



OVER AND UNDER APARTHEID

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Over and Under Apartheid

by
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Fig 1.

Apartheid - South African policy or system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race - of the inhabitants of European descent from the non-European coloured or mixed, Bantu, Indian, etc.

Adopted by the successful Afrikaner National Party as a slogan in the 1948 election, apartheid extended and institutionalised racial segregation (socially and educationally etc.) which continued despite riots and internal terrorism, along with international isolation from the 1960's onwards.

[Afrikaans, lit. 'separateness', f. Du. apart (ad. F. à part APART adv.) + heid -HOOD.]

(Oxford English Dictionary)

Johannesburg is a city¹ which makes an immediate impact on any visitor.

This dissertation is the result of the initial shock which I experienced during my visit there in October 2008 and the lingering echoes of illumination which brought the city to light during my stay and in my subsequent research upon my return to Scotland. My interaction with a world structured in such a different way from the one I am accustomed to in the towns and cities of the British Isles provoked me to question what effect the circumstances of urban spatial organisation and characteristics have on life. It has also allowed me to explore further how architecture, with its inextricable links to urban form and function also acts upon sensibilities to create a world experienced phenomenologically.



Fig 2.

¹ It is crucial at the outset to define city as an incorporation and situation of citizens ('city' being deriving from the Latin '*civitas*' from '*civis*' meaning citizen) in a constructed environment. A city must have boundaries for its citizens to identify living within its confines.

<i>Contents</i>	
Acknowledgements	6
A. Abstract	7
B. Introduction	9
<i>Structure</i>	10
C. Contextual / Historical Wealth	11
<i>Precisely Vague Beginnings</i>	11
<i>Land of Non-Place</i>	11
<i>Phenomenological Necessities</i>	15
D. Under Apartheid	16
<i>Disenfranchised Black</i>	16
<i>Developing the Conscious Separations</i>	18
<i>States of Exception</i>	19
<i>Infrastructure and The Street - Vehicle for Connection and Fragmentation</i>	20
<i>Tensions of Territoriality</i>	21
E. Over Apartheid	22
<i>Liberated space: Getting Over Segregation</i>	22
<i>Fearful Community and the Insecure Street</i>	23
<i>The Language of Belonging</i>	25
<i>Planning Urban networks</i>	26
<i>Legal Water</i>	27
F. Under and Over Apartheid	28
<i>Separate in the Togetherness</i>	28
<i>Grey space / (Im)migration</i>	30
<i>Residual space / Indistinct zones</i>	32
<i>Displacements</i>	32
<i>Shacks and Towers</i>	33
<i>Atypical Territory</i>	34

G. Conclusion	35
<i>Apartheid is evanescent but separateness is incessant</i>	37
H. Bibliography	38
Websites	40
Media	40
I. Appendix	41
Constitutional Reforms	41
Constitution	42
Spatial Development and Capital Investment Framework	43
Architectural Representation of Johannesburg and its Constitution	45
Constitution Hill	45

'The city is one of the most remarkable, one of the most enduring of human artefacts and human institutions. Its fascination is inevitable: its study is both duty and homage.'

(Kostoff, 1991 : 40)

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I learned a great deal and had much enjoyment in my work and discussions with Activate Architects in Johannesburg and who kindly gave me their time and support and showed me their city.

A. Abstract

Architecture goes beyond just the design of objects in a landscape since it manipulates the structural systems, physical and social, which govern the way people dwell. From a western perspective, the city of Johannesburg projects a chaotic environment to the world, burdened as it is with an unsettled history within a relatively short life span of just over one hundred and twenty years. As analysts of the world around us, we constantly strive to appropriate things into categories; faults and problems which need solutions, or successes which are generally proselytised. This dissertation has avoided drawing any conclusions of such a nature but sought to assess the legacy of spatial segregation and illuminate how separateness continues to exist in the fabric of the city of Johannesburg.

The 'Elusive Metropolis' sets out how the African world 'has often been caught and imagined with a web of difference and otherness'¹. This is precisely how the city appears to the visitor who has to make distinctions between the known and the unknown. This investigation sought to articulate this unusual world through a conceptual language of 'separateness' with the aim of providing the reader with a sense of the tumultuous Johannesburg world as it exists in its own modern forms. This goes beyond mere physical separations and the dialectic of black and white and focuses more on the state of a place in chaos in order to heighten our intuition about the architecture of the city.

Whilst it can be said that every city embodies dialectical characteristics, Johannesburg is an extreme case, created under intense circumstances. By using the ideas of philosophers and theorists on the city an understanding of contemporary attitudes towards the territorialisation of space has been used to open up a world which highlights the bare state of a disjointed metropolis. Johannesburg is a city which is spatially and socially separated between the affluent and the impoverished, between different races and communities and between the territories of place and non-place. Whilst apartheid was a political label for the segregation of blacks and whites, it also stands for tensions which existed, which were solidified, and which remain in a new form today. Southern Africa's foremost city is ill at ease with its spatial landscape and the people who inhabit this built environment must live the consequences.

Alberto Pérez-Gòmez states that 'the poetic content of reality, the a priori of the world, which is the ultimate frame of reference for any truly meaningful architecture, is hidden beneath a thick layer of formal explanations.'² The task therefore should not be to regard any situation in terms of its functional success or failure against our standards of morals and notions of what is good or bad for society (these formal explanations), rather it should be considered in terms of its ability to heighten our conscious awareness (reality as poeticism) of the architecture of the city.

¹ Mbembe and Nuttall, *Elusive Metropolis*, 2008, p9

² Pérez-Gòmez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, 1983, p6



Fig 3.

B. Introduction

'...the surface of the earth, on the Witwatersrand, even in its earliest representations, is frequently associated with provisionality and repressed meaning'¹

Johannesburg is South Africa's melting pot of different cultures and races. The largest metropolitan city in Africa, in its recent history has undergone a substantial shift of its reality since the fall of apartheid, or so it would seem at first glance. The political, social and economic liberalisation of the city has led to a diversification of prosperity, proliferation of crime and a certain amount of decay and attempted regeneration. The legacy of separate development has left an increasingly discontinuous and disparate urban landscape. Since the 1990's, the city organism has had to find different ways to help the changing population accommodate its space. Apartheid's devastating legacy of spatial organisation seems to have deepened social divisions and left an infrastructure which is far from homogeneous. Architecture and urban planning has a challenge to interrogate and understand the city's artifices, from the height of a defensive wall around a home at a micro level, to the levels of zoning and integration of development at a macro level.

The urban landscape of a city is a painting of its historical heritage, a map to understanding its political cultural dynamic. Johannesburg, the economic capital of the African continent exists in an extraordinary tension between a modern, western, capitalist culture and a vibrant and chaotic native African one. Its relatively brief history following the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 has seen it 'ceaselessly metamorphose'² from a barren ridged landscape of veld to a cosmopolitan urban swathe of almost 4 million people³ over an area equal to London. This rapid ascent compared to Western cities can be seen to have created a city of little maturity. Since the emergence from under apartheid, the dialectic of black and white has left a condition where 'separateness' is a feature locked in the fabric of the city and a situation which affects people's understanding of the world and their ability to dwell.

The landscape, in all its ability for visual and sensed immediacy, is an indeterminate phenomenon, an assemblage of lived moments. Any one person's account of the Johannesburg landscape, as with any other

1 Bunn, David. *Art Johannesburg and Its Objects, The Elusive Metropolis*, Duke University Press, 2008, p138

2 *Elusive Metropolis*, p 18 Its 'ceaseless metamorphosis' relates its development into a major world city in just over a century with a history of apartheid, urban decay and renewal and full acknowledgment (despite being at the geographical fringe) of western urban modernity.

3 Its population is over 10 million if one includes the environs. The two cities with greater populations are Al-Qahirah (Cairo) in Egypt with a population of 11 892 641 and Lagos, Nigeria which is home to 9 466 2361 (figures derived from UN census 2006)

city, with be a collection of fragments in time. The separateness which exists between people in this particular landscape makes each assemblage a collection of tensions and there is diversification between the moments. Ivan Vladislavić's 'Portrait with Keys' exemplifies the idea that Johannesburg life is a series of tense and loosely connected (if at all) moments. It is intended to read as a fragmented set of insights into his urban experience. Each anecdote, poem or piece of prose is tied to a theme but while a loose chronological order ties the book together, the thematic instances are separate in a melange of paragraphs. My intention, like Vladislavić, is to unlock an insight into Johannesburg as a city of dynamic separations.



Fig 4.

Structure

'Context / Historical Wealth' discusses the historical context of the city and introduces the theme of the non-place. Integral to this is the gold reef which instigates and has a subliminal control over territory.

'Under' looks at the organisational system under apartheid and how that was acknowledged architecturally while linking the issue of apartheid within the historical framework. It goes on to investigate further tensions of territoriality.

'Over' refers to the state of the city after apartheid laws broke down and is about the current state of getting 'over' the apartheid system. This chapter looks at this system and how it has been appropriated and the effect on the structure of society.

'Over and Under' sets out the proposition that the separateness has not been remedied but reappeared in a different guise, like the weaving of a needle, divisions and separations will appear and disappear continuously in Johannesburg.

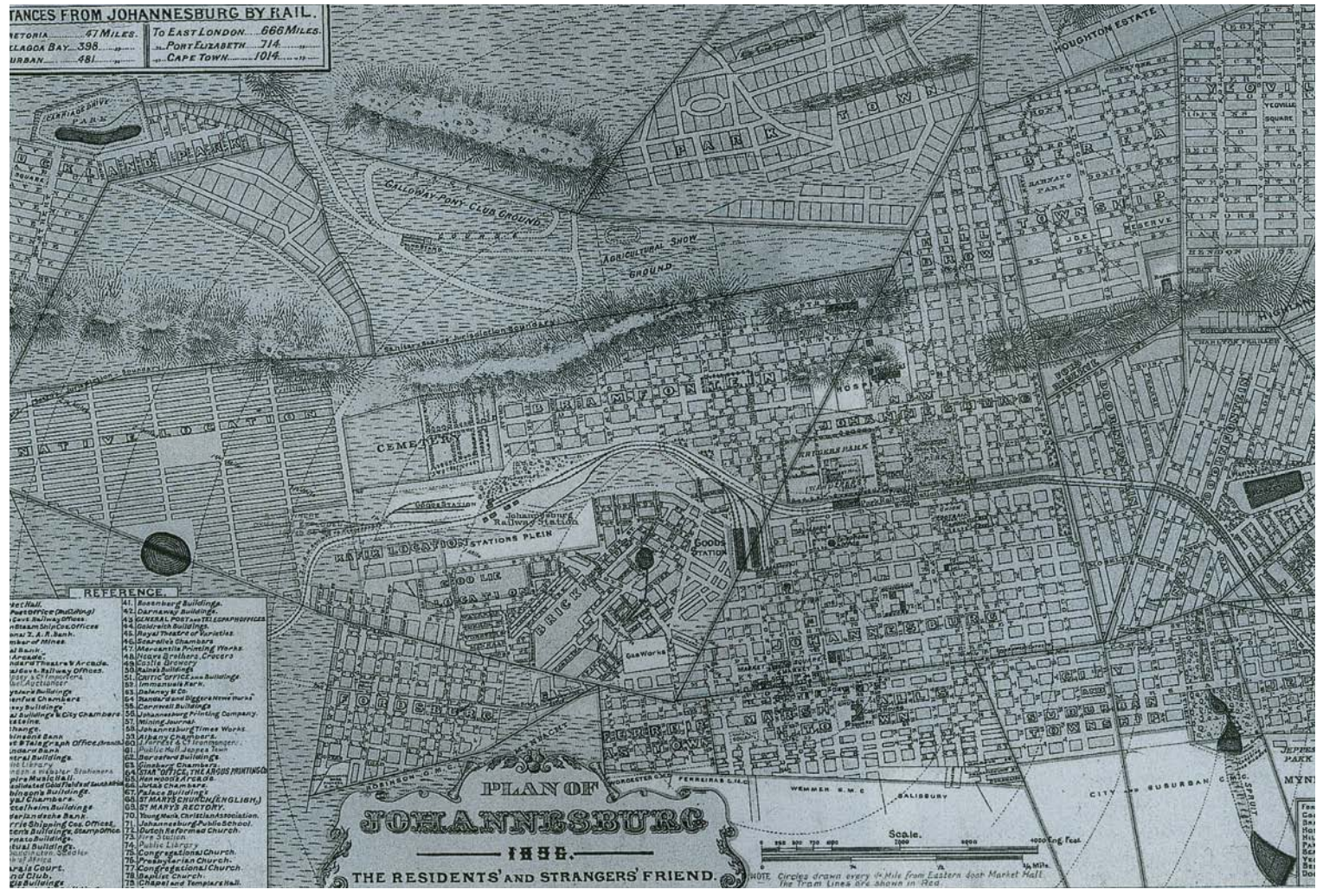


Fig 7.

