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Matsipa, Mpho

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THE ORDER OF APPEARANCES

Urban Renewal in Johannesburg

By

Mpho Matsipa

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Nezar Alsayyad, Chair

Professor Greig Crysler

Professor Ananya Roy

Spring 2014

THE ORDER OF APPEARANCES
Urban Renewal in Johannesburg
Mpho Matsipa

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ABSTRACT

THE ORDER OF APPEARANCES
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By

Mpho Matsipa

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

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Professor Nezar Alsayyad, Chair

This dissertation explores the processes of urban renewal in 'post'-apartheid Johannesburg and the co-constitution of subjectivities therein. It is particularly concerned with how regimes of representation, embodied in public art projects, were enlisted in both the construction of national identity and the expansion of neo-liberal capitalist accumulation. By focusing on these representational practices, this study hopes to make a contribution to a broader understanding of how regimes of representation constitute a new domain of politics in post-apartheid Johannesburg. It also takes to heart critiques of the binary character of urban studies, in which African cities are circumscribed by development discourses alone. In so doing, it attempts to clear a conceptual and theoretical space that can hold in simultaneous view, contradictory and sometimes competing regimes of capital accumulation and regimes of representation in contemporary Johannesburg.

Chapter one provides a brief overview of the historical development of Johannesburg, in order to highlight key historical markers that are relevant to the discussion of representation in architecture, national identity and subject formation. Chapter Two provides a focus on how the public art program in Johannesburg emerged out a crisis of representation, and at a moment of democratization and neo-liberal restructuring. Chapter Three discusses how the transformation of the inner city into an outdoor art gallery, was linked to the privatization of public space and a desire to position Johannesburg in a global hierarchy of cities. Chapter Four explores the embodied experiences of privatization by informal traders. Chapter Five discusses the entanglement of cultural consumption and institutional violence as a new regime of governmentality.

Key Words: *urban renewal, nation-building, post-apartheid, race, representation, gender*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BASA	Business Arts South Africa
CID	City Improvement District
CJP	Central Johannesburg Partnership
CoHRE	Centre of Housing Rights and Evictions
CoJ	City of Johannesburg Municipality
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JICBC	Johannesburg Inner City Business Coalition
JMPD	Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department
MTC	Metropolitan Trading Company
SANTRA	South African National Traders Retail Alliance
SAITF	South African Informal Traders Forum
SERI	Social and Economic Rights Institute (South Africa)

EAVESDROPPING

Fig. 1.   Photo of hair-style advertising boards along Bree Street, Johannesburg, October 2012
Source: Authors Own

My hair is the only connection I have to the inner city.

Specialized services for black people, like hair dressing, were limited in the northern suburbs, where hair salons served a predominantly affluent white population, even though legalized residential segregation was coming to a close in the late-1980s. African townships and downtown Johannesburg, which had been one of the first areas in the broader city to desegregate in the mid-1980s, offered the largest variety of hair salons from which one could choose. Most of these salons were located in street-facing shop fronts close to high pedestrian movement areas or in malls - Small Street or the Carlton Centre basement shopping level in the city. During the de-regulation period, in the early 1990s, the inner city accommodated a large number of African women who braided hair on the street. The landscape of hair and beauty in the inner city had transformed over time, in ways that reflected shifting settlement and land-use patterns, increasing regional and international female migration as well as the transformations in black cultural and spatial practices in the inner city in Johannesburg.

As a child my hair was kept close cropped in the style typical for many African girls in South Africa, even though it never grew long to begin with. Usually, hairdressing for me , entailed sitting on an old newspaper on the living room floor and my father would trim it with a pair of household scissors or he would take me with him to the barbershop and we would have matching haircuts. This close cropped style was the easiest and least painful way to maintain my hair, which grew in tightly coiled black follicles, which was often difficult and painful to comb if it grew too long. As I grew older and I was allowed to grow my hair slightly longer, my paternal grandmother took charge of my hair. She would pay older girls in our neighborhood in Katlehong to bind my hair using black wool or string, usually in our backyard. This way of preparing hair had 7 steps:[1]

1. Wash hair using Sunlight soap (or shampoo).
2. Rinse hair.
3. Comb hair while wet to remove knots and loosen curls.
4. Partition the hair with a fine toothed comb into neat rows approximately 1.5 cm in width from front to back, (for special occasions) work from the hair line to the crown of the head in a radial pattern).
5. Divide the rows into smaller block sections, no bigger than 1.5 cm in width.
6. Manually or using a large threaded needle, wind or sew wool/string around smaller sub-sections of hair, from root to tip and tie not. This is called *mapondo* [repeat as necessary]
7. Tie mapondo's flat using wool/string and weave them together as desired.
8. Apply Vaseline (or Hair Food) to scalp to avoid flaking and itching.

Depending on the thickness of the bound sections for hair or *mapondo*, the length of my hair, the skill and intricacy entailed, this style of plaiting would take approximately one to three hours. It also entailed considerable squirming, tears and admonitions.

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[1] The author wishes to acknowledge Zimitri Erasmus's essay: "'Oe! My Hare Gaan Huistoe: Hair Styling Black Cultural Practice." *Agenda*, No. 2. Race Identity and Change, pp. 11-17; which inspired the format and content of this discussion of hair practices, particularly the discussion on hair straightening and racial politics.

After my family had moved from Katlehong Township in the East Rand, to the white northern suburbs of Johannesburg in the late-1980s, my mother would occasionally drive me to hair salons either in the Katlehong where she worked or downtown, in order to have my hair chemically straightened and styled in either a "perm" (curly) or "relaxer" (straight).

Growth.

Growth was a dreaded word. Growth meant that your "perm" had grown out, and curly richly textured hair which had been temporarily transformed into straight, supposedly silky hair had 'turned' to become parched, unruly and brittle. Saturdays were the busiest days and a trip to the salon was usually an all-day affair, which ideally, had to be repeated ritually every six weeks. One would sit in the salon chair in front of a large gleaming mirror, amongst chattering clients, blaring R&B music and endure the burn associated with the chemical processing, in anticipation of having gleaming, permanenently straightened hair, if somewhat flattened hair, that could easily yield to the demands of a fine-toothed comb. There were 9 steps to the "perm" which took approximately one hour, excluding time spent waiting for your turn. The steps are as follows:

1. Partition hair and apply a base of oil directly to the sculp.
2. Apply straighter on hair, working from root to tip; wait 10-20 minutes.
3. Gently comb hair until it is straight, with careful attention to the hairline.
4. Thouroughly rinse out straighter with warm water.
5. Apply neutralizer and conditioner; wait for 10 minutes
6. Thouroughly rinse out neutralizer
7. Gently towel dry hair.
8. Blow dry hair, first forwards, then the sides, and finally from the crown of the head outwards, until hair is completely straight.
9. Style as desired.

By the 1990s South Africa women began to explore braids again as global fashion trends in hair had grown to include increasingly glamorous hair extensions, but also resurgence in more 'natural' looking styles, like braids and corn-rows. New technologies and techniques in synthetic hair extentions emanating from North America, China, Nigeria, India and Brazil, and meant that one could have a variety of styles, lengths and textures from which to choose. The new synthetic and human hair extensions varied significantly from hair styles of 1970s Black Consciousness aesthetic, which favoured the Afro and the unprocessed hair styles. Hair extensions also provided an alternative to the slick 1980's and for victims of the chemical burn. These styles reflected global trends in beauty and fashion, which increasingly referenced glamourous African American performers.

Most significantly, the arrival of immigrant women from the African subcontinent also diversified the braiding techniques available in the city. These women introduced new styles and techniques of braiding with incredible fluidity and attention to detail. A small tuft of hair could be magically woven into long synthetic strands of hair, joined to the hair shaft painstakingly through a knotting technique known as 'planting' at the base of the hair shaft. This process would be repeated many times over until the entire head was crowned with a mane of luxuriously braided hair, to any desired length and thickness.

Braiding became a ritual that we performed every two months. I would walk through the inner city, first Kerk Street Market which became part of the Central Retail Improvement District and later, on Bree Street to meet my hairdressers and they would lead me to a salon, in one of the nearby office buildings, where they would rent a chair from a salon owner for clients, like me who were squeamish about having their hair braided in public. My encounters with hairdressers on the sidewalks of Johannesburg's inner city were often unpredictable, playful and filled with messy misunderstandings but also often, deliberate ones.

I had met Nomsa through a network of friends who had all recommended her highly. At first she and her Mozambiquean assistant Isabel, would come to my home in the northern suburbs and we would sit in the living room, watching Nollywood films and chatting while they planted and braided. Because I wear my braids long and thin this was always an all-day affair in which we would break only for lunch and several restroom visits throughout the day. We developed a friendly rapport and a guarded intimacy over a period of 3 years. Our conversations drifted between art, business, the education crisis in South Africa, to housing, electoral politics, fashion, love and family.

Over some time, I also began visiting Nomsa downtown in her salon, usually when she was too busy for a house call, but increasingly because I enjoyed going to the inner city. My conversations with Nomsa were often punctuated with awkward silences which revealed the limits of my middle class positionality – and the difficulty of immersion – despite my outward appearance as a black female/client in the city. At times, when Nomsa and her staff braided my hair – often 8-10 hour sittings at a time, they would speak effusively in Shangaan – a language I barely understood. I would furtively grasp fragments of conversation, about their private lives and experiences in the city – perspectives that seldom surfaced during formal interviews. There were a number of other transactions at play in our interactions. These interactions required a different ethic, a different set of expectations and rites of passage into her city.

Nomsa insisted on preserving her identity as a respectable and legitimate businesswoman and she resisted any suggestion that she might become a readily available research subject. Instead she became my interlocutor, challenging my assumptions about the inner city and the place of women within it. Nomsa coyly revealed that her business was formally registered, however, her silences and evasion of certain prying questions about the legality of her building and salon and her neighbors, also spoke to her precarious position in the city, and the vulnerabilities that this location implies – for herself and others in her ambit.

In time, Nomsa became my guide and teacher. She showed me where not to walk along Bree Street, which spaces to avoid at night, and how to deflect violent encounters through tactful engagement and 'impression management.' Thus our "interviews" became carefully managed interactions between me and her public persona, in a polite ritual of resistance and instruction. If anything, these encounters highlighted that theoretical or epistemological projects do not only happen in those sites officially designated as such , but emerge from other creatively textured sites outside of these.

According to South African feminist scholar, Pumla Gqola, such sites call for a mode of "creative theorization"[2] that is constituted through a series of speculative possibilities opened up by our sometime awkward encounters (2008: 50). Hair practices in downtown Johannesburg and the spatialities they engender constitute one of these creatively textured sites, through which black women challenged and remade binary constructions of race and beauty by transforming their outward appearance.

Hair is characterized by a range of terms to denote nuances in different textures of hair that signals the complex politics associated with racial hierarchies and colonial racism that circumscribe popular conceptions of beauty.[3] However such hierarchies are not unique to South Africa, but extend globally to black women throughout Africa and its Diasporas.[4] Apart from being an index of racial difference, hair is both political and deeply tied to black cultural practices. Kobena Mercer (1987) suggests that black hair is socially constructed through cultural practices that are imbued with social meaning and interpretation in the act of being worked upon. According to Mercer certain hair styles like Afro's and dreadlocks increasingly became signifiers of radical political and cultural identities, because these styles were seen to contest white dominance politically and culturally.[5]

Although straightening hair might be seen by some as a reactionary practice of identification with whiteness, hair is also constituted as a complex cultural practice in which black hair practices are also creative responses to oppression and dispossession. However, the proliferation of new hair-styles in Johannesburg, also signaled shifting racialized constructions of what constitutes beautiful hair, which in some instance precipitated a crisis of "racial meanings."[6]

I increasingly developed a sense of solidarity with Nomsa, that was mediated through the magical, mutable material substance, and through which we both negotiated of our racial meanings, class antagonisms and developed a cautious friendship. She granted me partial access to the hidden spaces of the inner city, which would otherwise have been unavailable on such intimate terms. Our relationship also offered me a perspective on the transformations of the inner city, that moved beyond normative narratives of informality as 'loss', which began to suggest that that the absence of coherence in the inner city was also a precarious site of opportunities for social and economic mobility amongst seemingly marginalized women whose services and lives seeped into the public spaces of the city.

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[2] Gqola, P. 2008. "Crafting Epicenters of Agency" – Sarah Bartmann and African Feminist Literary Imaginings." *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy*/Revue Africaine de Philosophie, pp 50

[3] According to Erasmus (1997), "good hair" is was central preoccupation for many members of her Coloured community, indicating the importance of hair and its complex politics.

[4] Erasmus, Z. 1997. 'Oe! My Hare Gaan Huistoe: Hair Styling Black Cultural Practice. *Agenda*, No. 2. Race Identity and Change, pp. 11-17

[5] Mercer, K. 1987. "Black Hair/Style Politics." *New Formations*. Vol. 3. For further debates regarding the politics of black hair see: hooks, b .1992*. Black Looks: Race and Representation.* Boston: South End Press. Hall, S. 1995. "The Whites of their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and the Media," *Gender, Race and Class in Media,* 89-93.; Ashe, D. Bertram. Winter, 1995. "Why don't he Like My Hair?" Constructing African-American Standards of Beauty in Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* and Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes were Watching God*. *African American Review*. (29)4 pp. 579-592) and Da Silva, D, F. 2007. *Towards a Global Theory of Race*. Minnesota Press and Tate, S. 2007. "Black beauty: Shade, hair and anti-racist aesthetics." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (30)2, 300-319.

[6] Mercer, K. 1987. "Black Hair/Style Politics." *New Formations*. Vol. 3., pp37

Therefore, the grand narrative of Johannesburg in 'crisis' overlooks the fact that the departure of established white-owned businesses from the Johannesburg central business district created conditions for the proliferation of many black-owned micro businesses, many of which are run by women. Thus transformations in the inner city had produced new spatialities, new subjectivities and aspirations, that were dissonant with colonialist and global preoccupations with the containment, surveillance and regulation of the urban populace. It is from this perspective, within the interstices of global processes of migration, trade and desire, that I entered the city, a perspective that seeks to unsettle the hegemonic representational regime of the "World Class African City," in order to clear a conceptual space for other imaginaries and geographies of the city to emerge.

0.1   Regimes of Representation

Johannesburg is a profoundly complex city that is inflected with anxious uncertainty and open-endedness. This oscillating ambivalence was reflected in the extent to which urban renewal strategies sought to construct a coherent representation of the city and to cultivate a new "art public."[7] City officials and private developers enlisted architects, urban designers, curators and artists in a project that aimed to theatricalize the image of the city and cultivate a new civic consciousness in the urban populace. These strategies constituted a distinct regime of representation that was embedded in the dual projects of nation-building and the neoliberal reorganization of the city and its economy.

The project of urban redevelopment sought to reconstitute the inner city as a new space of representation, which is aimed at a totalizing representation that organized an implied public, of an imagined multicultural and emancipated citizenry, into a unity. This order of representation was embodied in a range of public art projects and redevelopment strategies in the inner city. It also sought to efface divisions within the body politic against both the crudely racist teleological conception of the relations between blacks and whites. This form of disciplinary power sought to structure an ordered representation of reality in order to control the populace and reconstitute them as self-conscious and self-regulating subjects, through a method of "enframing."[8]

Public exhibitions and the themed precincts (CIDs) were the distinct form that urban redevelopment assumed in the inner city, alongside the routine pattern of policing against informal economic activities in the city's public and commercial spaces. The official public art projects created a series of spectacles in the city, through which the re-presentation of the architectural and urban forms of Johannesburg came to be seen as sites of cultural consumption and leisure, which were tied to the constitution of a new citizenry as a new public.[9]
These strategies of subject formation and 'nationing' through a restructuring of the symbolic and representational orders of the city are similar to the exhibitionary complex

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[7] Deutsche, R. 1998. "Agoraphobia" in *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. MIT Press, pp 273

[8] Mitchell. T. 1988. *Colonizing Egypt*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; also see   Bennet, T. 1988. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in *New Formations*, Number 4 Spring 1988.

[9] Deutsche, R. 1998. "Agoraphobia" in Evictions: *Art and Spatial Politics*. MIT Press, pp 300.

that Tony Bennet (1988) proposes. According Bennet, cultural institutions such as the art museum and later, international exhibitions and panoramas, served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new 'technologies of vision' in order to address the problem of public order in early nineteenth century European and American cities.[10]

The exhibitionary complex involved the transfer and display of objects and bodies into increasingly open and public arenas, such that they constituted a new means for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power throughout society.[11] Rather than mapping the social body in order to know the populace by rendering it visible to power, the exhibitionary complex sought to transform the population - in its totality - into subjects of power, by learning to see the city as the political and economic elites saw it. By identifying with elite cultural power and its attendant aesthetics, it was hoped that the populace, would internalize the gaze of power, as a principle of self-surveillance and hence, self-regulation (Bennett, 1988:80-1).

Furthermore, Bennet suggests that the concept of the "state" is an abbreviated way of referring to various governmental agencies, which employ both coercive modes of governance and those which are concerned with organizing consent.[12] These seemingly different modes of power do not need to be considered in a unitary fashion with regard to the modalities of power they embody. Whereas the carceral system consisted of a systematic exercise of force over a distinct audience, which relied on panoptic modes of self-monitoring, the 'soft' approach by contrast, sought to subtly encourage consent and voluntary participation from the different publics, through various cultural institutions. One thus needs to distinguish between 'soft' and 'hard' approaches to the state's role in the promotion of art and culture and how they were both embodied in the exhibitionary complex (1988:99).

In Johannesburg, the desire for a racially orderly city had its roots in the late Apartheid period (late 1980s), which had also witnessed a profound re-ordering of urban areas in many South African cities.[13] In 1986, the apartheid-era Nationalist government had released the *White Paper on Urbanization* – an important policy document which recognized the inevitability of urbanization. This policy repealed 'influx control' measures and developed of a strategy to ensure "orderly urbanization" by creating black satellite towns on the outskirts of the historically 'white' core cities, using broad racial land allocation. On the other hand, a small number of middle and upper class black people would be absorbed into existing white residential areas through gradual reform of the Group Areas

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[10] Bennett argues that modern institutions of confinement (the prison, asylum and clinic) need to be considered alongside a wider range of institutions, for understanding institutional articulations of power and knowledge relations. (1988:73)

[11] World's fairs for example deployed anthropology in order to demonstrate rhetoric of progress by serving as a visible counterpoint to its civilizational achievements. In the mid-way, the relations of power and knowledge were invested in public displays of bodies, colonizing space of earlier entertainment sites in order to personify the 'truths' of a new regime of representation.(Bennett,1988:93-7).

[12] Drawing on Antonio Gramsci's notion of the ethical and pedagogic functions of the modern state, Bennett suggests that the relations between knowledge and power are effected by the 'technologies of vision' embodied in architectural forms towards the development of the bourgeoisie democratic polity. (1988:76)

[13] Mabin, A. and Smit, D. 1997. "Reconstructing South African Cities? The Making of Urban Planning 1900-2000." In *Planning Perspectives,* 12: 2, pp 213.

Act (1950) and the gradual class differentiation that was already underway within the black urban population.[14]

Between 1996 and 2010, Johannesburg had undergone significant changes embodied in bold plans to re-position Johannesburg within a global hierarchy of cities. Such plans were catalyzed by South Africa's re-entry into a system of global competitiveness, internationalization and deregulation of the economy and a desire to attract investment, with the end of formal apartheid in 1994. The 'post' apartheid city that emerged was constituted through a reorganization of city, its economy and the re-presentation of the city to the population and a global audience.

Civic leaders proposed to make Johannesburg a "globally competitive African world-class city" through a process of urban reconstruction that was underpinned by the radical restructuring of the municipality and new partnerships with the private sector in the management of large areas of the inner city in the form of City Improvement Districts (CID's). On the other hand, the growth of street trading also represented a response to the far-reaching structural changes in the country's economy arising from exposure to the global market. [15]

This study aims to explore the processes of capitalist   urban redevelopment in 'post'-apartheid Johannesburg and the co-constitution of subjectivities therein.   My intention is to interrogate how the production of new spaces and subjectivities established the terms on which subjects can or cannot make citizenship claims to the city. This dissertation is particularly concerned with locating black female subjectivities at the center of theorizing Johannesburg and its most valuable contribution lies in its aim to understand the co-constitution of these subjectivities and the city through different regimes of representation, simultaneously. It aims to explore the ways in which colonial discursive constructions of citizenship are embedded within processes of urban redevelopment and nation-building, but also how global processes create conditions for the emergence of unexpected and complex representations and subjectivities.

By focusing on these spatial practices, this study hopes to make a contribution to a broader understanding of how regimes of representation constitute a new domain of politics in post-apartheid Johannesburg. Therefore, it takes to heart critiques of the binary character of urban studies - wherein African cities are viewed primarily as figures of lack -   and attempts to clear a conceptual and theoretical space that can hold in simultaneous view, different regimes of capital accumulation and of representation in contemporary Johannesburg.

0.2   Theorizing Globalization in Johannesburg

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[14] Mabin, A. and Smit, D. 1997. "Reconstructing South African Cities? The Making of Urban Planning 1900-2000." In *Planning Perspectives,* 12: 2, pp 212

[15] The distribution of informal activities shows that 46% are in retail, 31% in services, and only 23% in manufacturing. Families and households can only survive by combining earnings. Tomlinson, R., Beauregard, R., Bremner, L., and Mangcu, X. (Eds). 2003. "Introduction" in Emerging *Johannesburg*. Routledge, pp 16

"In such a city there could be no grey areas, or so it seemed. Things were what they were and nothing else, unambiguous, lacking subtleties of drizzle, shade and chill. Under scrutiny of such sun there was no place to hide...No mysteries here or depths; only surfaces and revelations. Yet to learn the city was to discover that this banal clarity was an illusion. The city was all treachery, all deception, a quick-change, quicksand metropolis, hiding its nature, guarded and secret in spite of all its apparent nakedness" [16]

When historians and planners narrate the history of Johannesburg, they often begin with the discovery of gold, and the ascendency of Johannesburg as the heartland of English capital in South Africa and the ascendency of Afrikaner political and economic power, which culminates in the victory of the African National Congress (ANC) – in the first democratic elections of South Africa in 1994, that was followed by the rapid 'demise' of the inner city, often represented as a "ruin"[17] of modernity brought on by the rapid migration of Africans into the city after anti-urban apartheid legislation was repealed in 1986. Many South African urbanists and planners have described these complex processes glibly, as a "greying" of the historically white city center. Unfortunately, this discourse of "greying" is emblematic of how the inner city has been framed in both the popular imagination as well as in academic and professional discourses on Johannesburg.

This discourse is problematic not only because it intrinsically associates race with economic and social value, that ultimately re-inscribes colonialist taxonomies and racial hierarchies on people - in much the same way that the 'World Cities' discourse does on cities - but also because it reflects an inability of much contemporary urban theory on South African cities, as in many other African cities, to grapple with the complex processes underway beyond a language of political economy, pathology and lack. Furthermore, the public and academic imaginary about Johannesburg, tend to privilege an ostensibly nostalgic narrative of 'loss' and that treats new urban actors and their unregulated industries as 'marginal', who add little value to the viability and representation of the city or they are absented from it altogether.

The imaginary of the city-as-ruin or 'wilderness', finds its corollary in the rhetorics of the World Class 'African' city, which seeks to manage and restructure the inner city according to the logics of global capitalism and through a new regime of representation that purports to break free of apartheid era racial binaries. However, this new regime of representation also seeks to define, categorize, and project order onto certain aspects of the social and physical realm of the city that reproduce exclusion, spatial and social fragmentation. However, the radical reordering of Johannesburg had enabled processes of and spaces for displacement, substitution and condensation which make the city both paradoxical and elusive.[18] Johannesburg is similar to many other large sprawling modern cities. When Salman Rushdie wrote these words, he was describing Los Angeles. However, he could just as easily have been describing, Sao Paolo, but also Johannesburg - a booming, modernist metropolis, and

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[16] Rushdie, S. 2006. *Shalimar the Clown. Random House*

[17] Simon. A.M. 2004. "People as Infrastructure - Intersecting fragments in Johannesburg" in Public *Culture*, 16(3), pp. 407-429.

[18] Mbembe, A. 2008. "The Aesthetics of Superfluity" in *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. Mbembe, A and Nuttall, S (Eds). Duke University Press and Wits University Press, pp 38

the financial center of South Africa, along which the overarching historical narrative of rigid and clearly delineated social and economic boundaries, had its own dark echo-chambers, defined by sexuality, repression and ambivalence.

Whereas scholars like Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall (2008) are concerned with the phenomenology of surfaces as possible sites for new forms of identification and mutuality in Johannesburg, my conceptual framework is attentive to both structural changes and changes in material culture. This approach necessitates an itinerant relay between neo-Marxist, cultural studies and black feminist perspectives, drawing on their respective strengths in order to capture the socio-spatial transformations taking place. This framework is inherently fragmentary and it is a reflection of the complex and unstable processes that are irreducible to single coherent narrative.

Additionally, this conceptual framework builds on Jenny Robinson's (2006) suggestion that we should think of cities as ordinary. Robinson critiques the pathologization of African cities generally, and the taxonomies of "mega-cities", 'World Cities' and 'Global Cities,' through which the division in urban literature between 'development' literature usually addresses itself to cities in the "global south" whereas urbanism literature addresses itself to cities in the so-called 'global north.'

