in the control of production and distribution flows and locally in examples of the distribution of basic food through informal vendors in the context of a non-existing physical infrastructure such as in Haiti or Bangladesh and as discussed at the end of Chapter Five.

False representations of equality and politically correct acknowledgement of difference through spatial abstractions attempt to satisfy an appetite for an equality that is often nothing

228 David Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 77-95.  
 229 Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*, 89.

but a second order abstraction in service of institutionalized sets of power relations. Again stressing here that sociopolitical contradictions are realized in spatial terms and where such spatial contradictions render the contradictions of social relations operative. Under the heading of *Differential Space and Subaltern Multi-location* in the last paragraph of Chapter Five it was argued that *spatial contradictions 'express' conflicts between sociopolitical interests and forces, and that ownership and identity - real or perceived - is closely tied to perceptions of being marginalised and being rendered without agency, pushed into a space defined by difference and deliberately denied access to free cultural expression.*

To exist within a subaltern bandwidth of opportunity implies more than simply being oppressed - it includes ignoring mnemonic practices and ways of knowing and those deliberate protocols controlling movement, social interaction, a free voice and access to opportunities enjoyed by others.<sup>230</sup> These arguments can equally be located within the broader and formal development discourse when considering how the subaltern is created; as Victoria Lawson argues in her critique on mainstream development theory of “not including the subjects voices and opinions in development policies and practices” and for the most part disengaged from local, community, class, ethnic and gender issues.<sup>231</sup> Clearly building upon the work of Gayatri Spivak and a number of postcolonial writers who have made this distinction clear:<sup>232</sup> Homi Bhabha in his writing on cultural identity and notions of difference,<sup>233</sup> Boaventura de Sousa Santos in a desire for cosmopolitan legality within the idea of an equality of difference,<sup>234</sup> Joanne Sharp, like Spivak before her, defining the arrogance of Western knowledge when looking down on the other and their forms of logic or different ways of knowing.<sup>235</sup>

It is with this internal contradiction in mind that the argument for a different frame of investigation - a more pluralistic methodology in our explorations and a degree of dialectical discourse - can allow for a collective intelligence that includes both human and nonhuman systems, communities as much as ecosystems. Allowing for the coexistence of formal and informal economies, legal and extralegal actors, and stable communities as much as migrant communities, physical structure as well as virtual networks.

Finding this common ground in an architecture that responds to unpredictability and fluid spatial organization implies a new understanding of collective intelligence, autonomous and collaborative practice and our ideas about ownership, use value and agency. The intelligence referred to here includes local vernacular knowledge as much as it hints at sophisticated

230 Gayatri Spivak, in an interview with Leon de Kock, 'Interview With Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa'. *A Review of International English Literature*. 23(3) 1992, 29-47

231 Victoria Lawson, *Making Development Geography*. (UK: Hodder Education), 2007

232 Gayatri Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak?", in Nelson, C and Grossberg, L (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana, IL, 1988), 280-294.

233 Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004 [1994]). Bhabha argues that we should re-examine critical theory and our attempts to theorise and historicise architectural production within cultural diversity and interrelatedness. \*Also see Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects* (London: Routledge, 2010).

234 Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Law: A Map of Misreading. Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law", *Journal of Law and Society*, 14, 279-302

235 Joanne Sharp, *Geographies of Postcolonialism: spaces of power and representation* (London: Sage, 2009)

expert knowledge. What remain important are the relationships that we allow and make public, and the structural systems we employ to communicate across cultural and disciplinary boundaries. At the same time Harvey warns of the danger in the so-called romantic turn of radical politics, where the “voices from the margins” and the turn towards the marginalised “other” are being somehow viewed as less corrupt and more authentic - ultimately arguing that the locus of agency is everywhere.<sup>236</sup>

This more pluralistic approach has revealed surprisingly similar thinking within the broader context of explorations around spatial concerns among artists, designers and scientists, while at the same time highlighting the remaining disciplinary fault lines. Through sharing similar concerns (about society and the environment) and by employing the very same technologies that once divided artists, designers and scientists, we are now capable to work fluidly within dense networks of collaboration.<sup>237</sup> The very same technologies that once marginalised certain sectors of our communities are now being used to resist inequality and a lack of choice and placing responsibility where it belongs. We see how cell phone, access to the Internet and social media have freed marginalised communities and empowered them to become active in political decision-making.<sup>238</sup>

As stated earlier, these changes have distinct spatial import and are the very markers along alternative itineraries available for design exploration. Those in the urban periphery and other marginalised locations are becoming increasingly vocal. This demand for a right to the choices offered by urban contexts and technology need to inform how we as designers direct our efforts and learn from those outside of traditional structures as much as we reflect upon the explicit knowledge from within the confines of professional practice and the academy. Translating such insights need to reflect the processes that inform city building. It is by mediating these processes that architecture, the things we produce and the concerns we make visible, will become meaningful and significant.

The constructed environment has significant power in relation to social wellbeing and life in general. It is against this background that the mandate of architecture needs to reflect an understanding of processes. Even more so when acknowledging that the material embeddedness of spatial relationships are in constant contest with the fluid social processes of temporality, identity formation and ideas about difference. Again, there is no longer any other, other.

236 Harvey, *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 105.

237 Tony Fry, *Design Futuring: Sustainability, Ethics and New Practice* (Oxford: Berg, 2008). Fry introduces the concept of redirection as a political, philosophical and practical activity that becomes the key driver in our rethinking of design practice. Redirection is positioned as a revised protocol for collaboration - moving designers from a marginal position often doing little more than reinforcing unsustainable practice - towards a mandate informing and building long-term “sustain-able” (Fry’s terminology) practice outcomes

238 Mobile phone technology has freed rural and poor communities from many of the obstacles denying them participation in the formal economy – most notably, access to basic banking services. In South Africa 87% of the population are cell phone users. For many, the only access to the Internet, communication and banking, is the mobile phone network. This is even more visible in the role that social media plays in the structure and agency of communities that resist outdated power relationships and in taking ownership of ideas, places and networks.

In a speculative project, for a large tract of railway land owned by the local government in the Barracas neighbourhood of Buenos Aires, author has proposed a solution contrary to what the project brief called for.<sup>239</sup> Although never openly stated, the authorities intended to use the redevelopment of the large tract of shunting yard and rail reserves as a mixed use buffer between the wealthy neighbourhood north, and the approximately million inhabitants (and growing) of an informal settlement directly south of the site. Our proposal, although with no hope of implementation, suggested the creation of a very robust piece of enabling infrastructure. Essentially a mile long concrete barrier through which certain mutually beneficial transactions could allow the extralegal, informal community to *jump* the wall and become legal. It was envisioned that the enabling infrastructure would in time transform from barrier to a series of anchors - acting as a spine, defining public space and framing zones of learning, negotiation and transaction. The illustration below shows the site with the position of the “enabling infrastructure” in red (fig. 55).



Fig. 55 *Dogs Barking - Spine of Negotiated Transactions*. Project Proposal by the author for the Barracas Neighbourhood , Buenos Aires, 2002

The Barracas project was inspirational in projects by two of the author’s graduate students of architecture as proposed for sites in Pretoria. The 2006 thesis project by Annemie van den Heever explored a very similar tract of land.<sup>240</sup> She states at the onset that the “project does not begin with an image or a form; but starts with the inherent potential of the site - the *terrain*

239 Reynders, Hennie. *Dogs Barking - Spine of Negotiated Transactions*. “Landscape Urbanism and Activist Practice” project done under MArch advising by Professor Charles Waldheim. Chicago, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2002

240 Van den Heever, Annemie. *Field - public space infrastructure*. Unpublished MArch(Prof) Thesis (*cum laude*) (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2006). Thesis advisors Derek De Bruyn and Hennie Reynders

vague.”<sup>241</sup> The site is located between the vibrant, mixed-use Pretoria Station precinct and across the railway tracks to the south, where the *Salvokop* community dates from 1892 when barrack type housing was erected by the *Dutch South African Railway Company*.

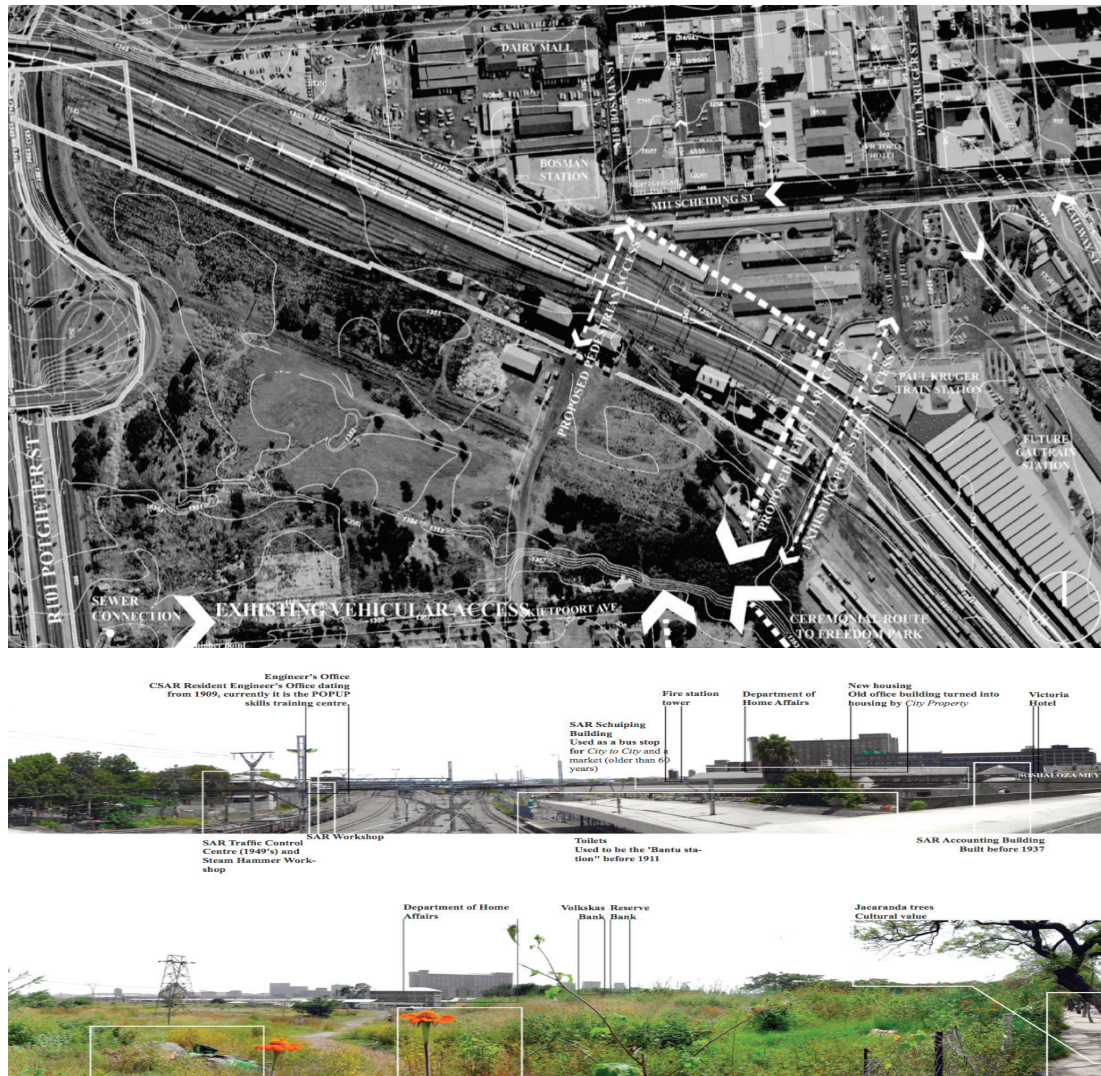


Fig. 56 & 57 The aerial photograph illustrates the site as divided by the decommissioned railway tracks and with the sectional views below showing the immediate context (2006)

Previous unsuccessful attempts at integrating *Salvokop* with the city have led to suggestions for a new pedestrian bridge to replace the “black-only” bridge that was recently demolished, to linking the area with *Freedom Square* on the hill with the same name. The *Salvokop* landholding, by the sixth of successive railway administrations since 1892, is considered a burden and privatisation is on the cards. Apart from a layered history and a number of historically important buildings the site has since the late eighties become a place where

241 A term used by Ignasi de Solá-Morales Rubió (1942-2001) to describe contemporary places and landscapes undergoing transformation, that are unpredictable and constantly in flux. Landscapes that can best be understood by a revised methodology of exploration

competing claims of ownership - both legal and extralegal - have caused the social fabric to fracture and opened-up opportunities for a negotiated design intervention outside of the reach of traditional development protocols. The design exploration was informed by the Situationist's practices of Guy Debord, the work of Constant Nieuwenhuys and projects such as the proposed playground for the Riverside Drive Park<sup>242</sup> by Isamu Noguchi and the *Forum 2004* project in Barcelona by Herzog & De Meuron. More importantly, the design exploration accepted the challenge that theory can only inform and never validate design decisions. The competing narratives became the entry point, with the design proposal aiming to activate the spatial fractures and with the landscape acting as text. A place constructed around the stories of residents, tourists, institutional stakeholders and the extralegal alike.