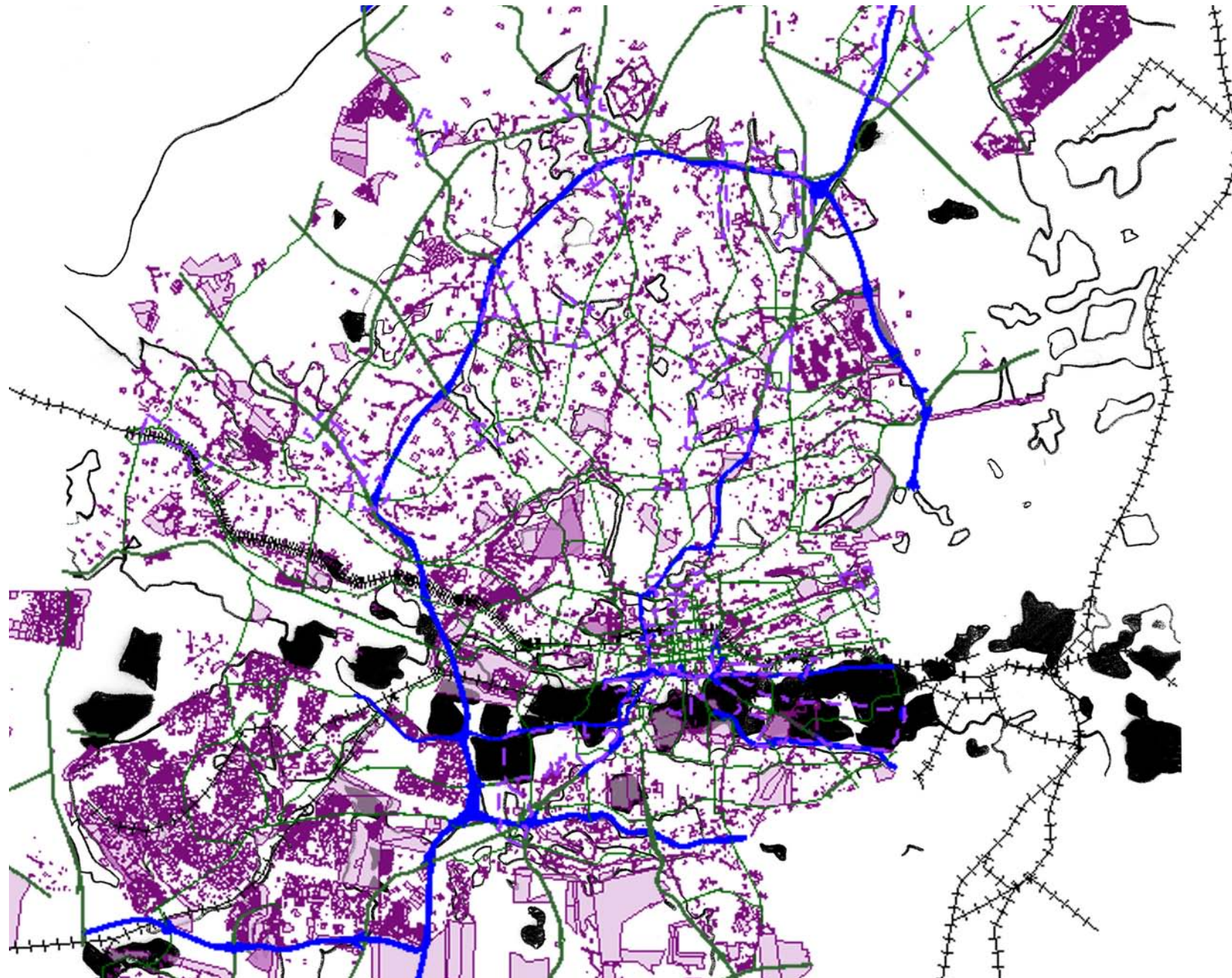


Fig 9. Map of Johannesburg showing the gold mines and quarries in black and the authority owned land in purple (i.e. industrial zones, most township land, and parkland). The major motorway and railway are also shown.



Figs. 10 - 12



Fig 13.

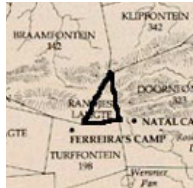


Fig 14.

C. Contextual / Historical Wealth

Precisely Vague Beginnings

Before gold was discovered, the landscape was home to several farm-holdings. These farms were inhabited by the early Voortrekkers - rebel Afrikaners who had sought freedom from British rule in the Cape provinces and fled to the land north of the Orange and Vaal rivers in the mid-nineteenth century.



Due to the lack of a higher regulating authority, piles of whitewashed stones became the system farmers employed to delineate their property. Following the discovery of the gold reef, disagreements arose due to conflicting land rights and rights to water and grazing land. The two men sent by the Kruger government at the time to settle the disputes were acting Surveyor General Johann Rissik and Volksraad (government of the Transvaal Republic) member Christiaan Johannes Joubert. Johannes Petrus Meyer, the local government official of the area assisted the two men in the process (despite ironically having informally issued mining rights without sanction). Years later, it would be claimed that Johannesburg derived its name from either one or all of these men.

The men found that some land claims overlapped, whilst others left large gaps between borders. The governmental commission, was charged with settling upon a piece of land for the village where the miners would live. Between the three farms of Braamfontein, Doornfontein and Turffontein lay a piece of triangular land unclaimed and unwanted named 'Randjeslaagte'. This left-over, barren, stony and waterless area was deemed 'surplus land' and became automatically controlled by the State. It was here that the government commission selected as the home for the village for the increasing flood of prospectors which would later develop into the heart of Johannesburg.

Land of Non-Place

The city therefore began on a redundant space. Inherent from the start is the implication that the settled land is not where people were intended to be. Since they began life in this residual space this might fuel the notion of treating it not as home, but as space forced upon them. This may seem like an argument predetermining the course of the city¹ but nevertheless might be considered as the germinating influence for any construction.

Alternatively one can view this land, not as non-land, but rather as land to which multiple people had claimed

1 Nuttal & Mbembe, *The Elusive Metropolis*, 2008 p19

right. While Rome wasn't built in a day, Johannesburg was, and more than Rome it factored in the force and determination to make this unwanted land work as a metropolis. People had vested interest in the state of the city and similar to the original stones which delineated farms, mine claims and residential claims were staked and a concerted effort was made to create a landscape of sensory stimuli and splendour. The city had fixed its functional and residential zones after fifteen years and planted the biggest manmade forest in the world over the veld landscape. This city of gold rapidly grew, creating a high rise central business district of skyscrapers and blocks of architectural styles in a whirlwind of idioms arising during the times of economic prosperity. These were copied from Europe and the Americas and were linked to producing a world expressive of this exuberance of wealth. The reef, which was the main contextual restraint and generator, marked the edge of the city to the south beyond which native settlements and townships would be laid out, hidden by distance and slag heaps. Suburbs expanded to the north with the wealthiest claiming the land along the ridges to build their mansions. The black poor who originally settled close to, or within mining compounds and sites of production always experienced the central city as non-place. The inner city had always been intolerant of non-whites even before the forced removals in the 1930's and 1950's.¹ Urban Areas Acts [see appendix] worked towards segregation which meant that by the time the National Party came to power in 1948 with the 'apartheid' slogan, spatial and psychological separateness had already been established.

Place must be defined by those who inhabit it and for whites and non-whites, the city existed mostly as a symbol for something else. Whites made it into a European city and this symbol was eroded as blacks took over who saw the inner city as symbolic of oppression. Whilst indeterminable, it is significant that the city was experienced subjectively as representational rather than an object and specific 'place'. The notion that the city can change in the minds of people allows the city to exist differently in time as well as in the non-place of the mind.

South Africa is by no means typical of Africa. It is the odd one out. It is a mixture of the African third world and European first world conditions. Johannesburg is the epitome of this mix. One of the few cities on Earth not to have been founded on a major water source, it has no geographical features to allow a visitor to escape the raw nature of the city of affluent white and poor black citizens. It is a metropolitan dynamic varied in its cultural differences, class, language, wealth, health, education, politics, and aspirations. This foreign city had to accept its inability to derive an original style of architecture. Its non-African elite became masters of importing foreign styles of architecture which they did successfully but at times without foresight. The city came to describe itself as the modern European city in Africa, invoking the irony that it was in fact attempting

1 The first forced removal of black workers occurred in 1904 from the mining compounds to Klipspruit. Tomlinson et al. *Emerging Johannesburg : Perspectives on the Post Apartheid City*, 2003, pxiii - 8

to join a system not naturally suited to its context. The disconnected sources of architecture were borrowed from Victorian and Edwardian styles, provincial French Second Empire, Modernist Neo-Classical, Futuristic and Brutalist skyscrapers; and from Art Nouveau to the rigid symmetry of the Beaux Arts, Art Deco, and modernism.² A desperate attempt was made to create an identity for this non-place. I would argue that the symbolism of a land which was rejected by farmers has seemingly played out a similar fable throughout the course of its brief history.



Sublimation of the Golden Grid

The wealth derived from the ore bearing 'main reef' built the city above to such an extent that it was given the name 'Egoli' in the local Nguni³ language, a name whose derivation is from the word for 'gold'. The urban landscape is, as the name signifies, a by-product of people's quest for gold and commercial wealth. The physical reef sculpted the position of the first roads (funded by the mining companies) and set up a condition between the north and south separated by a crescent of land in which the mine heads, slag heaps and vacant land (for reasons of subsidence) which still dominates the landscape. This land on which the city owes its existence is that which became integral to the era of the apartheid city in its segregation of races. Beneath the ground lies the geological formation that is inextricably linked to, and penetrative of everyday life in Johannesburg. The notion of the sublime⁴ in a landscape, one which is capable of inflicting pain and unfathomable as to the boundaries, privation, vastness, difficulty and uniformity, can be applied to the land of the mined reef. There is always a subliminal presence of the danger that (as is happening in the 'Guatrain'⁵ construction) the earth may cave into any one of the mine tunnels which sprawl underneath the city. So in the context of the reef, the constructed metropolis is a fragile and temporary layer. The gold has been 'raised up'⁶ to the surface and sublimated into the consciousness of the city's inhabitants. In doing so it has made the city the threshold and limit for the gold ore of the sub terrain.

The original planners who believed the gold would run out quickly were required to make quick profit from the city. Small sized grid squares were laid out, which today causes communication problems due to

2 Chipkin, 1993, p22

3 Nguni languages are a group of Bantu languages spoken in southern Africa including Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, isiHlubi, Phuthi and Ndebele.

4 The sublime as discussed by many theorists, specifically that by Edmund Burke in his Philosophical Enquiry, 1998

5 A new underground and overground railway aiming to connect the city together and to Pretoria in readiness for the 2010 Football World Cup being hosted in South Africa.