While Johannesburg might be considered as an ordinary city, it is also important to recognize the historical specificity of mining capital, colonialism and apartheid in the morphology of Johannesburg. To be more specific, the apartheid city was constituted through a thorough reorganization of its urban space for the purposes of capital accumulation, racial segregation and labor control that produced the construction of racialized and gendered hierarchies which reverberate in the contemporary city.

0.2.1. Neo-liberal Urbanisms

In addition to this profoundly segregationist and contested history, contemporary Johannesburg also shows signs of a more contemporary "splintering urbanism"[19], a poly-nucleated urban form of seccessionary networked infrastructure, shopping malls and gated communities that by-pass the poorer, peripheral parts of the city – which as noted by Martin Murray,[20] are nevertheless essential to its own survival. One might even argue that a colonial city like Johannesburg, with its unequal and fragmented urban form prefigures the splintering urbanism, which Graham and Marvin (2001) outline so brilliantly in their book by the same title.

However, the pervasiveness of unregulated street trade makes Johannesburg increasingly similar to other African cities. As noted by Abdu-Malik Simone when he signaled the "wild topographies"[21] of cities like Johannesburg, Lagos and Douala - in which urban actors forge a

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[19] Graham, S., and Marvin, S. 2001. *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition*. Routledge, pp 115

[20] Murray, M, J. 2008. *Taming the Disorderly City: The Spatial Landscape of Johannesburg after Apartheid*. Cornell University Press , pp 34

[21] Simone. A.M. 2002 "The Visible and Invisible: Remaking Cities in Africa." In Enwezor et al (eds.) *Under Siege: Four African Cities: Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos.* Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz

wide range of networks, connections and "global assemblages."[22] Simone (2004) emphasizes the economic collaboration among people marginalized from and immiserated by urban life that not only enable them to survive, but also to escape the vicious cycle of poverty and allow for better chances of improving livelihoods. Simone also argues that African cities are continuously flexible, mobile, and provisional intersections of residents that operate without clearly delineated notions of how the city is to be inhabited and used. The conceptual framework of this dissertation builds on Simone's account of the lived spatialities of many contemporary urban actors in ways that work against normative sociological categories of analysis. It aims to capture the precarious and elusive aspects of modern urban life, which poses an important challenge to established forms of planning knowledge.

Whereas Simone's framework implies that there is a discreet topography that operates independently of existing institutional and infrastructural arrangements, I hope to explore not only the specific kinds of intersections between various urban actors - like local government and the private sector, but also the gendered and racialized subjectivities that are constituted through modes of inhabiting and using the city. In order to expand on Simone's notion of the informal sector as an assemblage, it may be useful to consider that the city is as much constituted through flux and indeterminacy as it is constituted through long-term capital investments as well as it is laden with political, social and economic power, which can be delineated with varying degrees of transparency.

On the other hand, David Harvey (2001) argues that at the urban scale, capitalism needs social and physical infrastructures for capital to circulate and for the reproduction of daily life because capitalism strives to create a social and physical landscape in its own image and requisite to its own needs at a particular point in time. Thus the inner contradictions of capitalism are expressed through the restless formation and reformation of geographical landscapes.[23] Similarly, other neo-Marxist urban theorists suggest that cities have become strategically crucial arenas within the broader geographies of what Brenner and Theodor (2002) term "actually existing neoliberalism."[24] They argue that contemporary neo-liberalization processes are catalysts and expressions of an ongoing re-organization of space at multiple geographical scales.[25] As a result, most local governments have been constrained to adapt to heightened levels of economic uncertainty by engaging in "short-termist" forms of interspatial competition, place marketing and regulatory undercutting in order to attract investments and jobs.[26]

Meanwhile the retrenchment of national welfare state regimes and national intergovernmental systems has led to major budgetary cuts during a period in which local

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[22] Simone, A.M. 2002. "The Visible and Invisible: Remaking Cities in Africa" *in Under Siege: Four African Cities Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos*; Documenta 11Platform 4 Cantz, Hatje, .Enwezor, O, Basualdo, C, Bauer U.M., Ghez, S., Maharaj, Sarat. Zaya, O. (Eds))

[23] Harvey, D. 2001. *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. New York: Routledge, pp 333

[24] Brenner, N and Theodor, N. 2002. "Cities and Geographies of actually existing Neoliberalism." from *Antipode*, Vol 34 Issue 3 pp 349- 379

[25] Brenner, N and Theodor, N. 2002. "Cities and Geographies of actually existing Neoliberalism." from *Antipode*, Vol 34 Issue 3 pp 349- 379

[26] Brenner and Theodor, 2002: 350

social problems and conflicts have intensified in conjunction with rapid restructuring.[27] In her important corrective to an assertion of the inevitability of neo-liberal globalization, Gillian Hart (2002) insists on an understanding of neo-liberal globalization that both contingent and constituted by multiple, divergent but interconnected trajectories, which cannot be reduced to a singular or inexorable phenomenon, and which must be understood relationally.[28] In this regard, Hart, like invokes Henri Lefebvre (1967), invokes dialectical thinking – and argues that time and space are not perceived as simple oppositions, but rather as manifold and complex moments. This spatial and temporal dialectic results in space materially. Like Lefebvre, Hart argues that every mode of social organization produces an environment that is a consequence of the social relations it possesses, and that space is both a medium of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations. Thus by producing a space that follows the contours of its society, a society not only materializes into distinctive built forms, but also reproduces itself.

0.2.2   Aesthetics and Subject Formation

In privileging class through the relations between capital and labor, and the functional role of space as a conduit for capital, neo-Marxist frameworks tend to overlook other arenas of social life, such the ways in which aesthetics, gender and subject formation are equally constitutive of the emergence of new sites of social reproduction within capitalist expansion.

Christine Boyer (1988) suggests that cities that strive towards 'World Class City' status are driven by both de-industrialization and insatiable consumerism which transforms them into places of entertainment that are severely out of scale with the rest of the city. Furthermore, with municipal governments' support of massive real estate redevelopment, this "return to the aesthetic" through the regeneration of city-as-symbol - is supported by contemporary discourses, which frame cities, their architecture, and even their spaces as aesthetic objects.[29] On the other hand, Achille Mbembe (2008) uses the concept of "superfluity", to propose that human relations in Johannesburg have become increasingly fluid, largely due to the commodity system. This proposition is most valuable when Mbembe suggests that black bodies have historically been the site or violence and extraction – but that these are also aspirational, desiring bodies that seek out beauty and agency within the commodity system.

While compelling in its attention to aesthetics, liminality and desire –both Boyer and Mbembe's analyses overlook the specific ways in which race, gender and power continue to pattern the aesthetic articulations and representations of cities and to varying degrees, the terms on which inclusion in "metropolitan modernity" might take place and for whom. Thus the 'city-ness' that Mbembe proposes is not merely the abstract smooth space of commodification, but rather based on black men and women of a certain class, being included as racially marked bodies, despite their attempts to subvert prevailing social hierarchies. Additionally, Mbembe's text overstates a rupture within the history of

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[27] Brenner and Theodor:, 2002:367

[28] Hart, G. 2002. *Disabling Globalization: Places of Power in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. University of California Press.

[29] Boyer, C. 1988. "The Return of Aesthetics to City Planning" in *Society* May/June , Vol. 25 Issue 4 pp 49-56

apartheid that effaces the remaking of race and the shifting registers of subjection and exclusion that followed in the wake of democratization. Therefore the term 'post-apartheid' is a prematurely celebratory term which implies a decisive break with the forms of subjection and exclusion that were the foundations of colonialism and apartheid. Instead, democratization and subject formation in post-apartheid South Africa has produced different categories of citizenship that legitimate a renewed regime of capitalist accumulation and present unresolved contradictions within the new logics of citizenship in Johannesburg.

0.2.3.   Race, Gender and Representation

It is important to pay close attention to the ways in which African bodies and sexuality have been represented historically through recurring stereotypical images of the black/African body as grotesque, uncivilized and crudely sexual.[30] Essentialist beliefs, originating in colonialism, linked projections about African sexuality to myth-making about the perceived degeneracy of others.[31] Scholars such as Edward Said (1978) and V.Y Mudimbe (1988) have explained the ways in which images; preconceptions and myths dominate what is conventionally understood at "Oriental" and "African" respectively. Said in particular, laid the foundation for understanding how colonial-inspired knowledge systems have defined bodies and human subjectivities[32], whereas Mudimbe draws on this tradition to analyze how African bodies and experiences have been discursively invented as "signs of something else"[33]. These forms of colonial knowledge and power point to the general hegemonic status of black bodies as spectacle, which are made to function as a resource for images, metaphors and academic pronouncements that have little to do with the personhood within patriarchal and racist traditions.[34]

The importance of African feminist engagements lie less in providing a counter-narrative, but rather explore different ways of writing about black women, in ways that resist colonialist modes of knowledge-making.[35] Black feminist scholars (Gqola, 2005; Hill Collins,2000; Hartman, 1997; Morrison, 1992; Spillers, 1987; Carby, 1985) grapple with the difficulties of representing black women by troubling the ways in which the silences of history are more interesting for what they refuse to tell us, than the countless, over-determined narratives about black women. South African feminist scholars in particular, consider the links not only between imperial sexuality and colonial settlement and conquest but also draw our attention to how colonial visual practices and narratives of colonial

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[30] Lewis, D. 2011. "Representing African Sexualities" in *African Sexualities –A Reader*. Tamale S. (Ed) Fahamu/Pambazuka, pp. 199-216.

[31] Ibid, pp. 199.

[32] Said, E. 1979. *Orientalism*. Vintage Books

[33] Mudimbe. V.Y. 1988. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*. Indiana University Press.

[34] Gqola, P. 2008. "Crafting Epicenters of Agency" – Sarah Bartmann and African Feminist Literary Imaginings." *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy*/Revue Africaine de Philosophie, pp 45-76

[35] Pumla Gqola achieves this by analyzing texts that are African women's bodies in colonialist episteme", through which black women are represented as only embodied (object), pathologized (deviant), evidence (knowable) and/or singular ('freak', myth), and which define black women as an example of racial and sexual 'otherness.' See: Gqola, P. 2006. "Crafting epicenters of agency': Sarah Bartmann and African Feminist Literary Imaginings", *Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy*. 20.1/2 (Special Issue on African Feminism) pp 45-49.

mastery were inscribed with eroticism.[36] Desiree Lewis broadly identifies the invention of sexuality in relation to power and processes of subjectification to argue that the politics of representation, which work on projections of African bodies, departs from many Marxist-inflected studies, which locate "desire" in political and economic interests alone.

Thus historical materialist accounts of racist representations of sexuality tend to assume that these straightforwardly rationalize economic and political power. Therefore whilst materialist explanation of racial ideology in colonial expansion and capital accumulation are useful, they tend to overlook the extent to which representations and projections are linked to subject formation, identity construction and power.[37]

More importantly for this study, Lewis also argues that the careful analysis of represented sexualities is important in explaining processes of subjectification from the mid-20th-century to the present day because they find their way into nationalist and post-colonial narratives and myth-making in the years after formal decolonization.[38] This attention to representation thus helps to explain the meanings of race, the persistence of stereotypes, the reproduction of gender and the operation of power within urban renewal processes in Johannesburg. Viewed on their own terms and in the context of urban renewal, representations of female urban actors expose the challenges of narrativizing complex intersectionalities of race, gender, class and sexuality. This dissertation will attempt to read state attempts to inscribe African women into the spaces of the city. In some instances, these re-inscriptions require that the imagination perform differently and across multiple temporalities.

0.3   A Note on Methodology

In order to understand the inherent contradictions of the co-constitution of capitalist redevelopment and subject formation in Johannesburg, I will examine four sites through which new regimes of representation transformed the inner city of Johannesburg namely: the public art program in the inner city that is linked to urban upgrading schemes driven by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), the new urban management model of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) - pioneered by the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), symbolic sites like public art exhibitions associated with the Johannesburg Art City project and the everyday public spaces of informal trade on Bree Street.

While these overlapping sites are neither exhaustive nor reducible to a single coherent narrative, they nevertheless provide a way for reading how culturally coded symbols and spaces are used to communicate ideas of belonging and identity within the city and the nation. These sites cannot be regarded as representative of the entire conurbation of Johannesburg, because of the specificity of the inner city in the broader development

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[36] Lewis, D. 2011. "Representing African Sexuality". In African Sexualities – A Reader. Tamale, S. (Ed) Pambazuka Press. and Abrahams, Y. 1997. "The great long national insult: 'science', sexuality and the Khoisan in the 18th and early 19th century" in *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equality* (in Special Edition – Race, Identity and Change). Vol. 13 Issue 32,

[37] Lewis, D. 2011. "Representing African Sexuality". In *African Sexualities – A Reader*. Tamale, S. (ed) Pambazuka Press, pp. 202

[38] Lewis, D; 2011:201-3

paradigm of the City of Johannesburg.[39] Nevertheless they do cut across different classes of users and their juxtaposition is meant to examine different spaces of inclusion, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, universally neither received nor understood.

Secondary sources like Charles van Onselen (2001) and Phillip Bonner (1995) are crucial to understanding the broad historical periods within which African women entered Johannesburg. They did so during the heady gold rush period, the interwar period of colonial paternalism (1910 -1940s), the years of Grand Apartheid , (1950s and 1960s), and finally the Late Apartheid period (1970s-1990s). Primary sources included a wide range, such as Public Health Inspection and Transvaal Administration records at the South African National Archive and the Historical Papers, housed in the William Cullen Africana Library at the University of the Witwatersrand. Such sources were crucial in developing an understanding of how local authorities viewed African women in the early 20th century. The black press, particularly the *Bantu World* newspaper and *Drum* magazine newspaper were an invaluable resource for understanding how African women in the city were perceived and understood by the black elite and the nascent black middle class.

The photographic collection from the Museum Africa Photographic Archive in Newtown Johannesburg provided the visual material from the early historical period in order to assess how African women in the interwar period represented themselves. Fieldwork consisted on interviews with academics at Wits University, government officials, artists, street traders and activists from 2010 to 2013. Spatial mappings of in the inner city occurred over a 2 year period, with the assistance of students at Wits University School of Architecture and Planning (July- November 2010; January -May 2011 and July – November 2012).

0.4   Organization of the Text

Chapter One, *Johannesburg in Historical Perspective* provides an introductory overview of Johannesburg through various phases of migration, reconstruction and displacement. In so doing, it seeks to frame a discussion on the articulation of national identity with regimes of development in post-apartheid Johannesburg. It also seeks to locate black women within this history, in order to understand the role of race and gender in the construction of democratic national identity and citizenship in the following chapters.

Chapter two, *The Landscape of Public Art*, explores how the emergence of public art in post-apartheid Johannesburg emerged as part of a larger project of urban regeneration and a restructuring of the political economy of the city and nation-state. This chapter will analyze the discourses of "crisis" on the inner city in the popular media as well as the intentionality of city officials and private actors, as they grappled with a crisis of representation of the city after 1994. It argues that the discourse of 'crisis' was not only organizational and financial,

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[39] In an informal interview with a former senior city official, he explained that the dynamics of the inner city are not a reflection of the entire Johannesburg conurbation. He also alluded to the fact that there are "competing" impulses within the City of Johannesburg, and state interventions or actions are not necessarily manifestations of a single co-ordinated state strategy. (Anonymous; Interview on October, 2012 in Johannesburg)

but it also framed the crisis in aesthetic and technocratic terms. This 'aesthetics of crises' was informed by colonial preoccupations with transparency, surveillance and spatial control, albeit on highly contingent and fragmentary terms. It also argue that a discourse of crisis in post-apartheid Johannesburg not only signaled the dissolution of apartheid socio-spatial order and a global economic crisis, but it also signaled anxieties about the presence of impoverished and raced bodies in the historically white inner city.[40]

Chapter three, *The City as a Work of Art*, argues that public art events in Johannesburg during periods of global hyper-visibility, created conditions in which representations of black women were instrumentalized in order to legitimate urban renewal and to give the project territorial coherence through branding. Therefore, art works like Mary Sibande's *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010), provide spectacular examples of how the state, corporate interest and property owners used public art exhibitions and high profile art commissions in an attempt to produce a coherent "visual landscape" for the city in which 'the' black woman, ironically, became a trope through which to represent the city.
This chapter also analyzes the spatial strategies employed by the CJP to stabilize and thematized the city as a site of cultural consumption, as an 'open air art gallery' in order for private commercial and corporate interests to re-territorialize the city.

Chapter four, *Displacement*, locates the displacement of female migrants from and within the city, in a context of the exponential growth of urban informality. It demonstrates that the formal rearrangement of the city has reinscribed a long history of urban segregation and displacement in Johannesburg. This chapter also explores the emerging spatialities of the inner city after the end of apartheid. It argues that the deregulation of urban space has in some instances created porous conditions that are sometimes sympathetic to micro-scaled scale businesses, like hair dressing. It will thus argue that the sidewalk and derelict buildings are highly productive and contested sites in the city, but also dense transfer points of power.

Chapter five, *The Entanglements of Pleasure and Conquest*, argues that regimes of representation are deeply tied to governmentality within urban renewal strategies, while simultaneously reproducing carceral territories for marginalized urban actors.[41] It concludes that the aestheticization of the city created an artificial temporal rupture, while it simultaneously re-inscribed the new procedures of domination but also generated new geographies of possibility in the inner city.

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[40] See: Mitchell, T. 1991. *Colonizing Egypt*. University of California Press; Mbembe, A. 2008 "The Aesthetics of superfluity" in The Elusive Metropolis. Mbembe, A and Nuttall, S. (Eds) Duke University Press; Rancier, J. 2013. *The Politics of Aesthetics.* Bloomsbury Academic

[41] Bonner, P. n.d "Culture of respectability" (forthcoming); Spivak, G.C. 1988. "Can the subaltern speak?" Ray, R and Qayum, S. 2009*. Cultures of Servitude: Modernity, Culture and Class in India*. Stanford University Press; Flaustberg, L. 2001. "African Photography and modernity" and Mudimbe, V.Y. – "Surreptitious speech and mimesis" in *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945-1994*. Enwezor, O (Ed). Prestel Publishers

1. Excavating at the Margins

Fig. 2. Plan of Johannesburg (1896), showing Inner city and surrounding neighborhoods
Source: Museum Africa

This chapter provides a brief historical overview of Johannesburg's history through various phases of migration, reconstruction and displacement of black communities. The primary objective in doing so is to trace the development of racialized national identities within different regimes of development in the city. Black women are included within this history, in order to understand the role of race and gender in the construction of a specific colonial metropolitan modernity. Finally, the methodological challenges posed by the above strategy within contemporary urban studies are touched upon.

1.1   *Barbaric Lands*

Johannesburg has a long history of immigration, urban redevelopment and displacement of peoples. Successive waves of economic activity, corresponding mainly with booms and slumps of gold mining, reinforced a pattern of speculation and real estate development in the 1910's, 1930's, and 1960s.[42] By the 1970s - with rising resistance to apartheid - an environment of global economic decline led to the end of 'petty apartheid' laws in the 1980s. As argued by Chipkin (2008:15) the development of Johannesburg was also intricately connected to world markets, which under colonialism tied it to circuits of capital and styles within the colonial metropole.

The grid layout emerged on disjointed parcels of agricultural land that spilled out from the *uitvalgrond*[43] into adjacent, misaligned farmlands (Fig 2). Thus the civic landscape of the central city was the outcome of the late arrival of town planning as a discipline, unregulated real estate speculation and large mining house land holdings in what was to become the inner city. [44] These dynamics gave rise to the city's disjunctive urban grid and a poorly conceived civic realm. Fuelled by mining capital, the central city was populated with a range of buildings styles from Edwardian neo-classicism during the age of imperialism to 1930s Art Deco New York and Le Corbusier-inspired modernist towers in the 1950s and 1960s. During the 1930's depression, the gold standard was abandoned. This resulted in another surge in investment. A flood of foreign capital into the country, transformed Johannesburg into a "little New York."[45]

However, according to South African social historian Charles Van Onselen, the first two decades of life in Johannesburg were also characterized by "whoring, gambling and drinking".[46]According to Chipkin (2008) the Johannesburg Art Gallery was strategically located to re-establish Victorian and Edwardian sensibilities through various art holdings whereas the Johannesburg landscape itself was the product of a colonial imaginary, through

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[42] Chipkin, C. 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society: 1950-2000.* Real African Publishers, pp 15

[43] An Afrikaans term meaning 'surplus land', this word was used to describe the residual triangular-shaped farm of Randjieslagte, which fell between 3 larger farms and was selected as the site on which the city was originally planned. Malcomess, B. (2012). "Uitvalgrond" in Johannesburg Workshop in Theory and Criticism. http://jhbwtc.blogspot.com/2012/06/uitvalgrond-surplus-ground.html

[44] Chipkin, 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society1950-2000.* Real African Publishers, pp 15- 16

[45] Chipkin, 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society1950-2000.* Real African Publishers, pp 81

[46] Van Onselen, C. 2001."Prostitutes and Proletarians" in *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*. Jonathan Ball, pp 163

which the treeless Highveld landscape was populated with imported plantings like British oaks and woodlands. Very few miners had come to this mining town with wives, leaving the way open for professional prostitution, dominated by immigrant gangs, who trafficked American and Eastern European women to Johannesburg for the purposes of prostitution. Van Onselen goes further to state that the inner city was dominated by drinking houses and canteens, of which at least 60 were known to be engaged in prostitution of some kind (Fig 3).

Fig 3.　　Immigrant workers in late 19th century Johannesburg Canteen
Source:　　Museum Africa

On the other hand, Chipkin notes that entertainment spaces like music halls, theatres and canteens constituted some of the first gathering spaces in Johannesburg, which hosted a range of vaudeville shows, theatre and touring companies.[47] These spaces for popular entertainments were matched by an equally robust classical music tradition for the city's cultural elites. According to Chipkin, Edwardian architecture lent Johannesburg some 'moral' authority at the turn of the nineteenth century, as an expanding Anglophone empire city with archetypal Edwardian upper-class suburbs on higher ground – a distant progeny of the

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[47] Chipkin, C. 2008. "Music Halls" in *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society1950-2000.* Real African Publishers, pp 27- 29

English Garden Suburb movement and civic sculpture reflecting a certain imperial, Beaux-Arts sensibility for the leisure classes. [48]

Additionally, retail spaces, in the form of new multi-storey department stores, also formed part of the symbolic representational spaces of the city. Keith Beavon (2004) divides central Johannesburg into four quadrants based on a set of axes along President Street and Rissik Street. He argues that the arrival of the railway and its passenger success was a major factor affecting the patterns of retail development in Johannesburg. Passengers would leave the station and proceed southwards along Eloff Street and then west along either -President or Pritchard Street. [49]

Pritchard Street, was populated by draperies, outfitters and specialist stores and it was a popular retail spine, partly because of the Palace Building (built 1889) on Pritchard and Rissik Street – the tallest building in Johannesburg at the time, that dominated the city skyline – and also the location of Stuttafords, a 10 storey department store to the east of the Palace Building. Additionally, Pritchard Street was the most popular route for pedestrian traffic from the most fashionable residential area around Von Brandis Square, as well as residences in the north east of the market and office district of the south west. Beavon also notes that the shift of retail stores eastwards along Pritchard Street was consolidated by the construction of Markhams Building (men's outfitters), on Pritchard and Eloff Street, became a Johannesburg landmark at that time.[50]

However until the consolidation of South Africa as a unified territory in 1910, Johannesburg lacked both a coherent architectural order and urbanity. In an attempt to address this perceived lack of coherence, the idea of the City Beautiful movement was introduced in the 1920s, which was reflected in parts of Johannesburg, such as the layout of Saxonwold where the new rich lived.[51] Several other attempts were made to introduce architectural closure in the open grid plan of Johannesburg in the 1930s. Gordon Leith – the heir apparent to Sir Herbert Baker - introduced the heavy beaux-arts elevation of the Supreme Court, closing the view up the Kruis street rise. He also terminated the view up King George Street with the massive Johannesburg General Hospital in 1936 and he unsuccessfully attempted to reconfigure the concourse of the Johannesburg Station to align an axial view down Eloff Street. The new Johannesburg Public Library (1931) - completed with large veined marble-clad columns in the peristle foyer - and the Magistrates Court (1934),both designed by John

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[48] Chipkin, 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society1950-2000.* Real African Publishers, pp 81
[49] The earliest prime locations in the mining town were those on or near Commissioner Street and those close to Market Square. The major retailers preferred the northern President Street frontage of the square before beginning to shift eastwards along Pritchard Street and , after the arrival of the light railway in 1890, southwards along Eloff Street. Source: The Heritage Portal. 2013. "Why did we all want to own "Eloff Street'? Early Retail Development in Johannesburg". Wednesday 11/09/2013
http://www.heritageportal.co.za/article/why-did-we-all-want-own-eloff-street-early-retail-development-johannesburg.
[50] Beavon, K. 2004. *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City*. Unisa Press(Imagined South Africa Series)
[51] This suburb was planned as a series of axial avenues in the beaux-arts manner – but it lacked coherence in the French manner because it was laid out on private property and (Chipkin, 2008:53)

Perry, gave the city an air of modern classicism with the latter demonstrating examples of national art that were incorporated into the design.[52]

The 1930s saw renewed attempts to modernize national emblems through the novelties of Art Deco – with its populist content. According to Chipkin, its linkages to both Beaux-Arts classicism and modernity found resonance with Nazi and fascist ideologues as well as official public architecture in the United States. In South Africa this aesthetic was mobilized alongside authoritarian nationalism – particularly in Gerhard Moerdyk's work. Chipkin notes that *volk* nation-building in South Africa was based on highly charged romantic notions of a "civilized people in a barbaric land." [53] This "imaginative geography"[54] articulated the racialization of the city, through which disavowal was transformed into spatial distance.