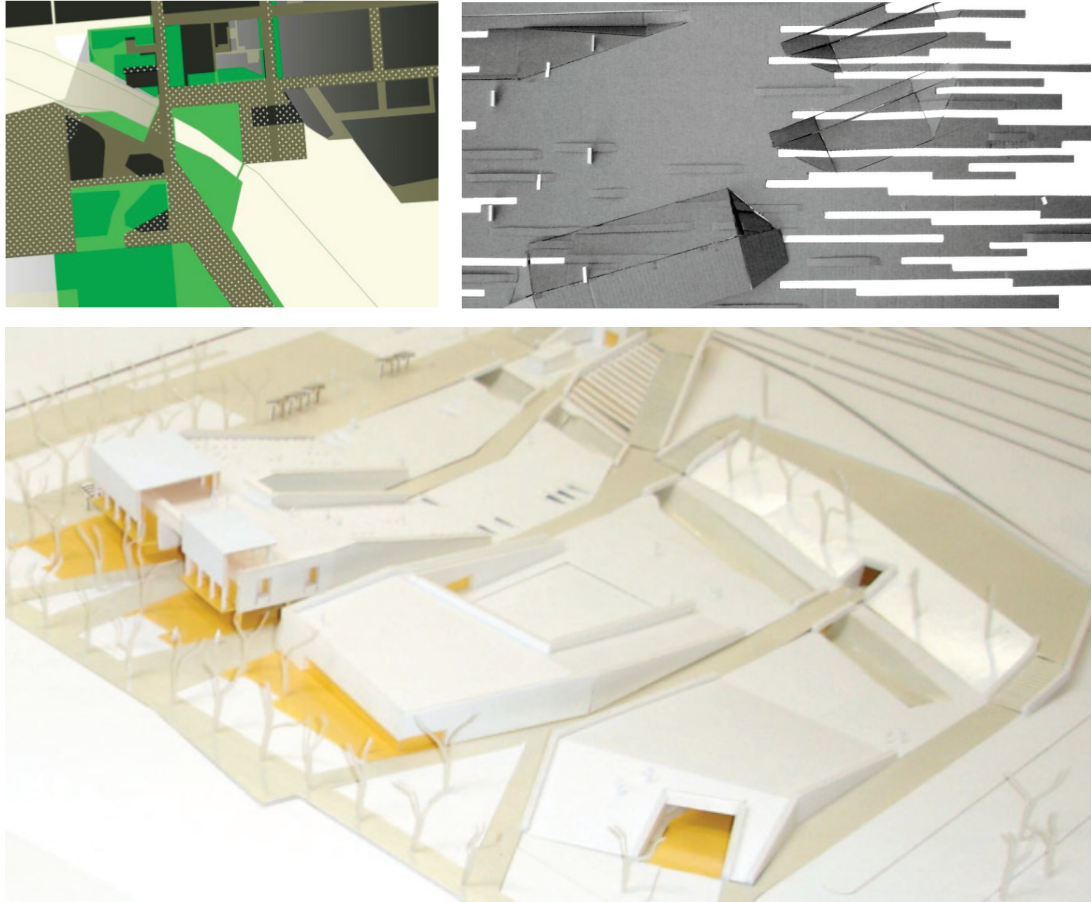


Fig. 58, 59 & 60 Top left; Abstract diagramme of coexisting narratives. Top right; Landscape as text - first abstraction. Bottom, Detail of the final design proposal, model. A Van den Heever, 2006

The second thesis by Elana van der Wath (2008)<sup>243</sup> addresses similar spatial concerns. Specifically when exploring opportunity in those interstitial openings in the urban fabric where innovative responses from the informal economy suggest the need for a *science* of

242 Proposed in collaboration with Louis Kahn in 1964

243 Van der Wath, Elana. "Recover - an investigation into a possible counter strategy that challenges destructive spatial practices in contested urban territories by cultivating networks of opportunity". Unpublished MInt Thesis, (*cum laude*) (Pretoria: University of Pretoria, 2008). Thesis advisors; Hennie Reynders and Nico Botes

nomadic, fluid, and imprecise quantities. An environment where architecture becomes an organically organised *family* of enabling instruments, and where spatial qualities and systemic intelligence out-weigh formalistic preconceptions.

The site of her design exploration included the *Rissik Station* in Hatfield that is one of the first stops when travelling from *Denneboom Station* to the city centre. The Station serves the *University of Pretoria*, a large corporate and commercial node and the cluster of embassies occupying many of the old colonial houses of Arcadia to the north-west. The same line will be the future alignment of the first high-speed train connecting Pretoria, Centurion, Kemtonpark, the *Oliver Tambo International Airport*, Sandton and Johannesburg.



Fig. 61 *Rissik Station, University of Pretoria and The Fields* development in the context of Hatfield. *Site Context*. Van der Wath, 2008

The area around the station and throughout Hatfield is an energetic mixture of rich and poor, formal and informal, students and working professionals. The spatial relationships described in the previous case studies are equally applicable here and competing interests between the university, retail businesses, professional home-offices and the second and informal economies have resulted in a series of desperate tactics to claim ownership. The university fenced the campus and is in the process of upgrading the public sidewalk space surrounding the controlled environment. *City Property*, who owns a large rental pool of apartments across the city has strict security protocols that makes for an unwelcoming street interface. The same company has completed a city block of mixed-use development in 2007 that, contrary to

marketing talk of pedestrian friendly public space at the *The Fields* as it is called, has destroyed the organic movement patterns that crisscrossed the site since the sixties. Building and shop owners in the retail and business sector have increased security patrols, fenced in properties and are attempting to force informal trade, begging and evidence of homelessness out of the area.

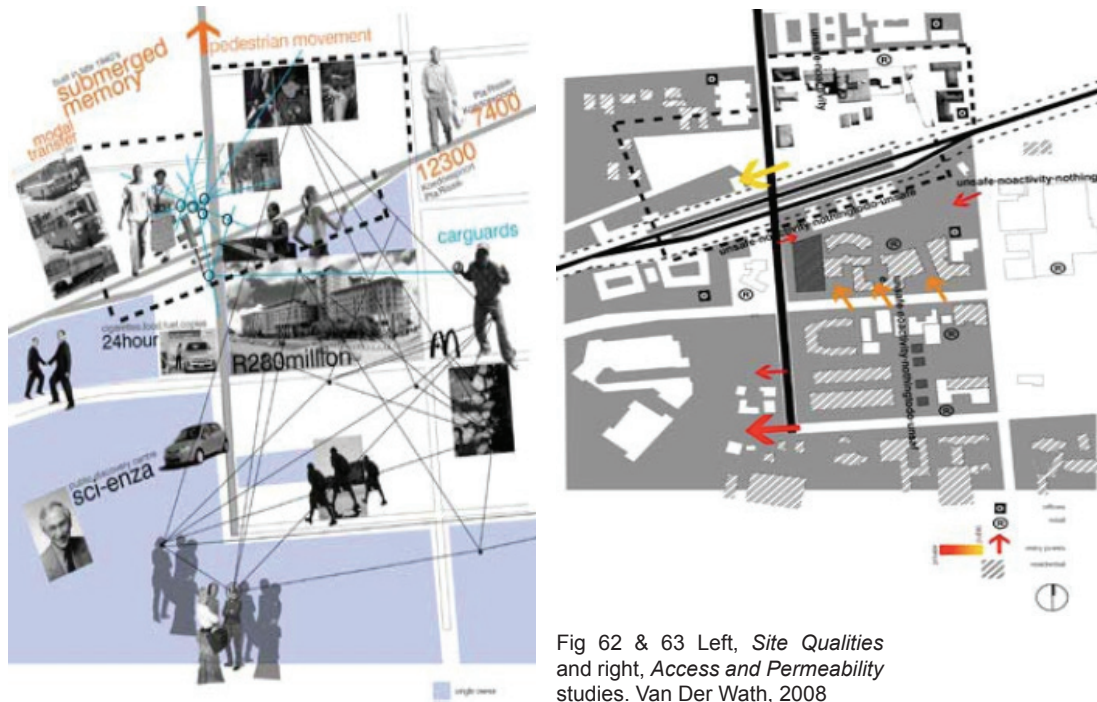


Fig 62 & 63 Left, *Site Qualities* and right, *Access and Permeability* studies. Van Der Wath, 2008

With the university becoming multiracial in the early nineties the average student profile and general demographics of the area naturally changed. Many more students are using public transportation and with changes in shopping and socialising patterns, the once exclusive terrain of an elite white academic population has become a much more accurate representation of urban South Africa. With rapid re-configuration and a fluid unpredictability came aggressive claims to ownership and equally aggressive subversive tactics. The Brooklyn Police Station that serves the area is reporting higher incidents of crime in certain categories (robberies at residential premises, burglaries, shoplifting, sexual assault and commercial crime) but a reduction in crime levels in all other categories. When compared with the 20 percentile study of police stations reporting country wide statistics one sees that areas that are perceived to be problematic, actually have fewer incidents than those areas commonly held to be safe. Yet, when compared with previously marginalised communities where unemployment, a lack of opportunity and a lack of basic services persist, the statistics become a less useful indicator. Statistics for townships such as Alexandra do show an overall decrease in crime but still suffers much more than neighbourhoods where private security firms, gated street access and security fences curb certain categories of crime. The idea that most crime is committed by poor, angry blacks against privileged whites is simply not true. South Africa's crime rate is notoriously real - in reality and in perceptions. With 2 murders, 28 burglaries at residential properties, 13 drug related crimes and 2 carjackings taking place every hour for the twelve months between

April 2008 to March 2009 - calculating to more than 18,000 murders in the twelve month period.<sup>244</sup> As can be expected the statistics reveal that overall crime rates per category correlate with the persistent unemployment and backlog in the provision of basic services. With such a view it is natural that more carjackings and burglaries occur in the wealthy neighbourhoods as criminal activity follows opportunity. What the statistics do not reveal are the degree to which poor, uneducated and some times extralegal people are subjected to exploitation by criminal networks. Crimes are reported in the precinct of occurrence and without analysing where criminals come from, why they choose a specific location for their crime and what their motivation may have been. Without all data and a full history of due process the statistics compiled for crime, HIV / Aids infection patterns and changes in occupational status over time create a one-dimensional view of little use to those involved in the built environment. The short excursion below illustrates the expressionless face of statistics.

#### **Excursion Five: Life in the Shadows**

Author was in a restaurant with friends in the upmarket neighbourhood of Brooklyn when gun shots and screaming alerted everyone about a likely robbery taking place. When walking to the spot where our car was supposed to be, it was missing and while reporting it at the police station, discovered that the car was in fact used as get-away vehicle by the very same robbers. What is important in this story of everyday life is the strategy and patterns that emerged during the subsequent investigation. The four robbers took a taxi from the Mpumalanga Province three hours east of Pretoria, were dropped off at a site on the fringe of Mamelodi where guns were provided by a contact, took a different taxi from there to Brooklyn, and after the failed attempt at stealing cash from the movie theatre's cashiers, fled in our car that was parked near an exit. The case dragged on for two years, police files conveniently got lost, one of the robbers died in hospital of gunshot wounds inflicted by the shopping centre's security guards, and when the case finally went to trial, a rival gang member implicated in the case shot and killed a witness outside, and wounded two people inside the courtroom. Would the robbery have been successful, the four robbers would each have taken a different taxi to the site where guns were obtained, split the takings and travelled back to their respective homes.<sup>245</sup> In this case, a seven hour day's work - clearly criminal and ruthless, that went wrong. During the thesis research of Elana Van der Wath we have met with a woman travelling daily by bus from the same area in Mpumalanga to Rissik Station in Hatfield five days a week. Leaving at 4 in the morning with utensils and dough prepared the night before. She sells *vetkoek*<sup>246</sup> at the exit from the station to peak-hour commuters for two Rand (roughly £0.15) a piece and leave by around noon to be back home with her children by late afternoon. Her spot at the station is well-chosen and secure as long as she pays her weekly dues to the man that enforces illicit control over informal trade spots at the station precinct. She stores her cooking stove for a monthly rent at a store across from the station and illegally obtains used cooking oil from a nearby fast food outlet. In her case, 12 hours of barely making enough in a mode of constant survival. Her attempts at getting a spot closer to home have failed and she has been at the same spot for 15 years.

244 Statistics in the public domain for the period April 2003 to March 2009. South African Police Service.

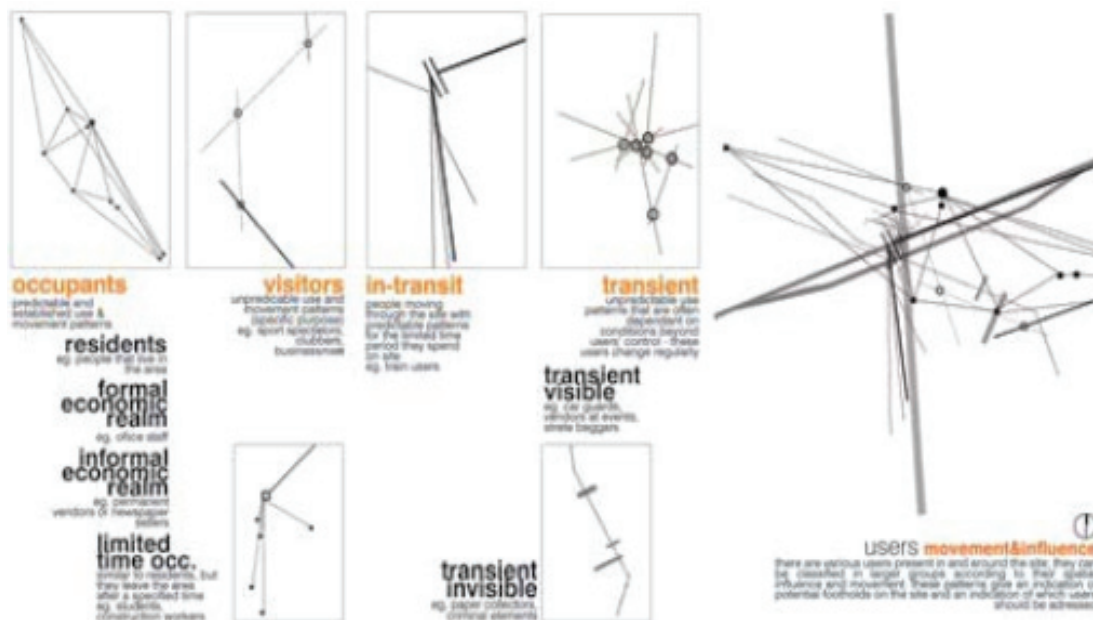
245 First hand information obtained by the author during the course of the investigation. (1997/98)

246 A traditional South African dish of Dutch origins. Similar to the Polish *paczki*

Both of the cases above intersect with the site of Van der Wath's thesis exploration that, in her words "... questioned the accepted models of planning, ownership, governance and participation that no longer responded to the dynamics and complexities of current cities and their users. It accepts these models, but attempts to subvert them by proposing dynamic interventions that deploy in the margins" (Van der Wath, 2008) A noteworthy thesis showing the author's willingness and ability to explore and translate complex spatial relationships without any preconceived formalistic intentions.

The work responded to the realities of all actors involved in the future of the area and steered clear of disciplinary politics - also those internal contradictions within the academy that often sacrifice deep explorations for the sake of having to provide evidence of certain core skills. The academic evaluation committee accepted the more relational, propositional and inside-out approach where typical criteria did not apply and the emphasis on social infrastructure and the translation of existing and projected spatial relationships "became the architecture."

The project succeeded in its strategic goals that aimed to stimulate and preserve urban diversity, to re-imagine public urban space and to allow for emergence and re-appropriation - in the manner that Bunschoten argues for the role of the architect as urban curator.<sup>247</sup> This strategic approach fitted well with the intention of creating a snapshot of society where the possibilities of a more tolerant and relational view towards appropriation and subversion provide us with alternative expressions of spatiality.