6 Point of interest: sublimate derives from the Latin sublimat- pa.ppl stem of sublimare 'to raise up'.

the excessive number of intersections. The inner city grid took the size of 50 by 100 feet (15.74 by 31.48m) which contrasts against the Soweto grid of 40 by 70 feet (12.2 by 21.3m). The grid lines ran alongside the reef outwards from the original settlement, with additional grids connecting at slight angles to account for the curve of the mining belt, leaving points with little land for construction. The left over triangle of the Randieslaagte left a heritage of a geometry which would inevitably reproduce the same left over spaces as echoes of the original.

Spiro Kostoff describes two types of city; 'the planned or designed or "created" city' and the irregular, chance generated 'spontaneous' city'.⁷ Johannesburg can be seen to be inherently a created and planned city, since it is laid out on a regulating grid conforming to the line of the reef. However, the second form of city, the 'spontaneous' city, can correspond to the squatter settlements around the periphery of the townships, planned inner city and wealthy suburbs. The authorities are caught in an endless battle to regularise these illegal squatter camps, clearing and rebuilding in an effort to make them conform to a regular pattern. The grid network allowed for an integrated and open street system which provided the physical framework for the extension of water, electricity and sewage services. They also set up the territorial boundaries of further urban growth.⁸ While the townships themselves grow through a process of being legalised in a process involving conditioning them to the same regular street pattern, the irregular forms of the shack layout take on an 'organic' nature, responding to a required density, the neighbouring street layout and any water source.⁹ The edge of the city, without any physical boundary (even the bypasses which act like a ring road on the West, East and South sides have little restraint) is blurred and suburbs simply sprawl into the veld.

F. Castagnoli, an urban historian, makes the distinction between the irregular city, as that being the resultant development by people who actively live on the land and the geometrically planned city being the result of municipal ownership in which land is divided up before giving it to its users¹⁰. Johannesburg is caught in a mix between the government who want to impose an order, actively trying to resolve the irregularities of the slum housing, and those who continue to expand the invisible borders of the city with further rapidly constructed shacks. There is evidently order in any form of settlement, however, the perceptions of the two programs is more interesting. Both forms of city can be viewed in different ways. The perception of a grid

7 Kostoff, *The City Shaped*, 1991, p43

8 Graham & Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism*, p60

9 Streams of water produce and convey a disjunction in their separate uses. The affluent suburbs, already serviced by water pipes, have allowed them to be claimed and used in the context for golf courses, open only to those with the ability to pay fees to enter the enclosed zone. For those at the other end of the scale, they provide the essential water for life.

10 F Castagnoli, *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity*, 1971, 124 quoted in Kostoff, *The City Shaped*, p43



is either that of a rigid system, in which civil liberties are prescribed, or one in which a disciplined order sets up a framework allowing for a status quo, and the ability to expand in a rational and scientific manner. Irregular patterns, as the antithesis to this may be seen as chaotic and irresponsible. On the other hand, they may be applauded for their specific response to a topography and context and their expression and facilitation of a rhythmic mode of dwelling. Kostoff understands that the extemporaneous nature of squatter settlements, not least, leads to a 'metamorphosis' of the regular and irregular. Within the townships the street pattern hopes to maintain order. However, the inhabitation and accommodation of the space makes for a blurring of this regularity.

It is important to note the geological aspect of the city's grid, which while not being explicit in its manifestation for the person at street level, is implicit in the centre where the quality and existence of the buildings is either slavishly decorated, or derelict and inhabited by migrants. A borderland¹ exists above the mining reef which sets up a contrast between the outer townships and the centre, the north and the south and the rich and the poor. All exist simultaneously but separately in the borderland.

The transition spaces between the house and the outer boundary of the living space is the same as that between the local and the larger world of the street². Streets are normally usually designed along Cartesian lines of utility, serving the car, the power and water supply and the drainage. Only occasionally do they consider having in place pavements for pedestrians. Pavements outside affluent peoples homes is sometimes deliberately taken up, or an arrangement of slabs makes it difficult to walk on and near impossible to run along.

1 Parker, Towards an Understanding of the Borderlands Processes, p83.

The Gold reef, a striking feature of the Johannesburg landscape, would be usually assumed to be a restraint of activity between those living on either side across the borderland. However, scholars such as Whittaker have seen how rivers which have defined the borders of particular authorities powers (he cites the Roman empire against the Tigris, Danube and the Rhine) have also enabled and provided impetus for movement across or into such a borderland. It is undeniable that as the presence and distribution of diamond sources greatly contributed to the method and pace of the boundary process in South Africa (Thompson and Lemar, 1981), so did the presence of gold in Johannesburg. As the majority of the workforce, those in camps to the south would daily travel into the borderland of the reef and down shafts beneath the surface.

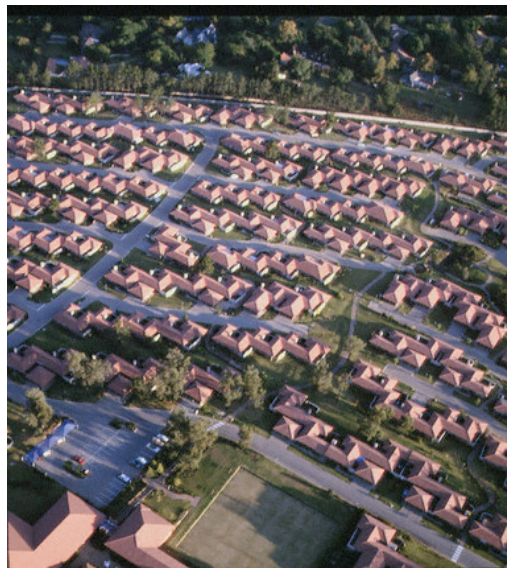
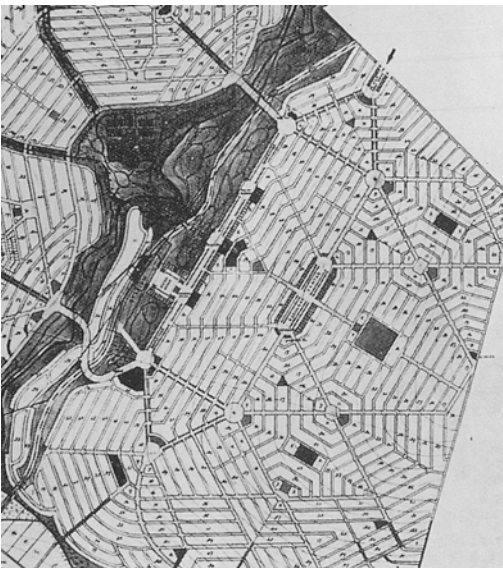
2 Greenbie, Spaces: Dimensions of the Human Landscape, p36

Phenomenological Necessities

Pérez-Gòmez, in trying to understand architecture, his phenomenological standpoint battles against the purely positivistic methods of architecture which excludes the ability to understand and utilise transcendental notions of being (which are not to be found in scientific explanations). The objective and subjective are never completely dialectically separated, yet always reconciled in some way. He argues for a world where the creation of architecture appreciates this reconciliation. Understanding the 'primacy of perception' is the real crisis that architects strive towards in their work. The crisis that prevents technological theory alone from obtaining an answer to the problems of architecture is shared by the transcendental knowledge that can only provide intuitive, poetic expressions of knowledge. Yet the crisis is in understanding and combining both.

In his rejections of Durand's 'terrifying' values that architecture should do without the transcendental meaning and concentrate on convenience and rationality, he makes an argument which could be applied to the Johannesburg situation. In an environment of space, built things and people, where all three are in combinations affected by severe historical and present tensions of separateness, how can architecture possibly be confined to solutions of functionality? It cannot avoid playing upon these tensions. Existential meaning is to be found by departing from a standpoint of perception.³ This would have to not exclude the rational but be a combination of both subjective and objective readings of a place. Johannesburg is certainly a situation where both the purely functional and the meaningful are and should be combined.

3 Pérez-Gòmez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, 1983, p325



Figs 15 - 20.



Fig. 21. 1965 View of Meadowlands, Johannesburg, Aerial View of Township

Fig. 22. Soweto, Aerial view of the northerly rim of new housing, looking eastwards.



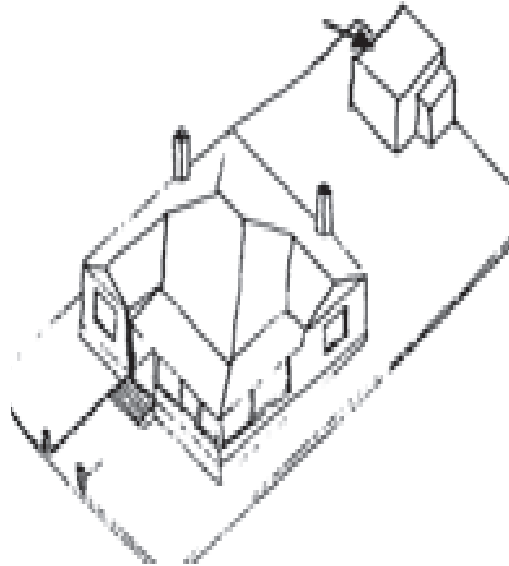


Fig 23-28. Clockwise from top left: The two youngsters standing outside their hut-home in Wattville; A schematic diagram of placement of annexes for housekeepers; Aerial view of the reef and the limited connections between the two sides; Signage of segregation; Street hawkers before segregation law forced their removal; woman with trained guard dog.

D. Under Apartheid

Under apartheid separations were based on absolute exclusivity. It was a political rule that these segregation and separations were enforced and maintained. Architecture had to conform and was implicated in this system as it was a direct representation of the political law.

“Race and apartheid. Although it is impossible for us to talk about apartheid without referring to race, it is important to note that race is not a scientific category of analysis. Race is something that is socially constructed in order to justify the superiority of one group over another.”⁴

This quote from the apartheid’s museum website, intending to depict ‘race’ as not worthy of consideration due to its unscientific nature, does provide evidence for the existence of race as a social construct. Lived space could be seen to be the manifestation of this implication. The legal policies implemented under the framework of apartheid were the culmination of a history of imposed divisions by successive white governments.⁵ Planned programs of forced evictions and relocation to land which local authorities were required to provide, meant that black people previously living near work in the municipal areas were gradually all separated from the white workers.

Disenfranchised Black



A period of construction after 1948 saw sprawling suburbs laid out across the south of Johannesburg specifically for inhabitation by people of colour. These were disconnected physically by the main reef, enhanced by a severe lack of adequate transportation links. Circulation was further hindered by an inefficient layout of streets designed to maintain security.

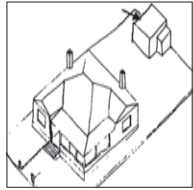
Whilst it is always easy to talk in the dialectical terms of black and white, these terms ultimately negate the variety and blurred boundaries between the classifications. The Star, 21 March, 1986 as shown in the Apartheid Museum, lists the trouble (or perhaps disingenuous ease) which the government had classifying people into racial categories.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha disclosed that during 1985: 702 coloured people turned white, 19 whites became coloured, 50 Indians became coloured, 43 Indians became Malay, 30

⁴ Apartheid Museum website at <http://www.apartheidmuseum.org/supplements/issue1/index.html>

⁵ Tomlinson et al. Emerging Johannesburg, 2003, p5

*Malays went Indian, 249 blacks became colours, 20 coloured became black, Two blacks became "other Asians", One black was classified Griqua, 11 coloureds went Malay...No blacks became white and no whites became black.*⁶



Throughout the apartheid era, unsurprisingly black liberation movements existed to fight against the oppression. Through black unification across race, class and ethnic divides, the psychology of the people changed to allow them to assert themselves. Movements were set up to fight for black liberation. At the lower levels of this struggle, street communities, advice office forums, youth groups, study groups, sports organisations and burial societies evolved to aid the national movements against the unjust racial policies. Whether in the open or underground, these organisations helped combine urban people into communities. These groups which were not always militant in their approach, continue to enable interaction between the lower classes in the city today. This helps provide pockets of social cohesion and nurtures community.