This representation - that amounted to the absence of black people in the colonial imaginary of city life - emerged in a period in which the South African administration sought to consolidate white power in the new state. Thompson (2000) notes that the ethnic cleavages between Afrikaners and English-speaking white South Africans in this inter-war period, was marked by "internal squabbles over symbols – postage stamps, anthems and flags."[55] Afrikaner intellectuals, who felt insecure in the face of perceived Anglicization and urbanization, threw their lot in with Hertzog's Nationalist Party in 1924. Between 1924 and 1933, the Hertzog Administration passed considerable amount legislation in favor of the white population. Hertzog especially favoured Afrikaners and supported Afrikaner cultural and economic goals, including job discrimination in public works and manufacturing industries, which he defended by saying:

> "Persons whose standard of living conforms to the standard generally recognized as tolerable from the usual European standpoint (stands in contrast to) persons whose aim is restricted to the bare requirements of the necessities of life as understood by barbarous and underdeveloped peoples."[56]

This imaginary of white 'civilization', was reflected in a rewritten history - "*volksgeskiedenis*"[57] - the built environment and cartographic representations of the city and its environs (see Fig 4). In the 1920s and 1930s, the administration sought to project national glory through a vast architectural program that was embodied in Gordon Leith and Gerhard Moerdyk, who were both graduates of the Staats Skool, Pretoria and the Architectural Association in London. According to Chipkin, they had lived in England at the height of rising national consciousness, and they subsequently worked together on the

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[52] Chipkin, C. 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society1950-2000.* Real African Publishers, pp 54

[53] Chipkin,C. 2008. "Nation Question Revisited" in *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society* pp 78-79

[54] Said, E. 1978. "Imaginative Geography and its Representations: Orientalizing the Oriental." In *Orientalism*. Vintage Books, pp 57

[55] Thompson, L. 2000. *A History of South Africa* Note Bene Yale University Press, pp157

[56] Cited in Thompson.2001. Thompson, L. 2000. *A History of South Africa* Note Bene Yale University Press, pp 160

[57] Chipkin, C. 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society1950-200.0*,pp 79

Johannesburg Station which served as a major hub for the railways from the distant seaports (Cape Town 1892) and Natal and (Delgoa Bay 1895). [58]

By 1928, Johannesburg Station stood as an iconic representation of white 'national awakening.' Following examples from the world's national capitals, like the famous French *Train Bleu,* Gordon's new station concourse would contain Pierneef's 32 wall panels of South African scenery. According to Chipkin (2001: 78 - 80), Moerdyk in particular, was a staunch adherent of 'national romanticism'. He sought to craft an "Afrikaner-African identity"[59] that reached its apogee in the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria. It also saw an ideological and aesthetic division between British dominion-dominated public works projects, and an assumed authentic "third vernacular" [60] that reflected the taste and aesthetic sensibilities of a nascent Afrikaner nationalism.
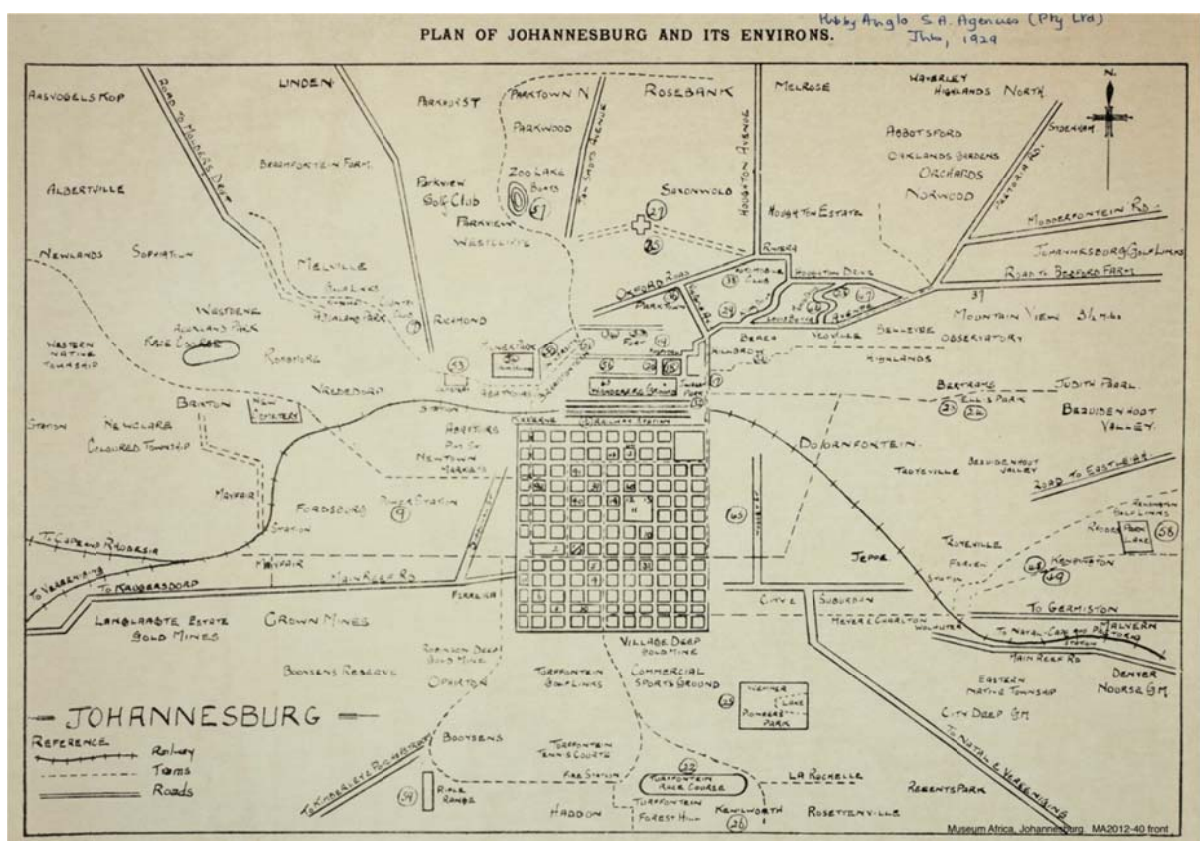
Fig. 4   Plan of Johannesburg and Environs – Klipspruit not shown (1929)
   Source: Museum Africa

[58] Chipkin, C. 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition. Architecture and Society1950-2000.*, Real African Publishers pp 79
[59] Ibid. 2008:81
[60] Ibid. 2008: 81

On the question of national art and architecture, Moerdyk was quoted as saying:

> "the achievement of a national style of architecture takes time and needs for perfect maturity complete absence of any dominating foreign influences and consistency in political and economic development. South African history has been too emotionally disrupted during the past decades to allow the arts to flourish or even develop along national lines. The globular importation and slavish copy of overseas styles, without thought of incongruities, has given us a *pot-pouri* of styles which has not enhanced the beauty of our cities and towns."[61]

According to Chipkin, Johannesburg became an important centre of Brazilian modernist influence imbued with Oscar Niemeyer's national feeling in a brief post-war period. However, there were no murals and artworks nor budget for climatic controls, in this nakedly commercial centre, and by the 1950s modernist architecture had become the beauracratic tool of the Apartheid state[62]. However, these questions of national identity and the ideological role of architecture, carried over to debates that engrossed South African architects for generations to come (2001:84-85).

So far, this chapter has concerned itself with the ideological and symbolic role of architecture in constructing white nationhood. However, in order to understand how this imaginary was realized in space, one must also look to the how attempts to consolidate white power were underpinned by segregation and forced removals of black people from the city over time.

1.1.1   Segregation: 1910 -1948

Although the early years of Johannesburg were characterized by largely unregulated patterns of urbanization, the history of Johannesburg has been one of gradual and more rigid segregation on the basis of race, class, gender and space. Domestic service and agriculture were the most important sectors of the black labor market in South Africa until the industrial revolution of the 1870's – with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly, and later gold in the Witwatersrand the 1880's. Both developments gave priority to mine labor for men, particularly after the introduction of Stallardism in the 1920s.

Racial segregation was actually not an apartheid phenomenon that began with the ascendency of Afrikaner nationalists in 1948. Rather, successive white governments promoted such racial divisions. Some South African historians have argued that successive colonial and apartheid governments sought to resolve the contradictions of regulating the African labor market within regimes of white supremacy and capitalist accumulation. Segregation in South Africa can thus be divided roughly into three phases namely: the

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[61] Moerdyk, G. quoted by Chipkin, C. "National Question Revisited" in *Johannesburg Transition: Architecture and Society.* Johannesburg: STE Publishers, pp 80.

[62] Chipkin, C. 2008. *Johannesburg in Transition - Architecture and Society 1950-2000.* Real African Publishers, pp 85

Segregation Era (1910 -1948), Grand Apartheid 1950s-1960s and finally the Late Apartheid Era (1970s-1990s).[63]

However, segregation in South African cities precedes this periodization. After the South African War (1899-1902), an interventionist British government took measures to stabilize the white working classes and the separation of whites from the black working classes.[64] Consequently, the first forced removals of residents were from the so-called "coolie location" south west of the railway station (Present day Newtown and Fordsburg) to Klipspruit in 1904. Following an influenza epidemic, the Johannesburg Municipality deemed entire areas "unsanitary" through a detailed map of houses in working class and racially mixed areas.

Maynard Swanson's *Sanitation Syndrome* (1977) discusses at length how disease was used as "social metaphor"[65], to legitimize the introduction of urban residential segregation in South African cities at the turn of the century. In Johannesburg, workers who had originally lived close to sites of production in the working class suburbs of Jeppe (to the east) and Fordsburg (to the west), or in compounds on mining property, were gradually segregated and relocated (see Figures 2, 5 and 6).However, between 1910 and 1948, the white population consolidated its control over the state, strengthening its hold on the black population and eliminating the British government's legal power to intervene in South African affairs (Thompson, 2001:154). The implementation of the Native Land Act (1913) by the South African government systematically impoverished and displaced Africans from their agricultural land.[66] Consequently there was increased prolitarianisation and urbanization of African peoples while the Natives Urban Areas Act (1924 and 1936), compelled local authorities to set aside land for black occupation which formalized existing segregation policies, in the face of increased urbanization.[67]

This legislation saw the beginning of a planned program of evacuation of black people from the municipal area of Johannesburg. By 1929, it was illegal for Africans to rent or purchase property in white designated areas. By 1933, the whole of the city of Johannesburg had been proclaimed white and by 1938, much of the black population had been moved south to the new townships of Orlando West and Orlando East, which later became Soweto. Thus Clive Chipkin notes that by 1936, Johannesburg was recognized as "the largest and most densely populated European city in Africa."[68]

South African historian, Phil Bonner (1995), states that the 1930's was a period in which African urbanization was an event of "epochal significance"[69] which saw a large-scale settlement of first-generation immigrants on the Witwatersrand. However, this period also saw extremely high levels of labor turn-over among the Witwatersrand's urban male African

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[63] Bonner, P., Delius, P. and Posel, D. 2001;. "The Shaping of Apartheid: Contradiction, Continuity and Popular Struggle." *Apartheid's Genesis*: 1935-1962. Wits University Press.

[64] Thompson, L. 2000. *A History of South Africa*. Yale Note Bene Books, pp 141-143

[65] Swanson, M. 1977. "Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909" in *Journal of African History*, xviii(1977) pp. 387-410

[66] Thompson, L. 2000. *A History of South Africa*. Yale Note Bene Books, pp 163-164

[67] Lemon, A. 1991. *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities*. Sage Publications, pp 8

[68] Chipkin, C. 1993. *Johannesburg Style: Architecture and Society 1880s- 1960s*, David Philip Publishers, pp 103

[69] Bonner, P. 1995. "African Urbanisation on the Rand between the 1930s and 1960s: Its Social Character and Political Consequences." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 21, Number 1, March 1995; pp. 115-129

population, which exceeded 100 percent in most industrial sectors and caused Johannesburg's entire male labor force to be replaced every 20 months.[70] For male African workers, the mines had always been an important route into urban areas. Unlike industry and commerce, which kept up with inflation through cost of living allowances in the post war era, low wages on the mines, precipitated a surge in male migration to the towns and also because factory wages, unlike the mines, were paid on a weekly rather than on a monthly basis. These high levels of labor turnover reflect to some extent, the exceptionally racist and despotic pattern of supervision on the factory floor.

By the 1940s, African urban workers were finding it increasingly difficult to find affordable residential accommodation as the municipality had built no new houses and many second generation African residents in the municipal locations and freehold townships demanded inflated rents. Consequently, many migrant workers found themselves increasingly unable to send remittances home and family relations came under enormous strain. Increased African urbanization between 1933/4 and 1947/8 generated many of the grievances and pressures which propelled a new Afrikaner nationalist alliance to power in 1948, that underpinned much of the programme of apartheid.[71]
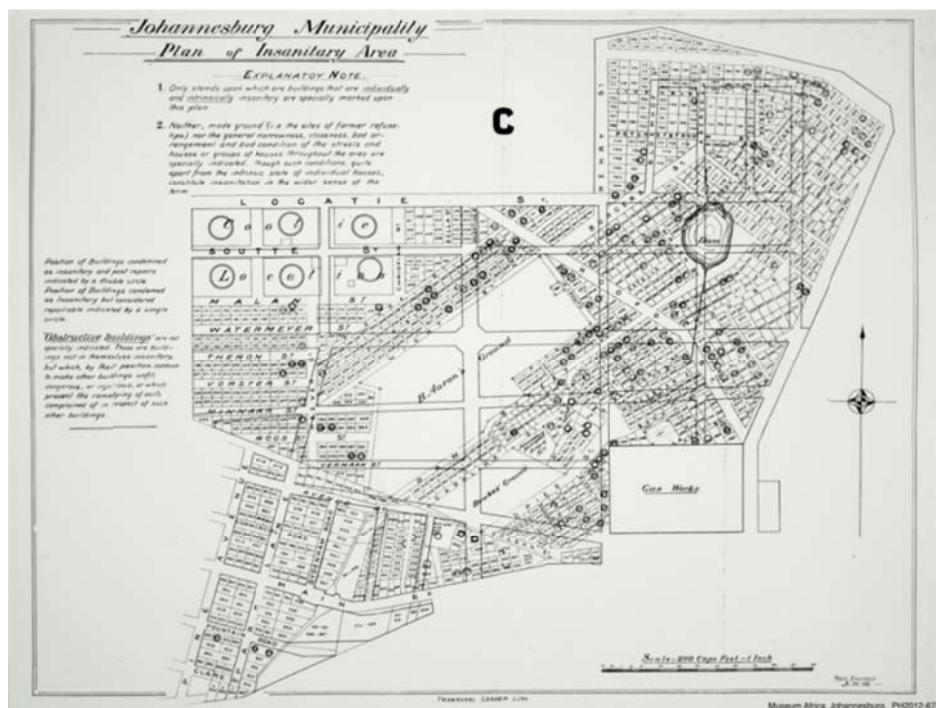
Fig. 5.   Plan showing Demolition of old "Coolie Location" west of the inner city (1902)

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[70] Gaitskell, D. Kimble, J. Maconachie, M. and Unterhalter, E. 1983. "Class Race and Gender: Domestic Workers in South Africa" in Review *of African Political Economy*, No. 27/28, Women, Oppression and Liberation, pp. 86-108. Taylor and Francis, Ltd.
[71] Bonner, P; Delius, P and Posel, P (Eds). 1994. *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962*. Raven Press
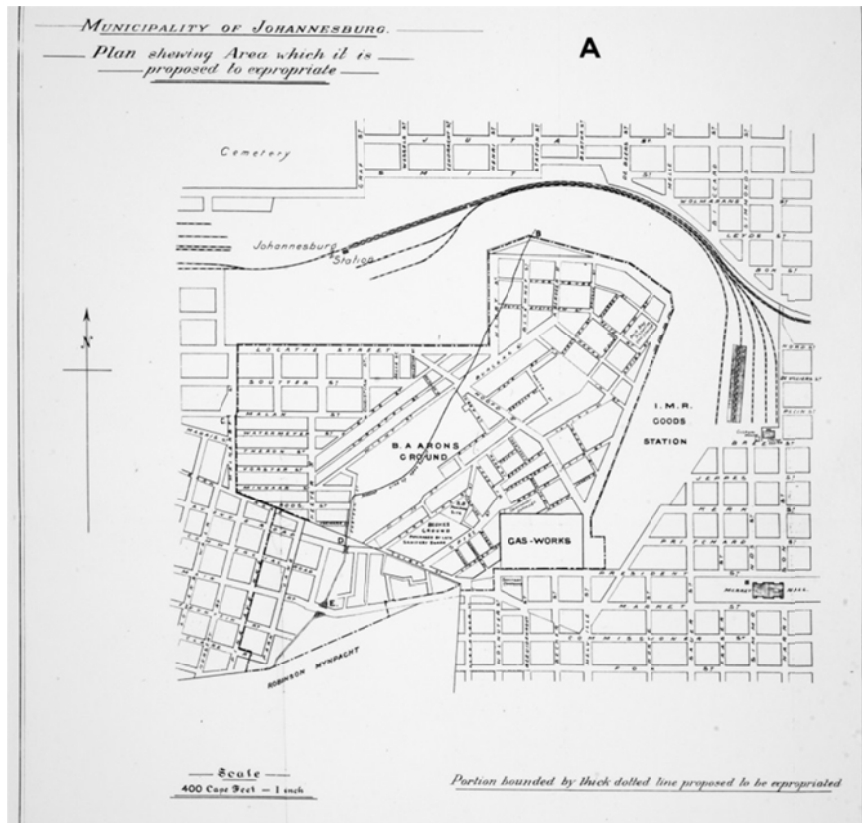
Fig. 6.   Plan showing Expropriation   of old "Coolie Location" – in the Current Location of
Newtown (1902)
Source: Museum Africa

Mass urbanization and the growth of radical African politics in the mid-1940s heightened
white fears about the social and political dangers of a large African urban population: the
"swart gear" [72] *[black danger]*. According to Bonner *et al* (1994), this paranoia heightened
the politicization of racism amongst the Afrikaner working classes and petite bourgeoisie.
During the war years, this group had been confronted with a number of acute problems
such as job competition in secondary industries. Afrikaner workers in particular, increasingly
saw their salvation not with the Labor Party, but with purified nationalists and their
promises of policies of racial segregation.

1.1.2   Grand Apartheid: 1950- 1960

When the National Party government came to power in 1948 on a platform of "separate
development" the segregated landscape of the city had already be established. However,
the distinctive contribution of the National Party to this pattern of segregation was its
consolidation through a combination of discriminatory legislation, influx control - a
mechanism to prevent Black Africans from establishing residence in the cities -the
creation of ethnically based "homeland" areas and racially based administrative zones,
enshrined separate development into a total system known as 'Grand Apartheid'.

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[72] Bonner, P; Delius, P and Posel, P. (Eds) 1994. *Apartheid's Genesis, 1935-1962*. Raven Press

The Group Areas Act (1950 and 1966) had intensified racial segregation, set out with in the Natives Urban Areas Act (1923). These acts formed the cornerstone of segregated education, health and social services, and also of local authorities. Group Areas also exemplified the fundamental tenet of apartheid ideology that incompatibility between ethnic groups must be kept to an absolute minimum in order to ensure "harmonious relations" [73], by establishing areas for the exclusive occupation of a given ethnic group.

Ironically, the most enduring economic up-swing coincided with the Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960, a national crisis that had international reverberations.[74] This led to a massive outflow of capital and a critical fall in gold reserves. The government responded with draconian measures, by banning the anti-apartheid and African nationalist parties including the Pan- African Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC).

The 1950's and 1960 were a period of rapid economic growth. From 1948 onwards, the city also saw the construction of highways and the development of vast, sprawling suburbs for people of colour south of Johannesburg. These townships had no sustainable commercial or industrial base because sizeable retail developments were prohibited under apartheid. Furthermore, the convoluted layout of the townships was intended to inhibit public gatherings and enhance "security" by making internal circulation difficult and all major roads and railway lines, where they were available, led to employment centers and to the retail shops of the city centre so that the township residents were forced to shop in the CBD.

The programme of consolidated segregation, meant that black people living in racially mixed freehold areas like Sophiatown (established in 1905), were forcibly removed in the 1950's – under the aegis of "slum clearance" to the new black suburb of Meadowlands in Soweto (whereas Alexandra in the north was left intact). Many domestic workers living in quarters on the rooftops of inner-city apartment buildings were pushed into single-sex hostels. In the 1960's the Indian population of Page view was moved to Lenasia, 30 km to the south, and coloureds were relocated to Eldorado Park and Ennerdale.

From 1962 most of Johannesburg was declared "white."[75] By 1967, following the Group Areas proclamation by the Minister of Community Development, P.W. Botha, all "non-whites" trading in racially mixed areas in Johannesburg were required to move out. The "white" group areas extended to the north of the municipal boundary, to include almost the entire Johannesburg municipal area north of the Johannesburg –Pretoria Railway line.[76]

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[73] Lemon, A. 1991. *Homes Apart: South Africa's Segregated Cities*. Sage Publications, pp 8

[74] 69 Africans, 75 km south of the city were killed by state security police, while peacefully protesting the pass laws.

[75] According to a report in the *Rand Daily Mail* newspaper of that same year, approximately 40,000 Coloureds and 28,000 Indians were concentrated in the inner city area and surrounding suburbs, in locations such as Newtown, Fordsburg, Burgersdorp, Pageview and the Diagonal Street zone; Staff Reporter. 1967. "Coloureds will have to quit suburbs"., in *The Star* newspaper, 10/03/1967

[76] This included the following suburbs: Paalshoop, the adjoining Railway Housing scheme, Homestead Park parts of Mayfair and the Arthur Bloch Park; Westgate, Ferrierasdorp, parts of Marshalltown and City and Suburban; West Turfontein, Turfontein, parts of Booysens, Rosettenville and extensions, La Rochelle, Glenesk, Regents Park and Extensions, Klipriviersberg Estate small holdings, the Hill and Extension, Ella Doone, Unigray, Welfare Park, parts of Tulisa Park, Townsview, Towerby, Forest Hill, Haddon, Chrisville, Crown Gardens, Ridgeway and Robertsham and Extensions and parts of Claremont Township. Source: Staff Reporter. 1962.

Apartheid era city officials fashioned particularly draconian anti-street trader measures. The City Council expanded restricted trading areas in 1947 shortly before the era of Nationalist Party rule, and again in 1953 to 192 blocks, which included most of the downtown area and the residential zone immediately north of the Central Business District around Joubert Park.[77] Municipal by-laws controlled street trading, generally under the auspices of the Traffic Department and they made it difficult for street traders to operate. Those traders closest to the boundary of the restricted area faced frequent harassment carried out by a nine-man "hawker squad" which could arrest them, confiscate or destroy their goods and fine them for contravening various sections of the by-laws.[78]

Further afield, the National Party created a separate local government in Randburg and Sandton in 1969, which gave rise to increasing decentralization. In the outer northern suburbs, the Sandton Council, which was controlled by business people, set out to compete against the Johannesburg CBD by offering lower property tax rates and the ready zoning of additional land for commercial and retail development. By the mid to late 1970s many major retailers, and nearly all specialty stores and stores serving tourists as well as upmarket hotels, relocated to the suburbs. Some major retailers, who remained in the inner city, reoriented their operations to serve a low-income market with a focus on food and furniture. [79] The process of white middle class suburbanization northwards was also underway. It was accelerated by the introduction of freeways in the 1950s and the decentralization of retailing activities and the growth of industrial parks.

1.1.2   Late ApartheidL1970s-1990s

The student uprising of June 1976 in Soweto and the state's murder of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko marked increasing resistance to apartheid in a climate of economic decline. This period saw increasingly centralized planning, and an increasing concern for the management and control of black townships by white authorities through the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards in the early 1970s (Mabin and Smit, 1997:208).The 1970s were thus marked by mounting anti-apartheid mobilization from below , deteriorating economic and social conditions as well as racist fears about a growing African presence, in South African cities especially after 1986.

In 1986, after President P.W. Botha's infamous 'Rubicon' speech rejecting negotiations, the nationalist government intensified state repression of all forms of political opposition. A major component of the State's new approach entailed the increasing intrusion of the National Security Management System (NSMS) into many aspects of urban planning and daily life. The NSMS reported to the State Security Council. It was central to the strategic urban upgrading in existing townships in order to contain troublesome urban areas, known

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"Mixed Areas Now White". *Rand Daily Mail* Newspaper. 14/4/1962 ; Helping Hands for Girls, Wits Historical Papers

[77] Those trading within this restricted trading area were only allowed access before 7am and after 6pm , whereas those licensed traders operating outside the restricted zone were required to adhere to the move-on regulations .