247 Bunschoten (2001) 231

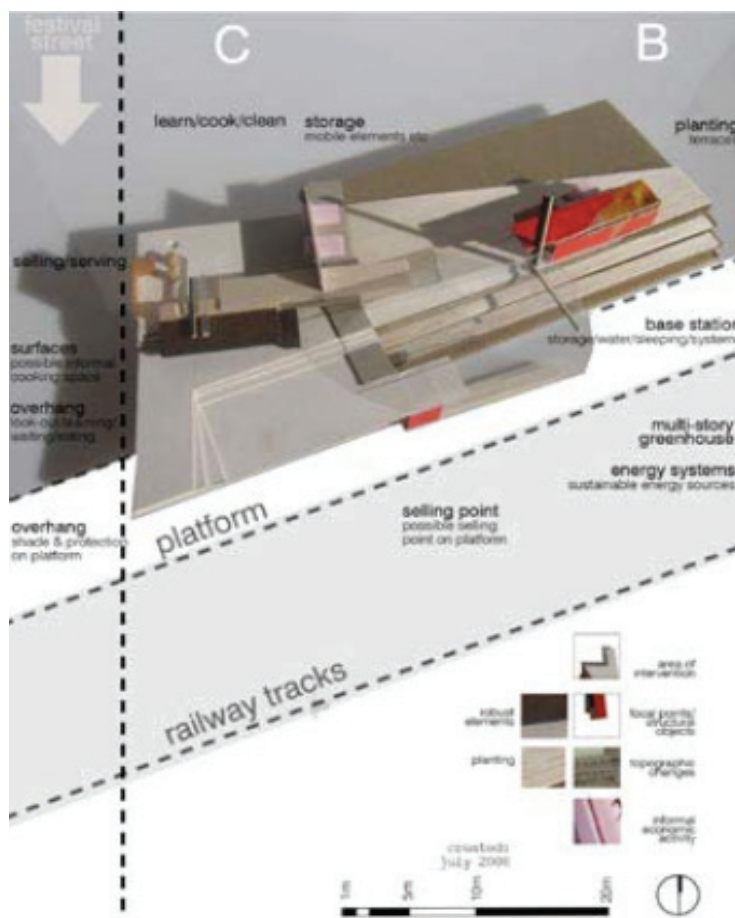
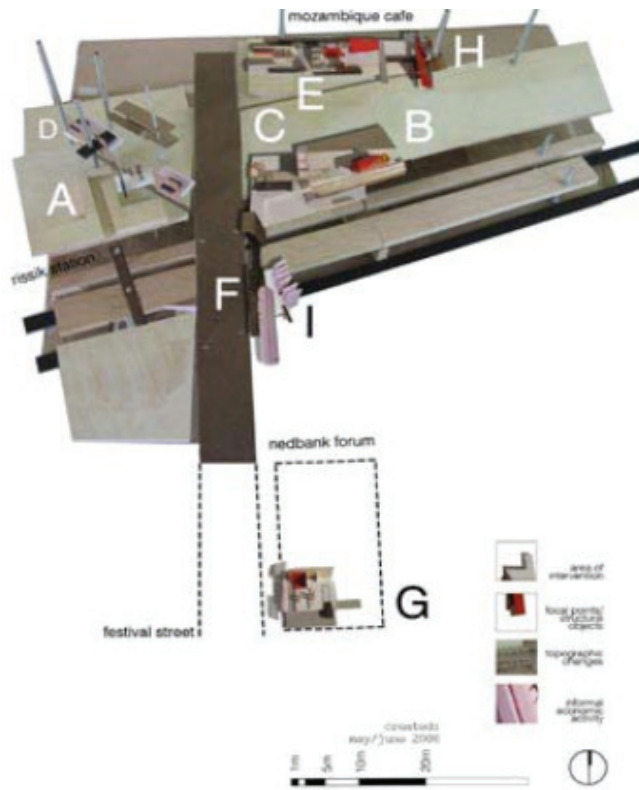


Fig. 64, 65 & 66 *Movement Patterns* (previous page), *Conceptual Spatial Network* (above) and *Design Exploration III* (below), Van der Wath (2008). The design exploration responded to the social and physical infrastructure and developed through empirical analysis and a series of open-ended and propositional design scenarios. Ten such scenarios investigated different aspects of the urban environment and included the re-use of existing fabric, environments for the transfer of knowledge, opportunities at the points of modal transfer, energy systems, among other.



Fig. 67 A giant *vuvuzela* (soccer horn) installed on top of the unfinished highway in Cape Town that once threatened to divorce the city from its original link to the sea and destroyed a part of the historic urban fabric. Citizen action in the early seventies prevented the completion of the infrastructure. Detail of a photograph by Mark Wessels taken during the recent FIFA World Cup hosted by South Africa (REUTERS, 27 May 2010). \*The controversial *Green Point Stadium* that was built in the affluent part of the city (replacing a previous stadium with smaller capacity) is a mile behind the photographer's right shoulder. Attempts by concerned citizens could not stop the project and the FIFA Board and the South African Minister of Sport overruled efforts to rethink the long term implications - that in spite of detailed studies comparing three likely sites and pointing to the benefits of building in the historically coloured, working class community of Athlone. According to reports, the argument for Green Point was the promotion of South Africa and Cape Town as tourism destination. See; Brummer, S and Karen Schoonbee. *Public loss, FIFA's gain - How Cape Town got it's 'white elephant'* prepared for "ipoc - information portal on corruption and governance in Africa" (2010). <http://www.ipocafrika.org>

## In Conclusion

Three distinct considerations or *concerns*, in the classic broader definition of the word,<sup>248</sup> seem unquestionably current and internally related if we were to lift our gaze and face the moment in which the thesis propositions are now being contemplated.

First, the fact that we have never before experienced the scale of environmental, economic and social predicaments, so critically aligned and converging on a global scale. The threats impacting on natural environments go much deeper than mere questions of sustainability and the evidence, that is not yet fully articulated, indicates deeper problems that may yet reach systemic proportions.<sup>249</sup> On the economic front we are still experiencing a global depression that is impacting, with a few noteworthy exceptions,<sup>250</sup> on capital, labour and production flows. The social dimensions of the environmental and economic threats have piled the proverbial wood on the fire of large segments of societies that were already disillusioned, frustrated and globally mobilised against outdated power structures and malfunctioning bureaucracies - notably so in the informal and second economies of developing and emerging nations. In the author's mind, this triangulated and relational convergence of these fractures - on a global scale and of unknown quantity - is unprecedented.

Second, we are in a moment where technology and technological mobility are erasing boundaries between known and seemingly stable entities. For example, the same technology that is deployed to control spatial relations is being used in subversive mode, as resistance against such control and with the possibility to communicate and transact simultaneously in the physical and the virtual world, to wit, having a huge margin of tolerance in the degree to which connection to either *world* needs to be maintained. With relatively cheap technology and free access to information it is possible to disconnect from outdated infrastructure and live *off the grid*, barter your way into urban opportunity, side-step banking and *couch-surf* the world. On a more serious note, it is possible and feasible to construct powerful social networks and bypass traditional protocols of production, consumption and distribution. Many instances have brought this reality home - the 9/11 attacks on New York City, the spontaneous and autonomous barter system in Argentina during the 2002 *International Monetary Fund* (IMF) clamp-down, the impact and speed with which virtual social networks can influence election outcomes or help in disaster management, to mention but a few such scenarios.

The third consideration suggests that the first and second concerns as raised above, are in fact tied in the same knot. More importantly however, that there are internal contradictions that seem directly responsible for the tensions, the fractures and the degree of subversion that

248 Intending the Latin definition of 'discerning', or 'sifting through' an 'intensive force'. *concernĕre*. OED, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1989

249 Author's statement based on the conflicting reports from, and arguments among scientists and the lack of political commitment by the majority of politicians

250 Canada among the developed nations and within the developing regions, countries as diverse as Brazil and Botswana.

characterise and define the relationship. Naturally there is always resistance against change and always change because of resistance - the ever present and enigmatic relationship existing between invention and convention. The fact that the modes of *thinking* preceding production and the tools used in *making* things are for the most part rooted in past experience, existing technology and social agreements while the ambitions and desires for alternative solutions are always quasi-futuristic and naively utopian. What seems paradoxical here also describes that impulse of an improbable desire to jump out of the line of battle between past and future referenced earlier in the thesis.

In the built environment Architecture is intrinsically tied to labour intensive, slow and established protocols of production. Moreover, by subscribing to the entrepreneurial impulse of capital and the creative desire of invention - it is hardly conceivable to consider an architecture where there remains no trace of bad behaviour. Whereas the fluid, unpredictable and informal formations in society, equally entrepreneurial, tend to appropriate and subvert at a speed greater than what the stable, formal institutions can absorb. This eternal process of occupation and de-occupation, of desire and fear - circling the same gravitational need to find spatio-temporal expression in the physical urban field and in our abstract relations - is what prevents any attempt at a state of equilibrium.<sup>251</sup> Without these internal contradictions and without the contradictory imperatives there will be no traction in our efforts to make a difference. What needs to be made clear however, is that none of these contradictions relieve those entrusted with the mandate to act on behalf of others from the collective responsibility of working towards the creation of an urban condition of equal access to opportunity. Shifting power relations have, and always will be part of the mutation of urban environments. The challenge remains, first, in how to investigate, understand, and accept the tendency of uneven spatial development, and second, to accept that such unevenness happens within a fluid, temporal, and intensely politicised spatiality. The tendency of main-streaming important issues without sufficient reflection and collaboration increasingly lead to costly reversals and in the process, causing structural violence and collateral damage in communities outside of the decision making process.

By now it must be clear to the reader that the research speculates about what Architecture *can be* against the background of what current protocols and mandates seem to dictate. This philosophical stance raises questions about authorship, about autonomous practice, about processes and connections rather than about the value of the iconic, singular artefact so often considered as a more important indicator of culture. It equally raises questions about the post-structuralist scepticism of more reflective practices, and as embodied within the structuralist position towards criticality in architecture. Perhaps the most important insights gained from the student projects included in Part Three and Four of the thesis, are the students' willingness

---

251 The work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari argues this dialectical process of constant becoming when writing about the fluid relationship between 'smooth space' and 'striated space'. See Deleuze, Gilles and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: Continuum, 2002) 473-475

to collaborate across disciplinary boundaries in search of a revised mandate in the relationship with their discipline. By implication also acknowledging that urban and spatial concerns have become complex and that A[a]rchitecture or urban design interventions are not always projects, but often a collective expression of what urban life can be when allowed to emerge incrementally through collaboration and collective intelligence. An intelligence grounded in a reflective, relational practice that defines the relationship between explicit and tacit knowledge through a commitment to the architecture of thought as much as to the architecture of things. This is most evident within the academy and in collaborative projects between the academy and a certain category of industry partners.

What is less clear is what the effect of collaborative relationships between the academy and industry partners hold when such collaboration circulates exclusively within the privileged networks of globally connected *alpha* centres of economic and political activity. The global circulation of information (including the technological mobility that supports such patterns) and the highly mobile classes (students, professionals, performers, migrants labourers) working within these closed networks are becoming more relevant than the circulation of physical products. Even though such mobility, collaboration and competition among these global centres are essentially dynamic and fluid networks - it remain locked within defined protocols of access and a hierarchical distribution of privilege. These *alpha* cities within a network of a multiple of dominant centres do not obey the same rules as the traditional, old compact of nation states but author their own opportunistic protocols of conduct - animated by a need for efficiency, connectivity and security. Similarly, one observes equally locked networks within contexts of sophisticated, self-organising informal assemblages or within extralegal networked activity - often coexisting or intersecting significantly with the formal structures described above. The ranking of so-called global cities are not so much based on size but rather on the successful influence over what happens internally and externally and the degree of integration with global markets, cultural trends, and innovative technologies. This requirement of integration and connectivity is equally true for the exploding informal settlements and developing cities, albeit not through sophisticated technologies, but rather through sophisticated citizen infrastructure and subversive practices. What the research suggests is that the connections between the formal and informal, the privileged and the marginalised - which seem to overlap through circumstance and by default through the processes of appropriation and subversion - are in fact the real spaces of opportunity where re-calibrated mandates can emerge.

In order to activate this potential we not only need to make such spatial concerns visible, but need to locate the spatial contradictions more carefully and develop a shared language that can transcend disciplinary and cultural boundaries. Post-structuralist and postcolonial discourse have prepared the milieu now being occupied by competing constituencies where artists, designers and scientists - when producing work with significant meaning - balance on an edge where their actions may produce value for some while denying opportunity for others. Mutual benefit and zero impact remain elusive and often smell of naive utopian tendencies. Not to

desire control or predictability is as important as the ability to allow the other her or his voice while adding value through rigorous collaboration. True value is added when propositions facilitate and allow opportunity - sometimes barely visible in form, at times bold and robust. The triangulated concepts that were employed as frames for these propositions are abstract devices used in describing a meshwork of relationships that seem to manifest in the urban field and the social agreements of everyday life. As such, becoming probable frameworks through which to describe structure and agency along with the compelling desire for a revised manner of thinking and making, and a revised spatial practice with greater temporal agency - aiming to frame questions that have not yet been asked.

In locating these seemingly contradictory imperatives in the urban field, a number of propositions can point to a revised mandate and more revolutionary form of *praxis* for those involved in the urban question:

- The concerns raised throughout the thesis are essentially spatial and therefore by implication, political.
- To understand the peculiar spatial assemblages of contemporary urban environments will require a third generation of spatial propositions in the wake of our move beyond Cartesian logic in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the space-time construct of the twentieth century. If we work towards adding significant meaning - a clearer understanding of the spatio-temporal relationship between place, space and environment is required within practice protocols that allow for context specific moments of spatial instability and fluidity.
- The mandate of A[ar]chitecture includes the responsibility to enable, instruct, activate and curate everyday activities and events within the urban field without sacrificing the counter-intuitive ability to allow for reflective, propositional and open-ended outcomes.
- Any ambition to collaborate in a more revolutionary and critical form of *praxis* can only become productive where disciplinary hierarchies and traditional professional practice protocols are removed. Here a note of caution, as the professional practice protocols and a deep knowledge of the discipline are often in conflict with the desire for critical reflection. Looking beyond the disciplinary boundaries the collaboration within a revised mandate of architecture should allow for the autonomous, vernacular knowledge of communities and expert professional knowledge to inform and coexist.
- A mandate that requires *getting involved earlier* and *staying involved longer* may require new knowledge and different skills in navigating the internal contradictions that are implied in such a stance - including a political awareness in addition to a deeper understanding of inclusive and systemic processes.
- By implication this requires an ability to uncover transformative possibilities and to make spatial concerns visible to all role players, including those outside the expert professions.

The thesis has for the most part focussed on existing spatial configurations where seemingly stable conditions became unsettled by fluid acts of appropriation and subversion that on closer inspection, illustrates the generative, productive and transformative potential of locating and contextualising contradictory spatial imperatives. There is no conclusion to this quest but the desire and commitment to constant critique and sensitivity to contradictions and conflicts within society. It has been argued that our interventions within the urban field are not innocent and therefore, by implication, suggesting that A[a]rchitecture will always be disruptive and transgressive through its curatorial obsessions and insurgent characteristics. This is the radical nature of a discipline that defines and curates spatial relationships on behalf of others. The suggestion that a more revolutionary stance can yield a revised mandate is predicated on precisely this characteristic - the fact that radical interventions emerge from asking questions that have not been asked before. Questions inadvertently harbour promise as much as problems contain opportunity, and new technologies contain the seeds of future accidents. For A[a]rchitecture to remain relevant and reclaim a radical, productive and critical role will require the negation of the current limits of our understanding of difference while at the same time freeing itself from any complicit relationships with practices that sustain socio-cultural and political hegemony.