The native black people were disenfranchised of land and water and their labour⁷ was annexed for the provision of whites. However it has been argued that segregation never entailed a real separation between two distinct communities. The distinctions were delicately weaved.⁸ Mbembe therefore argues that it was in fact a disjunctive inclusion of people. Still true today is the legacy of black housekeepers, nannies, and gardeners who dwell in a specially built annexe. These annexes, either detached or semi-detached from the home existed within the confines of the perimeter wall.⁹ In apartment blocks labelled 'skylight locations', rooms on the roof of the building would be home to the domestic workers who would be close enough to perform their duties without violating legal prohibitions or cohabitation sensibilities. These arrangements reproduced the duality of spatial separateness at apartheid's smallest scale. As well as reiterating the dominant pattern of spatial relations under apartheid, domestic layouts reflected the nature of separate space and family interaction.

6 Taken from a sign in the Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg. Reference is The Star, 21 March 1986, referring to the 'chameleon dance' of reclassifications of people at the stroke of a government pen.

7 The proportion of labour in mining diminished in the 1970's and the industrial and financial sectors took over with 60 per cent of workers permanent residents in the overcrowded townships in the 1980's.

Taylor, V. Community Development in Theory and Practice, 2008, p269

8 De Kiewiet, Cornelius. A History of South Africa, Social and Economic. London, 1957: 179 quoted in Mbembe, Elusive Metropolis, 2008, p48

9 While every experience is different, my own family lived alongside a man of Angolan origin who despite the language barrier, had a friendly relationship with the family. On my walk to work in the mornings, I would pass many black housekeepers walking through the residential streets, while the house owners all left for work in cars.

Developing the Conscious Separations



Only a few of the “purists” (white Afrikaners) ever argued for complete physical separations between blacks and whites. Separateness goes beyond this. It was true that even the most ideological of apartheid’s supporters accepted the need to have African people close at hand while looking for ways to keep the people apart.¹ The 1923 South African parliament passed the Natives (Urban Areas) Act and the local authorities became responsible for providing housing for black workers in urban areas as ‘Native housing’ and ‘Bantu housing’², derogatory terms which aided the polarisation of the citizens. The networks which brought black people into the sphere of the white affluent person, whether it was in employment down a mine shaft or looking after and helping to raise their children, became an encounter which existed beyond apartheid. It created a system where the members of the poor peripheral city of townships and squatter camps would temporarily exist in the ‘official city’ of the centre and white suburbs, only to retreat again to their edge. This mobility of coming and going was a continuation of their temporal existence in makeshift settlements. It was also a daily incursion which was not reciprocated by the dominant party. While the segregated were involved in life throughout Johannesburg, the white populous became distinctly confined to their zone and wary of the outer periphery.

Mbembe relates apartheid’s system of deterritorialising space by appropriation of land, annexing natives into artificial enclaves, inscribing this system into the modes of life such as the pass laws enforced by the force of state police and prison.³ Public space was separated and marked with bold signage as to what could be used by either white or non-white. Boundaries of these marked areas would be patrolled by armed police. This made possible a visible retaliatory system since the formal would be attacked by the informal and this took various guises; boycotts, squatter struggles and civil disobedience.⁴ Life for the non-white was under a regime of separateness. Johannesburg can be seen to have a separate world which existed ‘under apartheid’. This state was not just dominated by spatial segregation and restricted social interaction but was the space of the oppressed and alienated who contain aspirations of utopias and future possibilities. The abstract underworld is symbolic of a store of possibility, creativity and dreams

1 Ginsburg, Rebecca Ann. *At Home with Apartheid - The Cultural Landscapes of suburban Johannesburg 1960 to 1976*, p16

2 The word ‘Bantu’ (meaning people) was introduced by the apartheid ideologists as an alternative to ‘African’ because the white South African, especially Boer settlers, considered themselves to be the rightful owners of African soil. This logic would mean the word ‘Native’ should apply to the Boers, however due to its developed negative connotations, it was only used for the black population.

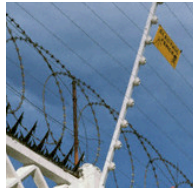
3 Mbembe, *Elusive Metropolis*, 2008, p48

4 Idem

from where Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu¹ came to embody these principles and fight against the above world of apartheid. Like similar parallels to the 'undergrounds' of French resistant revolutionaries, or guerilla warfare, space holds the material form for the principle for fundamental equality. Apartheid worked to make sure these spaces were made to appear as strangers in their own city, and separate from it.

States of Exception

In Giorgio Agamben's attitude towards states of exception, he stresses the importance of the link between concentration camps and these states². Like the British concentration camps for the Boers, and the Nazi camps, the law within the walls of the camp was not an extension of ordinary law but martial law in the British case, and Schutzhaft (protective custody) in the German.³ Are such states of exception realised in Johannesburg?



Agamben's camp for people (a state of exception) constitutes a space maintained by law outside the normal judicial order where the law is completely suspended making anything possible. Under apartheid the segregation of people was formally implicated in judicial law, hence the townships where non-whites were forced to inhabit, could not be called such a state of exception. However it could be argued that in fact the people within the townships became closer to bare life, due to their diminished human rights. Police violence against uprisings perhaps could be seen as the law being transcended and exceptionalised for the politic.

Nevertheless what is important to the objective of elucidating separateness is that the state of 'bare life' in which people in the poor townships live, with little ability to exist and perform within the juridical system has affected to some degree the level of violence which has spread since the end of apartheid. Citizens without money, ownership of land or goods, exist in their own exceptional states and have filtered throughout the public and private spaces of the rest of the city. At the moment of a violent crime, does the law not become suspended for the individual implicated? This would seem to suggest that people who live within their own

1 These two famous men came to form the first ANC (African National Congress) government having worked at undermining the apartheid regime with a Defiance Campaign. Forms of non-violent protest echoing Ghandi's moral, non-aggressive stance evolved into an underground guerilla regime whereby the country's infrastructure (power lines and power stations), civilian, industrial and military buildings were targeted by bomb plots. Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) was the active military wing of the African National Congress who co-operated with the South African Communist Party in these acts against the apartheid state.

2 Agamben, G. Means without end : Notes on Politics, 2000, p38,9

3 Agamben, G. A Means Without End, Notes on Politics, p38,9, - This 'taking into custody' protective law was a measure of preventative policing which would ensure security against threats to the State.

barricaded houses confine themselves within a state which has the potential to become exceptional. If a camp in Agamben's words is a permanent state of exception, then every gated community or individual house is a temporal one. At home, in a car, or on the street, the delimitation of those who exist as biological rather than political life, renders these spaces a 'metamorphosed camp'. The solution so far has been to build higher walls, electrify fences, put guards and CCTV cameras in as many places as possible to preserve the order of life.

Infrastructure and The Street - Vehicle for Connection and Fragmentation

The infrastructure of a city has a great role to play in developing and manipulating the way people dwell in the city and to transform the way communities interact. The Johannesburg sprawl is connected by around 9000 kilometres of road. Architecture is undoubtedly intertwined with not just the individual building, but spans the entire spectrum of spatial construction to include the layout of streets. The organisation of the spatial landscape was such that roads under apartheid became the sites of public demonstrations, troop movement, rallies, road-blocks, street battles and forced removals. Roads themselves became sites of tension. During the regime, the need to regulate and maintain control over the disenfranchised black squatter settlements was enabled by a simple grid network of open streets. The authorities and the urban planners, architects and designers imagined a racially segregated spatiality as an ordered system which would provide a stable basis upon which to build their white urban utopias. Racial differences were calculated and led to implementation of land-use zoning which Lefebvre describes as 'responsible -precisely - for fragmentation, break-up and separation under the umbrella of a bureaucratically decreed unity...'⁴ The zones were paradoxically connected and cut off from one another by the road. The road creates a physical boundary in the landscape. Soweto is not just cut off by the reef, it is excluded outside the N1 and N3 motorways. Similarly the township of Alexandra, were it not for the Eastern bypass, would sprawl and invade the area of Sandton, the new rival central business district.

Tensions of Territoriality

Vague boundaries and uncertainties over people's space have always, and will continue to cause friction between communities. The etymology of 'territory' is unsettled: rather than *terra*, meaning 'ground' it may perhaps derive from *terrere* meaning 'to frighten'. In this respect, territory may be seen to be a place from which people are warned off and therefore already contains ideas of fear.

In a similar way to Vidler's 'uncanny' - in which he experiences the city with an 'inexplicable dread' rather than terror⁵, and beyond knowledgeable decipherability, people in Johannesburg experience the fragmented landscape either as a 'privileged insider' and 'excluded outsider'⁶. Territory was claimed and regulated, and those who were deemed unsuitable were divested of their rights to the territory of the city and relegated to the margins of the urban life, in which they were given a space from which they were powerless to participate in the collective community. The urban poor had little choice but to transform their township settlements, and design them in ways which would meet their habitual struggle for survival. In this marginalisation, a tension was created as to these people's citizenships rights and belonging, what Lefebvre calls 'the right to the city'⁷. Without an authorised existence in the territory of the city, one cannot belong. There was inevitably a battle by the outsiders to be allowed to become insiders, and this dynamic was behind the apartheid regulation coming to an end, and is one which continues.

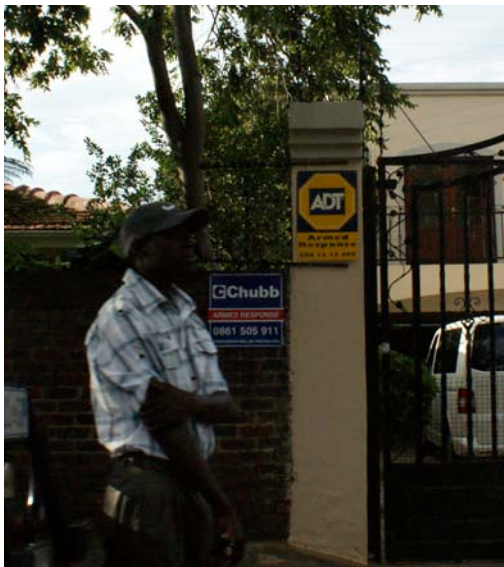
5 A. Vidler, *The Architectural Uncanny*, p23

6 Murray, 2008, p36

7 Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, 1996, p 173-174, 195 quoted in Murray, p26



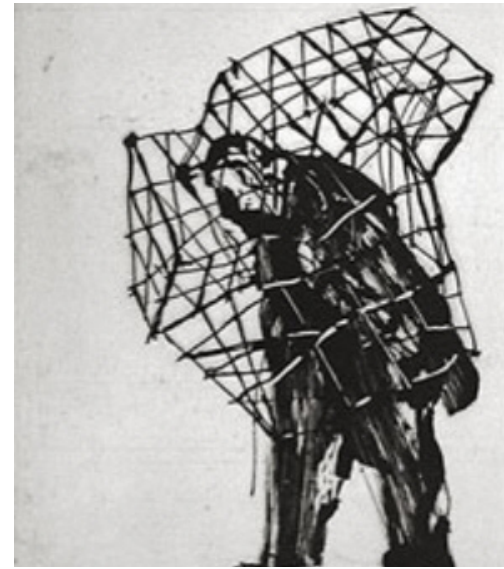
Figs 29 - 32. Various images taken while driving around the township of Alexandra; street hawkers; gardens which run into the street; makeshift barber shops under a gazebo; additional structures to homes creating space to sell goods.



Figs 33 - 38. Various photos around the northern suburbs of guard huts and fortifications.



Figs 39 - 42. Clockwise from top left: The inside of Cresta Mall; The entrance to Rosebank mall outside parking, The edge of Hillbrow; Cell phone shop in the township of Alexandra.



Figs 43 - 48. (Clockwise from top left); Homeless and displaced children have taken to living inside drain pipes; Fourways houses within a gated community; South African Artist William Kentridge, charcoal piece entitled 'Zenomannets'; Squatters in a ruined warehouse in the central business district; The artificial tuscan indoor amusement landscape of Montecasino - shopping and eating underneath a painted sky; The Old Stock Exchange Building among a throng of taxis.