[78] These included not "moving on" every 20 minutes , operating within a prescribed distance from a formal shop selling the same items or not having access to the necessary storage facilities. Beavon, K. 2004. *Johannesburg, the Making and Shaping of the City*. University of South Africa Press, pp. 190

[79] Tomlinson, 1999, cited in Tomlinson et al, 2001:46

as "oil spots" as well as placing informants in virtually every office of the public service.[80] However, 1986 also marked the year that many petty apartheid laws were repealed, including influx control.[81] The newly elected National Party leader P.W. Botha introduced a number of limited reforms in an attempt to forestall the transition to democracy. These entailed the creation of a 'Tricameral Parliament' which allowed Coloureds and Indians a limited form of parliamentary representation and the creation of Black Local Authorities (BLA) for blacks in the townships.[82]

BLA's deflected the full costs of running the township onto black urban residents. They were designed to collect rents and service payments and to use this revenue base, inadequate as it was, to run the townships. However, most black Africans saw Black Local Authorities as illegitimate political structures, and in the absence of a commercial and industrial tax base, exerted onerous financial burdens onto already struggling black households. From 1984, numerous campaigns arose to boycott Black Local Authority elections and structures. These resulted in the Soweto Rent Boycott of 1986.[83]

This fraught social and political atmosphere precipitated the migration of the wealthier white consumers, residents and property owners northwards. Some left the country and /or abandoned their properties altogether.[84] The late 1970s saw the emergence of private sector involvement in policy formation, by institutions such as the Urban Foundation – a major lobby group for policy intended to facilitate private sector involvement in urban reconstruction and an "orderly urbanization".[85]

However, by the early 1990's, 52 of 84 BLAs were hit by rent and service charges boycotts (Murray, 1994). This, together with pressure from business people, precipitated negotiations, which lead to the creation of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber – as a policy-making body to make decisions by consensus.[86]

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[80] Mabin and Smit, 1997. . "Reconstructing South Africa's Cities? The Making of Urban Planning, 1900-2000."*Planning Perspectives*, pp. 212

[81] For more on apartheid spatial planning and the political economy of apartheid, refer to Fine, B. and Rustomjee. Z. 1996. *The Political Economy of South Africa: From Minerals-Energy Complex to Industrialization*, C. Hurst &Co (Publishers), London. Mabin, A. 1991. "The Dynamics of Urbanization since 1960." In Swilling, M. Humphries, R. and Shubane, K. (Eds.). *Apartheid City in Transition*. Oxford University Press, and Marks, S. 1986. *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism, and the State in Twentieth-Century Natal*. Baltimore; London: The Johns Hopkins University Press. ; Bonner, P., Delius, P. and Posel, D. 2001;. "The Shaping of Apartheid: Contradiction, Continuity and Popular Struggle." *Apartheid's Genesis*: 1935-1962. Wits University Press.

[82] Although the creation of BLA'S was intended to assuage black discontentment, and recognized blacks as a permanent feature of the South Africa's urban landscape – in close proximities to white cities – as well as a tacit acknowledgement that influx control as a way of regulating Black African urbanization, had failed.

[83] It was eventually joined by 80% of Soweto's formal rent-paying households.

[84] Mabin, A and Smit, D. 1997. "Reconstructing South Africa's Cities? The Making of Urban Planning, 1900-2000". *Planning Perspectives*, 12, pp. 193-223

[85] Mabin, A and Smit, D. 1997: 210

[86] The Chamber represented the first of three phases mapped out by the Local Government Transition Act of 1993. It involved the establishment of local forums to negotiate the appointment of temporary local government councils that would govern until municipal elections in November 1995.

1.1.4   Post- Apartheid: 1994- 2010

The transition to a liberal democracy in 1994 did not support a substantive redistribution of resources that would improve the socio-economic conditions of the general black population.[87] Instead, the transition was characterized by a new class project forged through a partnership between the African National Congress (ANC) and local and international capitalist interests. This partnership resulted in a program of trade and financial liberalization, privatization and low inflation targets, amongst a range of other 'business friendly' adjustments embodied in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy (GEAR) in of 1996. These adjustments were made more palatable through rhetoric of the 'African Renaissance', through which the ANC sought to accelerate the growth of a "patriotic"[88] black capitalist class.

The built environment, and memorialization projects in particular, became one of the primary sites through which these measures were enacted after the state ostensibly abandoned the broad redistributive paradigm of development embodied in the Reconstruction and Development program (RDP) (Fig. 7). Additionally, new residential development since the end of formal apartheid in 1994 was undertaken.[89] Thus, rather than promote integrated development, the implementation of housing policy in post-apartheid Johannesburg was instrumental in continuing spatial exclusion.

The economic inequality arising from spatial exclusion was exacerbated by the decline of formal sector employment in the mining and manufacturing sectors, structural changes in the economy, and increasing unemployment. [90] Additionally, the Business Act 72 (1991) had precipitated rapid deregulation of street trade in the city in a climate of economic and political crisis, [91] such that by the end of the 1990s, there were approximately 14 000 street traders working in municipal Johannesburg, compared to 200 and 250 licensed traders in 1979 (Beavon, 2004).

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[87] See Marais, H. 2001. *South Africa Pushed to the Limit – The Political Economy of Change.* London, New York: Zed Books, for a sustained analysis of the Transition and GEAR here.

[88] Marais, H. 2001. *South Africa Pushed to the Limit – The Political Economy of Change.* London, New York: Zed Books.; pp. 136

[89] Tomlinson *et al*. 2001: The latter figure declines to 37% if Alexandra, the township that with-stood forced removal is deleted from   the calculations. pp.13

[90]In 2000, a *Business Day* article reported that one million mostly unskilled jobs were lost between 1993 and 1997, offset against 60,000 new skilled jobs and about one million informal sector jobs. One million jobs represent approximately 12% of the formal sector labor force. Tomlinson *et al,* 2003. 15

[91] According to Tissington (2009) economic crisis during this late Apartheid era, gave rise to greater emphasis on small business and the informal sector from government. Thus the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business Act (ACHIB) in 1986 heralded a more tolerant era in urban governance and by 1988, ACHIB was advocating for its members to ignore all restrictions and by-laws that hindered informal trading. However, as argued by Beavon (2004), such state attempts at reform were more indicative of a crisis within the apartheid policies than any sincere attempt at improving the conditions of the urban poor This was reflected in the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions, which sought to resolve the issue of African labor organization and settlement without addressing issues of full national citizenship

1.2 Locating Black Women in Johannesburg

The complex but brief review of the makings of the apartheid state since 1949 outlined earlier in this chapter provides a useful stepping stone for a concluding statement on prevailing views since the turn of the last century about inconvenient black and colored women in Johannesburg. For example, in 1910-1920's inner city slum yards, black male migrant worker[s] did not earn a living wage – much less one to support an entire family in the countryside. Thus poor and often single black and colored women, many of whom had been pushed off the land through poverty, entered into a number of flexible living arrangements with migrant men, while others brewed a potent variant of traditional beer to survive.[92] These women were often constructed as the harbingers of crime, immorality, disease, unbridled sexuality and urban disorder. It was believed that such women led hard working black men astray from honest productive wage labor in the mines and factories through drunkenness, violence, crime, promiscuity, and other forms of social impropriety. The corollary of this image of Black women as wanton temptresses was constructed through the image of the proverbial "*mama*", the spiritual black woman as a devoted housewife and mother. However, this idealized image of domesticity was disrupted by the economic realities faced by many poor black households such that black and colored women were forced by circumstances to engage in back-breaking, cheap paid domestic labor as caregivers, washerwomen, nannies and maids.[93] These women were trapped in a discourse that combined the paradoxical ideology of domesticity for African Christian women and the exigencies of the labor market.

In *At Home with Apartheid*, Rebecca Ginsberg (2011) argues, along with many other South African scholars, that urban residential segregation and later urban apartheid was fundamentally concerned with controlling African movement. However, the institution of domestic service, placed whites and Africans in close and intimate daily contact with each other, fundamentally undermining the bedrock of apartheid ideology and practices of racial segregation and influx control[94]. In her seminal sociological study of domestic service, *Maids and Madam*s, Jacklyn Cock (1989), refers to the importance of the white South African household as a site of reproduction of sexist, race and class ideologies. She proposes that the household is a "crucial and largely hidden site of inequality in the South African social formation"[95] and the history of racial subordination and capitalism in South Africa. Radical feminist scholars extend this argument further by drawing attention to the importance of the political economy of gender relations between both black women and white households, and black men and women.

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[92] Parnell, S., 2003. "Race, Power and Urban Control: Johannesburg's Inner City Slum-Yards, 1910-1923." *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 633.

[93] Gaitskell, D. 1983. "Housewives, Maids or Mothers: Some Contradictions of Domesticity for Christian Women in Johannesburg, 1903-39" in *the Journal of African History* . Vol. 24, No. 2, (The History of the Family in Africa) pp. 241-256

[94] Ginsberg, R. 2011. *At Home with Apartheid: The Hidden Landscape of Domestic Service in Johannesburg*. University of Virginia Press, pp 23.

[95] Cock. J.1980. Maids and Madam: A study in the Politics of Exploitation. Johannesburg: Raven Press

Fig.7. African Males were the first group to be employed in paid domestic work in Johannesburg.
Source: Museum Africa

Fig. 8. Sewing Class at the Helping Hands for Native Girls Hostel, Fairview, Johannesburg (1920)
Source: Historical Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand

More importantly, they argue that under apartheid, domestic service was an important nexus of a "triple oppression" [96] of African women – as blacks, as women and as workers. African women were thus fairly late arrivals in Johannesburg, but soon came to define the very character of colonial domesticity – in ways that have endured until the present.

Like Natal, the first black migrants to the Transvaal gold reef were predominantly male.[97] Natal had a long history of domestic service by males such that by 1904, there were 33,000 African males working in Natal towns - the majority in domestic service - since women were not migrating to work on the scale of the Cape and the Free State. Because the supply of female servants, first white then black, was often insufficient and unsatisfactory to the colonists, the labor of African house servants, pejoratively called 'houseboys' was in great demand and well-paid in the first decades of industrial growth.

As demonstrated by Van Onselen (2001), Zulu migrants made this sphere particularly their own, preferring it to the hazardous, poorly paid work on the mines. Male domination of this work persisted until the 1930s, by which time more women had come to town. Reef employees in the early twentieth century preferred men, because housework was very strenuous and they felt that they could house African men more easily and control them through passes. Whereas African women were exempt from passes until the late 1950's under apartheid, and could thus leave their jobs with greater impunity. However in a reversal of accepted gender roles, male servants also performed a range of other caring tasks within the home, including that of nursemaids (Fig 7 and 8).

However, by the Second World War, urbanized young men opted for the higher wages, fixed working hours and residential freedom of shop and office work. On the other hand, less educated men from more distant rural areas took servant jobs and so did female domestic workers, who were generally better educated but from landless families on white farms or small Highveld towns. From this period onwards, the virtual diversion of black men and white women from domestic service was finally accomplished, leaving this kind of work predominantly an African female one.[98] African women were subject to a number of smaller scaled interventions, which entailed educating them for domestic service and or modern married life in the city as they increasingly replaced African men in domestic service (See Figure 7). In February, 1928, a leaflet issued jointly by The Helping Hand Club for Native Girls and The English Church Native Mission Hostel stated thus:

> "The married women usually settle in a municipal location and eke out their husbands' small wages by washing and daily work. Others, both married and single, are employed in private houses as domestic servants, and it is with these that we are especially concerned here. They usually live in the outside room; *failing that, they find lodging in any room, in any yard, with any sort of companions.* The disadvantages of this are obvious: she may be in contact with

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[96] Gaitskell, et al. 1983. "Race Class and Gender: Domestic Workers in South Africa" in Review of African Political Economy, No. 27/28, Women, Oppression and Liberation, Taylor and Francis, Ltd. pp. 86

[97] Gaitskell et al, 1983:100; Van Onselen, C. 2001. *New Babylon, New Nineveh: everyday life on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*. Jonathan Ball

[98] In 1936 there were 241,230 African domestic servants, in 1946, there were 437,358, in 1951 440,360, in 1960 there were 473,988 and in 1970 there were 641,180. (Cock, J. 1989. *Maids and Madams*, p 250 and H.J. Simons *African Women*, p 275.

actual disease; she is very often living in conditions of dirt and squalor, and under moral influences, which would horrify her mistress if she knew of them, and from which she comes straight into intimate contact with the house and probably the children.…If, on the other hand, we want to see them take their place as a helpful factor, and not a menace, in our modern world, we have a unique opportunity in our homes." [99]   [Italics in the original]

By 1936, around 90 per cent of African women who earned money in key urban areas were employed in domestic service. [100] Their low wages and limited choices made it possible for South Africa to retain an unusually large domestic service sector in a modern industrial society (Gaitskell *et al,* 1983:101). As further indication of the regulation of sexuality and gender in the development of Johannesburg, African domestic servants were housed in separate living quarters – 'back rooms' - adjoining white domestic households. [101]

According to Bonner (1995) the period between the 1930s and 1940s saw a large-scale settlement of first-generation immigrants on the Witwatersrand. It was the product of a range of factors such as the independent movement of women to the towns, the changing residential ecology of the Rand and the shift from remittance and monthly wages on the mines to weekly wages in the industrial sector. Bonner argues that much urban historiography of this period has a distinct gender bias, namely that women simply followed their husbands in the latter's search for employment in the towns. Rather, women often came to towns independently - sometimes because of broken marriages - and were more likely to settle permanently in towns than men. Bonner suggests that these women were overwhelmingly employed as domestic workers, while others were laundresses or secured their livelihoods through beer brewing and prostitution (1995:117).On the other hand, a nascent African middle class had also emerged in the city. The society pages of the *Bantu World* newspaper in 1929, reported on numerous high profile "white weddings" with significant entourages, travelling African dance troupes from Kimberley (Fig. 10 and 11), advice columns addressed to young urbanized African women, mothers and wives on how to conduct themselves in the city; how to run a modern home, as well as editorials by leading civic figures, that   criticized the conduct of migrant workers, shebeen queens and *amalaita* (local gangs), on the eastern edges of the city centre.

What is pertinent to this discussion is how sex and race were identified as social problems threatening the fundamental moral fiber and social order of colonial society. This public concern was not only limited to the protection of white civilization from "pollution" through miscegenation. It also created conditions for new legislation that was aimed directly at restoring the sexual and social distance that was necessary for the survival of racial

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[99] *PLEASE READ THIS AND SHOW it to YOUR FRIENDS.* February, 1928. Leaflet Issued jointly by The Helping Hand Club for Native Girls and The English Church Native Mission Hostel, Johannesburg. Source: Wits Historical Papers, A 2052/C-H; E- Pamphlets
[100] For example, in 1936, 50.25 per cent of urban African women were gainfully employed, and of that percentage, 91.56 per cent were in domestic service : 1936 Census IX, xviii
[101] Approximately 88 per cent of all domestic workers in South Africa were black in the 1980's, and 88 per cent of these African house servants were women. Altogether 800 000 African women were domestic workers by 1982/3, with the figure rising to 1,057,000 in 2007. See: Labour Force Survey South Africa, 2007, it fell to 896,000 in 2011. Also see Ginsberg, R. 2011. *At Home with Apartheid: The Hidden Landscapes of Domestic service in Johannesburg.* University of Virginia Press

hierarchies in the colonial order. Therefore, segregation and a discourse of the 'black peril' or *swart gevaar* had its roots not only in labor competition, but also in colonial anxieties about African sexuality.
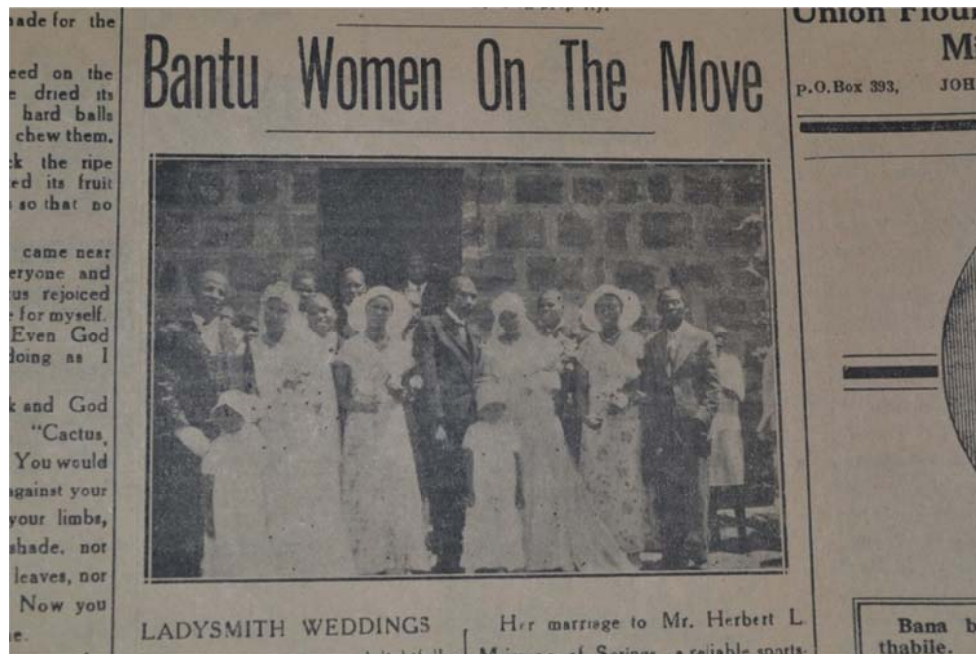
Fig. 9   "Bantu Women on the Move" - Typical reportage of high profile wedding in Kimberly
Source: *Bantu World* newspaper, November 1929William Cullen Africana Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Fig.10   Miss. V Plaatje and her Rhythm Girls, travel to Johannesburg, 1929
Source: *Bantu World* newspaper, November 1929; William Cullen Africana Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Similar concerns for an orderly society also underpinned the representational orders of public and private spaces in the city, which will be discussed in later chapters. While the patterns of racial and sexual domination in South Africa changed over time, and black women moved into other sectors of employment, particularly after the 1950s, the demand for domestic servants was nevertheless built into white settler daily life.
The supply of African domestic labor was shaped in particular areas by the nature of African prolitarianisation and urbanization, and the sexual composition of the migrant workforce (Gaitskell *et al*, 1983:980). But for black women in particular, domestic service was, and to a large extent remains the most prominent sphere of wage employment.[102]

Nevertheless, these accounts of African women as domestic servants tend to privilege the political and economic rationalities of apartheid in the construction of gender and 'race.' Although Ginsberg pays close attention to the spatialization of these rationalities, the historiography on African women pays scant attention to the role of representation, sexuality and desire within these regimes colonial of domination and control.

1.2.1   Excavations

Attempts to trace the shifting categories of 'raced' and gendered bodies present a number of challenges. As argued by Gayatri Spivak (1988), producing knowledge about the 'subaltern' is a difficult task – given their heterogeneity. However, rather than abandon the project altogether, I employ different modes of reading the archive. But I also seek out different voices, through artworks, interviews, media reports, policy documents, archival photographs and secondary sources, where such sources are available, as well as the built environment. Reconsidering the city in terms of the lowermost social category in South Africa – that is, historically marginalized African women, reveals that efforts to represent the situation of the 'subaltern' are, at best, fragmentary and provisional.

This provisionality does not only apply to the archive, but also to the interests that shape it and thereby determine – to some degree the form that the city takes. As Saidiya Hartman (1997) argues about writing the history of the dominated: "it requires not only the interrogation of dominant narratives and the exposure of their contingent and partisan character, but also the reclamation of archival material for other purposes."[103] Drawing on Spivak (1988), Hartman argues that there is no access to the subaltern consciousness outside the dominant representations or 'elite' documents. This requires reading such documents against their grain, in order to write a different account of the past - and present- while realizing the limits imposed by these sources, the impossibility of fully

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[102]According to Gaitskell *et al*, approximately 88 per cent of all domestic workers in South Africa were black in the 1980's, and 88 per cent of these African house servants were women. Altogether 800 000 African women were domestic workers by 1982/3, with the figure rising to 1,057,000 in 2007 Labour Force Survey South Africa, 2007, it fell to 896,000 in 2011.

[103] Hartman, S. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-making in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 10 - 13

recovering the experiences of the dominated and the risk of reinforcing the dominant narratives.[104]

Therefore, the effort to brush the history of Johannesburg's transformation against the grain requires "excavations at the margins"[105] of grand urban narratives in order that suppressed voices may be retrieved and or amplified, by paying close attention to embodied experiences of the subaltern. It also requires turning to forms of knowledge and practice not generally considered legitimate objects of architectural and urban enquiry or appropriate or adequate sources of history making - like art and hair - and attending to the "cultivated silence, exclusions, relations of violence and domination" that engender official accounts of history (Hartman, 1997).

The documents, fragments and accounts considered here, remain entangled with the politics of domination. I approach this task with an understanding that a totalizing narrative cannot be reconstructed from these fragmentary sources. In part because urban renewal is an unfolding and deeply contested process, with as yet indeterminate and diffuse outcomes. These fragments nevertheless are important sources for understanding both the everyday experiences of urban renewal and the master narratives which underpin them.

Therefore, I try to exploit the visual landscape of the city, as both surface over and a surfacing of repressed histories and identities. My attempts to read the surfaces of the city, are inspired by Hartman's analogy to research as an activity that is perhaps "best understood as a combination of foraging and disfiguration – raiding the fragments upon which other narratives can be spun"[106] and bending official narratives and amplifying issues like embodiment and difference, that are relevant to this study of urban renewal.

Secondly, an ethnographic analysis of urban transformation requires attentiveness to its fragmentary effects. Urban renewal in Johannesburg cannot be reduced to a single grand explication of globalization, but it is rather produced through a conjuncture of several trajectories (Hart, 2002). This study takes its cue from Brenner and Theodor (2002) and Ong (2006), who argue that neo-liberal transformations have profoundly disruptive and fragmentary socio-spatial effects and that neoliberal projects of political economic restructuring collide with pre-existing socio-spatial cleavages that in turn, create new forms of inequality, political disenfranchisement and economic immiseration.

In this regard, efforts to trace the shifting registers of race and class in 'post-apartheid' Johannesburg, and more specifically, the lived realities of African women, is not discontinuous with dominant accounts or official planning documents, but rather, is a struggle within and against the constraints and silences imposed by the nature of urban and architectural knowledge.

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[104] Spivak, G.C. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In Nelson, C and Grossberg, L (Eds) *Marxism and the interpretation of Culture*. London: Macmillan

[105] Hartman, S. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-making in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press ; pp 10-- 13

[106] Hartman, S. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-making in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press;. pp 12

The next chapter will focus on the ways in which the city was unmapped and re-mapped through a process of desegregation and urban redevelopment, through which representations of black women entered the civic realm through a number of public artworks and monuments. In so doing, it aims to trace significant shifts and continuities in the historical development and recalibration of race and nationhood.

2. THE LANDSCAPE OF PUBLIC ART IN JOHANNESBURG

Fig.11.   The Firewalker, by William Kentridge and Gerhard Marx, Johannesburg 2010
Source: Author's own, 2011

The *Fire Walker* [107] is an astounding artistic and engineering feat that emerges against the background of what was once the economic center of Johannesburg. The geometric complexity, the structural impossibility of the sculpture continually disrupts a purportedly three-dimensional object into a series of two-dimensional fragments at every turn. Its aesthetic and structural qualities imply an assemblage around the armature of a

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[107] This introduction is based on a longer essay written by the author: Matsipa, M. 2011. "Mythologies" in *Fire Walker: William Kentridge and Gerhard Marx*; Barstow, O and Law-Viljoen, B (eds); Fourth Wall publishers

(post)revolutionary time and a re-enchantment of the ordinary, that is deeply imbricated in utopian thinking and early Bolshevik art.[108] It suggests a desire to jettison the female figure into an unknown space. To this end, and from a northern perspective, the sculpture creates perceptual distortions and dislocations of the female form, resisting any totalizing perception of an apparently marginal   black female figure.

Admittedly, the eleven-meter high 'anti-monument' acknowledges the critical presence of black female vendors in the city—and yet the idiom folds back on itself, suggesting an iconic black female figure, as shadow, as ghost and as fragments within the city's landscape. Suddenly a once- familiar figure in the cityscape takes on foreign, unsettling dimensions. This disturbing form, a haunting of the city's gateway, reformulated the identity of the city with images of a heroic, victimized, fractured woman. It creates both a symbol and a site of remembrance for a figure that is - ironically not dead in the least -yet not wholly welcome in the city either. Therefore the Firewalker acts as a reminder and bizarre memorial, which suggests an unresolved issue one revisits every time one enters the city or drives along its many metropolitan roads: the unresolved issue of the inconvenient black female body in space.

Whereas one might feel compelled to ruminate over the plight of poor black women, when approaching the sculpture from the north of the city along Queen Elizabeth Bridge - the   significance of this image fragments - is lost from the perspective of the pedestrians and park users approaching the sculpture from the South .
This effect of dismemberment emerges within multiple sites across the city-region of Johannesburg.[109] On the other hand, the *Firewalker* site also constitutes a reconfiguration of the city in a way that heightens an awareness of other fugitive landscapes in the city. It invokes images of other inconvenient bodies –women, the sick, the homeless, the undocumented immigrant – that move from the realm of mythology and into the realm of the real.

The *Fire Walker* is a sculptural collaboration between artists William Kentridge and Gerhard Marx (2009). It was commissioned by the Johannesburg Development Agency as part of their larger urban upgrading project for the inner city of Johannesburg. It is situated on the southern foot of the Queen Elizabeth Bridge in the central business district of Johannesburg. The sculpture when viewed from the north of the city, presents the silhouetted image of an African woman carrying a burning brazier on her head. The significance of this image of fragments is lost from the perspective of the pedestrians and park users approaching the sculpture from the south.