## Glossary

### Aporia

Roughly translated as “no way through” (*aporos*) the term was introduced by Aristotle in response to earlier Socratic puzzles which raised problems without clear solutions. The *aporetic* method led to the development of the dialectical method of questioning, seeking solutions through the most minimal of adjustments to the stated problem (Blackwell Companion to Philosophy, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed). The modern OED offers *Aporia* as a notion that presents an internal contradiction or logical disjunction in a text, argument, or theory, and therefore which can be described through a further paradoxical argument

### Cityness

Saskia Sassen uses the term in her argument that there are urban agglomerations that do not fit with a western sense of cosmopolitanism and notions of public space and with ‘cityness’ being a less charged term than ‘urbanity’. (Sassen 2007)

### Interstitial

An empty space (read space of opportunity) between spaces full of structure or matter (read spaces programmed and controlled). In Nicolas-Le Strat’s use of the term those remaining spaces where resistance is possible in large urban environments. Origin late Middle English: From the Latin *interstitium*, from *intersistere*, “stand between”, from *inter-* “between” + *sistere* “to stand”

### Kampong

The Malay word for compound. A uniquely devised architectural typology for the housing of labourers under conditions of control. Typical of workers (often migrant) housing in Brazil and South Africa - created along with the early mining infrastructure after the discovery of diamonds (Kimberly, 1871 ) and gold (Johannesburg, 1886)

### Libidinal

The Libidinal Band / Skin: With neither an inside nor an outside. It can be considered as a sort of analogical presentation of difference independent of secondary orders of re-presentation in which identity, signification and reference are determined.

### Paradox

An argument which seems to justify a self-contradictory conclusion by using valid deductions from acceptable premises (Blackwell Companion to Philosophy, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.)

### Praxis

Essentially how theoretical concepts are translated into the tangible, the real, and the lived world. \*In Greek literally meaning “to do” (*prattein*), “doing”, and therefore including the idea of custom (OED). See also Bernstein, Richard. *Praxis & Action - Contemporary Philosophies of Human Activity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971)

### Phronēsis

Define and presupposes the existence of ‘funded laws’ in the *polis* or community (Aristotle) with a shared acceptance of ethical principals and norms, with *phronēsis* becoming the mediation of such a universal in particular situations (Bernstein: 1983) 157

### **Rhizome**

From Greek (*rhizōma*), or to take root, and used in Botany to indicate a continuously growing horizontal underground stem with lateral shoots and adventitious roots at intervals. \*In post-modern discourse certain writers have used the term metaphorically to hint at networked (often subversive) organisational structures (with the art community weblog or *blog*, Rhizome.org, as one such example)

### **Spatial**

Space activated by social practice. How social relations are shaped in space, and how space can be defined through social relations. **Nietzsche / Debord / Soja / Massey** and in socio-political terms; **Marx / Lefebvre / Harvey / Latour**

### **Subaltern**

In logic: When we use a proposition implied by another proposition, but not implying it in return (OED). In Development Studies and Post-colonialism: Used since the 1970's to commonly refer to groups that are socially, politically and geographically marginalised - individuals or groups left without agency. First used in a non-military sense by Marxist Antonio Gramsci and more specifically by Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha

### **Techné**

The word stems from the Greek word, *Technicon*, meaning that which belong to *Techné*, to the bringing-forth, so to *poiēsis*; the poetic. Therefore also that which belongs *within* (German: gehört in) *Techné* – suggesting a relationship involving the origin of both words - therefore not only the activities and skills of the craftsman, but also that of the arts of the mind and of fine arts. Also see Heidegger, M. "The Question Concerning Technology – and other essays". Translated by William Lovitt. 1977. p.12-13

### **Ubuntu**

In the Nguni languages (Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, isiHlubi, Phuthi and Ndebele), of which Xhosa and Zulu speaking people are the largest groups in South Africa) *Ntu* is the ancestor who established human society and directed communal living in a society to be run to the benefit of all. *Ubu* refers to the abstract ideas of what it means to be human - with most definitions of the term agreeing that *Ubuntu* means "a person is a person through other persons" or "I am, because you are". *Ubuntu* is essentially an African world-view and many thinkers appropriate *ubuntu* principles in contemporary contexts; Ruel Khoza (1994), collective consciousness, E.N. Chikanda (1990), African Humanism, Joe Teffo (1992), morality. It embodies a tradition of collective decision making and involvement by all members of society, of sharing, of respect, and of loyalty. \*Also see Coetzee, PH and APJ Roux, Eds., *Philosophy from Africa - a Text with Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991

## Abbreviations

<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress. <i>*The ANC was formed on 8 January 1912 by John Dube, Pixley ka Isaka Seme and Sol Plaatje along with chiefs, people's representatives, and church organizations, and other prominent individuals to bring all Africans together as one people to defend their rights and freedoms, the ANC from its inception represented both traditional and modern elements, from tribal chiefs to church and community bodies and educated black professionals, though women were only admitted as affiliate members from 1931 and as full members in 1943. As a resistance movement, the ANC was predated by a number of African resistance movements, among them Umkosi Wezintaba, active in South Africa between 1890 and 1920. Umkhonto we Siswe (MK) became the military arm of the organisation.</i>
<b>CBD</b>	Central Business District
<b>COSATO</b>	Congress of South African Trade Unions
<b>DBSA</b>	Development Bank of Southern Africa
<b>FOSATU</b>	Federation of South African Trade Unions
<b>GEAR</b>	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
<b>ICT</b>	Information and Communication Technologies
<b>IFP</b>	Inkatha Freedom Party
<b>MAWA</b>	Metal and Allied Workers Union
<b>MK</b>	Umkhonto we Siswe
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organisation
<b>NP</b>	Nationalist Party, The South African
<b>PAC</b>	Pan African Congress
<b>RDP</b>	Reconstruction and Development Programme (South Africa)
<b>SACP</b>	South African Communist Party
<b>SACTU</b>	South African Congress of Trade Unions
<b>SACTWU</b>	South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union
<b>SAMWU</b>	South African Municipal Workers Union. (Currently South Africa's largest local Government union)
<b>SST</b>	Social Shaping of Technology
<b>TRC</b>	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
<b>UDF</b>	United Democratic Front



## REFERENCES

- Anzaldúa, Gloria, *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999
- Arendt, Hannah. *Between Past and Future - six Exercises in Political Thought*. New York: Viking Press, 1961
- Augé, Marc. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. London: Verso, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 2009
- Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space*, translated from the French by Maria Jolas. New York: Orion, 1964
- Bastian, Michelle, "The Contradictory Simultaneity of being with others: Exploring Concepts of Time and Community in the Work of Gloria Anzaldúa." *Feminist Review* 97 (2011)
- Bayat, A. "Uncivil Society: The politics of the informal people." *Third World Quarterly* 18.1 (1997: 53-72)
- Beck, Ulrich, Anthony Giddens & Scott Lash. *Reflexive Modernization – Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994
- Becker, Carol. "Memory and Monstrosity." *Performance Research* 5.3 (2004)
- Bernstein, Richard. *Praxis & Action - Contemporary Philosophies of Human Activity*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1971
- Bernstein, Richard. *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism – Science, Hermeneutics, and Praxis*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1983
- Bhabha, Homi, *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2004 [1994]
- Bonasperti, Edoardo. "Julieta Aranda - a special project for Domus." *Domus* 927 (July / August 2009)
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977
- Brillembourg, Alfredo and Hubert Klumpner. "Rules of Engagement: Caracas and the Informal City" in *Rethinking the Informal City - Critical Perspectives from Latin America*, edited by Hernández, Felipe and Peter Kellett and Lea K. Allen. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010
- Bunschoten, Raoul, with CHORA. *Urban Flotsam - Stirring the City*. Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 2001
- Burdett, Ricky and Deyan Sudjic. Eds., *The Endless City - the Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*. London: Phaidon, 2007
- Cairns, Stephen. ed., *Drifting: Architecture and Migrancy*. London: Routledge. 2004
- Campanella, Thomas. J. "Webcameras and the Telepresent Landscape" in *The Cybercities Reader*, edited by Stephen Gramam. London: Routledge, 2004
- Casey, Edward. *The Fate of Place – a Philosophical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997
- Castells, M. "Grassrooting the Space of Flows." *Urban Geography* 20.4 (1999)
- Coyne, Richard. *Technoromanticism: Digital Narrative, Holism, and the Romance of the Real*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999

## Bibliography

- Coyne, Richard. *Cornucopia Limited – Design and Dissent on the Internet*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005
- Crang, M & Nigel Thrift. ed., *Thinking Space*, London: Routledge. 2000
- Daskalakis, Georgia, Charles Waldheim and Jason Young, eds., *Stalking Detroit*. New York: Actar, 2002
- De Certeau, Michael. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, translated by Rendall, S. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984
- Debord, Guy. *La Société du Spectacle*, Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1967. Eng. Ed. *The Society of the Spectacle*, translated by Donald Nicholson Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1994
- De Landa, Manuel. *A Thousand Years of Non-linear History*. New York: Swerve Editions, 1997
- De Landa, Manuel. *A New Philosophy of Society – assemblage theory and social complexity*. London: Continuum, 2006.
- Deleuze, Giles & Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus*. translated by Brian Massumi. London: Athlone Press, 1987
- Derrida, Jacques. “Architecture Where Desire Can Live.” in an interview with Eva Meyer. *Domus* 671 (April 1986): 17-24
- Derrida, Jacques. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. translated by Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes, London: Routledge, 2001
- De Sola Pool, Ithiel. *The Social Impact of the Telephone*. ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1976
- Feyerabend, Paul. *Science in a Free Society*. London: New Left Books, 1978
- Feyerabend, Paul. *Conquest of Abundance: A Tale of Abstraction versus the Richness of Being*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, translated by A.M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books, 1971. Originally published in France under the title *L'Archéologie du Savoir*, 1969 and *The Discourse on Language* (Appendix) under the title *L'ordre du discours*, 1971. \*This translation 1971
- Foucault, Michel. “Questions on Geography,” in C. Gordon, ed., *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972 – 1977*. New York: Pantheon. 1980
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and punish*. New York: Picador, 1977
- Foucault, Michel. *Society Must Be Defended - Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, translated by David Macey. New York: Picador, 2003
- Fry, Tony. *Design Futuring: Sustainability, Ethics and New Practice*. Oxford: Berg, 2008
- Gould, Stephen. *The Lying Stones of Marrakech: Penultimate Reflections in Natural History*. New York: Harmony Books, 2000
- Graham, Leigh. “Detroit and the Reality of Shrinking Cities” published on the web site of “Change.org” and “Poverty in America.” <http://uspoverty.change.org/blog/view/detroit>, accessed on 1/7/2009 7:53 am

Graham, Stephen and Simon Marvin. *Splintering Urbanism - Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition*. London: Routledge, 2001

Greenfield, John. "The Bloomingdale Trail: Urban Oasis or Devil's Playground?" in *Chicago Reader*. Chicago: 12 August 2009

Heidegger, Martin. *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, translated by William Lovitt. New York: Harper, 1977

Harris, S & Deborah Berke. *Architecture of the Everyday*. New York: Princeton, 1997

Harris-White, B. "Informal Economic Order: Shadow States, Private Status States of last resort and Spinning States – A speculative discussion based on South Asian case material," *Oxford University Centre for Development Studies, Queen Elizabeth House Working Paper 6* (1996)

Harvey, David. "The Urban Process under Capitalism" in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2 (1978)

Harvey, David. "Labour, Capital and Class Struggle around the Built Environment in Advanced Capitalist Societies," *Politics and Society* 6 (1977): 265-95

Harvey, David. *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996

Harvey, David. *Possible Urban Worlds*. London: Megacities Foundation, 2000

Harvey, David. *Spaces of Capital - towards a critical geography*. New York: Routledge, 2001

Hegel, G.W.F. *The Philosophy of Right*, Translated by T.M. Knox. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952

Hegel, G.W.F. *The Will to Power*, fragment 545, Eng. Ed, edited and translated by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Random House, 1967

Hernández, Felipe, Peter Kellett and Lea K. Allen, eds., *Rethinking the Informal City - Critical Perspectives from Latin America*. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010

Hernández, Felipe. "Introduction: Reimagining the Informal in Latin America" in *Rethinking the Informal City - Critical Perspectives from Latin America*, edited by Hernández, Felipe, Peter Kellett and Lea K. Allen. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010

Felipe Hernández, *Bhabha for Architects*. London: Routledge, 2010

Holston, James. "Insurgent Citizenship in an Era of Global Urban Peripheries." *City & Society* 21 (2) (2009): 245-267

Ingraham, Catherine. "Architecture and the scene of evidence." *Postcolonial Studies* 1(2) (1998)

Jáuregui, Jorge Mario. "Urban and Social Articulation: Megacities, Exclusion and Urbanity" in *Rethinking the Informal City - Critical Perspectives from Latin America*, edited by Hernández, Felipe, Peter Kellett and Lea K. Allen. Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *The Will to Power*. edited and translated by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Random House, 1967

Kuper, Hilda. "The Language of Sites in the Politics of Space" in *The Anthropology of Space and Place – locating culture*, edited by Low, Setha & Denise Lawrence-zúñiga. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003

## Bibliography

Kwinter, Stanford. *Architectures of Time – toward a theory of the event in modernist culture*. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001

Leach, Neil. *Rethinking Architecture – a Reader in Cultural Theory*. London: Routledge, 1997

Latour, Bruno and Peter Weibel, ed., *Making Things Public - Atmospheres of Democracy*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2005

Lawson, Victoria. *Making Development Geography*. UK: Hodder Education, 2007

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*, Vol 1, translated by John Moore. New York: Verso. 1991

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*, Vol 2, translated by John Moore. New York: Verso. 1991

Lefebvre, Henri. *Critique of Everyday Life*, Vol 3, translated by Gregory Elliot. New York: Verso. 1991

Lefebvre, Henri, *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Urban Revolution*, translated by Robert Bononno. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2003

Low, Setha & Denise Lawrence- Zúñiga, ed., *The Anthropology of Space and Place – locating culture*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003

Lukes, Steven. *Power - a Radical View*. New York: Palgrave, 2005, [2nd edition, 1974]

Liotard, Jean-Francois. *The Differend – Phrases in Dispute*, translated by Georges Van Den Abbeele. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988

Massey, Doreen. *For Space*. London: Sage, 2005

McCullough, Malcom. *Digital Ground*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004

McLeod, Mary. "Everyday and 'Other' Spaces" in *Architecture and Feminism*, Coleman, Danze & Henderson. eds. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996

McLeod, Mary. "Henri Lefebvre's Critique of Everyday Life: An Introduction" in *Architecture of the Everyday* edited by Harris, S & Deborah Berke. New York: Princeton, 1997

Misselwitz, P and Tim Rieniets. Eds., *City of Collision - Jerusalem and the Principles of Conflict Urbanism*. Basel: Birkhauser, 2006

Moses, Jonathan and Torbjørn Knutsen. *Ways of Knowing - Competing Methodologies in Social and Political Research*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2007

Munn, Nancy. "Excluded Spaces: The Figure in the Australian Aboriginal Landscape," in *Critical Inquiry* 22 (1996): 446-465

Naa Norle Lokko, Lesley. "Tango: A Choreography of Urban Displacement," in *White Papers, Black Marks – architecture, race, culture*, edited by Betancour, A & Hasdell, P. London: Athlone Press, 2000

Nealon, Jeffrey, "Beyond Hermeneutics: Deleuze, Derrida and Contemporary Theory," in *Between Deleuze and Derrida*, edited by Paul Patton and John Protevi. New York: Continuum, 2003.