Figs 49 & 50.



E. Over Apartheid

The law of exclusions and separations inverted after 1994 to promote the coming together of all people regardless of class, wealth or skin colour. In Johannesburg which had experienced perhaps the greatest amount of trauma in the clashes between the two old systems of politics, it was plain to see that to become unified as one city under the same new constitution, steps would have to be taken in order for people to become a new homogenous community. This process of assimilation is inevitably not simple. Architecture and planning aimed to connect together a splintered city and stitch together the segregated communities. However, the legacy of spatial planning acted as ‘an obstacle to dreams of beginning anew’⁸ as did the tensions which existed and could be freely expressed and faced between people.

‘The unknown, the far-off, dangerous but not inaccessible, were stimulants at once, and inextricably, to curiosity, imagination and thought. ...The Greek city did not exorcise the forces of the underworld; rather, it rose above them and so surmounted them.’⁹

Once the oppressive politics had been repealed, the city had to believe in a unity composed of differences. What was needed was to be acceptant of the hierarchical and spatial dynamic. Space in the inner city no longer held the same representation.

Liberated space: Getting Over Segregation

The legal barriers started to dissolve as early as 1986 when the government announced the end of urban influx controls. The liberation of legal divisions between people allowed for an equalising of the relationship to the metropolis as a site of insecurity and instability. It raised questions as to how black people would inhabit their new freedom in the previously banned areas of the city.

The urban image has undergone a shift since the removal of legally enforced segregation with many poor blacks moving from the townships into the central business district. The black poor have laid new claim to the public spaces of the street and squares in search of better prospects. In response, there has been a trend of affluent whites along with the businesses they work for leaving the centre to relocate into fortified spaces on the periphery in the northern suburbs. People dwell in contemporary Johannesburg by appropriating an

8 Murray, Taming the Disorderly City, 2008, p63

9 Lefebvre, Production of Space, p247

existing system whether in the security enclaves, the northern suburbs or the sprawling informal settlements¹⁰ surrounding the periphery. People's claim to space becomes blurred. The public space of road junctions, streets, parks and pavements has become accommodated in 'overlapping and messy ways'¹¹.



Fig 51& 52. Inner city regeneration zone.

This liberated space has been accommodated in such a way that it fuels the notion of the decline of the Central Business District (CBD), something ultimately due to the commercial businesses fleeing northwards. Poor black people inhabit park spaces with braziers and camp fires, while pavements are swamped with hawkers, tailors, hairdressers and taxis take ownership of the road network. New malls were built in areas which became social hubs for the wealthy white and growing wealthy black population. Centres such as Rosebank, Eastgate, Cresta, Melrose Arch became the new commercial hubs, while Sandton became a second CBD to rival the original. Most commercial retail is centred around these malls making it almost unavoidable to experience one in a weekly routine. For the positivist, the malls are seen as a problem due to their strength at drawing people away from the centre of a city, but provide favourable economic outcomes for the areas they are situated in.¹² 'The social impact of a mall can be tremendous' states Brambilla as it attracts people from different ages and backgrounds, not least because it mixes together white and black. Although there are few malls which achieve this, the invisibility of security and greater tolerance for the black poor at the Rosebank Mall creates an environment where such integration exists.¹³

The 'white flight' from the centre changed the face of one of the most fashionable white districts under apartheid. Hillbrow is seen as the epitome of the decline of the inner city for whites. Its worst cliché is 'a skin-crawling glimpse of urban gangrene'¹⁴. Whilst the city's townships residents live in crowded and poor living conditions, Hillbrow's rapid decline and urban decay is resented by onlookers as well as its own residents.

10 Definitions of settlement informality tend to focus on the visible, the informal settlements which are labelled with various terms; informal housing, shanty towns, shack-lands, squatter camps, favelas and slums. With the exception of 'favela', all these terms are applied in South Africa, with the addition of localized terms such as 'mekuku' in Gauteng and the northern provinces. 'Hokke', is the name given by Afrikaans-speaking residents in the Western Cape to informal settlement in the meaning 'chicken or livestock-pens'. These localised terms describe the actual informal structures, the shacks and in their plural refer to entire settlements.

11 Bremner, Johannesburg : One City Colliding Worlds, 2004, p21

12 Brambilla & Longo, For Pedestrians Only, Planning, Design, and Management of Traffic Free Zones, 1977, p8

13 Nuttal, Elusive Metropolis, p95

14 Canvas Life, Newspaper - Saturday Star, November 22 2008, 'Urban decay in Joburg's Bronx creates a living Paradox' 'How did Hillbrow go from chic to slum in just 17 years? asks Justine Gerady p1

Fearful Community and the Insecure Street

Johannesburg is a city which is still finding an identity for itself. Its government and cultural establishments are trying to prove, not only to the outside world that they have created a 'world class city,' but to themselves that they are integrated and the communities can live harmoniously.

In the area of Parktown where I stayed, I would echo the sentiments of Vladislavić in his description that a stranger arriving to the area would

*'think it had been struck by some calamity, that every last person had fled. There is no sign of life. Behind walls, the houses are ticking bombs. The curtains are drawn tight, the security lights are glaring, the gates bolted. Even the cars have taken cover.'*¹⁵

While the rich white hide, those who live with a more relaxed frame of mind in the townships (where there are similar levels of violent crime) enjoy the ability to upgrade their homes with more permeable fences and boundaries and allow for aesthetic improvements with garden spaces on the public side of their homes. The quantity of the social interaction in townships far surpasses that of the gated white communities due to an openness alongside proximity. As Bremner writes about people in the Kilptown township;

*'Life is lived on the street as much as possible...[people] walk the streets, talking gambling, shopping; they meet outside Lucky's Shoe Repairs or the sangoma's shop to gossip; they wash or rebuild cars...the typical Kliptown front stoep doubles as a living room, complete with sofas and orange crate seating... Hospitality is a celebration of the neighbourhood 'superfamily'.'*¹⁶

This way of life is typical of the multilayered communal experience many white and affluent South Africans have secured themselves away from.

As in Israel, where upwardly mobile groups seek a 'quality of life' which they find in gated or controlled communities which protect them from 'undesirables'¹⁷, Johannesburg's middle classes rush to sequester themselves behind high walls and fences. Here separateness goes beyond race. Black or white, the 'modus operandi [has] a similar effect on everyone...[- having] little to do with [one's] neighbours.'¹⁸ Among the

15 Vladislavić, 2006, p50

16 Bremner, 2001, p105

17 A Civilian Occupation, The Politics of Israeli Architecture, Edited by Rafi Segal, Eyal Weizman, p36

18 Jürgens, Gnad and Bähr, 2003 in Bremner, One City Colliding Worlds. p43

population a 'climate of fear has spread'¹⁹ because of their vulnerability as those with money and power, symbolic of the oppressors under apartheid. The creation of more and more periphery neighbourhoods kept 'secure' behind guarded entrances has perhaps sought to remedy the separateness which detached dwellings have exacerbated. Whilst detached dwellings are exclusive, houses within gated communities are without high garden walls allowing visibility to their neighbours. Being inclusive creates trust between the members of each residence and facilitates for a small community.

New gated communities are nevertheless still faced with the problem of the enclosing wall. The wall historically has provided those within its confines with elemental security from the wind, rain and cold²⁰. If privacy is culturally determined, what may appear overcrowding to one is agreeable sociability to another. This distinction can be clearly seen in the different nature, albeit conditioned by wealth, of the different classes in Johannesburg. Township settlements were built without perimeter fences and guards and houses were not walled off from their neighbours. However, each house in its plot of land became surrounded by multiple other homes. The resultant high density allowed for a permeability between families.

To a novice visitor, Johannesburg and its endless streets of houses hidden from view by walls, fences and hedges with the obligatory barbed wire and spikes evokes similar negative sensations, since walls produce and reflect fear as well as security²¹. Responses to enclosing people behind a wall evokes deep unease and derision in the West. Examples such as the boundary between the United States and Mexico, or between the West Bank Palestinians and Israelis evokes memories of the Berlin Wall and its effect. However, it has its heritage in European settlements and the first enclosed prison and fort in Johannesburg was of European import and construction.

*'Fear... relies to a large extent on subjective experiences and perceptions; and...fear can become a self-fulfilling prophecy.'*²²

The affluent paranoia has created a typology of separated gated communities and similar shopping malls, office complexes and recreational citadels. The land which these structures close off becomes dead space and is left to deteriorate.

19 Emerging Johannesburg : perspectives on the post-apartheid city, edited by Richard Tomlinson ... [et al.], New York: Routledge, 2003, p63

20 Marcuse, Peter. Walls of Fear and Walls of Support, Architecture of Fear, Edited by Nan Ellin, Princeton Architectural Press, 1997, p101

21 Marcuse, 1997, p102

22 Body-Gendrot, Sophie, Confronting Fear, The Endless City, Phaidon, p355

The Language of Belonging

The Afrikaans label of 'Bantu' set up an exclusionary metaphor for people of colour. The new rainbow state, aware of the unfavourable connotations of past lexicon, has had trouble dispelling the historical baggage which has been left behind after apartheid. Now with eleven official languages, South Africa has needed to be acceptant of all, but provide unification at the same time. English has become the dominant language and allows for a common communication. It holds none of the symbolism of Afrikaans which under apartheid had provoked rioting when it was enforced as tuition in non-white schools. Names of streets and buildings have been deliberately changed to erase any memory to the apartheid era. The name of the city's international airport for instance shows the indefatigable length the political authority will go to create a world which empowers the majority.¹

Planning Urban networks

Designed and planned in a period in which Western cities were in a transition from a compact commercial city to new industrial metropolis' with a strong core and residential suburbs², Johannesburg had the ability to proceed in tandem with its Western counterparts but with much less contextual restraint and existing infrastructure obstacles other than the reef. The allowance for sprawl and low density suburbia was without restraint. In the current form, road networks are insufficient to handle the volumes of commuters each morning travelling to their islands of work. While the Western cities homogenised disconnected islands of infrastructure into standardised road, waste, water, energy and communications grids³, Johannesburg is still fighting a battle to make this reality. It is the commercial hubs in the suburbs that act as centres from which development prioritises itself.

Networks of road systems also become infected with the territory of commodity aimed at the affluent. On any planning application granted for change of use, extension or small alteration, automatically grants permission for the erection of advertising hoardings on a building. Businesses adjacent to roads sell space and commodify the visual space along streets and motorways. The experience of driving becomes less liberating. The open

1 Palmietfontein International Airport was Johannesburg's first airport and began operating in 1945. It was renamed Jan Smuts International Airport in 1952 two years after the death of the statesman. It was quickly renamed Johannesburg International Airport in 1994 under the post apartheid government policy of not naming airports after politicians. The policy was however reversed later, and the airport renamed again in 2006 after Oliver Tambo, the former President of the African National Congress (ANC).

2 Splintering Urbanism, p40

3 Ibid, p41

road becomes a closed space of commodities and products. 'The boundary is a moment as well as a space of commodification, a thought as well as a material presence, a body as well as an object.'⁴

A network of communication is seen everywhere throughout both rich and poor environments. In the technological era, people without transportation, obtain virtual mobility through use of a cell phone. The telephone is claimed to be a 'harbinger of modernity'⁵, and certainly it has become one of the prime fragments of commerce which has filtered into the township and slum areas. The communicative ability to connect people into an invisible network, bridges any spatial divisions and makes accessible the entire metropolis through proxy. Simpler and cheaper to obtain than the internet, it is no longer the preserve of the elite.

The aerial photograph and the panoramic from the tops of hills or skyscrapers serves to show the city as an entity, separate from the human life and which opens up the question of the relationship between the self and an abstract concept of the city. David Nye see these views as miniaturising the city and making it into a pattern⁶. Views such as these as well as images produced by cartographers and urban planners produced an imagined holism of the city. These cognitive maps assist planning strategies and architecture to construct for the city.