Dismemberment emerges within multiple sites across the city-region. For example the fragmentation of the city along a north-south axis with the attendant unequal distribution of wealth, resources and infrastructure; the concentrations of poverty within the city as

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[108] Buck-Morse, Susan. (2000) "Dream Worlds of History" Chapter 2, in *Dream worlds and Catastrophe – The passing of Mass Utopia in the East and West*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press:
[109] For example   the fragmentation of the city along a north-south axis with the attendant unequal distribution of wealth, resources and infrastructure; the concentrations of poverty within the city as well as the peripheralization of poverty witnessed in the dispersal of informal settlements along the city's edges; that these fragments imply.

well as the dispersal of informal settlements along the city's edges; that these fragments imply. Similarly, the haunting, fragmented images presented by the *Firewalker* invoke the marginalized sites within the city-region. The shadow image implies not only resemblance, but also a connection, proximity and equivalence.[110] Therefore, rather than a bad copy of the 'true city' - these marginalized urban sites, are an attached twin that sticks with the 'true city'- and constitutes an integral part of a "World-Class African city".

This chapter will explain how the emergence of public art is part of a larger project of urban regeneration in Johannesburg. It will first discuss the origins and discourse of 'crises in Johannesburg that inaugurated a radical departure from redistributive policies in in the mid-1990s. Through an examination of policy documents and vision statements, it will discuss the intentionality of city officials within the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and the City of Johannesburg as they grappled with urban transformation in the post 1994 period, and how this led to the emergence of new public-private institutional arrangements embodied in organizations like the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA).

In this chapter, I argue that a discourse of crisis in post-apartheid Johannesburg not only signaled the dissolution of apartheid socio-spatial order and a global economic crisis, but that it also signaled anxieties about the presence of impoverished and raced bodies in the historically white inner city. Thus, attempts to reorder Johannesburg presented city officials with a crisis of aesthetics, which the public and private sector sought to resolve, by imposing a new visual and social order, on the city. However, this crisis did not only reflect a concern for visual order and international competitiveness. It was also refracted through concerns about dramatic demographics shifts in the inner city brought on by rapid urbanization and in-migration from the sub-continent, an exponential increase in unregulated street trade, 'bad buildings', crime, public health and sanitation, low payment levels for rates and taxes, absentee landlords and declining property values.

City officials hoped that a program of urban renewal would lead to a transformation of the inner city and its users. Thus urban renewal was informed by preoccupations with transparency, surveillance and spatial control. Therefore public art was part of a larger strategy for urban renewal which the City of Johannesburg - and the JDA in particular - hoped would improve the investment climate of the city and the viability of the newly democratic nation state.

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[110] Ferguson, J. 2006. Global shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order. Duke University Press pp16-17
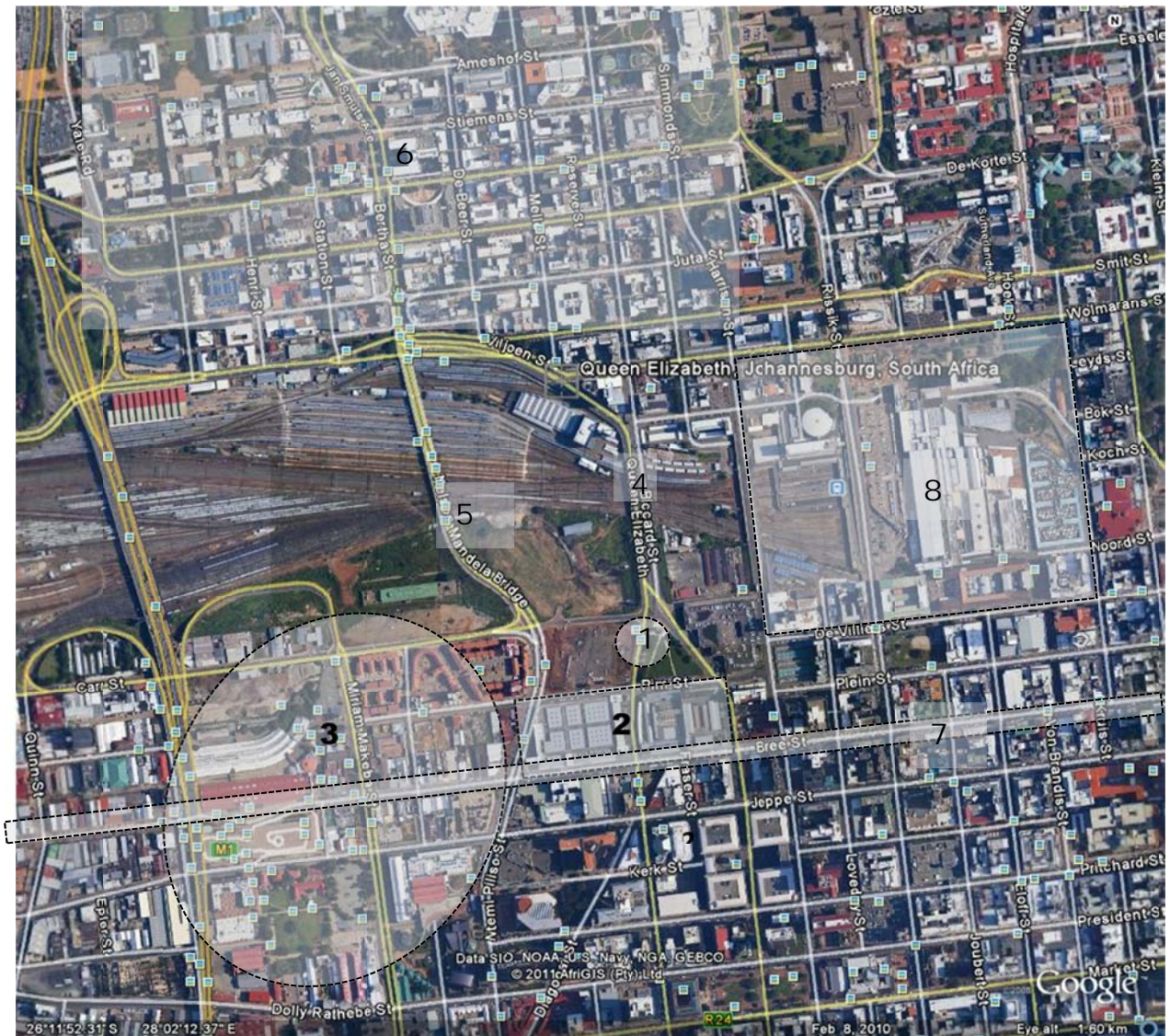
Fig.12.   Newtown Cultural Precinct showing location of Firewalker

1.   Firewalker Monument
2.   Metro Mall Taxi Rank and Market
3.   Newtown Cultural Precinct
4.   Queen Elizabeth Bridge
5.   Nelson Mandela Bridge
6.   Braamfontein Precinct
7.   Bree Street
8.   Park Railway Station Precinct

Base Image Source: Google Earth Image (Base Map) overlay by author

2.1   Unmapping the City

The end of apartheid in Johannesburg was constituted through an 'unmapping'[111] of the racial and economic geography of the city, but also a remapping of that geography along classical liberal economic principles. Subsequent attempts at urban reorganization in Johannesburg were marked by attempts at producing a new legibility and transparency to the inner city by local government and the private sector. This concern for legibility also suggested anxieties about a city that had become opaque and unknowable. This process of unmapping was integral to the ways in which the city was re-imagined as a new frontier after the fall of apartheid.

2.1.1   The Dying days of Apartheid: 1970-1994

In *Bleakness and Light,* a critical sociological study of inner city transition and 'race relations'[112] in Hillbrow, a high density, once all-white Group Areas neighborhood in the inner city into a predominantly black neighborhood, Alan Morris (1999) argues that the inner city of Johannesburg came to be seen as a site of urban disorder, decay and crime, in ways that obfuscate a complex range of factors that were external to the neighborhood, but which nevertheless played themselves out within and through the neighborhood. According to Morris (1999), inner city transition had its roots in the late apartheid period of repression and reform beginning in the 1970s. Factors such as political turmoil and economic stagnation of the increasingly embattled and incoherent apartheid state, urban housing shortages, increasing resistance to residential segregation, absentee landlords, redlining by banks, inadequate control in planning and service provision by the municipality - contributed to both the transformation of the inner city. These wide-ranging shifts in the socio-spatial logic of the apartheid state, led to a shift in the racial composition of Hillbrow and other inner city neighboughrhoods before democratic elections in 1994.
However, the emergence of a discourse of 'crisis' and loss within public and private representations of Johannesburg, increased especially only after 1994. This language of crisis was especially prevalent within the national media[113] but also amongst city officials.

According to Sihlongonyane (2011), between 1995 and 2003, articles in newspapers like the *Sunday Life*, the *Citizen, The Star, City Press* and *Sunday Times* all described Johannesburg as a site for rampant sexual assault and other forms of inter-personal violence, economic decline, mirrored in the flight of high-end retail shops from the inner city, a 'slum city', a 'ruin', a hive of criminal activity including prostitution and the murder capital of the world

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[111] Tsing, A.L. 2005. *Friction*: *Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, pp. 30-36.
[112] Da Silva argues that the sociological concept of 'race relations" is highly problematic because it presupposes that racial difference is a given sociological fact, and thus functions tautologically as a mode of understanding racial subjection. From: Da Silva, D, and F. 2007. *Towards a Global Theory of Race*. Minnesota Press
[113] Crankshaw, O. and White. Oct. 2009. "Racial Desegregation and Inner City Decay in Johannesburg." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Vol. 19, Issue 4; pp 622 – 638, (First published December 1995)

and "the most dangerous city outside a war zone" (City Press, 27 April, 1997). These media reports were supported by official reports on the escalation of crime in Johannesburg. [114] According to Sihlogonyane (2011), the media reports projected crime in association with being 'foreign' and 'black' - as though crime were perpetrated only by black migrants. Furthermore Sihlogonyane (2011) argues that the media images of rapid black migration into the city, gave the impression that the city was "falling apart' as a result of the high level of crime and related issues of economic decline, rising unemployment, poor flows of inward investment and large inflows of African migrants.

Additionally, this period saw a rapid increase of informal trading in the city. The Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) estimated that there were 4,000 informal traders in central Johannesburg – including Hillbrow and Braamfontein in 1994. By the early 2000s, between 7000 and 10,000 informal traders worked in the city with an estimated annual turnover of approximately R4,2 million a year (Inner City Regeneration Report, 2006), and by 2006, there were approximately 18,000 informal traders in Johannesburg, the majority of whom worked as street traders in the inner city (Tissington, 2009).

This high level of urban informality within the central city caused a lot of unease. Black Africans, at least 45 per cent of whom were foreign migrants, came to be associated with 'Africanization' and with it, a "degeneration" thesis about the status of the city-in-ruins (Sihlogonyane, 2001). According to Graham Gotz, a prominent city official, the thousands informal traders who populated the sidewalks of the inner city were perceived as the source of urban disorder – particularly with regard to "obstructing traffic flow and posing threats to public environmental health" through the sale and display of food-stuffs. Furthermore, abandoned factory buildings on the edges of the city, had become home to large numbers of immiserated urban residents, while overcrowding and low payment levels for rates and services resulted in deteriorating urban services and infrastructure.

According to this narrative of crisis, these perceptions of "chronic urban decay" precipitated a further outflow of established white-owned businesses to new office parks in already decentralized locations. In the same breadth that Gotz et al discuss the putatively overwhelming presence of informal street trade in the city - they also state that "over 20 per cent of prime office space in the inner city stood empty as opposed to 8 per cent in Sandton and Midland to the north." They go on to argue that rentals dropped rapidly: the then Southern Metropolitan Local Council valued the Carlton Centre, once the tallest skyscraper in the southern hemisphere, at R57 million rand, whereas independent values had pegged the property value at only R30 million[115]. According to Gotz et al this "adjustment lag" discouraged investment in the city and limited the flexibility in rental structure (2001:126).

Therefore, large scale African migration into the inner city fed into increasing insecurity, not only related to a fear of crime, but also to fears of social difference (Beal et al, 2002.

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[114] Between 1993 and 1997, two-thirds of the population in Johannesburg was victims of crime. Residential burglary increased dramatically by 38 per cent in South Africa from 1994 to 2002(Low et al, 1998:3 cited in Sihlogonyane, 2011).

[115] Allen, K; Gotz, G and Joseph, C. 2001. *Johannesburg: an African city in change / The City of Johannesburg Council.* Johannesburg. Zebra Books ; pp 125

Kaminski, 2006), which were simultaneously conflated with falling property values and decreasing rates revenues in the city. The figure of the trader-migrant , thus emerged as a sign of crisis, which circulated through numerous official City discussions, policy documents, media reports, and academic texts as a manifestation of urban disorder at the end of apartheid.

Thus changes in the racial composition of the inner city were enmeshed with the rise in crime, rapid urbanization and settlement of impoverished African migrants into poorly managed urban environments , a proliferation of unregulated street trade, prostitution and drug-dealing . These characterizations of the inner city and its residents as harbingers of disorder all worked to produce the pathologization of the inner city residents (Morris, 1999). Therefore, instead of discussing the effects of suburbanization of the white population and signs of global and economic decline that were already evident in the inner city in the 1970s, rapid demographic shifts as well as   racist and classist preoccupations with controlling African movement in cities, combined with broader institutional and financial crises within the City of Johannesburg and South Africa more broadly, to inaugurate a discourse of 'crisis' in Johannesburg.

2.1.2   The Fiscal Abyss

The pathologization of the inner city was not a foregone conclusion at the time of the transition to democracy in the early 1990s. In fact, according to South African planner and activist, Alan Mabin, the inner city had been viewed by many planners and city officials as the "cash-cow" that they hoped would help to fund the redistribution of resources in the form of urban infrastructure and development programs, (housing, water, electricity, sewerage) to previously marginalized urban residents in Johannesburg, under a unified tax base and an integrated municipal system, under the slogan "one city one tax base"[116]. Johannesburg had emerged from the apartheid period as a profoundly unequal and fragmented city[117]. By 2001, the generally poor African population (70.2 per cent) lived mainly in large urban townships to the south and peripheries of the north of Johannesburg. In 2001 Over 70 per cent of the urban population suffered decades of neglect and received low levels of service provision and basic infrastructure because permanent African population was actively discouraged: approximately 14 per cent of Johannesburg households used paraffin or candles rather than electricity, approximately 13 per cent used pit latrines or buckets - or had no toilet at all, 32 per cent of households had no running water inside their dwellings. On the other hand, the affluent white population (18.65 per cent of the total) lived mainly in the north and reserved a disproportionately large share of resources in Johannesburg, with standards of infrastructure and services on par with the world's wealthiest city districts.[118]

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[116] Interview with Alan Mabin, July 2012

[117] In 2001, households in Johannesburg   earned more than R28 billion altogether. However, 18.2 per cent survived on less than R500 ($55) a month with almost half of those   had no regular income. The city has an unemployment rate of 29 per cent; 32.4 per cent earn between R500-R2500 ($55 - $278) per month and 20 per cent earn between R2500-R8000 ($278 - $889) per month; 11.76 per cent of households earned between R8000-R30,000 ($889- $3333) per month,; and the top 1 per cent of households earn in excess of R30,000 ($300) per month. Gotz et Al, 2001:5

[118] Gotz *et al*, 2001:5

In addition to spatial, income and service inequality, Johannesburg was also highly segregated with regard to revenue bases[119]. According to Richard Tomlinson (2001), economic activity was forcibly located in 'white' group areas and created a tax base whereas businesses in former black townships were prohibited by the apartheid local state. These prohibitions created a highly inequitable and dysfunctional distribution of taxable resources and personal wealth. In the 1990's, economic activities contributed 75 per cent of the rates revenue of Johannesburg. In contrast, 95 per cent of the revenue of Johannesburg's four Black Local Authorities (BLA's) came from grants from central government. At the same time, residential segregation created broad sweeps of low-income and impoverished settlements located at great distance from employment sites, retail centers and white areas of residence. The consequence in 1994, was that the average annual per capita income in Randburg – one of Johannesburg's wealthiest suburbs was R 53,927 ($5992), whereas the same figure in Soweto, the wealthiest Black township in South Africa, was R8,358($929).[120]

Furthermore, whereas apartheid-era Johannesburg had 13 racially stratified local authorities in the early 1990's, these local authorities were amalgamated to form four sub-structures and one metropolitan council before 1994. These 13 local authorities presided over communities divided into racially stratified groups and municipal boundaries were circumscribed areas of high taxable development and concentrations of relatively wealthy white residents, while the poorer majority were forced to live in areas where rates income was limited. These areas were excluded from the capital budget of increasingly wealthier white local authorities. Therefore, according to Gotz et al (2001), some areas of the city were driven into a spiral of systemic underdevelopment where ever-declining resource bases failed to meet growing service needs.[121]

With the end of formal apartheid, the imperative and constitutional mandate of the metropolitan government of Johannesburg in 1994 was to redistribute resources that had historically been the preserve of white group areas, in order to meet the service needs of a much larger and poorer population. This was reflected in dramatically increased capital budgets in the immediate post-apartheid period. Following the Soweto Accord in September 1990, the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber (CWMC)[122] had given the first institutional expression to the ideal of a unified city, which came to be known as a "uni-city": the principle that Johannesburg is a functionally integrated metropolitan region, constituting a common area of economic activity and a logical frame of reference for

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[119] 65 per cent of the population in Johannesburg lived in Soweto, however, the area contributed 2 per cent to the metropolitan rate base

[120] Tomlinson, R. 1998. Ten Years in the Making : A Metropolitan Government for Johannesburg, pp. 2-3

[121] Gotz et al, 2001.

[122]This ground-breaking negotiating structure was constituted through 53 member organizations (local authorities, civic associations, ratepayers associations and political parties), 32 official observer organizations (trade unions, parastatals, organized business etc.), with working groups covering constitutional , institutional , financial, economic , social and physical development However, rather than a sudden transition to democracy in 1994, negotiations about how best to address these inequalities had their roots in anti-apartheid civic activism embodied in organizations like the Soweto Civic assertion. These organizations sought a politically and economically integrated and equitable municipal structure, as opposed to the highly exclusionary and racist municipal structure of local government. These activities culminated in the promulgation of the Soweto Accord in September 1990. (Gotz et al, 2001:9).

coordinated planning. Additionally, the boundaries of Johannesburg were redrawn and settled by the Gauteng Provincial Demarcation Board and Provincial Legislation in 1995.[123] Unlike other areas in Johannesburg, the metropolitan level was positioned as the driver of the transition process. Thus it needed to be underpinned by a single unified tax base, with no barriers to revenue raised in one area, being spent in another. The rational was that all Johannesburg residents had contributed to its economic growth and should therefore all benefit from it. [124] This rationale formed the basis of the Provincial Proclamation 24 of 3 December 1994 embodied the spirit of a metro-wide government enshrined by the CWMC[125].

In the post electoral period of 1995, the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council and Metropolitan Local Councils (MLCs) expanded their capital budgets in order to begin to meet basic needs, elaborating on a deliberate shift in capital and operating expenditure towards major services aimed at promoting integration and equity. The City of Johannesburg, like many other municipalities in South Africa, increased their capital budgets in order to invest in infrastructure in previously under-served urban areas, while the City's salary bill was simultaneously increased to address inequalities in salaries and disparities in conditions of service inherited from an amalgamation of Black Local Authorities into the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Transitional Council (GMTC). However, by 1996, the GJMTC was in institutional and financial distress.[126]

At a financial level, the crisis was manifested in July 1997. ESCOM, the South African electricity parastatal had a bill for R300 million ($33.3 Million) for the bulk supply of electricity for the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Transitional Council. By September of that same year, the GJMTC had a R5.2 million negative cash flow. The City of Johannesburg also saw a 15 per cent decline in resources between March 1996 and March 1997, that pointed to a need for bridge financing a rapidly growing debt. Furthermore, between November 1995 and March 1996, over 150,000 consumers were permanently disconnected from the electricity network. This was a significant drop in the customer base of what was considered the most important trading service of the city (40 per cent of all municipal income came from electricity sales in the mid-1990s).

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[123] At this time, the ANC and other political parties reasserted their preference for how the metro should work. Following a legal battle, the Special Electoral Court ruled that a four metropolitan sub-structure model should be established. A few months before the first democratic local government elections in 1995, the metro lost power to determine an overall policy framework, especially for systems development, integration and relationships and Metropolitan Local Councils were seen as financially viable entities.

[124] Between 1990 and 1993, the CWMC led to the creation of a nationally sanctioned system for local government (Gotz et al, 2001:10).

[125] The Proclamation provided for: the dissolution of all political councils in the area; the establishment of a new Transitional Metropolitan Council (JMC) and 7 metropolitan sub-structures - each with a 50-50 statutory, non-statutory basis; it vested all powers and functions of the dissolved councils in the JMC; retention of substantial powers at the Metro level including the determining an overall policy framework at the metropolitan area, responsibility for the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) within the metropolitan area, power to approve the overall budget and determination of minimal service levels and a JMC-led process of institutional change (Gotz, 2001:15).

[126] Intergovernmental fiscal relations system was overhauled to facilitate a flow of available national resources to municipal areas with the greatest concentrations of poor people. Furthermore, the resources used to service and maintain rich areas were not enough to address the privations suffered by poor areas.

Between June 1995 and December 1996, 48 local authorities in South Africa defaulted on loans from the Development Bank of Southern Africa: defaults to ESCOM rose from R147 million ($16.3 million) in December 1993 to almost R850 million ($ 94.4 million) in January 1996.

Gotz *et al* attribute the financial crisis of the late 1990s to four inter-related factors: 1) unrealistic capital budgets were approved and spent without securing finance; 2) The city had taken on additional responsibilities without additional revenue. The inclusion of poor areas with limited rates base; 3) fragmented revenue and expenditure arrangements – billing and collection for water and electricity were devolved to municipal sub-structures and money intended for the Metro was used as bridging finance for capital expenditure programs; and finally, 4) non-payment of rates and services which was a legacy of civil disobedience under apartheid, poor billing systems and the inability of very poor communities to pay for services.[127]

Thus, by 1997, banks refused loans to the city and overdrafts carried exorbitant charges. Financial markets regarded Johannesburg as a "no-go" area, and finance was only available on accounts at very high rates. Johannesburg, like many other municipalities in South Africa could not raise the necessary finance to back its budgeted capital expenditure. The city's credit rating had been drastically reduced on the basis of weak financial indicators and poor confidence in its ability to pay its creditors for three months.[128]

The combined institutional and financial crisis within the City, gave rise to a discourse on Johannesburg that was circumscribed by a generalized language of 'crisis'. According to city officials like Graham Gotz and Khetso Gordon, the roots of "the crisis" lay in the transition from an authoritarian, exclusionary apartheid local government to post-apartheid local government. Gotz et al (2001:xi, 9)argue further that and that "the crisis" was both "inevitable," and a part of a generalized crisis across local authorities nation-wide: rising debt, declining investments and high capital expenditure on infrastructure, which sat at R20 to 28 million, but also that the financial crisis was only one dimension of a much deeper organizational and institutional crisis.[129]

As a consequence, the late 1990s saw a shift from redistribution of wealth and resources to a new system of urban entrepreneurialism that employed austerity measures in an attempt to resolve the financial crisis, financial structure and managerial crisis within the GJMTC. The following section shows how the inner city was refigured to legitimize the official narrative

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[127] However, the 1996 Sandton rates boycott , in which the Eastern Metropolitan Local Council increased rates by between 120-250 per cent in the Sandton area leading to a arrears of R220 million. (Gotz et al, 2001:10-19).

[128] In the 1996/97 period, the city had capital expenditure of R 1.280 million, in 1997/98 it had risen to R 592 million, with a budget deficit of R 314 million (Gotz et al, 2001:22).

[129] According to Got et al, the City was plagued by a deep underlying organizational crisis. Organizational systems were fragmented, misaligned and dysfunctional: the formula foe Metro was for 5 separate and independent municipal structures, each with its own budgets and administration. This lead to duplication , a lack of clarity about roles, responsibilities and accountability, lack of prioritization and performing non-core local authority functions, which meant that local councils were unable to address the inequitable delivery of services; lack of performance management of the activities and staff of local councils

of economic growth, cultural consumption through urban development and the creation of 'African world class city'.

2.2 Pioneers of the Cultural Arc

The City of Johannesburg produced a number of city visioning documents in an attempt to chart a new path for the city, these included iGoli 2002 in the late 1990s, iGoli 2010 in 2000 which formed the basis of iGoli 2030, following a workshop at the Mayoral Committee Lekgotla which was held in November 2001.In October 1997, the Gauteng Provincial Gazette announced that an emergency structure which came to be known as The Committee of Ten. The purpose of the Committee was to curtail capital expenditure, revise operating budgets, and introduce stringent credit control measures across the five councils that made up the GJMTC. The Johannesburg Inner City Development Forum produced a new vision for the inner city – *iGoli* 2002.

2.2.1 City Visions

IGoli 2002 Plan   was a response to the crisis, rather than a heroic vision for the city. The *iGoli* 2002 vision gave impetus to the work of the Inner City Office (ICO) which developed a renewal strategy which was expressed in a series of programs and projects. This vision embodied principles of a "world-class city" through new entities which had been established under the iGoli plan, in three distinct ways: Firstly, its larger development objectives were to turn the City of Johannesburg into a more "outward-looking, growth oriented"[130] institution that focused on promoting an improved rates base through economically strategic investments; secondly ,ensuring long-term strategic planning, sharpening institutional arrangements, providing incentives for good management and overhauling mechanisms of accountability and finally, it created conditions for a plan for regional administrators.