- Negri, A. "In conversation with Carles Guerra" in *Grey Room*. New York: Grey Room 11 (Spring 2003)
- Nicolas-Le Strat, Pascal. *Interstitial Multiplicity*, translated by Millay Hyatt. IS CRA (2007)
- Patton, Paul & John Protevi, eds., *Between Deleuze & Derrida*. London: Continuum, 2003
- Picon, Antoine. "Towards a History of Technological Thought" in *Technological Change, Methods and Themes in the History of Technology*, edited by Robert Fox. London: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996
- Pullen, Wendy. "A One-sided Wall" a paper published as part of *Conflict in Cities*. Cambridge: Department of Architecture, 2004
- Pyenson, L & S Sheets-Pyenson. *Servants of Nature – the Fontana History of Scientific Institutions, Enterprises and Sensibilities*. London: Harper Collins, 1999
- Rabinow, Paul. "Ordannance, discipline, regulation: some reflections on urbanism," in *Humanities in Society* 5(3-4) (1982)
- Radhakrishna, Meena. *Dishonoured by History: Criminal Tribes and British Colonial Policy*. Andhra Pradesh: Orient Longman, 2008
- Reynders, Hennie. "Thoughts on Design as Strategy - design in the fluid interface of ritual pattern and technological innovation," *5<sup>th</sup> EAD International Conference Papers*. Barcelona: EAD Conference Proceedings (May 2003)
- Rose, J. *States of Fantasy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2004
- Ross, Kristin. *The Emergence of Social Space: Rimbaud and the Paris Commune*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988
- Rowlands, M. "Inconsistent temporalities in nation-space," in *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Social*. London: Routledge, 1995
- Santos, Boaventura de Sousa, "Law: A Map of Misreading - Toward a Postmodern Conception of Law", *Journal of Law and Society* 14
- Sassen, Saskia. "The City: Strategic Site / New Frontier" in *Quaderns d'arquitectura I urbanisme – Borders*. Barcelona: Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya (2001)
- Sassen, Saskia. *Territory / Authority / Rights - from Medieval to Global Assemblages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006
- Sassen, Saskia. "Seeing like a City", in *The Endless City - the Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*, edited by Burdett, R and Deyan Sudjic. Eds. London: Phaidon, 2007
- Sennet, Richard, *Flesh and Stone*. London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994
- Schama, Simon. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989
- Sharp, Joanne, *Geographies of Postcolonialism: spaces of power and representation*. (London: Sage, 2009)
- Schivelbuch, Wolfgang. *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialisation of Light in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988
- Shields, Rob. *Places on the Margin – Alternative geographies of modernity*. London: Routledge, 1991

## Bibliography

Shields, Rob. "Henri Lefebvre: Philosopher of Everyday Life" in *Profiles in Contemporary Social Theory*, edited by A. Elliot and B. Turner. London: Sage, 2001

Somol, R.E. "All Systems GO!: The Terminal Nature of Contemporary Urbanism." *Harvard Design School*, Boston: Prestel, 2001

Soya, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertation of Space in Critical Social Theory*. New York: Verso, 1989

Gayatri Spivak, "Can the subaltern speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Nelson, C and Grossberg, L. Urbana, IL: 1988

Sudjic, Deyan. "A View from Outside" in *The Endless City - the Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society*, edited by Burdett, R and Deyan Sudjic. Eds. London: Phaidon, 2007

Thrift, Nigel. "Inhuman Geographies: Landscapes of Speed, Light and Power," in *Spatial Formations*. (1995)

Turner, T. "The Social Skin," in *Not Work Alone*, edited by J. Cherfas and R. Levin. London: Temple Smith, 1980

Virilio, Paul. *Open Sky*. London: Verso, 1997

Virilio, P. ed., *Unknown Quantity*, translated from the French by Chris Turner. London: Thames and Hudson, 2002

Webber, Melvyn. "The Urban Place and the Non Place Urban Realm," in *Explorations into Urban Structure*, edited by M. Webber, J. Dyckman, D. Foley, A. Guttenberg, W. Wheaton and C. Whurster. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964

Weber, Max. "Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy," in Max Weber, *The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, translated and edited by Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1949, [1904]

Williams, James. *Liotard – Towards a Postmodern Philosophy*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1998

Wolch, J & Michael Dear. *The Power of Geography – how territory shapes social life*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989

## Websites

"Change.org" and "Poverty in America." <http://uspoverty.change.org/blog/view/detroit>, accessed on 1/7/2009 7:53 am

*Non-place and Design for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* AHRB/EPSRC Research Cluster at the University of Edinburgh. <http://webdbdev.ucs.ed.ac.uk/ddm/NoPlace>

Research Unit hosted in the Department of Architecture at the University of Cambridge and funded by a grant from the Economic and Research Council of Great Britain. <http://www.arct.cam.ac.uk/conflictincities/CINC01-t.html>. Accessed on 4 April 2010, 10:06pm

Ross, Kirstin. "Henri Lefebvre's The Production of Space" in *NOTBORED*. <<http://www.notbored.org/space.html>>. Accessed 3 June 2005

## Reference Works

Bunnin, N & E.P. Tsui-James, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Philosophy*. Second Ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003

Coetzee, PH and APJ Roux. Eds., *Philosophy from Africa - a Text with Readings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991

Hubbard, P & Rob Kitchin and Gill Valentine. eds., *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. London: Sage, 2004

Murry, P. ed., *Reflections on Commercial Life – an Anthology of Classic Texts from Plato to the Present*. New York: Routledge, 1997

## Sources Related to the Empirical Investigations in South Africa

Bertelsen, Eve. *ADA - Art / Design / Architecture* 9 (1990/1991)

Bremner, Lindsay, *Writing the City into Being - Essays on Johannesburg, 1998-2008*. Johannesburg: Fourthwall Books, 2010

Brink, A. "Stories of History: Re-imagining the past in post-apartheid narrative." in *Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa*. Eds., Nuttall, S & Carli Coetzee. Cape Town: Oxford UP, 1998

Brink, Andre. P. "A Myth of Origin" in *T'kama-Adamastor – inventions of Africa in a South African painting*. Ed., Ivan Vladislavić. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000

Buti, Reverend Sam. *Alexandra, I Love You*. Johannesburg: Alexandra Liaison Committee, 1983

Camões, LV de. *The Lusiads*. translated by JJ Aubertin. London: Kegan Paul, 1884

Centre for Development and Enterprise. "Displaced Urbanisation". Report (1997)

Chipkin, C. "Preparing for Apartheid - Pretoria and Johannesburg" in *Architecture of the Transvaal*, edited by Roger Fisher and Schalk le Roux with Estelle Maré. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1998

Christopher, A-J. "The urban segregation levels in South Africa under Apartheid," *Sociology Social Research* 75.2 (1991): 89-94

De Kock, Leon. "Interview With Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: New Nation Writers Conference in South Africa" in *A Review of International English Literature*. 23(3) (1992)

Development Bank of Southern Africa. "Winterveld agency report." (1987)

Dewar, David. "Political Changes and the Urban Poor in South Africa. *Urban Forum* 2.1 (1991): 93-98

Dewar, David, Watson, V. et al. "The Structure and Form of Metropolitan Cape Town: Origins, Influences and Performance," in *Urban Problems Research Unit*, Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Working Paper 42 (1991)

Edelstein, Jillian. *Truth & Lies - Stories from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*. London: Granta, 2001

Enwezor, Okwui. "Swords Drawn" in *Frieze Magazine* 39 (March-April 1998)

Fisher, Roger, Schalk le Roux and Estelle Maré. Eds., *Architecture of the Transvaal*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1998

## Bibliography

- Fitchet, Anne. "Alexandra Heritage Centre" in *10 Years + 100 Buildings - architecture in a democratic South Africa*, edited by Ora Joubert. Cape Town: Bell-Roberts, 2009
- Gerneke, Carl. "Red Location Museum of Struggle" in *10 Years + 100 Buildings - architecture in a democratic South Africa*, edited by Ora Joubert. Cape Town: Bell-Roberts, 2009
- Geyer, H.S. "Differential urbanization in South Africa and its consequences for spatial development policy," *African Urban Quarterly* 4.3/4 (1989): 276-291
- Gilimee, Hermann. *The Afrikaners – biography of a people*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003
- Hart, Gillian. *Disabling Globalization – Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002
- Hill, J. "Beyond the Other? A postcolonial critique of the failed state thesis" in *African Identities* 3(2) (2005): 139-154
- Holiday, Anthony. "Forgiving and Forgetting: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission" in *Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa*, edited by Nuttall, S & Carli Coetzee. Cape Town: Oxford UP, 1998
- Joubert, Ora. ed., *10 Years + 100 Buildings - Architecture in a Democratic South Africa*. Cape Town: Bell-Roberts, 2009
- Kennedy, B. *A Tale of Two Mining Cities*. Johannesburg: AD Donker, 1984
- Kentridge, William. *Nose - Thirty Etchings*. Johannesburg: Dawid Krut Publishing, 2010
- Lacey, M. *Working for Boroko - The Origins of a Coercive Labour System in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1981
- Law-Viljoen, Bronwyn. ed., *Art and Justice - The Art of the Constitutional Court of South Africa*. Johannesburg: David Krut Publishing, 2008
- Iain Low, ed., *Digest of South African Architecture - Negotiating Extremes - Global Condition / Local Context* Cape Town: Picasso Headline (Pty) Ltd., 2005/2006
- Lichtenstein's accounts of 1803. Lichtenstein, H. *Travels in Southern Africa: In the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*. Vol. 1 & 2. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1928, 1930
- Lurie, Mark with Abigail Harrison, David Wilkinson and Salim Abdool Karima. "Circular migration and sexual networking in rural KwaZulu/Natal: implications for the spread of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases". *Health Transition Review*, Supplement 3 of vol 7. Canberra: Australian National University, 1997
- Markdata Ltd. "The displaced urbanisation of the Apartheid era: Its current consequences - a focussed interview survey in six areas." Report (1997)
- Marshall, Leon. "Summit to bridge the divide - development challenge lies between Sandton's towers and Alexandra's shacks." *Saturday Star*, Insight Section (20 July 2002)
- Matsetela, T. "The Informal Sector in the Political Economy of Winterveld", Department of Geography, Johannesburg: The University of the Witwatersrand, 1979
- May, J and Rankin, S. "The Differentiation of the Urbanisation Processes under Apartheid" in *World Development* 19.10 (1991): 1351-65

- Mbembe, A & Sarah Nuttall. "Johannesburg – the elusive metropolis," in *Public Culture* 16(3) Durham (2004)
- Merten, M. "New Boundaries, New Budgets," *Mail & Guardian*, Johannesburg, 25 November 2005
- Moodie, T.D. *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaner Civil Religion*. Berkley: Cal., 1975
- National Building Research Institute. "Winterveld: A Plot Owners' Survey," *NBRI-CSIR Report*. Pretoria: CSIR, 1981a
- National Building Research Institute. "Winterveld: A Population Survey," *NBRI-CSIR Report*. Pretoria: CSIR, 1981a
- Nelson Mandela Foundation. *A Prisoner in the Garden – opening Nelson Mandela's prison archive*. Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2005
- Perryer, S. *10 Years 100 Artists – Art in a Democratic South Africa*. Cape Town: Bell-Roberts / Struik, 2004
- Pirie, G.H. "Travelling under apartheid," in *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa*, edited by DM Smith ed. London: Routledge, 1992
- Rabelais, F. *The Heroic Deeds of Gargantua and Pantagruel*. London: 1933
- Raven-Hart, Rowland. *Cape Good Hope, 1652-1702. The first fifty years of Dutch colonization as seen by callers*. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema, 1971
- Republic of Bophuthatswana. *A Socio-economic Survey*. SA Gov. Report (1989)
- Reynders, Hennie. "Appropriation of an Architecture for Truth and Reconciliation Constitutional Hill, Johannesburg South Africa." *Edinburgh Architecture Research* 31 (2006)
- Reynders, Hennie. "Scattering in Contested Urban Fields" in *Density Inside-Out Conference*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2007. \*Unpublished paper.
- Sachs, Justice Albie. "Arguments about cultural freedom," in *Spring is Rebellious* edited by Ingrid De Kok and Karen Press. Cape Town: Buchu Books, 1990
- Sachs, Justice Albie. "Art and Freedom," in *Art and Justice - The Art of the Constitutional Court of South Africa*, edited by Bronwyn Law-Viljoen. Johannesburg: David Krut Publishing, 2008
- SA Government, Office of the Presidency. *A Nation in the Making: A Discussion Document on Macro-Social Trends in South Africa*. Draft released on Friday, 23 June 2006
- Smith, DM. ed., *The Apartheid City and Beyond: Urbanisation and Social Change in South Africa*. London: Routledge, 1992
- Sosibo, K and Lynley Donnelly. "Caught between Eviction and Dereliction," *Mail & Guardian*. Johannesburg: 31 March 2006
- Sparks, Alister. *The Mind of South Africa – The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. London: Mandarin, 1990
- Tachard, Guy (1651-1712). *Voyage de Siam des peres Jesuites, envoyés par le Roy, aux Indes à la Chine. Avec leurs observations*. Amsterdam: Pierre Mortier, 1689

## Bibliography

Thomson, Barrie. "The Forts of Pretoria – our vanishing history," *Lantern* 38.2. Pretoria: Foundation for Education, Science & Technology (1989)

Tutu, Desmond. *No Future Without Forgiveness*. London: Random House, 1999

Van den Heever, Annemie. "Field - public space infrastructure." (MARCH Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2006) Thesis advisors Derek De Bruyn and Hennie Reynders

Van der Wath, Elana. "Recover - an investigation into a possible counter strategy that challenges destructive spatial practices in contested urban territories by cultivating networks of opportunity." (MInt Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2008). Thesis advisors; Hennie Reynders and Nico Botes

Van Zyl, Attwell and De Kock Inc. "Winterveld Structure Plan", (Consultants Documents), 1984 & 1989

Wasserfall, Jaco. "Early Mine and Railway Housing in South Africa: A Two-part Study of Ideology and Design in Working-class Housing" (PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1989)

Unie van Suid-Afrika. *Samevatting van die Verslag van die Kommissie vir die Sosio-ekonomiese Ontwikkeling van die Bantoegebiede binne die Unie van Suid-Afrika*. UG. 61 / 1955, Pretoria: Staatsdrukker, 1956

Van Donk, M., Swilling, M., Pieterse E. and Parnell, S. eds., *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience*. Cape Town: UCT Press, 2008

Zuma, K., Lurie, M.N., Williams, B.G., Mkaya-Mwamburi, D., Garnett, G.P. & Sturm, A.W. "Risk factors of sexually transmitted infections among migrant and non-migrant sexual partnerships from rural South Africa. *Epidemiology and Infection*." *HSRC*. Pretoria: HSRC 133(3) (2005)

## Films

*The Life and Times of Sara Baartman: the Hottentot Venus*. First Run/Icarus Films. Dir. Zola Maseko. 52 minutes, color, 1998

## Personal Interviews

Botha, Andries. South African artist and Senior Lecturer at the Durban Technikon, South Africa. Exhibition of "Zulu Memory Cloths" – Betty Ryhmer Gallery, SAIC. Chicago. October 2004

Bronwyn Law-Viljoen. Books on the Constitutional Court and the Court's collection of art. Dawid Krut Publishing and Fourthwall Books. Johannesburg, August 2006 and June 2008

De Villiers, A. "Recollections on the Building of Schools in the Winterveld / Klippan region and the Collaboration with the Development Bank of Southern Africa." Personal Interview with author, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, 6<sup>th</sup> of April 2006

Fenn, Lance and Rian Van Aswegen. "Alexandra Renewal Project." Personal Interview with author, Alexandra Renewal Project Office and Site Visit, Johannesburg, 27 July 2006 and 8 August 2006.