4 Borden. Thick Edge, InterSections, p239

5 Splintering Urbanism p47

6 Nye, David. 1997, p181 in Splintering Urbanism p47

Current climate/Political influences

The city authority provide many documents outlining its spatial strategy. It states that ‘the department is fully cognisant of the role it is expected to play in crafting a long term spatial vision for the city.’⁷ To this end their intentions are to ‘upgrade’ areas with a focus on improving communities with better services and infrastructure. A recognition of ‘marginalised’ areas in Soweto is made, and the trajectory is still clear; formalise the informal or relocate whatever is left. ‘Vibrant community living spaces’ are sought. It would seem that money invested into planning of the architecture is the solution for the authority. However, the structure of the landscape is only half the story. Architecture creates the basis upon which the potential of a community is realised. Agamben’s ideas of the potentiality of a community, that people become a community rather than being inherent in a community is noteworthy here to facilitate getting over apartheid.

‘The department is aware of the need to confront the duality which continues to characterise the city’⁸ but how should they go about confronting this duality? There is no talk of designing in or within the duality, only further assertions towards a removal of differences.

Legal Water

Streams of water produce and convey a disjunction in their separate uses. The affluent suburbs, already serviced by water pipes, have allowed them to be claimed and used in the context for golf courses, open only to those with the ability to pay fees to enter the enclosed zone. For those at the other end of the scale, they provide the essential water for life. At the beginning of the city water was scarce and provision had to be made to allow residents to access it. This collective domination over the commodity helped unify the first settlers. However in getting over apartheid, water became an issue of separateness as it was controlled by a corporation who had a liberal and capitalist attitude to the provision of basic services. Water fundamentally affects life and so affects the ability to dwell. For the poor, this ultimately has a link to their territory. One of the most important legal victories over apartheid came in early 2008 when Judge M.P. Tsoka ruled against the City of Johannesburg and Johannesburg Water (Pty) Ltd (a publicly owned water corporation) who forcibly installed prepaid water metres in Phiri, an area in Soweto in March 2004. Previously having unlimited water for a flat rate fee, the imposition of standpipes (outside yard taps) or prepaid meters, meant that water could only be received through payment or be completely cut off. The judge went beyond the legal points to recognise the racial, class, administrative and gender-based discrimination which underlay the City of Johannesburg’s water policy.

7 Chapter 8, Spatial Form and Urban Management, , p227 at <http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/2527/114/>

8 Chapter 8, Spatial Form & Urban Management, p 227



Figs 53 - 58. Stills from Louis Theroux's Law and Disorder in Johannesburg showing; 'Red ants' so called for their red uniforms entering an apartment block to evict the residents in the early morning; A vigilante who works in an area of Hillbrow protecting buildings from other crime gangs; and another rural vigilante paid to 'teach criminals a lesson', who has the final words of the program: 'Tell me what are we going to do after that?'



Fig 59. With the grand hotels and banks of Sandton on the horizon, the township of Alexandra sprawls around the perimeter of the new business district. 2008

F. Over and Under Apartheid

Separate in the Togetherness

It seems human nature is deeply ingrained in the system of classifying people within the framework of sameness and difference. Regardless of the political system at play, people seem to invariably group together in terms of similarity and exclude for difference. At the points where one sees a squatter camp in close proximity to a high rise hotel, the symbolism of a schism and discontinuity creates a feeling of shock due to the extraordinary condition. If one wanted to interpret this picture as a community, it would be seen as a diagram of separateness. As much as these obvious physical manifestations of separateness still exist and despite a politic which tries to encourage togetherness, separateness is woven in and out of life and the urban fabric of the city. Johannesburg still experiences reverberations of 'separateness' while trying to get 'over' it.

Under apartheid, the politic provided a territory in the centre of the city which was exclusive for whites. Once the politic broke down, they have been left to try and find their own territory which can remain exclusively theirs. Rather than employing a political system, affluent households, territorialise their claimed land with a distinct physical boundary protected by a guard.

The plan for the wealthy is to focus on the exclusion of unwanted persons rather than focusing on the apprehension of law breakers. It may be seen as the same tactic being played out as under the apartheid segregation. Private guards outnumber the police in the city 5:1 so much so that they are called up to assist the police when needed. Private guards are scattered across the northern suburbs and exist in unassuming wooden sheds which are fitted out with lights, a seat and often kettles and radios. Patrolling on foot or on bikes they are employed on each street, the cost of which is split between households according to means and distance from the hut. Since a guard is permanently on the street, in my experience it seemed that the residents would generally have more interaction with the guard than each other.

Affluent households have seen a trend of a diminishing number of domestic workers since the end of apartheid, especially the number who are resident inside the walls of the home. A link to a person who commutes from a dangerous township or who has family there helps alienate the rich from the poor. Nevertheless those who still employ housekeepers state the high unemployment rate as their reason rather than the need for home help.

Fear is generated around the notion of the criminal and as a consequence this affects the lived space of everyone in the city. The criminal is a figure who embodies this created tension. Often a figure who commits crime is known to the victim; a husband, friend, neighbour, colleague or worker most of the time. He exists in the

tension between the familiar and the unknown.⁹ The familiar becomes fragmented from the unknown and causes a life dominated by isolation and technological security: fences, walls, barbed wire, security cameras, panic buttons, automatic gates and locks. The notion that a simple demarcation of a boundary will solve all their worries is short sighted. As it is said that ‘we require just a little order to protect us from chaos’¹⁰, the dangers of these enclosed spaces are overlooked. Walls are always able to be breached, as are intercoms and gates. Once inside, a criminal then exists in a territory which, except for a panic button, is protected from outside help and neighbourly vigilance. The lifestyle for the innocent becomes restricted within their territory while the criminals have access to everywhere in between and often everywhere else. This territorialisation of home creates a world protected and insular, to the extent that perceived tensions between next door neighbours are created. The methods of enclosure and protection employed can only symbolise not a longing for inclusion but disengagement from their community and ‘segregation’ from each other.

New architectural construction reflects a city torn between getting over and still being under the influence of separateness. One such example is ‘Melrose Arch’ - a new mixed use development which has modelled itself on a European typology of a central square. A pedestrianised plaza links restaurants and bars next to an open shopping street. In the built up buildings which surround the square and above the commercial businesses are up-market apartments and offices. It also includes a theatre, health club and car showroom within the complex. The area was built with the intention of being a germinating force for the area, creating a space which would be open and fluid to the surrounding streets and help people come together regardless of their background. However being aimed at those with enough money to afford the ‘classy, secure and homogenous’ lifestyle, it attracts and is exclusive to only those who can afford it. Although it has a bus route running through it, its perimeter is still enclosed by a fence and has a guarded entry point. The site architect claims that ‘should the security situation change we will pull down the perimeter fence and connect back into the surrounding fabric’¹¹. He also signals the development’s separateness by stating that it ‘aims to become part of the city. [my italics]’. This example, with intentions of homogenising people in the city still is an exclusionary dynamic which continues to echo through the architectural systems in Johannesburg.

9 Mbembe and Nuttal: 2008, p23

10 Deleuze and Guattari, 1994, 201, quoted from Ballantyne, Andrew. Deleuze and Guattari for Architects, 2007

11 Graham Wilson, Site Architect, quoted in Bremner, 200, p124

Grey space / (Im)migration

Johannesburg is caught in a battle between people with and without authority, but all of whom have the ability to transform the spatial landscape. It can be argued that both groups, the liberated but discontented black poor and the fearful white rich have created overlapping spatial landscapes. However, not just racially, but also the modes of living are split into three categories. Grey space exists in between the rich, cocooned behind fixed barricades, and the poor who are mobile and fluid, open to filter through and accommodate edges of roads, alleys and forgotten buildings. Into this grey mix have come Africans from all over the continent who set up their own spatial logic and form gangs. The 'grey' areas could firstly be labelled as a mixture of black and white races, but also that space which is contested between the governable by the authority and that which is completely beyond control and neglected.

Former white neighbourhoods, most notably Hillbrow, have become crowded black ghettos and ruled over by gangs and hired vigilantes who in certain areas wield more control than the police. What were once the most sought after residencies in the city are now populated by Africans from across the continent who have set up their own enclaves of residency. A priest in the area openly states the reason behind the white flight - 'the

perception that wherever black people are in the predominance, there is fear.'¹ The flight of those with money has meant that the previously stylish cafes, restaurants and chain retailers have been replaced by fleshpits offering strip-shows, charismatic churches, spaza (informal township shops) style outlets selling blankets and mobile phone airtime, fake DVD's and haircuts. The area is very much still cosmopolitan and vibrant, with much activity and social interaction occurring on foot in the streets between ruinous apartment blocks. Whilst under construction in the fifties, the area would 'surprise'² due to its mixture of bold and bland modernist consistency. It was built 'devoid of social space' and with streets in 'deep shadow'³ which now seems to aid the symbolism of place 'considered little better than [an] urban slum.'⁴

Murray describes the chaotic disorder of the interstitial spaces - land excluded from the view of the 'globalised villages' as 'the real city' (my emphasis). He seems to suggest that the non manufactured nature of the chaos has more legitimacy than the city planners' emasculated attempts at structuring the landscape. By logical contrast therefore, the system which distributes and imposes its popularised order, conforming to the notions of ownership and therefore working to a capitalist agenda is unreal. Both forms

1 Father Sean von Lillienfeld, Cathedral of Christ the King, 63, resident since 1970. Saturday Star Newspaper, Nov 22 2008

2 Chipkin, Johannesburg Style, 1993, p228

3 Idem

4 The Joburg Book, A guide to the city's history, people and places, edited by Nechama Brodie, 2008, p156

of reality, I would argue, make Johannesburg exactly what it is. Authorities attempt to hide and eradicate the degradation and pollution and try to force the squalor to the places outside its boundaries and to the margins. The attitude of whites under apartheid was to shut their eyes to the problem of inequality, and this system has continued in the new Johannesburg. Without an acceptance that the 'real' and the 'unreal' both make the city and provide its spatial dynamic, work will continue to fragment rather than allow the worlds to exist harmoniously.

Grey areas of the borderlands exist in the problematic spaces which have questionable boundaries. For instance, landowners living on the fringes near to squatter camps have taken to secretly subdividing their plot for the homeless to live on for high rent prices. This is classed as 'shack farming' and causes the authorities to worry about the lack of provision of services (such as water and waste) and leaves them powerless to evict the squatters. Declining price of land near to these shack farms declines and so the neighbouring owners take a similar approach. The squatters take this option out of need, yet while it gives them the recognition of a home of their own, they still exist in between the jurisdiction of the land's owner and the legal authority. Do the squatters' borders exist around the community of similar squatters or are they a part of the owners farm land? The farmers and the legally defined border also gets blurred and it has an effect on neighbouring properties.

The frontiers of these zones can be disturbed or shifted through the use of transportation throughout the city. The car which gives identity to the upwardly mobile, facilitates movements and therefore encounters in the city. Just as in other cities, the individual is enabled to live by a greater means as their proximity to services is made redundant space. Time is also overcome, for without the use of cars, nightlife in the city would be almost impossible. Traversing the city in this way reflects the still separate nature of the people from each other, and the places of commodity and cultural pursuits; most theatres, parks and night-clubs have their own parking either underneath or next door. While traversing the boundaries between black and white zones, the car in Johannesburg is seen as a public space which actually enhances interaction between people, rather than privatising the motorist's space.⁵ This community around the vehicle is, as Livermon states, due to the sounds of horns, human voices, and in particular music which enables connection between people. Music from a car draws the attention to the driver, giving them a sense of identity and affecting the social perception of them in the space.

Residual space / Indistinct zones

The city is made up of Agamben's 'sites of indistinction'⁶; those sites which are between public and private; brothels, empty, decaying tenements and inner city neighbourhoods where drug lords and crime gangs operate, and not least the informal settlements on the city's fringes. Interspersed and contrasting against these are the stylish and fashionable Malls, International Airport, The Apartheid Museum, Melrose Arch and Monte Casino entertainment resorts.