On the other hand, the Johannesburg 2030 Vision Statement set out to a "blueprint for the future City of Johannesburg" with a strong focus on the City's economy. Although somewhat eclectic, the central thrust of the vision stated that the future wellbeing of the city and its citizens lay in irrefutable centrality of liberal economic principles stated thus:

> "There is a popular expectation that a 'better city' and a 'better quality of life' , can and should , be immediately funded fiscally through direct government intervention and delivery of essential services such as water, electricity, housing as well as jobs. There are three arguments, which must be made in relation to this debate. First, sufficient evidence exists that government is not always capable or the most efficient deliverer of certain products or opportunities. Second, the ability and rate at which government is able to provide such services is directly related to its tax revenues and hence economic growth will assist government in delivering such goods and services as it will have more resources at its disposal. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly,

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[130] Allen, K; Gotz, G and Joseph, C. 2001. *Johannesburg: an African city in change / The City of Johannesburg Council. Johannesburg.pp 1-15*

economic growth allows individual households and businesses to decrease their reliance on government for such goods and services, privately at market related prices. In other words economic growth will empower individuals, be they businesses or households, to be able to autonomously chart the course of their futures."[131]

The Johannesburg 2030 argued that government is not necessarily the most appropriate or efficient provider of products and services, but should rather be an agent of economic development. This reorientation of the city development strategy not only equated political freedom with economic freedom, but it also argued that the political freedom achieved in 1994 had exacted a heavy toll individual (albeit to varying degrees), so too, would economic freedom.[132]

Thus the City of Johannesburg charted a new path in which the City no longer sought to operate as a provider or administrator of service, but as a "key agent of economic development". [133] This vision also sought to position Johannesburg as a "world-class business location internationally", dominated by service sector activities rather than productive activities. Thus mining, primary good production and much of manufacturing would no longer be key contributors to the City's economy. Financial and business services, transport, communication, trade, accommodation and catering and utilities would become the main sources of employment in the City and to GGP value added, with a special focus on financial services and export orientation to G8 countries.[134]

Furthermore, the Joburg 2030 asserted that   by 2030 the quality of life of citizens in Johannesburg would be on par with those in San Francisco, London or Tokyo than that of a citizen in a developing country's capital city. This quality of life in Johannesburg would become a positive factor in locational decisions made by international forms and individuals, with a Human Development Index that is equivalent to "first world capital city HDI measures.[135]

The restructuring of Johannesburg occurred at the same time that   President Thabo Mbeki introduced   the Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy in 1996. Whereas the 1980s had been economically stagnant, GEAR inaugurated a restructuring of the national economy which aimed at growth –led development as its principal objective, alongside job creation as the primary means of redistribution. According to the policy, growth required fiscal deficit reduction, opening up to international markets, improving international competitiveness, , expansion of private sector formation and acceleration in private sector investment, a stable environment which would encourage investment, greater labor market flexibility, efficient capital expenditure and service delivery and enhanced human resources development, infrastructure expansion and job creation. [136]

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[131] City of Johannesburg, 2001. "Introduction" in *A Vision Statement for the City of Johannesburg2030*, 5 December 2001, pp. 5
[132] Ibid.
[133] City of Johannesburg, 2001. "Introduction" in *A Vision Statement for the City of Johannesburg 2030*; pp. 5
[134] Ibid, pp8
[135] Ibid, pp. 10
[136] South African Treasury, 1996. "Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy." http://www.treasury.gov.za/publications/other/gear/chapters.pdf retrieved February, 2013

The policy also aimed to strengthen the redistributive thrust of expenditure, a faster fiscal deficit reduction program to contain debt service obligations, counter inflation and free resources for investment; a reduction in tariffs to contain input prices and facilitate industrial restructuring, compensating; partially for the exchange rate depreciation; tax incentives to stimulate new investment in competitive and labor absorbing projects; speeding up the restructuring of state assets to optimize investment resources. [137]

The national policy environment created the conditions for urban restructuring within a contradictory framework of growth –led development and redistribution through employment. The late 1990s saw a shift to "urban entrepreneurialism", the rescaling of political-economic space and the dynamics of place-making within a context of international, competitiveness. At a local scale, this entailed the restructuring of financial and organizational arrangements in an attempt to achieve these goals.
These policy and institutional shift have been identified by neo-Marxist theorists as the hallmark of the neoliberal city.[138] Theorists like David Harvey and Neil Smith, have noted a shift from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism, in which the state is an agent of – rather than a regulator of the market.

In Johannesburg, this was evidenced in the way in which the state provided massive subsidies and incentives like the Urban Development Tax Incentive (UDZ) as well as selling off state owned land at a nominal price, to the private sector. However, whereas the neoliberalism often entails the shift from social reproduction to the production of real-estate value accompanied by a criminalization of the poor, in Johannesburg, the desire to raise real estate values displaces sites of social reproduction to peripheral locations within the metropolitan region. One of the consequences of this strategy has been the refiguring of the geography of apartheid spatial planning. Thus low income housing delivery remains largely within the south or peripheral locations of the city which are predominantly black and the inner city core reconfigured to attract an ethnically diverse blue and white collar demographic (See fig. 7)

Building on the structural adjustments introduced by both iGoli 2002 and 2010, as a well as macro-economic policy shifts, Johannesburg 2030 also argued for strategic densification, urban renewal and infill development. It stated the need to create a definitive plan that would recognize existing economic hubs which fit into "hub and spoke" structure (like Stockholm) of development as central to a long term vision of the City. This structure of economic hubs connected via development corridors would ensure economies of urbanization as well as economies of localization. This model thus placed urban renewal as a necessary component of "selective densification" of forecasted demographic groups in order to create conditions for urbanization and localization economies.

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[137] South African Treasury, 1996. "Growth, Employment and Redistribution Policy." http://www.treasury.gov.za/publications/other/gear/chapters.pdf retrieved February, 2013
[138] The neoliberal city has been understood in four inter-related ways: the entrepreneurial city, the "feeding the downtown monster" (David Harvey); the Globalization of property capital (Michael Peter Smith) the revanchist city (Neil Smith); and uneven development (Jessop, Peck, Brenner and Harvey).
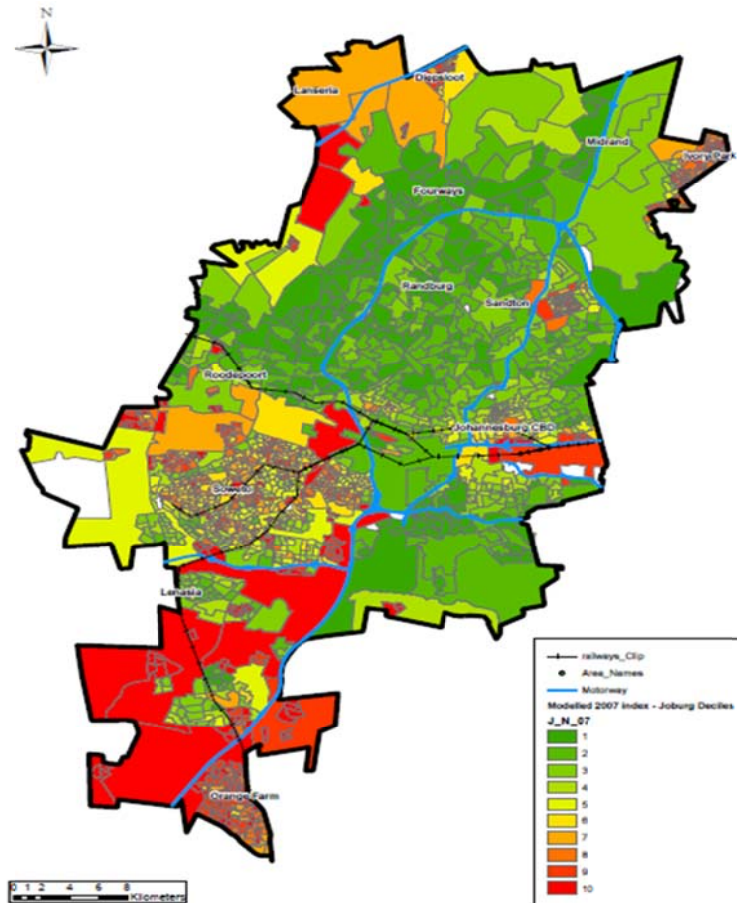
Fig. 13. Map showing the spatial distribution of poverty in the Johannesburg Municipal area using a multiple
deprivation Index. Red indicates most resource and income deprived areas, green indicates the
wealthiest and bet resourced areas in the City.

Source: City of Johannesburg, Courtesy of Steven Naidoo

Furthermore, an open space strategy would be a crucial component of this strategy –as sites
of leisure for a service based economy with a large percentage of white and blue collar
workers characterizing the City's economic profile. The Vision document stated that
disjuncture between immediate need - like low cost housing - and future needs of the
services economy. The Vision document also identified a role for the city in increasing
"sectoral growth" by implementing flagship or catalytic projects within the metropolitan
region.[139] These catalytic projects were identified on the basis of their economic viability,
sustainability and on their compatibility with and ability to anchor the new economic
growth trajectory.[140]

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[139] City of Johannesburg. 2001. "Catalytic Projects" in A Statement for the City of Johannesburg, pp. 10.156
[140] The Vision Document identified four potential catalytic projects: Polly Tunnel high value added agro
processing adjacent to Soweto; an international business services hub in New Doornfontein – outsourcing
back office operations and ICT operations to the English speaking international market; A call centre in either
Soweto or Alexandra and a cross border shopping Hub for the wholesale and retail sector.

The Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF) was the outcome of this vision for the City. It set out a vision to transform Johannesburg into a "World Class African City[141] both spatially and economically. The SDF sought to create a spatial strategy and to identify key interventions and development areas within the city, which would drive economic growth - not only for the inner city, but for the Johannesburg metropolitan area as a whole. The framework further argued that investment confidence was linked to "efficiency" through institutional and economic support mechanisms, and public and private investment. Thus, city efficiency was tied to the physical structure of the city as well as the manner in which the city is managed.[142]

The key thrust of the strategy was - amongst others – to stimulate economic growth through "competitiveness, knowledge and entrepreneurship".[143] This implied support for 'sectors' that would yield sustained growth in the face of declining revenues from the gold-mining industry and manufacturing, and the changing role of the inner city. According to the Spatial Development Framework Working Document (1999), the inner city had lost its "status and investment drive" due to "decline, decentralization and abandonment of investment, linked to accessibility and well as safety and security problems."

The City of Johannesburg and the Inner City Office identified "perceptions of safety and crime, derelict buildings, poor transportation within the inner city, the cost of converting buildings from industrial /commercial to residential and the lack of open spaces" as key investment inhibitors in the inner city. The SDF similarly identified the strategic significance of the inner city as a primary node within the urban system and argued that its importance should be reinforced whereas the other locations like Randburg, Sandton, Woodmead and Midrand served as prime locations for knowledge based industry, that required "high quality environments with good quality electricity and telecommunication infrastructure". Additionally, the SDF identified urban renewal as a critical component of demarcating an urban boundary. Subsequently, the inner city became the focus for urban renewal, including restoring the function of the Johannesburg Central Business District, with a significantly smaller office core, and transforming 'derelict' areas into 'functional' parts of the city.[144]

Neil Brenner and Nik Theodor (2002) define these dynamics of restructuring under the analytical lens of "neoliberalism and its evolving political-economic geographies" (2002:342). They argue that local and regional spaces are now increasingly being viewed as key institutional arenas for a wide range of policy experiments and political strategies. These included new entrepreneurial approaches to local economic development as well as diverse programs of institutional restructuring intended to enhance labor market flexibility, territorial competitiveness and place-specific locational assets (2002:342).. The implementation of neoliberal strategies in cities has entailed the political, institutional and geographical reorganization of the state – rather than its retrenchment. Furthermore, they argue that a "neoliberal statecraft" is both dysfunctional and malleable, such that its

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[141] City of Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework – Working Document, November 2001; np
[142] City of Johannesburg , Spatial Development Framework, 2001
[143] City of Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework, November 2001; np
[144] Ibid, np

failures to establish sustainable basis for socio-economic regeneration, it nevertheless retains its hold over municipal policy.[145]

In the Johannesburg 2030 City Vision, the disjunctures produced by present need and projections of a desired city to come are seen as a natural – and necessary condition of growth. Thus as suggested by Theodor and Brenner, urban policies and the state institutions have evolved such that political elites have attempted to confront their profoundly disruptive socio-economic consequences without calling into question the basic neoliberal premise of market-driven growth (2002:345). Thus in Johannesburg, a neoliberal project of political economic restructuring collides with pre-existing socio-spatial cleavages and in turn create new forms of inequality, political disenfranchisement and economic immiseration.

Given these shifts in the political economy of the city, a central question is not only of improving the image of the city and its new role, but also of giving this vision physical and material form. This task was the primary role of the Inner City Office, and later Johannesburg Development Agency.

2.2.2   Birth of the World Class African City

The City of Johannesburg started to re-image Johannesburg as a "Gateway to Africa" as early as the 1992 (Johannesburg, 1992). This strategy asserted the unrivalled advantages of the city as a communications hub, it linkages to the information highway, and the site of the national Stock Exchange. These attributes were proclaimed as making Johannesburg the ideal location for these directly involved in the financial services sector (Johannesburg 1994, cited by Sihlogonyane, 2011).

In mid-1997 the then-deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, announced the new vision for the city centre, known as 'The Golden Heartbeat of Africa'. The vision had been negotiated over the previous 18 months between local and provincial governments and organizations representing community, labor and business. In 2000, the process was bolstered by the City's first executive mayor, Amos Masondo, who announced that the inner city was to be one of the six priorities of his term of office. This new vision set out to Implement urban renewal projects, develop small to medium enterprises and to encourage creative industries and cultural tourism in the inner city. [146]

Following the local government elections in 1995, Johannesburg, under the leadership of the ANC formed the Johannesburg Inner City Development Forum - a partnership between government, civil society, labor and the private sector.   This forum created a new re-imaging initiative to make the city a "smart city" and the "Golden Heartbeat of Africa" (Rogerson, 1994). According to Sihlongonyane (2011), this campaign also sought to project Johannesburg as a trading hub of Africa thriving through participation, partnership and the spirit of 'Ubuntu' (reciprocal responsibility).

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[145] Brenner, N and Theodor, N. 2002. "Preface: The "New Localism" to the spaces of neoliberalism" in *Antipode*, Blackwell Publishers, pp. 341-347

[146] City of Johannesburg, "Reshaping Johannesburg's Inner City" http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=126&Itemid=9#ixzz2QUgfn1Iv

After the "crisis", these aspirations were given material form - in part - through attempts to redesign, rebrand, redevelop and regulate formerly neglected, yet potentially lucrative sites within the city center. For example the redevelopment of Metro mall from an unregulated mini-bus taxi-rank into a mega transport infrastructure and trading destination, public artworks by internationally renowned artists like William Kentridge, and the restoration of the Turbine Hall in the Newtown Precinct.

The Turbine Hall was renovated and restored as part of a strategy to "preserve the heritage of the inner city."[147] This regeneration drive also constitutes attempts to lure new investment capital through premium tenants like AngloGold Ashanti (a subsidiary of Anglo American)and middle income young professionals back into the city-center, which in turn, it is hoped, would expand their spatial and social power, as well as make the inner city economically viable by creating a bigger tax base.

On the other hand, the late 1990s and early 2000s were marked by a large number of memorialization initiatives. In accordance with the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which had been initiated in 1996, the national government resolved to address the injustices of apartheid through a program of reparations, including "symbolic reparations". In 1998, the Reparation and Reconciliation Committee (RRC) produced policy recommendations that proposed that reparations were a necessary condition for national unity and reconciliation. According to the TRC report, symbolic reparations refer to measures that facilitate the "communal process of remembering and commemorating the pain and victories of the past." In acknowledging the role of civil society in the process of reconciliation and healing, the RRC argued that reparations should be viewed as a "national project" that is a "multi–faceted process and can be approached from many sides by different people (TRC Report, 2003).

The RRC saw reparations as a way of acknowledging the victims of "gross human rights violations" and as a way to overcome the past.[148] Symbolic reparations were intended to "restore the dignity of victims and survivors of gross human rights violations" identified through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process , their families, communities at local provincial and national level. [149]
This view was exemplified in President Thabo Mbeki's speech on 15 April 2003. At the tabling of the TRC's final report in Parliament, Mbeki stated that victims who had testified before the Commission would be given a once off payment of R 30 000 each ($ 3333). While many victims met this decision with disappointment, the President, in focusing on issues of symbolic reparation and community restitution, indicated that the implementation of an

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[147] Naidoo, R. 13 July 2009. "Turbine Hall is a fitting winner" taken from http://www.joburg.org.za/content/view/4071/254/. 2009 Date retrieved: 01 March 2011
[148] The Department of Justice. "A Summary Of Reparation And Rehabilitation Policy, Including Proposals To Be Considered By The President" http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/reparations/summary.htm#why retrieved 21/04/2013
[149] The rationale for reparations was both moral and legal: according to the Department of Justice, reparations were necessary for three reasons: Firstly, victims of gross human rights abuses have the right to reparation and rehabilitation because of the many different types of losses they have suffered; secondly, victims need to be compensated because they lost the right to claim damages from perpetrators who are given amnesty and finally, because ANC government had accepted responsibility for reparation against the atrocities committed by the Nationalist government

integrated and comprehensive reparations strategy would further compensate victims and the nation at large. He added that government both acknowledged and accepted the recommendations relating to symbolic reparations.[150]

Authority to address reparations ultimately lay in the office of the Presidency and the Department of Justice as well as the treasury. Thus, the beneficiaries of this process ranged from individuals, families and communities identified as victims by the TRC it also extended to the entire national body as well. [151] Therefore, the late 1990s saw a proliferation of international design competitions and the construction of new monuments and memorials nationally[152], including the Constitutional Hill Complex in Johannesburg, as well as renaming several streets and public facilities as well as national days of commemoration.
Thus policy shift and a national investment in symbolic reparations set the context for the visioning of the city.

The Inner City Office (ICO) was established in 1998 to synchronize policies and programs of the four political authorities in the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan area. It was a small and flexible project team, which was modelled as a group of project managers able to operate a high level of autonomy and flexibility, within the City of Johannesburg. It had a non-hierarchical structure which sought to "empower and trust managers approach" by Graham Reid.[153] Reid a flamboyant and dynamic leader, also argued for "management discretion" within existing decision-making frameworks to secure an environment that would be attractive to investors.[154]

The Inner City Office was concerned with the public image of the inner city and sought to cultivate partnerships with organized business and resident groups, with a view to strategically crafting a broader commitment to a more "stable and profitable" inner city economy and community. The ICO reiterated the importance of the inner city to integrate and facilitate the opportunities emerging from shifting markets and changing economies while simultaneously building on its established functions and facilities as a major economic generator, and employment and service center; maximizing the use of physical infrastructure; maximizing its civic administrative functions as the capital of Gauteng; building on the remaining office infrastructure, comprising the head offices of major corporations, the mining houses, banks and assurance companies. [155]

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[150] Naidu, E. 2004. "Symbolic Reparations: A fractured Opportunity" in Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/livingmemory/symbolicreparations.pdf Retrieved, 21 /04/2013
[151] Whereas individual reparations encompassed the issue death certificates, exhumations, burial and ceremonies for those who were killed or disappeared in the struggle against apartheid as well as the resolution of their legal matters, memorials, monuments and renaming of streets or buildings constituted community and national beneficiaries of the reparations program. Naidu, E. 2004. "Symbolic Reparations: A fractured Opportunity" in Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation. http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/livingmemory/symbolicreparations.pdf Retrieved, 21 /04/2013
[152] Noble, A.J. 2011. *African Identity in post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White Skin Black Masks*. Ashgate Studies in Architecture
[153] Gotz et al, 2001:132
[154] Gotz et al, 2001: 137
[155] "Economic Development/Management of Urbanisation – Policy Proposal" from the Office of the Chief Executive Officer (Inner City Office); pp. 24.4

The Inner City Office grew into a unit with responsibilities for over 30 distinct urban upgrade projects between 1998 and 2001. The Inner City Office developed the idea that the inner city should be developed around the concept of "precincts" or "districts".[156] This concept identified areas that not only had distinct features but also as a "managerial tool" that would enable the Inner City Office to structure the city across its diverse and complex character. These "districts" were identified by a combination of existing predominant land-use activity, physical divisions or barriers and past redevelopment proposals.[157] These included: Park Central Taxi Rank, the High Court Precinct, the Garment District and Garment Industry Hub Institution, the Metropolitan Trading Company and the Better Buildings Program.

Between 1998 and 1999, they had also produced the Inner City Vision and the Inner City Development Strategy and the Economic Development Policy which laid out a strategy of "selective and directed intervention" in the inner city. The rationale for this approach was that the socio-economic and spatial complexity of the inner city was an obstacle to a total strategy or "blue print" of economic development.[158]

The ICO argued that the inner city's greatest asset was the various types of key installations which comprise two bands of "nodes" within the inner city core of the inner city and those within the band adjacent to the inner city core. However, these areas remained relatively isolated from each other, despite the urban grid. Therefore, they sought to spatially structure the development and growth of the inner city in a manner that would forge connections between metropolitan "nodes" and inner city precincts. This spatial concept, which came to be known as the Cultural Arc in the inner city, sought to establish a physical framework that forged the connections between the precincts within the inner city and connect with sub-regional links into the wider urban system in terms of pedestrian links, public transport, the movement system and environmental character and landscaping.[159] Although the ICO had set out a wide range of objects for the Inner City Spatial Framework - which included residential development, economic development, social investment and education- the primary intervention became that of upgrading the image of the city.

Upgrading the image of the city entailed attending to the physical structure of the city centre, strengthening the corporate office nodes, the City Civic City Centre, a city center cultural framework a system of boulevards and a south-east sector open space proposal.[160] Not only did the ICO seek to transform the physical structure and order of the urban environment, but they also sought to create a framework for decision making for ongoing

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[156] Inner City Office. 19999. "Strategic Thrust – Economic Development/Management of Urbanization" – Policy Proposal, pp. 24.7

[157] Ibid, pp. 24.7

[158] Development corridors like the Kazerne City Deep Dry Port Industrial Development Zone just south of the city, the Sandton Central Business District to the north, the OR Tambo international Airport to the East and Soweto south-west of the inner city.

[159] Inner City Office, 1999. "Strategic Thrust – Economic Development/Management of Urbanization" – Policy Proposal, pp. 24.8

[160] Other categories included the formal economy, informal trade, important anchors in the urban fabric , the environmental character and landscaping; public transportation, building stock and new and proposed road linkages and accessibility, particularly into Newtown. Inner City Office, 1999. "Strategic Thrust: Economic Development/Management of Urbanization" – Policy Proposal, pp. 24.5

incremental renewal and physical development of the inner city through a series of parallel strategies which addressed specific urban categories and incorporated existing initiatives within the existing Inner City Renewal Strategy. However, at this time, the ICO was an ad hoc body without infrastructure or an operational budget.

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) was thus created to overcome the financial and organizational obstacles that hindered private sector investment in the inner city.[161] By 2001, the JDA had become a city-wide development vehicle that focused on activities that the city hoped would promote economic development in the metropolitan area, to function as a separate company which was majority owned by the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council as well as the Johannesburg Inner City Business Coalition (JICBC)[162].

2.2.3   The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)

The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) is an agency of the City of Johannesburg, whose stated aims are to stimulate and support area-based development initiatives throughout the Johannesburg metropolitan area in support of the City's Growth and Development Strategy. By 2012, the stated intentions of the JDA were to invest strategically in "declining" areas in order to reverse the long trend of capital flight from the inner city, attract and encourage private sector investment and to improve the physical quality of the built environment through urban upgrades and infrastructure provision.
According to Sharon Lewis, the JDA underwent several transformations over a ten year period[163]. From 20001- 2010, the JDA focused on urban regeneration through economic development in the inner city – through which several large iconic projects like Constitution Hill and the Nelson Mandela bridge were built. The second phase also centered on economic development, however with more emphasis on social sustainability and more focus in the marginal areas of the city, the introduction of the Bus Rapid Transit system and preparation for the 2010 World Cup. The latest strategy, involves a paradigm shift that seeks to bring people closer to places of employment, and taking jobs to people investing for economic opportunities and strengthening linkages within the city through better public transportation, and non-motorized transportation links.

The JDA was established in order to facilitate area-based economic development in the City of Johannesburg beginning in 2001. By December 2007, the JDA had spent R393 million across six strategic urban regeneration projects: Greater Newtown, Greater Ellis Park, Braamfontein Regeneration, the Fashion District, Jewel City and the High Court Precinct, in the inner city.[164] The two largest interventions - Greater Newtown (R188, 7 million)[165] and the Greater Ellis Park (R106, 7 million), represent one of the earliest and significant investments by the JDA and the City of Johannesburg, in an urban regeneration strategy that came to be known as the 'Cultural Arc.'

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[161] Gotz et al,2001:123

[162] Gotz et al;2001:128

[163] Interview with Sharon Lewis, November 2012

[164] JDA Report. 2012. "Analysis of the Impact of the JDA's Area Based Regeneration Projects on Private Sector Investments – Executive Summary". A report commissioned by the JDA

[165] In Newtown, the investment constituted a comprehensive and broad intervention, covering property investment, infrastructure, urban upgrading as well as marketing and public events interventions.