George, John, Motor City Blight Busters, Redford, Detroit. 12 July 2009

Gerneke, Carl. "Museum of Struggle", Red Location, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. During a four day excursion to the site in April 2006

Gibson, C. and partner Zimek Pater. Personal discussions with author regarding their performance "They look at me and that's All They Think" directed by Carlo Gibson with actress/performer/choreographer Neliswe Xaba staged in Johannesburg, Cape Town and France. October and November 2008 in Chicago and on 26 June 2009 in Johannesburg

Joubert, Ora. Discussions on the work selected for the book: Joubert, Ora (ed). "10 Years + 100 Buildings - Architecture in a Democratic South Africa". Cape Town: Bell-Roberts, 2009. \*On going between June 2006 and July 2008

Kammeyer, Heinrich & Andre de Villiers. "Recollections on Community Participation and Architectural Processes during the building of Schools and Colleges in the Winterveld / Klippan region". Personal Interview with author, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, 7 April 2006

Weizman, Eyal. The author invited Eyal Weizman to lecture at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. April 2004. Rubloff Auditorium, Museum of the Art Institute, Chicago. Conversations with author before and after the event.

Zodwa Tlale, Alexandra Heritage Centre, during an interview by author, 8 August 2006

## Websites

*South African Cities Network*. <http://www.sacities.net>

*Southern African Migration Project* – an international network of organizations founded in 1996 to promote awareness of migration-development linkages in the region. <http://www.queensu.ca>

## Physical Sites in relation to the Empirical References and Case Studies

*\*Geographic Positioning System co-ordinates provided in brackets behind each*

Alexandra, Johannesburg \*(26° 06 20.50' S, 28° 05 41.94' E)

*Constitutional Hill*, Johannesburg, South Africa. Site of the Old Boer Republic Fortification (1901), the new Constitutional Court Building (2004), Institute for Gender Studies (2005), and the Constitutional Hill Museum (2004) \*(26° 11 11.15' S, 28° 01 52.52' E)

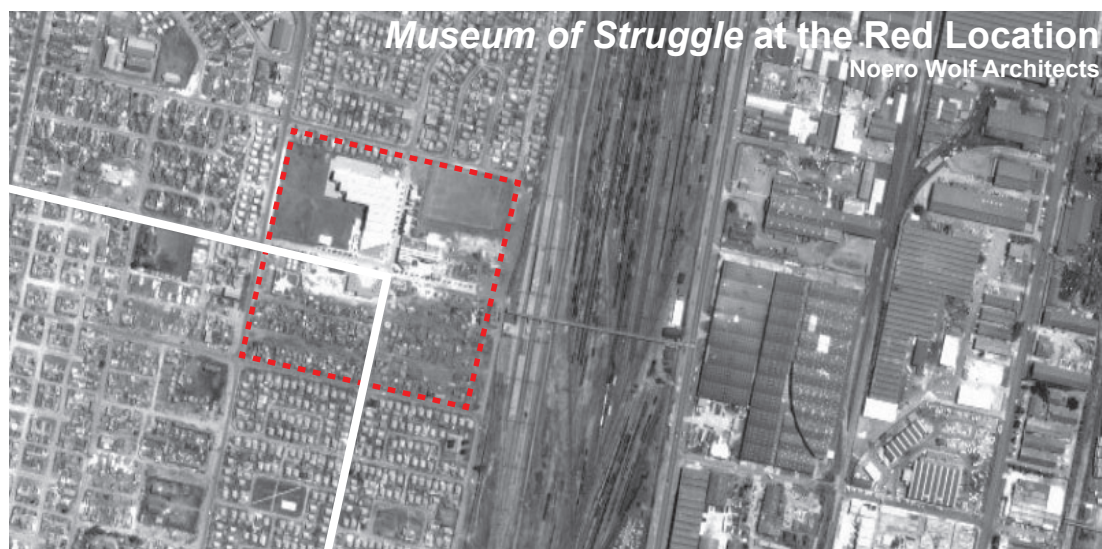
Denneboom Station, Mamelodi, Tswane [Pretoria] \*(25° 43 09.15' S, 28° 20 14.02' E)

Newtown Cultural Precinct, Johannesburg \*(33° 53 46.88' S, 25° 35 49.64' E)

Rissik Station, Hatfield, Tswane [Pretoria] \*(25° 44 57.11' S, 28° 14 03.74' E)

Salvokop and Pretoria Station Precinct, Tswane [Pretoria] \*(25° 45 34.71' S, 28° 11 22.44' E)

*Museum of Struggle at the Red Location*, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth \*(33° 53' 53.33" S, 25° 36' 21.10" E)





## APPENDIX 'A'

Reynders, Hennie. "Appropriation of an Architecture for Truth and Reconciliation - Constitutional Hill, Johannesburg South Africa." in *Journal of Edinburgh Architecture Research (EAR)* 30 (2008)<sup>1</sup>

---

1 Peer Reviewed Article



# Appropriation of an Architecture for Truth and Reconciliation Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, South Africa

Hennie Reynders  
The University of Edinburgh (UK)

*At certain moments a significant shift in the social, economic, and political reality of a region, a country or a continent provides us with new insights into the underlying processes of territorial reconfiguration, the appropriation of place, and the mutation of collective identity – a process that South Africans have been experiencing since 1989 in a localized and unique manner, yet globally with significant meaning. This paper explores the site of the new South African Constitutional Court in Johannesburg to define, and explain how the shift from an ideology of difference towards an ideology of co-existence and democracy are being translated through the urban development framework and ongoing architectural and installation projects. Constitutional Hill has become densely stratified through socio-economic and political conflict, but has reasserted its role as iconic site in the urban environment and the political landscape. In many respects the Constitutional Hill project is similar to the attempts at reconciliation through the translation of a collective identity in sites such as Place des Martyrs in Beirut.*

As suggested by the title we are less concerned with the formalistic or purely architectural merits of this building project and rather with the processes through which the site is being appropriated by the South African society.

The paper is structured around two complementary and integrated narratives; first by recalling crucial historic moments in an attempt to contextualise the site within the socio-political landscape, and second by arguing a number of philosophical positions seeming to inform the process of reconfiguring the site into its present state. This is further elaborated through the endnotes, where the use of such additional information, reflection, or references in the text would otherwise impede the narrative flow. Finally returning, in conclusion, to the key philosophical positions which are supporting much of the spatial reconfiguration in South Africa, and which were deliberately woven into the narrative.

Transitional South Africa never looks forward without looking back. In this spirit, new public buildings such as the Apartheid Museum, the Nelson Mandela Museum, the Legislative Buildings for the Northern Cape Province, the Hector Pieterse Museum, Soweto, and now the Constitutional Court Complex are becoming mnemonic aids to buried emotions. Artists who played

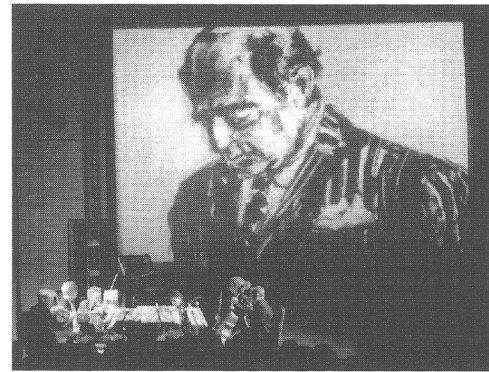


Fig. 1: "Nine Drawings for Projection"

key roles in the struggle against apartheid are creating a visual language to express the complexity and contradictory nature of locating history and vision in physical space (Carol Becker: 2004)<sup>1</sup>

The opening illustrations depict an instance where collaborative art and design practices were tactically deployed in the mnemonic process of making the Constitutional Hill project tangible prior to the opening of the court. The collaborative performance between William Kentridge and the Sontonga Quartet with the showing of Kentridge's *Nine Drawings for Projection* under the direction of Ross Douglass, re-introduced the site as a space for the future measure of the country's democratic health, and did so through music and art which unearthed buried emotions of pain, forgiveness, and hope (fig. 1 & 2).

## Constitutional Hill – History and Context

Standing on the ramparts of the old Boer Republic's fort<sup>2</sup> on Braamfontein Ridge in Johannesburg allows for good views towards the green residential suburbs to the north, with a closer view of the inner city high rise neighbourhoods of Hillbrow and Berea to the south, and Braamfontein with the University of The Witwatersrand directly west. Unknown to the general public, the William Cullen Library at the University holds a special treasure of three very large paintings succinctly encapsulating South Africa's history – from that of becoming a marker in the search for a route to the east, of being colonized in succession by the Dutch, British, German and the French<sup>3</sup>, and finally of

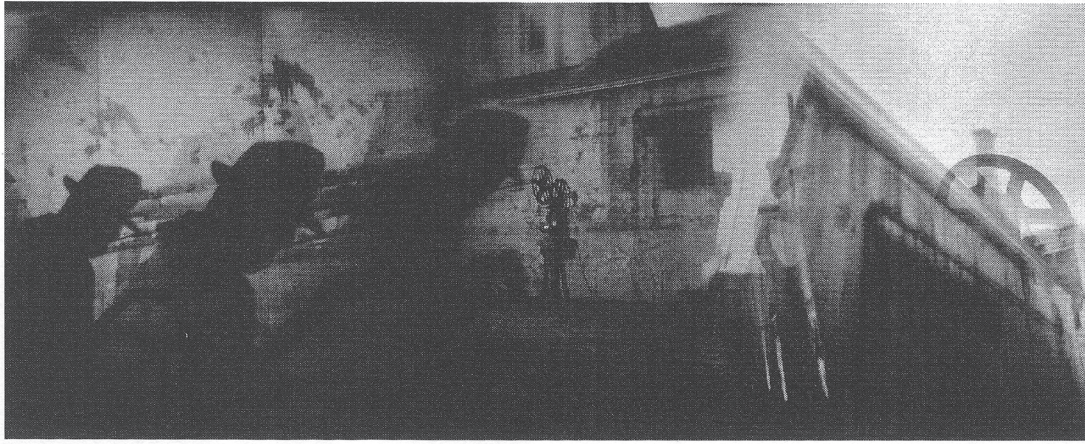


Fig. 2: Jo Ratcliffe

becoming a free and inclusive society in 1994. The first painting by Amshechwitz on the left of the library atrium depicts the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama at the moment in 1497 when King Manuel I handed him his seal of approval and instruction (Fig. 3). The second painting by Colin Gill facing the visitor on entering the atrium captures the British Settlers arriving at Algoa Bay in 1826 after safely rounding the Cape of Storms (Fig. 4).<sup>4</sup> These two earlier works painted in the 1930s and shipped to South Africa from England, reflect the socio-political reality of the moment it wishes to portray, and significantly, also the sentiment around the time of each work's respective date of production. The third painting on the right by Cyril Coetzee (Fig. 5) was commissioned for the library in 1995, an equally significant date, and imports past histories in a layered reconstruction of myth, memory, and invented narrative.

In this enigmatic fold of the early Modernist library one is confronted with the representation of each of those

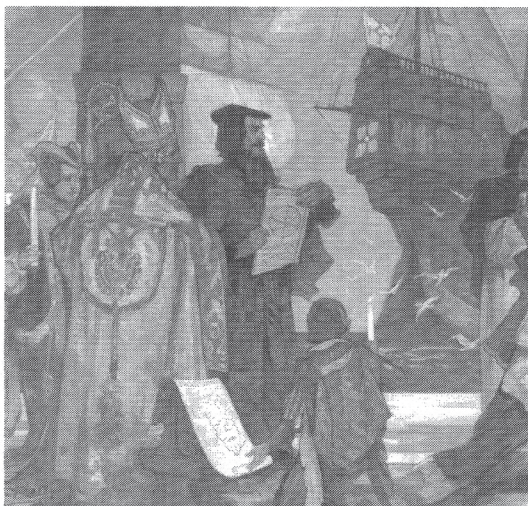


Fig. 3: Amshechwitz

discrete moments that were to become the seeds of the future South Africa. At first a moment of heroic and entrepreneurial ambition, then a moment of claiming ownership under an ideology of superiority and difference, and in the most recent moment, a reflection upon, and a projection of relative reconciliation between the culturally diverse groups collectively referred to as the rainbow nation. A nation constituted of the native born, those that came with a superior ability to claim ownership, and the many others that arrived through circumstance.

Travellers arriving in Southern Africa, now as in the past, soon discover the realities from which traditions have been moulded. The landscape, the many histories, the indigenous knowledge and perceptions all reflecting the polymorphous national character, which, through too casual an observation, can easily appear fragmented and woven into a patchwork of unpredictability.

Narratives of a people, their locality, their origins, and their cultural mutation often resemble a fluid incorporation of myth, song, story and quasi scientific facts underpinning the work of cultural historians. This holds equally true for Southern Africa where the early encounters between Europeans and Africans on the subcontinent began as a meticulously documented history through the extensive journals of the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama's first of three journeys from Lisbon via the Cape to India between 1497 and 1499, and later being reconceived<sup>5</sup> as myth by the European Luís Vaz de Camões in his 1572 epic *The Lusiad*.<sup>6</sup> This epic reveals the realm of Adamastor<sup>7</sup> (fig. 6) as a dual abstraction where monotheistic Christianity is subverted by the more fluid cosmology of the Classical pantheon. Adamastor emerges from the sea as a mythical giant to warn against a realm where danger and wonder, beauty and pain coexist. This was a cape of implacable hostility at the southernmost point on the African continent, and where Europeans met the



Fig. 4: Gill

Khoi for the first time. In his projection of the myth onto Africa, Camões elaborates further: Adamastor, his 'flesh' transmogrified into 'hard earth, his 'bones ... turned to rocks all rough and strange' is transformed by the gods 'into this cape remote'. He is the 'horrid monster' who guards the passage around the southernmost tip of Africa.