'The interstitial spaces of urban banality that constitute the disfigured city are easily forgotten and dismissed...'⁷ states Murray. I would hesitate to agree that they are forgotten as it would seem all methods employed to create distinct figured space is a positive rejection of becoming or integrating with these indistinct places. Prominence is given to the sites of glorified urban construction, and these in turn consciously create boundaries which set up further interstitial spaces. People cannot avoid to pass by these spaces in their travels around the city as most protected enclaves are adjacent to these spaces, and so people cannot be oblivious to them but choose to avoid experiencing the grim reality of them.

*'Just like other cities, the urban landscape of Johannesburg is liberally littered with its unacknowledged nobodies and nowheres.'*⁸

Utilitarian spaces in the centre are appropriated by the black homeless. 'Street people' as they were informally known to others, used the spaces below iron covers to water mains meters in the street to house their wardrobes, bedding and food. The people who live their lives in public made private these stores for their goods. There is a 'maze of mysterious spaces underfoot'⁹ which the affluent with their houses with cupboards could not understand or participate in.

Displacements

It can be argued that the people in Johannesburg live a constant life of tension as the possibility of displacement is high. This is a fear which bridges the wealth divide. Whilst crime is an acknowledged problem, both areas are also under threat from municipal programs of development and improvement (such as in Rosebank), or in the drive to formalise 'informal settlements'. In the latter, eradication of the disordered landscape of shacks is replaced by much lower density, serviced housing within a regular street grid. Lower

6 Agamben, Homo Sacre, p170
7 Murray, Martin J., Taming the Disorderly City p45
8 Ibid, p120
9 Vladislavić, 2006, p46

densities ultimately mean a large proportion of an original community becoming displaced.

Forced evictions still occur in inner city areas in a process where 'hijacked'¹⁰ tower blocks often see the police involved with private firms (Land Invasions Units) forcibly evicting people and their belongings into the streets with no provision for relocation. In the process of hijacking a building, residents with or without conscious knowledge undergo a swift process of becoming illegal. Unsurprisingly, evictees from informal settlements are able to relocate to the fringes and increase the size of periphery squatter settlements (simply dissipating the imagined problem), since unlike other cities such as Durban and Cape Town, Johannesburg's authority has no legal and forceful tools to prevent the re-emergence of slums.

At times of forced evictions, police are required to separate any crowds to avoid the possibility of rioting. The force and emotional power contained within the collective creates a fear in the authority. However from the other perspective it is perhaps fear which motivates the collective force. The temporal nature of dwelling would turn fear into anger at the point where a sudden eviction occurs. People, the 'bantus', and the individual, would become acutely aware of their presence as an insignificant object in a larger dynamic of city governance. The state alienates people from the belief that they act as their benefactor and protector through the event of forced evictions and the inability to cope with either the housing or job demand. The continual displacement, not just physical, but psychological and temporal leaves the individual to form small collectives of people in the same position or form armies of resistance.

10 Hijacking of tower blocks involves gangs of people forcing people to pay them rent, rather than the legal owners. In return, the residents are promised protection.

Shacks and Towers

Half a city is vanishing behind walls. The other half is vanishing in between. The high rise buildings in Johannesburg have taken to incorporating all daily services within one complex. The process of self sufficiency disconnects the workers from the city world outside, internalising their relationship with the city community. The Absa bank's three office towers in the centre are linked and provide atria with an art gallery, 'Spar' shop, hardware store, hairdresser, gym, canteen and coffee shop, all of which create a cocoon which '[avoids] altogether the chaotic, threatening, multicultural muddle around it'¹.

One is reminded of modernist strategies similar to the Plan Voisin for Paris (1925) by Le Corbusier where instability could be resolved by collective living in tower blocks and a distinct separation between transportation and residential and work place. Towers become their own cities within the city, or rather, dissipate the image of the city. Some even affix 'city' suffix to enhance the self sustainability. 'Ponte City' a residential tower now operates habitation like a prison. Guards at the entrance rotate so as not to become too familiar with residents. The system also enforces immediate evictions should anyone fail to keep up with the rent. The high security system involves as ID card entry and the result is life in a high value apartment. However, Ponte City is most famous for its 'Vodacom' advertising branding around the top, further instilling the liberal, material world out over the skyline.

1 Bremner, One City Colliding Worlds, 2004. p55

Atypical Territory

Residential Improvement Districts have been set up by the government and enthusiastically broadcast as a solution to the urban decay of the city. They allow municipal authorities to give private property owners the power over island-like districts in the city which they then invest in for the purpose of generating profit. Whilst they generate improved housing and commercial zones, they reinforce the separation between the right of the citizen to their own home in the metropolis by highlighting it as a commodity for sale. Another spatial fascination is the emerging number of home businesses which operate within converted residential homes. The distinction between commercial zone and residential zone is blurred. One visits these businesses via parking in a driveway and having to use an intercom to a house with barely a recognisable advertising appendage added. These businesses allow for a favourable neighbourhood situation removed from the sterility of mall complexes and aim for anonymity within the neighbourhood. Business becomes dispersed from the central commercial hubs, yet the experience of walking into a modified house complete with suited employees, outside swimming pool and dog is surreal.

‘Georg Simmel noted that social and urban boundaries make social orders more concrete, more intensely experienced and clarify conflictual relations.’² Simmel argued that boundaries form in between and because of sociological elements rather than the inverse. The distinctions between spatial zoning could be seen to be the manifestation of the separateness we experience in ourselves. Nevertheless it is impossible to just see the gold reef as something which only makes divisions more substantial without having orchestrated them in the first instance.

G. Conclusion

Simultaneously in a state of public and private, togetherness and separateness, Johannesburg is a city of many different faces and can never be truly grasped in its entirety as a stable whole. As a city with a memory and spatial legacy of segregation and class division, it is both a deluxe playground and a wasteland for the rich and poor.

*'Part of our human condition is the inevitable yearning to capture reality through metaphor. Such is true knowledge, ambiguous yet ultimately more relevant than scientific truth. And architecture, no matter how much it resists the idea, cannot renounce its origins in intuition.'*³

Intuition has led to the city of walls and impersonal barbed wire we see today. The feelings of security are always perceived as positive, whether walking around a mall or inside a house fortification. However the main reason for these pleasing feelings is that it allows one to momentarily escape a world which acknowledges separateness. The logic which continues to expand Johannesburg is one which persists at asserting togetherness while constructing for separateness. Even models such as Melrose Arch are well intentioned but are caught within the system of exclusive security. There is no definitive solution (indeed there cannot be a definitive direction), but ignorance and a construction of a partitioned world, one which frightens and comforts can never hope to obtain a holistic unity. Hearing a self made security vigilante asks Louis Theroux,⁴ "what can we do?" to act against crime in Johannesburg, the response of 'build a higher fence?' is too immediate to be thoughtful, and highlights the reactionary response of fear. The last words are a repetition of the question "what are we going to do after that?" leaving the answers to thought in the black out rather than words. Intuitive architecture speaks to the body more than a positivistic or technological solution.

Like Rowe's assertion that Paris was to become a museum of habitable exhibition of the greatness of the French nation under Napoleon I⁵, Johannesburg can always be viewed as a collection of instances which inform the resident and the visitor to the state of tension in the socio-geographical and architectural landscape, regardless if intentioned by, or resultant of the forces at play. Ultimately, the city can never be completely confined within a specific set of circumstances. Johannesburg seems far from a city like any other, but if considering Calvino's approach which is to say that all cities are one and the same, then one could trace their own memories and experiences to understand 'samenesses' and differences in the city as their own

3 Pérez-Gómez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science*, 1983, p326

4 Louis Theroux's *Law and Disorder in Johannesburg*, BBC television production, December 2008

5 Rowe, *Collage City*, p126

mental museum.

While an aerial photo may allude to a connected city, the world for each person is an archipelago of lived experiences. The history of Johannesburg is fuelled by a certain system. One which led planners to create too tight street blocks in an geometric grid pattern, to place boundaries forcing houses to turn their back on each other, left the legacy of poor and immigrants living in the periphery. People's human traits serve to heighten these tensions, and have taken steps to create dwellings to their own individualistic ends.

The conclusion may be that this system needs to play itself out to an end, or that it will continue in its over and under fashion. Does the future need to be predicted and does architecture need to be a force to change this to a certain goal? What should this goal be if so? My position is that whilst the chaotic environment is acknowledged as either good or bad, architecture should respond to....

*'the very thing that renders the landscape 'Biblical' [for those in Israel] - its traditional inhabitation and cultivation in terraces...is produced by the Palestinians, whom the Jewish settlers came to replace.'*⁶

The similar paradox in Johannesburg is of a territory whose identity has inverted. Without religious ownership rights to the land, but notions of equal claim to the city, people who inhabit and work in the city are still separate on the streets and in the towers. The inner city symbolised the forbidden land which became a shell for the non-whites once it was obtained. It was an illusion that the landscape would be the same after a change of ownership.

*'Almost symmetrically around the axis of 1994, the city has constructed new definitions of place, replacing the old race based solutions with new boundaries, identities and enclosures.'*⁷

An exploration into the 'separatenesses' which exists in the city does not exhaust the discussion on how the metropolis is experienced, but does enhance our reading of the urban condition. The city inscribes these 'separatenesses' of people into the architecture. Jean Luc-Nancy clearly defines the realms in which I have worked; that in discussing a continuation of separateness, I have not intended to promote an attitude towards a greater mixing of dialectical purity; a non-existent "praise of mixture".⁸ For architecture, there can be no 'happy medium'. Separateness has always existed, is past, present and will exist in the future. The 'mixture'

6 Rafi Segal, Eyal Weizman p92

7 Bremner, Johannesburg: One City Colliding Worlds, p24

8 Nancy, J-L. A Finite Thinking, 2003, p280

seen in Johannesburg, is said to be either ‘an accomplished osmosis’ or an ‘achieved disorder’⁹ but perhaps should rather be seen as a continuously active phenomenon; that of the ‘melee’¹⁰. There exists an incessant mix up between people and architectural space. The city comprises of a co-existence between all its parts. Its destiny as defined by its leaders is on a different scale to that of the individual. Both destinies interact and affect the outcome of the other. Ultimately architecture, as a formal representation, and accessory to these destinies, should not be formed a priori but concurrently with the contextual forces which are at play.

Apartheid is evanescent but separateness is incessant

‘Today, going down Commissioner into the high-rise heart of the city, I am reminded that here we are all still prospectors, with a digger’s claim on the earth beneath our feet.... Here and there chunks of tar have broken loose and rusted steel glimmers in the roadbed. The tramlines, tarred over in the early sixties, coming back to the surface.’¹¹

Like a house of playing cards, regardless of the placement of suits, colours and values, the whole structure of Johannesburg is in a delicate set of tensions. The historic base cannot be modified and so the top levels of cards must be repositioned and arranged to keep everything as balanced as possible. The reoccurrence of the tramlines symbolises the ever reverberating issue of history which will persistently show itself as the knitted fabric of the city.

The future of the city is ‘immanent in the past’ affected by the reverberations of the gold reef, the political history and systems of architecture. One must recognise how the contemporary state of Johannesburg is a fading reflection of its history but which also holds the knowledge of what the future will be. One cannot argue for a future which tries to realise a form of utopia, as this ideal is what has ultimately been shown to fail across all modern cities, leaving them in a state of perpetual longing and incompleteness. Coming to terms with the knowledge that architectural design is always conditioned by, and in dialogue with the unpredictable, should leave us to think only ‘a melee’¹², aggregating all the fragments.

9 Ibid, p281

10 Nancy, 2003, pp281-283

11 Vladislavić, Ivan. Portrait with Keys, The City of Johannesburg Unlocked, Portobello Books, 2006, p56

12 Nancy, 2003, p286

The architecture of the temporal landscape of Johannesburg becomes a reflection of the reality. Aldo Rossi suggests the form of architecture derives from a synthesis of the character of a city's history and of its society. Architecture cannot be seen or studied in isolation without all of its contextual trappings.