This project approach to regeneration was initially anchored by the Greater Newtown Precinct that was seen as very important to the redevelopment of the inner city. It was developed as a "cultural industries zone", which was reconnected to Johannesburg by a new bridge and on-ramp from the adjacent M1 South freeway. On the other hand, Constitution Hill Precinct on the upper slope of Braamfontein was constituted by the Constitution Court, the Old Johannesburg Fort and two former prisons, including the Women's Jail. All the buildings in the precinct were shaped as an institutionally recognized centre dedicated to the celebration and study of democracy and human rights. Private sector office development was included to accommodate business and organizations working in the field of human rights and democracy. This initiative was expected to draw an additional R 240 and R450 million into the precinct.[166] [See Fig xx]

The JDA thus saw their strategic interventions in the inner city as forming a "Golden Arc" from Constitution Hill in Hillbrow, northeast of the Central Business District, through Braamfontein, north-west of the inner city and across the railway lines down into Newtown, which lies south west of the railway. These capital-based projects involved the investment of large public sector funds sourced from the City of Johannesburg, the Department of Transport, Provincial Government and National Treasury.[167]

The JDA's original intervention methodology - as applied to Newtown and Braamfontein- focused on larger and longer term, more comprehensive interventions, that entailed substantial professional assessments and planning, which led to multi-faceted , negotiated capital investments with the private sector, provincial and national government. According to the JDA they also followed through with "on-going investments, social programs and management to smaller, more capital investment focused initiatives."[168]

Provincial government also made a significant financial contribution to the JDA when it was established, and it made a contribution of R 35, 68 million through Blue IQ[169] to The Greater Newtown Precinct and the Constitution Hill Precincts collectively. The City of Johannesburg saw the Greater Newtown Precinct as central to the redevelopment of the inner city. It was developed as a "cultural industries zone", which was reconnected to Johannesburg by a new bridge and on-ramp from the adjacent M1 South freeway. On the other hand, Constitution Hill Precinct on the upper slope of Braamfontein was constituted by the Constitution Court of, the Old Johannesburg Fort and two former prisons. All the buildings in the precinct were shaped as an institutionally recognized centre dedicated to the celebration and study of democracy and human rights. Private sector office development was included to accommodate business and organizations working in the field of human rights and

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[166] Gotz et al, 2001: 136
[167] JDA Report. 2012." An analysis of the Impact of the JDA's Area-Based Regeneration Projects on Private Sector Investments "
[168] According to some investors, this approach increased investor confidence, property turn-around as well as assisting to identify and generate investor interest in these areas and ensure that the focus and objectives of capital interventions were clear whereas the latter approach yielded poorer outcomes with regard to strategic interventions.
[169] Gotz et al, 2001:133

democracy. This initiative was expected to draw an additional R 240 and R450 million into the precinct.[170]

The JDA was inspired by Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) in North American and European cities like, New York's Urban Development Corporation and the Glasgow Development Agency in the 1980's and 1990s. Its stated aims were to drive targeted activity through focused urban development to; promote and market the comparative advantages of particular areas of the city; co-ordinate public, private and community development resources as well as to form a "network hub" for engagements with other organizations with whom they had shared interests; package finance for development projects and act as a financier-of-last-resort where bridging funds were required to initiate projects; flexibly assemble highly skilled personnel for complex project planning and implementation; manage and develop fixed assets in a manner that would be compatible with business cycles and finally, to fast-track key planning and development decisions in order encourage investment (Gotz et al, 2001: 124).

Additionally, the JDA placed an emphasis on creating public artworks like William Kentridge and Gerhard Marx's Firewalker in Newtown, the Eland on Jan Smuts Avenue in Braamfontein, artworks on Vilekazi Street in Soweto, the art on Rea Vaya bus stations amongst others. These artworks form part of the JDA's urban upgrading and marketing strategy, which encompasses many landmark initiatives and iconic buildings in Johannesburg.

The JDA, identified opportunities for public art during the detail design stage of each JDA project, and allocated funds based on the Public Art Policy to determine the scope and scale of the artworks and its commission. This resulted in a dramatic surge in public art across the City beginning in 2001. This broad ranging public art program in Johannesburg fell within an extensive urban regeneration and urban redevelopment framework, whose aims was ostensibly to address negative public perceptions of city and its urban environment, to stimulate and support private sector investment in the inner city and to encourage "sustainable urban management and service provision." In so doing, the JDA aimed to "stabilize" the Johannesburg Inner city and reverse the "urban decline" in some areas. According to the JDA, these urban conditions - describes as "symptoms" - were constituted by "deteriorated public environments, poorly supported and controlled informal activities, hijacked buildings and continued levels of petty crime."[171]

An early model for this strategic regeneration thrust for the reconstituted Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, can be found in the Turbine Hall redevelopment in Newtown. Resolutions to the 1999 Economic Development policy proposal, drafted by the Inner City Office, – a precursor to the JDA - under the leadership of Graham Reid, resolved to support the proposed redevelopment of the Turbine Hall for the headquarters of AngloGold Ashanti, the third largest gold producer in the world, with 20 operations globally and listings on the Johannesburg Stock exchange, New York Stock Exchange and the London

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[170] Gotz et al, 2001: 136

[171] DNA Economics Report. 2012. "Johannesburg Development Agency – An Assessment of the JDAs Results and Impact since 2001." Section 4.2.5 JDA035: Inner City Core Projects.

stock exchange[172]. The Turbine Hall was Johannesburg's first coal-fire powered power station. The building was a late 19th century steel frame power station to the west of the city which had fallen into disuse over a 20 year period. Media reports stated that the building had been "illegally" occupied by a range of users including African women who used it to prepare braziers for cooked foodstuffs (corn, roasted nuts, sheep heads etc.) And that it had become an "eyesore" in the inner city[173].

The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council resolved to assist AngloGold to procure the Turbine Hall for development as AngloGold's corporate head office as well as to grant them a rates rebate or concessions in support of the proposed development and upgrading of the public environment. Furthermore, the report not only agreed to the disposal of the Newtown Cultural Precinct at "a nominal price" to AngloGold, but also agreed to sell SAPOS land to the Johannesburg Housing Company.[174] Thus the City of Johannesburg and the JDA invested in infrastructure upgrades and created tax incentives and rebates for the private sector willing to invest in the inner city. Whereas the City invested in large contained urban precinct upgrades and massive infrastructure provision, like the Nelson Mandel Bridge, (which connects Newtown to the northern suburbs) and a new on ramp from the M2 highway into Newtown, the private sector invested in 'good quality' stand-alone property, like the Turbine Hall in Newtown, with good returns and "positive growth prospects" in terms of income and capital growth.

2.3   Radical Fragments

In 2012 , Eric Itzkin, deputy director of Immovable Heritage in the Arts, Culture and Heritage Directorate states that "Johannesburg's public art program has come into its own as an accepted tool for urban reconstruction and community development."[175] In another article on the same web-site, Neil Fraser, a long term advocate of urban regeneration and a co-founder of the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), cited the Cardiff Bay Arts Trust as a precedent for a regeneration strategy based on art. Fraser argued further that artists play a 'primary role' in regeneration schemes, [176] stating that "The public art program in Johannesburg has a focus on creating jobs and opportunities for emerging artists, in communities faced with high unemployment and few opportunities, contributing artists benefit through economic empowerment, skills transfers and the satisfaction that comes from shaping their own neighborhoods".[177]

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[172] http://www.anglogold.com/NR/rdonlyres/6256625E-C622-4C26-80C1-6F7720FE3C1A/0/2011GroupInformation.pdf July 2005. retrieved, 2013/04/08

[173] Dlamini, N. 2005. Eprop "Turbine Hall Defies Destruction" from E *Prop* online newspaper. http://www.eprop.co.za/news/item/5689-Turbine-Hall-defies-destruction.html

[174] Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council: Executive Committee Minutes, 99-06-15.

[175] Itzkin, E. 2012. "Artistic Streets of Johannesburg". Arts, Culture and Heritage in the City of Johannesburg. www.joburg.co.,za/built-heritage/public art/artistic streets-of Joburg. Downloaded, 15.09.2012

[176] Fraser he elaborated on the role of public art program thus:
"Public Art Softens Harsh Urban Environment," in *Chit Chat,* the Official website of the City of Johannesburg. *www.joburg.org.za/indez.php?option=content&task&id=483&itemid=58;* retrieved 09/26/2012

[177] Fraser, N. 2007. According to Fraser, in 2007, Johannesburg as a city received less cultural funding than smaller cities like Cape Town, Durban and Braamfontein. Fraser, N. 2007. "Public Art Softens Harsh Urban Environment." City of Johannesburg Official Website.

The City of Johannesburg had undertaken the design and commissioning of public art in 2001 that eventually gave rise to the emergence of hundreds of new public artworks in the city in an attempt to gain a global competitive tourism edge, to achieve "location marketing"[178]. The City hoped that the public art program would improve the 'visual landscape' of Johannesburg in public spaces and thereby minimize crime[179], while simultaneously improving the public image of the city and boost investor confidence. After decades of isolation, South Africa played host to a number of international events which gave impetus to infrastructure development projects – such as the ICC Cricket World Cup (2003), the World Summit on Sustainable Development (2002), and the FIFA 2010 World Cup (2010)[180] which placed them firmly within the global media spotlight. This upsurge in public art was driven by a desire to re-position Johannesburg in a globally competitive hierarchy of cities that use 'culture' to market themselves as desirable investment and tourism destinations and also as a means of economic development, urban renewal and 'nation-building'.

Prior to 2002, the public art industry in Johannesburg was in its nascent phases, and began to grow in the first decade of the 2000s. Over a 9 year period, the JDA had established themselves as the single largest patron of public art in Johannesburg. The JDA had actively commissioned public art as part of their urban regeneration strategy in 2002. These public art works were financed through capital budgets for area-based development, starting with the Faraday Station Precinct and the development of the 'Cultural Arc'' concept[181] - an urban redevelopment strategy developed by the JDA and various stakeholders that identified catalytic redevelopment projects in the inner city. This strategy was underpinned the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF) , which had been produced by the City of Johannesburg, the Inner City Office and various privet sector stake-holders in 2001. By 2011, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) had commissioned and installed over 680 new public artworks through 156 commissions across the city at a cost of approximately R19.5 million ($2.16 million). Most of the JDA commissioned artworks were sculptural (427 out of 681 artworks) and located in public open spaces. However, other commissions included mosaics (153), murals (63), and heritage story boards paving insets, game boards, street furniture and play equipment (38).[182]

In addition to the JDA public art strategy, a number of other large scale public art initiatives emerged between 2000 and 2010 – namely, 'Cell –C for the City' advertising campaign (2002), Joburg Art City in 2002 and again in 2010, which featured the work of Mary Sibande. However, other corporate sponsored public art initiatives like *I Art Joburg*, began to

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[178] Itzkin, E. 2012. "Artistic Streets of Johannesburg". Arts, Culture and Heritage in the City of Johannesburg. www.joburg.co.,za/built-heritage/public art/artistic streets-of Joburg. Downloaded, 15.09.2012

[179] JDAs Public Art Strategy 2011-2016, April 2012, pp. 3, 8

[180] Expenditure peaked in 2009/10 with two large strategic commissions, like Firewalker and the start of the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) artworks, and increased area based development activity in preparation for the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup in South Africa. Ibid, 2012: 4

[181] JDAs Public Art Strategy 2011-1016, Draft Version 5.4. April 2012

[182] The number of artworks was not consistently distributed   in every year, but appeared to peak in certain periods: 2002/03 (234 artworks, 10 commissions), 2008/09 (198 artworks, 28 commissions)) and 2009/10 (96 artworks, 8 commissions). On the other hand, very few artworks or none at all were commissioned between 2003/04 (18 artworks, 4 commissions); 2004/05 (0 artworks, 0 commissions) and 2006 (45 artworks, 10 commissions) Ibid, pp. 4.

emerge - not only in the gentrified Maboneng precinct, south-east of the Johannesburg, but also in other locations like Soweto and Cape Town, to which I will return in the following chapter.

The public art program was underpinned by the redevelopment of catalytic projects within the inner city and the 'Per Cent for Art' requirement in the Public Art Policy (2006). These catalytic projects brought large portions of the inner city under an expanding regime of semi-private urban management through City Improvement Districts (CIDs),[183] that were championed by the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) – a nonprofit organization that represents the interests of private property owners in Johannesburg. By 2012 the city of Johannesburg's Public Art Policy also sought to stimulate the creation of new works and the growth of arts-related businesses within the city and to reinforce and support the implementation of the Growth and Development Strategy Joburg 2040, launched in October 2011.[184]

2.3.1   The Johannesburg Art in Public Places Policy

In 2006, the City of Johannesburg approved and adopted the Public Art Policy, giving new impetus to creative engagement with the urban environment. The Public Art Policy provided for the 'Per cent for Art' requirement - a funding mechanism that provided that up to one per cent of capital budgets for large city projects are devoted to public art. In an attempt to address the cultural heterogeneity and the legacy of racial inequality that characterized art production in South Africa, the Public Art Policy's stated aims are to promote and incorporate "diversity in all aspects of the Johannesburg Art in Public Places building social cohesion". Furthermore, the public art program would provide "shared symbols" for the city and its inhabitants; it would "forge a positive identity for the city" and "project a collective identity and vision." Furthermore, public art was conceived as a means through which to support emerging creative industries by providing opportunities for artists, designers and fabricators. And ultimately, the public art program was tasked with a catalytic role for "development and economic growth through raising confidence, attracting visitors and stimulating investment." Additionally, public art was meant to address issues of public safety security within the city such that upgrades to urban environments could dissuade criminal activity and vandalism. Furthermore, the Public Art Policy for Johannesburg aimed to promote   'good management' of public art in Johannesburg that aimed to encourage new forms of creative expression, to create opportunities for artists, and to provide ongoing maintenance of public art. [185]

In the context of the policy, "diversity" is understood as: a) commissioning artworks throughout the neighborhoods of Johannesburg; b) ensuring that the "multi-cultural community" of Johannesburg is represented among selection panels and artists selected for commissions; c) acquiring artworks in a wide variety of styles and media and d) encouraging new art forms as well as established and traditional forms of art (Johannesburg Art Policy

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[183] Otherwise known as Retail improvement districts

[184] The Growth and Development Strategy, Joburg 2040 was launched in October 2011.Joburg 2040 defines a vision for Johannesburg as World Class African City of the Future – a vibrant, equitable African city, strengthened through its diversity, sustainability for all citizens and a resilient and adaptive society.

[185] "Preamble". 2006. Johannesburg Art Policy 2006, pp. 2

2006). The preamble to the policy stated that a vibrant public art program played a critical role in "enhancing the urban environment, increasing the use and enjoyment of public space and the policy provided the rationale for the City of Johannesburg 's public art program and identified role players, responsibilities and procedures in producing public art.[186] The City of Johannesburg's Department of Community Development is the custodian of the Public Art Policy and its implementation, through the Directorate of Arts Culture and Heritage.

Fig 14.   Map Showing Public Art Sites in the Inner City, Johannesburg, (2010)
Source: Joseph Gaylard and Urban Inc., Courtesy JDA and Department of Arts Culture and Heritage.

The role of the JDA is to fund and commission public art and to contribute to the development of the public art portfolio of the city by complying with the 'percent for public art' requirement. The JDA plays two further roles within the Public Art Program, which are broadly defined as: 1) identifying opportunities and challenges for the production of public art through neighborhood planning processes and 2) the design of area based development projects, project managing the conceptualization and production of public

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[186] JDAs Public Art Strategy 2011-1016, Draft Version 5.4. April 2012, p 3

artworks. According to the JDA draft report (2012), the JDA aims to be both "locally responsive" to the social, cultural and economic conditions in their curatorial strategy , to negotiate and commission 'iconic artworks,' as well as to support "meaningful bottom-up concept development and design processes."[187]

The JDA outsourced all curatorial work related to public art to a public art curator and project manager, like Trinity Session - through multi-year contracts and on the basis of competitive tender processes throughout the implementation of the strategy. While the JDA is the commissioning agent for artworks, the artworks are handed over to the Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage in the City of Johannesburg, on completion.[188]

According to the 2012 JDA Public Arts Strategy, the public art portfolio should "reflect aspects of Johannesburg's identity in a way that celebrates Johannesburg's place as a city in Africa". At the neighborhood scale, public artworks are required to respond to the identity of the physical environment and social and economic conditions and aspiration.[189] The JDA also identifies a range of site types such as new city developments, retrofits on previous sites, sites outside of city upgrade areas, creating visual connections between developments, sites that require directional markers like axial positions and or flow characteristics, marking particular cultural, historical or special interest sites, social change and catalyst projects as well as a range of road reserves.

Acquisition of new public art works take various forms: from purchase, donation, direct commission, competition or supported processes of community artist collaboration.[190] The procurement methodology of the JDA also aims to address the larger vision of the Public Art Policy, ensuring that development takes place that ensures "place safety, a user-friendly space and engagement with local communities" during the commissioning of the artworks. Furthermore, the JDA aimed to strike a balance between commissioning processes that favor artists with established reputations and those that allow emerging artists to win commissions "on merit".[191] The procurement procedure also aims to provide added support to artists through repeated commissions, but also to allow for mentorship opportunities through the commissioning process.

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[187] JDAs Public Art Strategy 2011-1016, Draft Version 5.4. April 2012, pp. 3
[188] The Directorate of Arts Culture and Heritage is required to develop and implement a public art maintenance program based on artists recommendations. The public art curators are required to inspect artwork periodically and report to the Directorate. The public art curator and project manager had a number of responsibilities that entailed: providing advice and support to the JDA and a public art program coordinating committee, on "best practice" and in the commissioning of artwork; to analyze area based development plans to identify and advise on opportunities for public art, to establish relationships and collaborations with other agencies, individuals and companies with an interest in public art, support activists to conceptualize, design and produce artwork as well as project manage the design, production and installation of artworks to ensure high quality results within acceptable timeframes and budget.
[189] Ibid, 2012:12
[190] Acquisitions must meet the criteria of the Public Art Policy as well as the criteria for the JDAs procurement policies in the case of a direct purchase.
[191] JDA Public Art Strategy 2011-2016, [draft] pp. 13

By the JDA's own admission, a lack of community participation appears to have been a factor in almost all of the public art commissions and installations in the inner city.[192] Furthermore, even though public art committee was meant to have architects and planners on their committee, scant attention   seems to have been paid to the physical endowment of the artwork.

The JDA public art strategy for Johannesburg instrumentalized public art to legitimate urban regeneration. The map of new artworks throughout the inner city, suggests that   art in public spaces were not only conceived as micro-interventions that were intended to transform the a range of urban environments [See Figure xx], but also as a physical manifestation of the investments made by the national and provincial government, the City of Johannesburg as well as the private sector, into visually ordering and domesticating a city that had become increasingly illegible. Thus the artwork and the public spaces that they index are supposed to function as what James Holston (1999) terms "radical fragments," through which state-building elites embraced the CIAM modernist development model and employed techniques of shock to force a subjective appropriation of the new social order inherent in its plans. These techniques emphasized defamilairization and decontextualization and their central premise was that the new architecture or urban design would create set-pieces within the existing city that would subvert and then regenerate the surrounding fabric of social life.

The City of Johannesburg, national government, corporate and private property interests used public art exhibitions and high profile art commissions in the city to produce a coherent "visual landscape" for the city and to secure "predictable" investment environment. However, unlike high modernism, which sought a blue print master plan , Johannesburg city officials set out a strategy of selective upgrading of the built environment, in an attempt to revitalize the city and its image within the exigencies of limited resources and the dictates of macro-economic policy shifts embodied in several city visioning documents, policies and development frameworks.

Furthermore, broader structural constraints were accompanied by physical and visual changes in the image of the inner city. This combination of social, financial and institutional change thus constituted the content of the discourse of crisis. The intersection of economics and race also produced a   language of "inevitability,"[193] in which race and visual order was implicitly associated with economic value. The language of crisis also made the shift from redistributive politics   embodied in the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) to a new politics of economic growth, in which questions of equity and democracy became increasingly marginalized, or at best, subordinated to the logic of economic growth and Black Economic Empowerment. In short, city officials did not view the limits of the

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[192] The JDA conducted a survey of opinions of community members in three un-named case studies and found that the majority thought that public art improved the way the area looks (78%) and that public art improves the general perception of the area (71%), however, the survey also revealed that none of the participants felt that were involved in the creation of the art. JDAs Public Art Strategy 2011-1016, Draft Version 5.4. April 2012, pp. 5-6

[193] Gotz et al, argue that the financial crisis was inevitable and that political interference from the ANC worked to undermine the success of a unified tax base for the city.

transition, nor conservative economic adjustments as the foundations of the crisis, but rather as a crisis of aesthetics, rooted in poor 'urban management'.

In terms of the public art program, these competing impulses created a conjunction of classical economic principles of growth led development with a developmental rhetoric that required art work to not only be representative of a 'diverse' population, but also to included commissioning some previously marginalized black artists in the interests of "diversity" and "social cohesion". Therefore, high profile public art commissions from established white artists and emerging and or marginalized black artists throughout the city, suggests that visual order , and the desire to create a coherent "visual landscape" and a secure, "predictable" investment environment through urban upgrading, became a preoccupation of city officials, corporate interests and property owners alike. According to the JDA (2012), Area-Based Regeneration projects /initiatives, are the "top key investment drivers", as well as good returns and activity within the private sector.[194] Furthermore, JDA spending in the inner city was matched by private sector investment in the inner city, which amounted to R7, 5 billion in property investments and an additional R 5, 8 billion in refurbishments, conversions and upgrading since 2001. [195]

However, whereas some key investors recognized JDA initiatives as drivers for further investment, approximately half of these developers and investors invested in the identified nodes prior to JDA implementing their regeneration strategy. On the other hand, the other half of investors – many of whom are historical landowners in the area - claim to have invested in the area regardless of JDA interventions. According to an assessment commissioned by the JDA in 2012, the private sector saw the JDA's marketing and planning activities as important catalysts to private sector investment as physical infrastructure.[196] These private sector investors had seen an increase in land values with the result that investment and returns in the area were now attractive . Furthermore, the presence of other private activity in the inner city, gave other investors' confidence. [197]

The JDA used a number of internal and external indicators such as short-term and sustainable jobs created by JDA –facilitated developments, and JDA activities in the city centre; the number of housing units built in the city center and the number of units built near business development; increase in commercial and rental activities in the city centre; vacancy rates in office buildings by class of space and the average change in property value by size and class of space; average change in rentals by class of space; visitor numbers at important cultural and heritage facilities in the city center and the increase in the city centre rates returned to the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan

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[194]"While it is not possible to attribute the resurgence of the inner city property market solely to JDA interventions, this has been a key contributing factor to the physical upgrades, change in perceptions and the resultant change in investor confidence, leading to increased rates of property purchase and refurbishment in the inner city" JDA Report. 2012. Analysis of the Impact of the JDA's Area Based Regeneration Projects on Private Sector Investments. (DNA Economics, 2012)

[195] DNA Economics. 2012. "Analysis of the Impact of the JDA's Area Based Regeneration Projects on Private Sector Investments" Executive Summary.

[196] Ibid.

[197] In the High Court Precinct, the momentum of private sector residential development was enough to support a demand for recreational and retail use; whereas the size of the commuter and creative industries markets in Newtown, supported recreational and retail demand.

Council. Furthermore, visual and behavioral indicators such as cleanliness and public safety were also used to ascertain the impact of the JDA's interventions.

However, despite the apparent optimism of the private sector, with regard to "growth" prospects in the inner city property market, most private sector investors identified poor service delivery, poor urban management and crime as considerable inhibitors to future investment[198] and by extension, a threat to sustained increases in property values. They argue that the sustainability of Area Based Initiatives is threatened by these three factors, with regard to the provision of support and services, once infrastructure delivery and urban upgrading has been completed. In essence investors feared that they had created islands of wealth in a sea of urban decay.

The next chapter will discuss the how public art was used not only to reterritorialize the city as an outdoor art gallery, but also how both temporary outdoor exhibitions and major art events also introduced a new regime of public-private urban management in the form of City Improvement districts. This will be done through a discussion of the Johannesburg Development Agency and the Central Johannesburg Partnership, and their involvement with Johannesburg Art City 2002 and 2010.

What is most interesting is that this period was also marked by an increasing number of representations of black women in prominent public artworks. Whereas very few such representations in public space had existed before 2000 or at least, not at such a monumental scale. They came to dominate discussions on public art in Johannesburg, circulating in the media, art magazines, news reports and book publications.
How did the figure of ordinary black women suddenly become an acceptable representation of the nation state and the city, whereas black women had historically been excluded from the city? How can they be read within the frame of urban renewal but also beyond it? And in what ways did this intervention transform the space of the city? These questions will be addressed in the following chapters.

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[198] JDA Report. 2012. "Analysis of the Impact of the JDA's Area Based Regeneration – Executive Summar6y"

3. THE CITY AS A WORK OF ART

Fig. 15: Mary Sibande, Long *Live the Dead Queen,* Johannesburg (2010), Protech Building
Source: Nadine Hutton/ 2point8; Courtesy of Lesley Perkes

In *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris and Vienna,* Donald Olsen (1986) suggests that the emergence of cities like London, Paris and Vienna was closely tied to nineteenth and early twentieth-century nation-state formation which came to serve as models of national capitals.[199] These cities were perceived as large works of art and as acts of 'deliberate creation',[200] in that they were an expression of national glory rooted in European systems of thought and morality. Olsen argues that these cities might be regarded as complex documents and a manifestation of the values and aspirations of their rulers, designers, builders, owners and inhabitants, with institutions and built environments intended to serve the interests and reinforce the values of the ruling classes. Similarly, an examination of the outward appearance of Johannesburg suggests that it can be read as a complex but legible document of its time, and as an expression of the aspirations, values and systems of thought

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[199] Although these cities reached the ultimate expression in the nineteenth century, they were founded on older, medieval heritage as centers of commerce, with autonomous, self-governing citizenry, each eventually becoming a royal residence and capital of a far-reaching state, each with a significant cultural centre; each a favoured resort for the leisure classes, with appropriate service industries and manufacture of luxury goods for their consumption. Olsen (1986:4-5).