But as is true in myth, the vernacular is not a static expression, and appears to live many lives and die many deaths. It hides in the shadow of memory through times of change. Only when we become aware of a consistency between incompatibles can we say we have crossed the threshold of the enigmatic and have removed the cloak that shields the birth of the next phase in the mutation of tradition. In these moments memory slips from the hands of the craftsman into new life and becomes a new form – a metamorphosis of the old.

In retrospect one is tempted to think that Cyril Coetzee's *T'kama-Adamastor* (1995) painting was the first necessary step in crossing the threshold through a translation process of what could become an architectural equivalent in the redevelopment of Constitutional Hill as site, and a line of thought that will become clearer in what follows. Ten years beyond the transition into a democracy South Africans are still negotiating the threshold where the translation of collective memory, the redefinition of identities, and the appropriation of important sites result in the re-

configuration of territories through conflict, through agreement and through compromise.

Constitutional Hill, as such a site, straddles a typical Highveld ridge, although in this case a watershed with water flowing into the Atlantic, and from the other side, into the Indian Ocean. Below the surface a 300 mile long river of gold intersects with the site, the history of the city, and the history of each individual in the country. The site holds layer upon layer of significant memories that became the excavated, the engraved, the extruded, and the reconstructed product of a multitude of histories. A cursory glance over the 1899 Fort, the 1910 prison extensions, the 1940s Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital<sup>®</sup>, the new Constitutional Court, or the emerging complementary buildings and public spaces does not expose the richness, or the complexity of the site.

The same ridge became the preferred location for the Victorian mansions of the new gold barons and industrialists enjoying the northern aspect in the direction of Sterkfontein and one of the oldest known sites of human settlement, now a World Heritage



Fig. 5: Cyril Coetzee

Site known as The Cradle of Humankind. From this viewpoint the wonder of industrialisation must have been seductive and threatening to the indigenous communities, and equally so for the many different tongues of the miners on the other side of the ridge. Johannesburg exploded into reality with the discovery



Fig. 6: Scotin

of gold in 1886 and the young Republic, under President Paul Kruger in the capital Pretoria, 30 miles north, was forced to defend their riches and very soon also their proclaimed independence from British Colonial rule. The first Anglo-Boer War during the 1880s was won by the young Republic but soon followed by the subversive Jameson Raid on Johannesburg, orchestrated by Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit in 1895, yet once again repelled by Kruger's commando.

A few uncertain years later saw the start of the second Anglo-Boer War which lasted from 1899 to 1902 and led to the building of a fort on the ridge, but with not a single shot fired as Kruger decided instead to fortify and defend the capital Pretoria. Between the two wars, from the years 1881 to 1899, four Boer Republic fortifications were constructed on the hills around Pretoria to the designs of French and German military engineers<sup>9</sup>. In Johannesburg, the Old Fort on Braamfontein Ridge was used as a temporary prison during the war years and by 1910 with the formation

of the Union of South Africa, became an official prison of increasing notoriety (fig.7).

From its inception prisoners were segregated, first according to colour, and naturally also by gender. Treatment, amenities, food and privileges favoured white prisoners, and discriminated against prisoners classified as 'non-white'. By the time of the Miners' Strike or so-called Rand Revolt of 1922, the Old Fort and the prison were slowly disappearing from collective memory.<sup>10</sup> By 1948, with the National Party firmly in power, the city and the privileged minority had effectively erased the site from memory.

The idea of white or "pure blood" superiority has a long and troublesome history and is not unique to South Africa. This belief in hierarchical differences among races was being translated far beyond the prison walls. Numerous scholars have reflected on the arrogance of the colonial rulers' assumed position as "keepers of the land" and as a direct translation of such a superiority complex<sup>11</sup>.

The topography of the site and the labyrinth of built structures allow for two distinct moments in reflecting upon the relationships between those in control and those being controlled. The first, or controlling position, allowed a view down from the ramparts of the Old Fort into the prison courtyards below and the city of gold beyond; the second confined position, a view from looking up from within the walls to those that guard and the sky beyond<sup>12</sup>. The reconfiguration of territory in colonial South Africa (as in all colonial histories) relied on the deliberate and clear definition of the boundaries between those in control and those who had to be controlled and marginalised. The creation of these zones of control, these border conditions, started almost immediately after the Dutch created their provisions post at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. Within the first few years of Jan van Riebeeck's arrival at this remote cape he had the idea of dismembering the outpost from the rest of the continent by creating a canal between Table Bay and False Bay. The project proved to be too ambitious, but he did create a hedge of Bitter Almond trees and a fence of poles – parts of which still exist – and in an attempt to separate the people of the peninsula from the indigenous people of the interior. From this first boundary and the second frontier zone created by the British Settlers along the eastern reaches of the occupied land followed line after line of physical and abstract constructs based

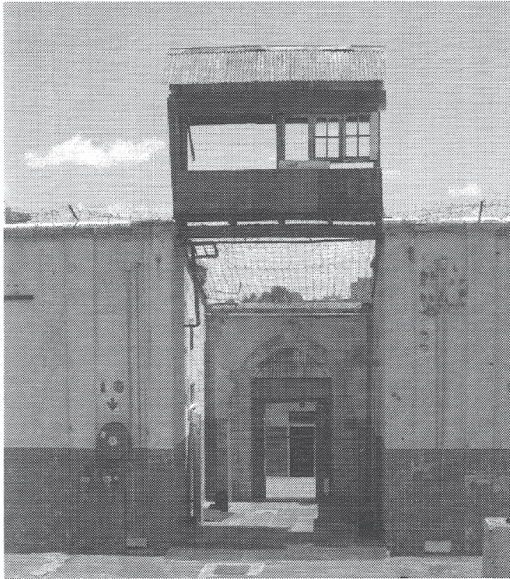


Fig. 7: Black men's gaol.

on ideologies of absolute difference and of gross indifference.

By 1885 (one year before the discovery of gold at what was to become the Witwatersrand goldfields) European politicians, grouped around a map of Africa during a Berlin meeting, arrogantly divided the continent among themselves. These boundaries ignored ecological units, ethnicity, and moral belief systems and have persisted beyond colonial rule into the realities of today. In such moments of significant change, it is left to artists to capture, to remember, to translate, to reflect and to protest. In Becker's words the "mnemonic aids" that capture and make sense of acts of arrogance, of indifference, of remembering, and of attempts at extracting the truth and forging a degree of reconciliation. During the years of struggle it was the arts – and notably through literature and drama – which most visibly opposed the spatial control exercised over the marginalised majority. Within the framework of the new constitution we are seeing the reconfiguration of public and private space in an equally liberal re-appropriation of the spatial by all sectors in the democratic society, and with the complementary work of artists co-opted in support of such public projects.

In looking at a people and their context, as this narrative does, one finds notions of place and space existing simultaneously in the land, in the urban field, in people's minds, in their customs, and in their bodily

practices. In a manner of speaking one navigates the shifting balance in the socio-spatial field. In order to understand such historic 'spatialisation', one needs to understand the perceived space of the everyday, the theoretical conceived space of politicians and their geographers and planners, and equally, the lived space of the imagination kept alive and rendered significant through the liberal arts. This understanding appears along the trajectory intersecting these categories, and describing the relationship among many such sites existing in physical place and abstract space. Although it is the Constitutional Hill project which is being explored through this text, the reader is reminded that the project is evolving with similar projects – including the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg, the Nelson Mandela Museum in the Eastern Cape, the Hector Pieterse Museum in Soweto, the Robben Island Museum, and the Red Location Museum in Port Elizabeth<sup>13</sup>. More abstract, ongoing projects – in example the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory and Commemoration Project<sup>14</sup> – may prove to be the most enduring and rigorous, and continues the process started by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

#### Truth and Reconciliation: Translated

In the run-up to the first democratic elections of 1994 protracted negotiations among politicians, clergymen, and behind the scene actors resulted in what became known as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which started its work under the chairmanship of archbishop Desmond Tutu<sup>15</sup> in 1995. All South Africans were given the option to confess, and as a reward for a full and honest confession, could receive indemnity and collective forgiveness.<sup>16</sup> The collection of confessions, stories, and explanations became five volumes in a recorded attempt to bridge the far reaches of a people's personal and collective – although as many would rightfully interject – subjective understanding of the monster that was apartheid. This is where the process stopped, and what the media coverage did not achieve during the life of the commission, is being played out through post-commission debate, literature, and art. The then and ongoing attempt at healing through the truth and reconciliation process includes ritualised re-enactments, and the telling of events as people experienced them, and building upon the mandate as originally entrusted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission towards the transformation of personal pain into collective responsibility.<sup>17</sup> This process is now entering a more mature and reflective



Figure 1: Foyer, the Constitutional Court

with concepts of forgiveness and memory, desire for fear, beauty and pain being translated into new spaces and new identities in the lived environment by disciplines as diverse as archaeology, urban planning and architecture.

The reconfiguration of the physical and the imagined at Constitutional Hill contain most aspects of the changing instances since the drastic socio-political shift visibly and succinctly condense the many histories into the many possible futures. During the years of struggle before democracy, the personal for the most part became the political and artists lived inside their studios, entangled in a web of the personal and the political, the story and the history.<sup>18</sup> Deconstructing the apartheid years through processes of remembering and forgetting is ultimately predicated on the functions of memory, and the enigmatic possibility that truth can be evoked. The archaeological nature of this work ultimately means that one has to return to the silent or faded landscapes of the past.<sup>19</sup>

At this point one can ask what mechanisms were used to create the reconstructed representations of histories and of possible futures on the Constitutional Hill site.

In 1990 – a year after the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Pan-African Congress (PAC), and other political alliances existing outside the formal political and legal structures during the years of Apartheid – architecture students from the University of the Witwatersrand were asked to remake the spaces of confinement at the site of the Old Fort and prisons on Braamfontein Ridge. Since then a dense network of events led to what is today called Constitutional Hill and the democratic ideals that became the absolute principles embodied in the constitution, the relative forgiveness and healing achieved through the truth and reconciliation process, and the re-articulation of meaning through art, architecture and shared reflection. A few years later in 1998 Lindsey Bremner of the School of Architecture at the University of the

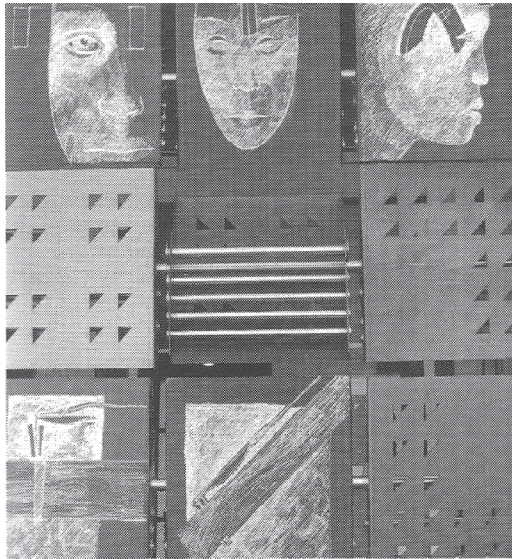


Fig. 9: Western façade, the Constitutional Court

Witwatersrand put the site forward as a possible location for the intended new Constitutional Court. She was supported by Judges Kriegler and Sacks among others, and the Johannesburg Metro Council agreed by appointing conservation architects Derek and Vivienne Japha, together with Professor Herbert Prins, to survey the existing and establish conditions for an international architectural competition. The jury included architects Charles Correa and Geoffrey Bawa and requested six project teams to develop their first stage submissions further before awarding the first prize to the Durban based group OMM Design Workshop & Urban Solutions with Janina Masojado, Andrew Makin and Paul Wygers. Up to this stage the project was controlled by the public works department and it took the establishment of Blue IQ in 2001, as semi-autonomous agency under the Gauteng Provincial Administration, to secure finance, create the management protocol, and finalise the appointments<sup>20</sup>. The Constitutional Court, certain sections of the museum installations in the Old Fort and the urban space now called Constitutional Square opened in early 2004<sup>21</sup>. The Gender Commission Building on the site of the old women's goal was again the result of an open architectural competition won by local architect Kate Otten, and opened to the public at the end of 2005.

Conceptually, the competitions asked for an architecture that will reflect the principles of freedom, equality, dignity, democracy, non-racism, non-sexism, social

justice, rule of law, and reconciliation as embodied in the constitution. It reminded architects to reflect upon the timeless tradition of African court proceedings that take place under a tree within the community and with full access and respectful observation by the young, by women, and in certain instances even by outsiders. Early 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers recorded the open debate and remarkably democratic structure of decision-making processes<sup>22</sup> and what is commonly described and now understood by all South Africans, both black and white, as the principle of ubuntu<sup>23</sup> - ideas about sharing, charity, and cooperation, and most clearly defined through the Xhosa proverb which holds that people are people through other people. The entrance foyer of the new court is perhaps the most direct translation in the attempt to create a space for gathering in the shade of a tree as symbolic marker of place (Fig. 8). Other architectural devices include the court chamber constructed from re-used bricks salvaged from the male quarters of the old prison, and of which only the vertical staircases remain incorporated into the new building, and the highly articulated sunscreen of the west facade constructed from square bronze plates on which artists captured past memories through provocative etchings (Fig. 9).

Certainly the reader will question the possibility of architecture or urban development projects to move beyond stylistic limitations, beyond subjective and partial interpretation of the social call, and into active, significant social practice as part of the cultural production of identity, reconciliation, and of just spatial relationships. The translation of such utopian ideals as embodied in the constitution requires at least a partial reconfiguration of territory and of spatial relationships, which in the social context imply the political, and in turn are tactically deployed through production and consumption protocols, controlled under the disguise of economic strategy. The processes leading to the public projects referenced in the text, as is the case with the Constitutional Hill project, accepted the essentially spatial implications of the social, political, and economic frameworks that are challenging the way we think about space, rather than what we think about space and the making of place.

How the unforgivable can ever be forgiven, and what role art and design will play in the healing of the country, remains a paradoxical question – an aporitic dilemma which has remained the source of a continuous, mutating cultural project in human history.



Fig. 10: The new Constitutional Court

A project existing on the margins of an infinitely long, ever shifting frontier to which artistic and architectural practice are mandated to add significant meaning.

### Conclusion

Most geopolitical territories share the South African uncertainty. Some are effectively shielded from too much attention through sophisticated control and power structures, as in the United States or Germany, others naked in their desires, as in the Syrian-Lebanese and Israeli-Palestinian power struggles. In all instances such scenes of geopolitical reconfiguration gravitates around notions of forgiveness and acts of appropriation which inherently spark subversive tactics by the marginalised.