‘...throughout its complex historical path, its constitution and definition as a discipline, architecture is identified with the city and cannot be defined without the city.’¹³

Apartheid planning segregated, fragmented and dispersed. Over apartheid, architecture connects and centralises. Architecture is a tool to facilitate a movement towards cohesion. However, a human society which is driven to separate between people and things has shown the city's separatenesses to not only be skin deep, but woven into the fabric of life. It is both over the separateness of apartheid, but still under its legacy and the separateness inherent in Being. Architecture cannot dictate against a certain mode of human action, it can only be a responsive formal project. The difficult questions are; ‘to what end does architecture work and with which influences and conditions?’ and ‘can a new urban democracy live in separateness? Perhaps in the era of reconciliation in Johannesburg, an understanding and acceptance of these separatenesses will have most benefit.

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Media

Louis Theroux's Law and Disorder in Johannesburg, Broadcast Tuesday 30 December 2008, 01:25, BBC One

I. Appendix

Constitutional Reforms

1913 Native Land Act 27

1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Act 21

Gave the local authorities the responsibility to provide housing for black workers in urban areas. In Johannesburg the task was given to the 'Native Affairs Department'.

1924 Urban Areas Act (repealed)

1927 Native Urban Areas Act (repealed)

1936 Native Trust and Land Act 18

1945 Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 25

1923 Native (Black) Urban Areas Act No 21: Made each local authority responsible for the blacks in its area. Native advisory boards regulated influx control and removed "surplus" people, i.e. those who were not employed in the area. The country was divided into prescribed (urban) and non-prescribed areas, movement between the two being strictly controlled. This Act was consolidated by the 1945 Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

1950 Group Areas Act 41

1950 Population Registration Act 30

1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (PISA)

Assisted by the Trespass Act in 1959, this prevented land invasions but migrants. Supreme Court decisions helped lessen the effects of an Act which was vigorously enforced, usually by ensuring that any forced evictions would only take place when suitable alternative accommodation or land was available for resettlement.

1953 Criminal Law Amendment Act 8

1953 Public Safety Act

1954 Natives Resettlement Act (repealed)

1976 Rent Controls Act

1984 Black Communities Development Act 25

1981 Cooperatives Act 91

1986 Sectional Titles Act 95

1988 Free Settlement Act 102

1991 Business Act 71

1991 Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act 112

30th June 1991, The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act (ARBLMA) provided for the repeal of most legislation in South Africa that restricted access to land and hence to the city, on the basis of racial

classification. It became legally possible for black and coloured South Africans to live in formerly exclusively white areas.

1993 Land Government Transition Act 209

1995 Development Facilitation Act 67

1995 Rental Housing Act 95

1996 Constitution Act 108

1997 Gauteng Residential Landlord and Tenant Act 3

1997 Housing Act 107

1998 Land Act 19

1998 Prevention of Illegal Eviction from an Unlawful Occupation of Land Act

1998 Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19

Constitution

Section 25 - Property

25. (1) No one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application, and no law may permit arbitrary deprivation of property.

(2) Property may be expropriated only in terms of law of general application -

(a) for a public purpose or in the public interest; and

(b) subject to compensation, the amount of which and the time and manner of payment of which have either been agreed to by those affected or decided or approved by a court.

(3) The amount of the compensation and the time and manner of payment must be just and equitable, reflecting an equitable balance between the public interest and the interests of those affected, having regard to all relevant circumstances, including -

(a) the current use of the property;

(b) the history of the acquisition and use of the property;

(c) the market value of the property;

(d) the extent of direct state investment and subsidy in the acquisition and beneficial capital improvement of the property; and

(e) the purpose of the expropriation.

(4) For the purposes of this section -

(a) the public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources; and

(b) property is not limited to land.

- (5) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis.
- (6) A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress.
- (7) A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress.
- (8) No provision of this section may impede the state from taking legislative and other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past racial discrimination, provided that any departure from the provisions of this section is in accordance with the provisions of section 36(1).
- (9) Parliament must enact the legislation referred to in subsection (6).

Part 26 - Housing

26. (1) Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.
- (2) The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right.
- (3) No one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions.

Spatial Development and Capital Investment Framework

The SDF's development strategies are aligned to, and informed by, the City's Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) and the respective sector plans. The founding principles of the SDF are the creation of a sustainable urban environment, increasing of the efficiency of the City's various components, and facilitating access to urban opportunities.

Sustainability:

- Responsible use of the City's natural resources;
- A sustainable rates base and financial model;
- Safe and secure urban environments through safety and design principles;
- Protection and conservation of the City's cultural heritage; and
- Sustainable economic growth and job creation.

Efficiency:

- An efficient and robust urban form and structure;
- Managed growth facilitated within the constraints of infrastructure provision; and
- An open space system that is citywide in extent, and interconnected.

Accessibility:

- Facilitating physical access to opportunities for all communities and citizens;
- Diversity of opportunities – economic, social and institutional - afforded by the City; and
- All modes of transport supporting good access to opportunities.

The re-structuring and re-engineering of the existing urban form and function of the whole city without defined direction and intervention will take generations. To accelerate the delivery of developments that support the SDF's principles of Sustainability, Accessibility and Efficiency, medium- and long-term objectives and strategies have been supplemented by specific instruments that are used on a daily basis to address recurring development issues, and assess the appropriateness of a development proposal or initiative. Further, these are supported by Capital Investment Programmes, which are detailed later in the CIF component of this chapter. These instruments inform potential investors, developers or communities of the expected approach to development to ensure that development supports and implements the identified strategies. There are seven key strategies in the SDF:

- Efficient movement system in the City;
 - Strong and viable development nodes;
 - Sustainable environmental management;
 - Corridor development;
 - Managing urban growth and delineating an urban development boundary;
 - Densification in strategic locations; and
- Facilitating sustainable housing environments.

The CIF is the implementation component of the IDP and the SDF, realising the goals and the objectives of the City. The CIF is an outcome of a joint initiative between the Development Planning Department and all service providers within the City (municipal entities and core internal departments). Without an effective implementation framework, the development principles and strategies of the SDF will remain grounded in theory and the likelihood of restructuring the City in line with the City's GDS is unlikely to be realised. The purpose of the CIF is to ensure the improvement and the management of the existing infrastructure by addressing the many developmental challenges within the City. The CIF indicates where Council should invest the capital budget for capital projects within a short to medium timeframe. It also translates a "wish list" of projects into a catalogue of strategies and projects collated from the municipal entities and core

departments. The purpose of the CIF is, therefore, to:

- Improve service delivery through infrastructure and services that are planned, delivered, upgraded or managed, in an objective and structured manner that supports the City's vision, growth and development strategy, and priorities;
- Prioritise projects and programmes through an information system;
- Direct future public and private investment;
- Strategically align capital budgets; and
- Identify types of infrastructure and services planning and implementation choices in a strategic manner that fulfils the City's developmental priorities.

The following section explores the SDF strategies in detail.

Architectural Representation of Johannesburg and its Constitution

Constitution Hill

Built on the site of an infamous Old Fort Prison complex where hundreds of thousands of prisoners were jailed from the early 1900's until 1983, the new constitutional court contains overt symbolism in its architecture which calls up the democratic principles of South Africa with formal gestures intended to evoke vernacular signage, architecture or emblems.

The old fort which was used by the Boers to control the foreigners who came to mine gold was then taken over by the British after their take over of the city in 1900, and became a place of Afrikaner humiliation. After the Anglo-Boer war, it reverted back into a prison (the original prison being built in 1892) which it remained until 1983 as a place of incarceration for non-whites who broke the laws which criminalised their existence under apartheid.

The multiple faces of this carceral space was the primary reason for its choice as the site for the court. It had to hold the history of the nation and represent that the new constitution was the consequence of a long and difficult struggle. It has always held metaphoric power for both whites and blacks. Situated in the middle of the city next to Hillbrow, once the up market, stylish modern high rise apartment block area, people could look down over the court and those inside. However, those whites would look but not 'see' those inside and like the prisoners being hidden behind the walls of the court from the city, they would also be overlooked by those in the neighbouring apartments. For blacks it symbolised a black hole in the city and the darkness of the segregation they experienced.



List of Images

All images taken by © Staszek Stuart-Thompson (2008) except where stated:

Fig 1. Window in black and white of the Constitutional Courts.

Fig 2. City of Gold with Mine dump -Walter Knirr - City of Johannesburg ©

Fig 3. City skyline - Walter Knirr - City of Johannesburg ©

Fig 4. Johannesburg, South Africa Central Johannesburg in Thunderstorm 27 Nov 2005, Image by © Jon Hicks/Corbis

Fig 5. The original triangular land (uitvalgrond) map. Source: Chipkin, 1993, p3

Fig 6. Map showing the early mining leases along the east-west reef as well as the boundaries of the surrounding Boer farms of Doornfontein, Braamfontein, Turf-fontein and Langlaagte. The original triangular land (uitvalgrond) is marked. Source: Chipkin, 1993, p3

Fig 7. Map of Johannesburg 1896 drawn by A.E Caplan. Source: Chipkin, 1993, p13

Fig 8. Map of Johannesburg, source: Bremner, 2004, p8

Fig 9. Map of Johannesburg showing the gold mines and quarries in black and the authority owned land in purple (i.e. industrial zones, most township land, and parkland. The major motorway and railway are also shown. Information from the City of Johannesburg website.

Fig 10. 01 Jan 1948, South Africa --- 1/1948-South Africa- Tools and timber stand ready in carts to be sent to any part of the mine where they are needed, in this view of the Sallies Gold Mine on the East Rand near Johannesburg. --- Image by © Bettmann/CORBIS

Fig 11. These six bars of gold are the product of the Randfontain Mines. They weighed 5,000 ounces, and were valued at \$100,000. 1935 - Image by © Underwood & Underwood/CORBIS

Fig 12. 26 Feb 1935, Crown Mine, Johannesburg, South Africa - Miners Dig With Shovels in Gold Mine - Image by © CORBIS

Fig 13. Individual hut built in a hidden dip, with a view of the skyline of Johannesburg in the background

Fig 14. Satellite image of Johannesburg courtesy of Google Maps.

Fig 15. 14 Jan 1955, Natives are required to carry passports. Here a policeman and an interpreter check the papers of a native bound for Johannesburg to spend six months working in the mines. Image by © Bettmann/CORBIS

Fig 16. Man sleeping next to a fence and a busy road.

Fig 17. Fence around house, Parkview

Fig 18. Wall and barbed wire in Soweto, Johannesburg

Fig 19. View over the rooftops at a gated settlement in Fourways, Johannesburg.

Fig 20. 1965 View of Meadowlands, Johannesburg, Aerial View of Township

Fig 21. Soweto, Aerial view of the northerly rim of new housing, looking eastwards. Goodman Collection,

Dept of Historical Papers, Wits University, Source: Chipkin, p216

Fig. 22. 1965 View of Meadowlands, Johannesburg, Aerial View of Township

Fig 23. Soweto, Aerial view of the northerly rim of new housing, looking eastwards

Fig 24. Schematic diagram of annexe for black housekeepers kept separate from main house.

Fig 25. 19 Apr 1994, Johannesburg, - Aerial view of reef, Image by © Brooks Kraft/Sygma/Corbis

Fig 26. 02 May 1970, Soweto. An African woman leaves a non-white toilet in Soweto, the sprawling African township on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Bold letters in English, Afrikaans and Tswana indicate for whose specific use the toilet was constructed. Image by © Bettmann/CORBIS

Fig 27. ca. 1950-1980, Johannesburg. A street vendor selling magazines in a northern suburb of Johannesburg, South Africa. Image by © Paul Almasy/CORBIS

Fig 28. 1984, Sandringham, Johannesburg. A South African woman stands behind her German shepherd guard dog who is leaping against the house's security gate. Increasing crime has raised fears in many throughout South African communities, such as this Johannesburg suburb of Sandringham. Image by © Gideon Mendel/CORBIS

Figs 28 -59 All referenced and taken by author.