Forgiving the Unforgivable: The fact that these truths are relative, and that the logic in the idea about forgiveness is paradoxical in requiring the forgiving of the unforgivable (as in the case of South Africa) does not disqualify the attempt. Derrida has argued that in all these geopolitical scenes of forgiveness or

reconciliation, there remains an implicit appeal to “a certain idea of pure and unconditional forgiveness”, without which such discourse would lose all meaning.<sup>24</sup> In practice it is mediated through some form of exchange or transaction, and then translated and made public as in the case of most work in the Constitutional Hill precinct. Work which is both inventive and consequential (as in Derrida’s view) and therefore becoming instrumental as processes of deterritorialization and correlative reterritorialization as argued by Deleuze and Guattari<sup>25</sup>. Constitutional Hill represents a layered view of all the aspects involved in such acts of occupation and de-occupation, and gives us a view of the truth by collapsing the critical distance between relative and absolute ideas of what it means to be part of the self-centred core of involved actors, and those actors on the margins. The previously silent and marginalised groups in South African society have freed themselves from the formal structures to become the silent and often not so silent majority. This includes the unsigned and often marginal non-producers in the cultural construct having been rendered visible<sup>26</sup>.

In the case of the Constitutional Hill project – before, during, and after construction – the appropriation of ideas, processes, and the physical reconfiguration of the space, required active collaborative commitment from all involved and affected. This process started with the student projects, the discussions with ex-prisoners, the open competition, the salvaging of re-usable material, and the showing of Kentridge's Nine Drawings for Projection – a process which continues in the installation of etchings transferred from messages collected from visitors to the site. The architecture allows for views into the court chamber and the proceedings within, allows for casual visits to the circulation spaces functioning as art galleries, and allows for social interaction on the great African steps leading to the higher plane of the square (Fig. 10).

The deliberate and the organic processes of using art, craft and community involvement in the development of the project created a collaborative context which benefited the outcomes. The use of simple but strong imagery makes the site and the architecture accessible, and it is hoped that this modesty will illustrate the potential strength of such alternative processes going beyond mere stylistic and formalistic solutions. The collaborative making of place is an ongoing process and includes regular art installations, performances and further elaboration of the architectural project in an attempt to establish a fourth vernacular in the South African architectural lexicon. In almost exactly one hundred years the country has moved from the representation of unity under the banner of Strength through Unity (Eendracht Maakt Macht) and where the envisioned unity excluded the so-called 'non-whites', to that of an iconographic exploration in the creation of an inclusive social space and a more open-ended reflection on the past and future on a threshold of change.

Appropriation and Subversion: South African socio-political history is layered in acts of appropriation and re-appropriation, in the occupation and de-occupation of sites and territories, in tactical resistance and shrewd subversive manoeuvring. The birthplace of guerrilla warfare during the 1899-1902 Anglo-Boer War, of extreme control in the movement of people remaining engraved in the landscape and the minds of people, of highly sophisticated counter tactics that saw a resistance movement forged in the trains and taxis during hours of daily commuting when group gatherings were outlawed under a state of emergency,

and the capacity of a people to negotiate a peaceful transition. The remark by Carol Becker of South Africa never looking forward without looking back is predicated on a patient, yet innovative ability to appropriate without fear and to react with subversive resilience when challenged.

Not all of these liberating processes benefit the social planners' dream of an integrated and lived-in environment, and as the flight of the rich (both white and black) into gated residential and commercial estates, and the monotonous fields of newly created low-cost housing clearly attest to. The idea of liberty embedded in the constitution facilitates such counter productive options and can very easily translate into subversive protocols which can undo that which the Constitutional Court project clearly does achieve.

#### NOTES TO THE FIGURES

Fig. 1 Detail of "Nine Drawings for Projection" by William Kentridge with a performance by the Sontonga Quartet. Dir. Ross Douglass. Hogg, John. *Art South Africa*. 2.4, Johannesburg, 2004. 50

Fig. 2 Jo Ractliffe, commissioned by Ross Douglas. detail as published in *Art South Africa*. 2.4, Johannesburg, 2004. 50

Fig. 3 Amshewitz, from Brink, A. "A Myth of Origin." *T'kama-Adamastor – inventions of Africa in a South African painting*, ed. Ivan Vladislavić. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000. 77

Fig. 4 Gill, from Brink, A. "A Myth of Origin." *T'kama-Adamastor – inventions of Africa in a South African painting*, ed. Ivan Vladislavić. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000. 36

Fig. 5 Cyril Coetsee. Cartoon detail from Brink, A. "A Myth of Origin." *T'kama-Adamastor – inventions of Africa in a South African painting*, ed. Ivan Vladislavić. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000

Fig. 6 Detail from a painting by Scotin (?). \*See Brink, A. "A Myth of Origin." *T'kama-Adamastor – inventions of Africa in a South African painting*, ed. Ivan Vladislavić. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000. Fig. 120

Fig. 7 Internal security wall in the courtyard of the black men's gaol. Author, 2005

Fig. 8 A view along the gallery space towards the foyer with structural elements creating a feeling of meeting in the open below a tree. Author, 2005

Fig. 9 Detail of the western façade sun screen and with etchings recording the narratives of remembering by those once incarcerated on the site. Author, 2005

Fig. 10 A view from the ramparts of the old Fort, looking down towards the entrance foyer (fig. 8) of the new Constitutional Court. Author, 2005

## NOTES TO THE TEXT

<sup>1</sup> Carol Becker has visited regularly and written extensively on the role of the arts in South Africa – both before and after the change into a democratic society. Becker, Carol. "Memory and Monstrosity." *Performance Research* 5.3. New York: Routledge, 2004

<sup>2</sup> Often also referred to as Kruger's Old Fort, and in reference to President Paul Kruger (1825-1904), who was the first president of the young republic

<sup>3</sup> The Dutch in 1652, eager to establish a trading post and supply stop for their journeys between Europe and the East, the French Huguenots in 1685 fleeing religious persecution, the British Settlers imported to occupy and defend the Cape's East frontier in 1820, and with Germany taking control of Sud-West Afrika (Namibia)

<sup>4</sup> The Cape of Storms; "...and which Ptolemy, Pompey, Strabo, Pliny, nor any authors knew of..." (Landeg White, s translation for Oxford University Press, 1997) – beautifully described in *The Lusians* by Luís Vaz de Camões as first published in 1572. A 1884 translation by J.J. Aubertin reads as; "I am that mighty Cape occult and grand" and distinctly closer to the Baroque context of Camões – see endnote 6 below. His epic undertaking (for the most part started, and worked at, during his stay in India after following the same route around the Cape of Storms in an attempt to escape repercussions following a duel), was inspired by Vasco da Gama's first journey around the Cape to India in 1497. His first success was repeated a few years later, and in 1524 he returned to India as Viceroy.

<sup>5</sup> Brink, Andre. P. "A Myth of Origin" in *T'kama-Adamastor – inventions of Africa in a South African painting*. Ed. Ivan Vladislavici. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2000

<sup>6</sup> Camões, LV de. *The Lusians*. tr. JJ Aubertin. London: Kegan Paul, 1884

<sup>7</sup> Concerning the origins of the name Adamastor, we can learn from Rabelais, F. *The Heroic Deeds of Garguntua and Pantagruel*. London: 1933 that Adamastor was the twenty-second in line of sixty forebears of Pantagruel. Again, Camões tells us that Adamastor was one of the giant Titans who rebelled against Zeus and desired the nymph Thetis and on a moonlight night rushing to embrace her 'angelic form', finds himself clutching not the object of his desire, but a rock. In the instant of his passionate embrace, he is himself transformed into the rocky Cape. In Greek mythology however, reference is made to the 'untamed' or 'wild' Adamastos, and with the name Adamastor for the first time appearing in Latin in the fourth century AD

<sup>8</sup> The 1940's Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital and Nurses Home (designed by Gordon Leith) are to be redeveloped as inner city residential accommodation that will further allow for the appropriation of the Constitutional Hill precinct

<sup>9</sup> What is perhaps less known is the fact that as many as 250 fortifications were constructed in the Pretoria district during these inter-war years, and with many sites lost or extensively damaged through urban development. Some of the sites still show the layered alterations done by the successive waves of political control over the region. See Thomson, Barrie.

"The Forts of Pretoria – our vanishing history". *Lantern*. 38.2. Pretoria: Foundation for Education, Science & Technology, 1989

<sup>10</sup> Effectively also hiding politically unwanted individuals from the minds eye. At different times, and in response to different circumstances, the Boer General Christiaan de Wet, and both the iconic human rights activists Gandhi, and Mandela

<sup>11</sup> See Hermann Giliomee and Alister Sparks for a view from within South Africa. Sparks, A. *The Mind of South Africa – The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*. London: Mandarin, 1990 and with a more recent and perhaps more balanced view, Giliomee, Hermann. *The Afrikaners – biography of a people*. Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2003. In recent years various international conferences, discussion forums, and research units have argued similar observations. One such example is the *OpenDemocracy* debate on "Multiculturalism: Translating Difference" and where authors such as David Goldberg, Paul Gilroy, and Neal Ascherson discuss the complexities underlying spatial tactics in multicultural societies. 9 Jan. 2005. <<http://www.opendemocracy.com>>

<sup>12</sup> Popular belief holds that political prisoners communicated with the outside world through coded hand signals visible to compatriots in surrounding flats on the ridge, and with a clear view into the prison courtyards

<sup>13</sup> Lesser known projects include an innovative archaeological search to locate the grave of Enoch Sontonga (the composer of the South African anthem) in the Braamfontein Cemetery that was started in 1995 by among others, archaeologists of the University of the Witwatersrand; and the years of convincing the French government to return the remains of Sara Baartman (better known as Saartjie Baartman in its diminutive Afrikaans form) who was taken to England as curiosity in 1810, sold to an animal trainer in France in 1814, exhibited to the public, scientists and artists by Etienne Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, spend her last years among other exotic fauna and flora in the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, and upon her death in 1816, was dissected by George Cuvier, catalogued, and kept in the depths of the Musée de l'Homme. \*The remains of Sara Baartman were finally returned at the beginning of 2005. Also see the much awarded documentary film *The Life and Times of Sara Baartman: the Hottentot Venus*. First Run/Icarus Films. Dir. Zola Maseko. 52 minutes, color, 1998

<sup>14</sup> The Centre of Memory and Commemoration Project is a collaborative project spearheaded by the Nelson Mandela Foundation, and includes archival projects, exhibitions, and publications. Worth mentioning are the "466/64: A Prisoner Working in the Garden" exhibition and subsequent publication *A Prisoner in the Garden – opening Nelson Mandela's prison archive*. Nelson Mandela Foundation. Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2005

<sup>15</sup> Desmond Tutu was the Archbishop of the Anglican Church of South Africa, and his deputy on the TRC, Alex Boraine, a previous minister of the Methodist Church in South Africa

<sup>16</sup> Instructed through the mechanism of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995 (Government Gazette 1995) and to "provide as complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes, and extent of gross violations of human rights" committed between 1 March 1960 and

5 December 1993. See Holiday, Anthony. "Forgiving and Forgetting: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." *Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa*. Eds. Nuttall, S & Carli Coetzee. Cape Town: Oxford UP, 1998

<sup>17</sup> op. cit. (Becker: 2004). 60

<sup>18</sup> Brink, A. "Stories of History: Re-imagining the past in post-apartheid narrative." *Negotiating the Past: The making of memory in South Africa*. Eds. Nuttall, S & Carli Coetzee. Cape Town: Oxford UP, 1998. 32

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 32

<sup>20</sup> Blue IQ was tasked with the project development of 11 prestigious sites considered to be of national importance

<sup>21</sup> Other projects include the creation of roughly 950,000 square foot of complementary commercial and residential development which will double the current investment of roughly ZAR425,000,000 (£45,000,000) that went into the creation of the public buildings and space, the acquisition of art, dynamic and continuing art and museum installations and media coverage. Various institutions, governments and individuals contributed to the process and specifically in acquiring relevant and significant art work. The passionate and unrelenting efforts by Judge Albie Sachs needs specific acknowledgement. This reach by an individual beyond his primary role is one example of many similar commitments by individuals involved in the bigger project of community building in the South African society.

<sup>22</sup> See Lichtenstein's accounts of 1803. Lichtenstein, H. *Travels in Southern Africa: In the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*. Vol. 1 & 2. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1928, 1930.

<sup>23</sup> In the Nguni languages Ntu is the ancestor who established human society and directed communal living in a society to be run to the benefit of all. Ubu refers to the abstract ideas of what it means to be human.

<sup>24</sup> As entered into by governments, heads of state, churches and other corporate bodies; with the South African TRC and the Australian reconciliation processes as examples. See Derrida, J. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, tr. by Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes. London: Routledge, 2001. Paul Patton mentions Derrida's argument that the Christian or Abrahamic tradition from which our use of the term forgiveness derives is fundamentally divided between a concept of unconditional, infinite, forgiveness and a forgiveness which is possible only upon certain conditions, such as the repentance of the perpetrator and gives an excellent overview on the intersection between Derrida's work on these propositions and that of Deleuze and Guattari. See Patton, Paul. "Future Politics." *Between Deleuze & Derrida*, eds. Patton, Paul & John Protevi. London: Continuum, 2003

<sup>25</sup> See Deleuze, G and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus*, tr. Brian Massumi. London: Athlone Press, 1987. 509

<sup>26</sup> Terminology borrowed from De Certeau. See De Certeau, M. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, tr. Rendall, S. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. xvii



## Appendix 'B'

### Scattering in Contested Urban Fields Hennie Reynders<sup>1</sup>

*Density Inside Out* Conference  
Department of Architecture  
School of Arts, Culture and Environment  
University of Edinburgh  
6 - 8 June 2007

#### Abstract

Ideas about density are tied in a complex knot. Once untangled, it reveals the fault lines along which geographical determinism has constructed spatial narratives that ignore the fluid, temporal, and intensely politicized spatiality experienced on the ground. More recent post-structural and post-colonial debates are attempting to make sense of environments exhibiting such complexity and intensity. Revealing a *thickness* in the urban field where forces of power, control, and subversion re-configure territories in a manner that makes past density models seemingly obsolete.

Informal settlements on the fringes of post-apartheid South African cities have become the waiting rooms of a promised land. In most cases these communities are now rendered legal and stand in contrast to an emerging *other* defined as those extralegal communities existing underneath the surface of the visible urban fabric. Including illegal immigrants, criminal networks, and gated communities privileged by past and current bureaucratic malfunction. Lines drawn along racial differences are morphing into new territories with fluid border conditions being defined by claims to ownership, the formation of identity, and a sense of urgency in re-configuring territories in the *new* South Africa. Producing opportunity and tension, fear and desire, and a surprising capacity to negotiate these conflicting desires along variable trajectories. Exploring such trajectories upstream reveals a variable viscosity - metaphorically akin to *scattering theory* as used in the field of astrophysics when defining probability patterns of re-configuration.

The paper explores some of these ideas in the context of post-Apartheid South Africa where a meshwork of re-configuration processes exhibit such complexity and seem to follow intersecting itineraries - first, by looking at the occupation and de-occupation of space and the appropriation and subversion tactics deployed by the marginalised, and second, the emerging narratives, codes, and disciplinary fractures informing radical spatial practices.

**Keywords** Density, Intensity, Space, Appropriation, Subversion, Fracture

---

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished Conference Paper