[200] Olsen, D. 1986. "Urban Virtue and Urban Beauty" in *The City as a Work of Art*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, p. 3.

of national and local interests, and, to a lesser degree, that of its inhabitants to create a coherent urban whole out of a profoundly fragmented city.

However, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century architecture of Europe was also confronted with a crisis of the traditional concept of 'form'.[201] This crisis emerged from a growing awareness that the city had become a field of architectural intervention and a site of radical transformation. According to Manfredo Tafuri (1976), the revision of formal principles in this era did not result in a revolution of meaning – but rather an acute crisis of values, reflected in the dislocation of art from the developments of the new urban reality brought on by the social upheaval and technological advancements associated with the industrial revolution.

These processes of industrialization and the reorganization of capitalist production in the city produced a disjuncture between the operational needs or spatial organizations of the city and its aesthetic and representational orders embodied in its architecture (Tafuri, 1976:41). The collision of the new 'open structure' of the city and architecture – considered as a stable structure which gave form to permanent values and consolidated urban morphology – resulted in the coeval character of rationality and irrationality in the nineteenth-century city. Architecture thus sought to address this ambiguity through a romantic eclecticism that signified not only an attempt at 'ethical redemption' but also a fundamental crisis in the role of modernist architects to embrace change and to construct a new urban reality (Tafuri, 1976:42-3).

Whereas the previous chapter discussed how Johannesburg experienced a radical transformation, which gave rise to attempts by the state and private interests to recodify the city politically, economically and aesthetically in the 'post'-apartheid period, this chapter will explore how large-scale outdoor art exhibitions like *Johannesburg Art City* (2002) and *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) reconstituted the city into a monumental art gallery that sought to transform the city into a work of art. This return to the domain of aesthetics in South African cities and in South African art, from the mid- to late 1990s, registered the political by dealing with external and embodied social constructions such as race, ideology and gender as well as a neo-liberal shift in the political economy of cities, both globally and nationally.

This chapter will explore the ways in which national and provincial government as well as private actors sought to reconfigure the visual landscape of the inner city through public art as branding.[202] The emergence of themed environments, were required to conform to a scripted theme. Such 'landscapes of leisure' tend to be indifferent to their context, economically, culturally and physically, and this post-modern turn in city planning has precipitated aggressive branding strategies for these themed environments, which points to the increasingly institutionalized interconnection between branding and urban renewal.

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[201] Tafuri, M. 1976. *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*. MIT Press.
[202] Kind thanks to Professor Jonathan Schroeder for his insights on the relationship between public art, commercial landscapes and politics (Critical Arts Retreat, Johannesburg, and September, 2013).

Therefore, the task of reading the city is more complicated here because Johannesburg is a chimera-like metropolis, which reveals as much as it conceals in unpredictable ways.[203] As such, it is difficult to apprehend in its totality, and can be grasped only in fragments. This chapter will nevertheless attempt to read the city in a manner that will register the 'oscillating ambivalence'[204] of the city itself and also the profound anxiety of city officials, art practitioners and public discourses regarding the changing character of the city. It will also discuss the dislocations of art and urban renewal strategies from the urban realities of the inner city.

Temporary public art exhibitions offered not only an opportunity to heighten the visibility of Johannesburg within a global hierarchy of 'world class cities'[205] but also new representations of black female subjects and the aesthetics immanent to them. Additionally, art has the ability to articulate these processes as lived experience and embodiment, in ways which attention to the political economy of the city alone cannot address. Therefore, these new representations of black women within the city suggested an alternative reading of the contested visual, cultural and spatial orders for the city and the nation-state.[206] The exhibitions not only transformed the inner city into a large outdoor art gallery, but also reflected transforming conceptions of South African identities. They thus offer a rich site for understanding emergent discussions on collective and individual identity formation,[207] as well as the new geographies through which the city and the nation sought to support its strategic and mythological coherence and unity.[208]

Between 2002 and 2010, Johannesburg hosted two major public art events under the Johannesburg Art City project that used the city as a monumental art gallery. The World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002, the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa and the Art City Premier Annual Exhibitions were global show-case events intended to boost investor confidence in the South African economy, against a generalized mood of Afro-pessimism on the continent at the time. Thus, the two highly publicized public art events[209] threw up a number of conceptual questions about the particular kinds of economic organization and sites of socio-political interaction within which meaning is complexly negotiated in Johannesburg. The city and the meaning of the art changed as the exhibitions were re-placed from one institutional context to another of the inner city. The new context and scale of the exhibitions significantly influenced the particular situation of their reception that required a negotiation between content and context, as well as a consideration of the

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[203] Mbembe, A and Nuttall, S. 2008. *Johannesburg, The Elusive Metropolis*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press, pp. 1-36.

[204] Faber, L. 2010. "The Address of the Other: the body and the senses in contemporary South African visual Art" *Critical Arts, South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 24:3, p. 313.

[205] For more on Global and Mega cities see: Hall, P.G. 1971 (1966). *The World Cities*. McGraw-Hill Publishers; Davis, M. 2006. *Planet of Slums.* Verso Press; and Sassen, S. 1991. *The Global City: New York, London and Tokyo.* Princeton University Press.

[206] Faber, L. 2010. "The address of the other: the body and the senses in contemporary South African visual art." *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*, 24:3 303-320.

[207] Hamilton, C., "Uncertain citizenship and public deliberation in post-apartheid South Africa," *Social Dynamics*, 35:2, September 2009, p. 368.

[208] Farber, L. 2010. "The Address of the Other: The body and the senses in Contemporary South African visual Art" in *Critical Arts*; South-North Cultural and Media Studies, 24:3, pp. 303-320.

[209] For more on the relationship between art and gentrification, see: Deutsche, R. 1996. *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*, Cambridge and London: MIT Press; and Melle, C. 2000. *Selling the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate and Resistance in New York City*. Minnesota Press.

inter-relatedness of art, branding and urban renewal. It also altered the terms of engagement within the city – as a curatorial space for middle class and mass cultural consumption, and a contested site to which even the most marginalized figures might lay claim. Furthermore, the enframings of civic space also raised an important question about the location of subjugated populations in the contemporary and putatively post-apartheid city. In particular, what are the implications of conceiving of the city as an art gallery and curatorial object for them and what kind of representational space do they occupy within interests of private actors and the new, democratic nation-state?

This chapter will first discuss *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) – as both a discourse on the shifting contours of black female subjectivity in 'post'-apartheid South Africa and an urban intervention and branding strategy within the context of urban renewal. It will then discuss how the thematization of the inner city within City Improvement Districts was reterritorialized by Johannesburg Art City 2002, in an attempt to emplace art in a project of both the capitalist expansion and nation- branding. It will conclude by arguing that the representation of the inner city as a curatorial object, and the mobilization of the black woman as trope intensifies the oscillating ambivalence of the 'post'-apartheid city and nation-state in ways that elicit the emergence of new urban subjectivities and simultaneously reproduces the marginality of the urban poor.

3.1   *Long Live the Dead Queen*

Sophie hauls a tremendous weight. Her head, extended backwards from the exertion, is completely covered with a white headscarf. She appears to be unravelling a Superman logo, evidenced by large ball of red wool, which lies in the foreground of the portrait. There is nothing else around her. Her starched royal blue gown – wide and full – supported by a scaffolding of undergarments, falls to the ground in a luxurious, weighty flourish. The collar and apron are rimmed by the intricate embroidery widely used in the collar and apron details of contemporary mass-produced South African maids' uniforms.[210] The apron strings seem much larger than on the standard maid's pinafore, and culminate in a large bow, partially hidden from view. Her background and foreground are grey. In this portrait, her body asserts an absolute presence. The figure captured in the artwork ironically titled *Wish you were here* (2009), is Sophie – a 'maid'[211] (Figure 1). Sophie is consistently clothed in a Victorian dress and corset, attire consonant with Victorian femininity. On the other hand, Sophie's dress marks her as a maid through the head scarf, or *doek* and the pristine white pinafore, mnemonic devices that evoke Victorian bourgeois cultivation and the culture of servitude, simultaneously (Dodd, 2010:471).

For a six-month period in 2010, Johannesburg was haunted by these monumental images of a domestic worker, clothed in fantastical royal blue Victorian gowns and various imperial props. These fictional African female characters, generically named 'Sophie' – were an amalgamation of visual and biographical references created by the artist in a range of poses, gestures, facial expressions, and characters that invoke and parody injurious and

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[210] Dodd, A. 2010. "Dressed to Thrill: The Victorian postmodern and counter-archival imaginings in the Work of Mary Sibande." *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural Media Studies*, 24:3, 467-474.
[211] This is a pejorative term used in South Africa for domestic workers.

homogenizing racial stereotypes that were cast onto black women, specifically as domestic workers. These images seemed to metaphorically reposition a marginalized black female figure back to an urban environment that had historically constrained and excluded her.

Thus Sophie presided over gateways into the inner city, major infrastructure projects like the Nelson Mandela Bridge, corporate headquarters, shopping precincts, the provincial legislature, law courts, the refugee asylum at the Methodist church, derelict buildings, and finally, the apartment building of the artist, Mary Sibande, on the eastern edge of the old central business district, especially Doornfontein, long a site of musical experiment and cultural resistance to the orthodoxies of the city's capitalist elite.[212] Yet beyond the frame of these representations, a view of Johannesburg's commercial visual landscape revealed a skyline punctuated by malt liquor advertisements, the South Africa flag and auto repair services, which are in them features of the Johannesburg skyline.

In addition to resurfacing sublimated histories of repression and exploitation, *Long Live the Dead Queen* also appeared to offer – for a brief period – a vision for a city of leisure. It also appeared to promise the concrete realization of desire that rearticulated the political capacities of fantasy as a space of freedom. The exhibition invited expeditions into the city that were constituted by a desire to rediscover and reconnect with the city and its history, differently.

These bold yet enigmatic visual statements of the 'maid' – printed on massive polyvinyl banners, wrapped around multi-storey buildings – punctuated the gateway and skyline of Johannesburg, and, like landmarks, they seemed to signal a change or an event on the horizon. The urban environment had been transformed into scaffolding for fantastical representations of freedom and desire that congealed with other infrastructures of desire that are constitutive of the commercial visual landscape of the city. This new layer in the urban visual landscape constituted both a mask and a play on surfaces, that sought to unify the city through a reordered semiotics of the urban landscape but also generated a series of tensions between the representational space of Johannesburg as a 'World Class African City' and the lived reality and bare life of the inner city for a vast number of urban residents and users.

Johannesburg Art City (2010) was sponsored in full by the South African National Lottery Distribution Fund, through a grant to the project of R5,814,551.00, which allowed Johannesburg to claim the status of 'the world's first city art gallery'.[213] The featured artist, Mary Sibande, a young Johannesburg-based practitioner, was part of the Johannesburg Art City World Premier Annual Exhibition project, in which her exhibition titled *Long Live the Dead Queen* premiered in June 2010 to coincide with the 2010 FIFA World Cup on 19 multi-storey polyvinyl outdoor advertising banners attached to buildings in the inner city for six months. This exhibition was the first of what was hoped to be an annual exhibition, showcasing different international artists every year.

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[212] City Report: Johannesburg. 2013. *Frieze* online journal, Issue 158 October 2013.
[213] "Joburg Art City with Mary Sibande and the Dead Queen" in Special Projects. www.artwork.co.za/web/experience/.../128-joburg-art-city-with-mary-sibande-and-the-dead-queen. Retrieved 09/26/2012.

Long Live the Dead Queen (2010) was curated Sibande's agent and the owner of Gallery MOMO[214] - Monna Mokoena - and artist-curator, Lesley Perkes, through Art at Work! (AAW!).[215] The project was realized with the help of the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), a not-for-profit organization that represents the interests of private property owners in the city of Johannesburg and which pioneered the legal recognition of City Improvement Districts (or BIDs) within the Gauteng Legislature.

Art at Work! (AAW!) Had established itself as a pioneering firm which sought to integrate art into neighborhood and district development, urban regeneration and architecture in Johannesburg. It had an established working relationship with various state agencies, including the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and the Central Johannesburg Partnership.[216] For Lesley Perks, CEO of AAW! And principal curator of the exhibition, the idea for using the entire city as a canvas for art began when she curated an exhibition funded by corporate collections of 40 different artists throughout the city in 2002. However, according to Perkes, the artworks 'disappeared' despite the individual merits of each site-specific artwork, because there were too many artists and the exhibition lacked coherence.[217] This inspired AAW! to conceptualize Johannesburg Art City 2010, in which Johannesburg became a huge imaginary canvas – that needed only a single artist.[218] Mary Sibande became the first contemporary artist to have her work exposed on a massive urban canvas in Johannesburg. Sibande was born in 1982 in Barberton, a small gold-mining town, in Mpumalanga Province, northeast South Africa. The subject of her artwork was inspired by her personal history: four generations of women in her family had been domestic workers. Sibande, a graduate from the University of Johannesburg's School of Fine Art, cast and made her own garments, but subsequently employed a dress-maker in her studio, located in the old garment district.[219] Her work has been shown in several group exhibitions in South Africa and internationally,[220] and, in 2011, she was one of the featured

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[214] A boutique gallery in Parkhurst, an affluent neighborhood in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg

[215] a South African specialist project management company that works in the burgeoning arts and creative industries

[216] AAW! had worked for the Sandton Central Arts Programme, the Newtown Improvement District and Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) on a range of art installations and public space interventions across Johannesburg. It interfaces between arts practitioners, the private and public sectors and funding organizations http://www.artatwork.co.za/web/about. Retrieved 01/24/2013.

[217] Perkes wryly remarks that "Cell C for the City" was an insidious branding project sponsored by a mobile phone company, in which artists had to make art with the shape of the letter "C" in it – and that art had to be "positive." In 2002, 40 artworks covered the city but, according to Perkes, the artwork 'disappeared': although you saw individual work, and responded to site, there were too many artists – and the exhibition lacked coherence.

[218] Perkes pursued the idea for eight years – without funding, until the advent of the 2010 World Cup. Perkes, L. 2012. Public Presentation at "Open Access", JDA Conference on Public Art, MOAD, Maboneng Precinct, November 2012.

[219] This district has been branded as the "Fashion Precinct" (End and Pritchard Streets) in the inner city of Johannesburg.

[220] Sibande has shown work in the following exhibitions: Pierneef to Gugulective from 1910 to 2010, Iziko South African National Gallery, Cape Town (2010), The National Arts Festival in Grahamstown, South Africa as the highlighted Artists (2010), l'Exposition du Festival Mondial des Arts Negres, Dakar (2010), the Museum of Contemporary Art (MAC), In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (2011) and the ARS 11 Exhibition At The Museum Of Contemporary Arts, Kiasma, Finland. Sibande is also the recipient of a number of residencies and fellowships including most recently the Civitella Ranieri Foundation in Italy as well as the Smithsonian's Artist Research Fellowship program.

artists in the South African pavilion at the Venice Biennale, in which her work was described by the then minister of Art and Culture, Paul Mashatile, as a symbol of the 'new South Africa'.[221]

Mary Sibande belongs to a post-apartheid generation of South African artists, like Tracey Rose, Senzeni Marasela and Lawrence Lemoana amongst others, who explore counter-histories of black subjectivity and identity.[222] Therefore, the choice of such a young artist, and Sibande's meteoric rise in the global art market, also spoke to the ideal of a new nation-state which sought to promote young black artists. It also sought to project an image of a progressive and inclusive national identity, especially with regard to population groups hitherto excluded from opportunities for career and personal advancement in the arts. To this end, Mary Sibande's biography and her definitive break with her family legacy of servitude, served as a prominent indicator of some of the successes of the post-apartheid state in a moment of market-driven urban redevelopment and national identity construction.

3.1.2   Dereliction can be Beautiful

Neil Fraser, a pioneer of urban renewal in Johannesburg and co-founder of the CJP, once exclaimed that Johannesburg had the distinction of having "more square meters advertising malt and liquor than any other city in South Africa."[223] Massive outdoor advertising swathed buildings in the inner city, some of which had been vacant for several years and through which property owners earned more in advertising income than they could earn from rentals if the buildings were to be let.[224] According to Lesley Perkes, *Long Live the Dead Queen* used out-doors advertising infrastructure as scaffolding through which to challenge the image-relations of the 'World Class African City'. AAW! thus saw Johannesburg Art City 2010 as an alternative to media advertising and as a way to engage the public on the state of the city and bad buildings in particular.[225]

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[221] Mashatile, P. 2011. "Introduction" In *Desire, Exhibition catalogue of the South African submission to the Venice Biennale.*

[222] Johannes Phokela is a South African painter who injects his interpretation of post-colonial African history into his alterations to the paintings of 17th century ,Baroque images of Dutch and Flemish Old Masters like Rubens, Van Dyck and others. Phokela is best known for his polemical use of iconography as a resource base from which to transcend the burden of cultural myths. On the other hand, Tracey Rose is known for her video and performance installations, in which she dissects her own social history and a coloured person in South Africa as well as issues of the body, identity, gender and sexuality. "Tracey Rose" by Sue Williamson, in Artthrob,: http://www.artthrob.co.za/01mar/artbio.html . Retrieved 28/01/2013

[223] "Neil Fraser Looks at Advertising". In *Chitchat.* http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3011&Itemid=58 Retrieved 29/01/2013.

[224] In 2000, new advertising policies were adopted by the Southern Metropolitan Local Council. These by-laws exempted outdoor advertising displayed in the inner city from certain requirements of the Outdoor Advertising By-laws and the Code of Practice because it was believed that large colorful advertising signs could become a means to promote urban regeneration. Of media rental revenues derived from outdoor advertising, 15 per cent was to be applied to an appropriate urban renewal initiative.

[225] Perkes, Interview, December 2012.

Perkes began thinking of the city as an imaginary landscape and she had a particular interest in the existing 'building wraps' – large-scale advertising canvas attached to building facades – on many neglected buildings in the city centre. Therefore, the exhibition conceptualized the city, and building wraps in particular, as manifestations of multi-national corporate hegemony which dominated the skyline. The lottery funding allowed the artwork to compete with commercial concerns in outdoor advertising in which Sibande's artwork filled spaces usually reserved for ordinary advertising for consumer goods and services such as cosmetics, cleaning products and insurance.[226]

Perkes' curatorial strategy aimed to position the artwork along the cardinal axes of the city and on a major east–west spine on Pritchard Street (see Figure 2), so that urban users – pedestrians and motorists – could see the work, regardless of their approach to the inner city. The northern building wraps were located in Braamfontein, along Nelson Mandela Bridge, the southern wraps in Newtown and Braamfontein, whereas the eastern and western wraps were along Pritchard Street and End Street.[227] Perkes chose Pritchard Street because it was visually more muted than other streets in the inner city, but also because of available space.[228] Coincidentally, this route also mapped onto an early retail landscape along Pritchard Street. The intersection between Eloff and Pritchard Street became a symbol of the prestige and quality of the retail district and property values at this intersection remained the highest in the country until the late 1970s.[229]
Unlike Johannesburg Art City 2002 (discussed below), which sought to produce a coherent urban landscape, the 2010 exhibition produced a radical cartography, which sought encounters with otherness – spurred on by exploration of pockets of class power, ethnic and racial difference.[230]

This linking of culture and consumption through the medium of the billboard, mimicked brand discourse by inserting consumer culture claims within a complex web of meaning and representation. The exhibition re-routed advertising logic for the purposes of public education and cultural consumption. This exhibition also visualized processes of identity creation, the interconnections with city branding, image management, and the relationships between appearance and lived experience, to expose not only the internal logic of consumerism but also to subvert the spatial and cultural logic of an apartheid landscape which had normalized servitude and thus rendered it invisible.

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[226] Perkes, L. 2012. "Open Access" JDA Public Art Conference Johannesburg, November 2012.

[227] However, due to delays in funding and a lack of support from the City of Johannesburg, the route took on a somewhat ad-hoc appearance because the ideal sites had already been taken by the time of the FIFA 2010 World Cup. Thus AAW had to make do with available locations. Furthermore, the whole exhibition did not go up at the same time; in fact – the two panels that identified the artist and the exhibition didn't go up until the last month.

[228] Interview with Lesley Perkes, November 2012.

[229] Beavon describes Pritchard Street between Von Brandis and Loveday Street as dominated by drapery shops, ladies' and men's outfitters, jewelers, confectioners and other specialist shops in the early 1890s. Beavon, K. 2004. *Johannesburg: The Making and Shaping of the City*. University of South Africa Press.

[230] McDonough, T. 2009. *The Situationists and the City: A Reader*. Verso Press; pp11.

Fig. 16:   Map showing the location of Sibande's artwork to the north, south and along Pritchard Street, running west to east.
Source: Mpho Matsipa (mapping); drawn by Rethabile Moleko (derived from KUM base map)

Furthermore, Sophie's de-contextualization from the institutional frame of the white colonial household to that of the art gallery, and then the inner city, served to make the familiar figure of the domestic worker strange. This defamilairization of the domestic worker called the institutionalization of art, and its reified consumption, into question by addressing an undifferentiated group of consumers – as opposed to a segmented market-place characterized by consumers organized into clearly defined groupings, and the 'private' sphere of the suburban home.

Perkes' curatorial strategy destabilized the institutionalized dichotomy of the art gallery and everyday life, the artwork and the everyday object, by disrupting a hierarchy between 'the aesthetic' and the 'sociological'. Thus, Johannesburg appeared to have re-emerged through *Long Live the Dead Queen* as "the guise of a vast storehouse of slumbering memories awaiting potential awakening".[231] Additionally, the double displacement of the domestic worker as a work of public art in the public and everyday commercial spaces of the inner city, and along the historic retail spine on Pritchard Street, resonated closely with a 'post-modern aesthetic' (Boyer, 1988:54), in which the divisions among high art and popular

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[231] Ibid.

culture are renegotiated as elements of mass consumption which produce new styles and new aesthetic forms.

Although this post-modern aesthetic claims to return to narrative forms, it actually manipulates simple combinations and patterns that are part of our collective memory, providing comforting, pleasurable and sensual experiences which are reproduced, recycled or re-appropriated for a reinvigorated consumer market.[232] Thus, the spectacle of *Sophie* in the city kept the gaze focused on surface appearances in the form of building wraps and occupied a space of pure display. This insistence on surface sought to bridge the gap between the reality of neglect in the inner city and the fantasy of consumption and 'world class city' status while it simultaneously highlighted the contradictions thereof.

Consider the image in Figure 3, taken at the intersection of Pritchard and End Street. The billboard was fixed to the side of an artists' commune in a converted light industrial building on the eastern edge of the inner city. The artwork features prominently to the left of the frame. The foreground is dominated by a frontal view of what appears to be a warehouse building. The contrast and similarity with the apartment building in the foreground is uncanny. Whereas the building in the foreground appears to have maintained its design integrity, with a clear distinction between outside and inside, clear horizontality in the fenestration, an orderly, private interior, and uniformly glazed facade, the building in the background stands as its twin but frightening other.

Fig. 17.   Mary Sibande, "The Wait Seems to Go on Forever", in *Long Live the Dead Queen*, Johannesburg (2010).
Author: Nadine Hutton 2point 8. Courtesy of Lesley Perkes.

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[232] Boyer, C. 1988. "The Return of Aesthetics to City Planning". In *Society*, May/June pp. 49-56.

The roofline – once an ode to the 1950s modernist aesthetic of clean lines and also specific spatial logics of apartheid spatiality – the 'skylight flats' – now appears to house an assortment of articles of clothing of various descriptions and bespeaks multiple residents. The building appears to span an entire city block on End Street, running east to west. The façade has alternating bands of coarse brickwork and standardized industrial steel frame windows in a uniform horizontal band. The advertising banners – for badges, ties and scarves – somehow seem out of place, or perhaps signal an earlier life of the building as a textiles and light manufacturing locale. Thus, high art coalesces with the street visual lexicon of obsolete signs and the immiserated urban residents inside the desolate building in the background. They remain unknown, and opaque,[233] like Sophie herself.

The photograph of *The Wait Seems to go on forever* effects another displacement in the non-space of a global mediascape.[234] Nevertheless, it enframes an inner city scene like a work of art and it functioned as an iconic representation of the inner city, introducing the viewer to the local flavor of an unfamiliar and frightening locale.[235] The shot might also appear to call attention to the plight of the 'homeless'[236] in the inner city – but it also fits comfortably within the frame of advertising and the pages of the art and tourism websites – unveiling to adventurous art lovers and voyeurs, the special pleasures and 'horrors' of the inner city. The photograph then, is another way to document the exhibition, and mythologize the inner city as a ravaged but transforming landscape of contrasts – which all make a composite image.[237]

3.1.2   Johannesburg Art City 2002

Whereas *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) demonstrated the conjuncture of affect and atmosphere with city branding, Johannesburg Art City (2002) served to build consensus between state and private sectors on the new growth and development strategy of the city. All the artworks for Joburg Art City (2002) came out of a call for public entries for the Joburg Art City competition and they were displayed on large-scale billboards. The use of billboards was intended to beautify the city and as a means to market unknown and established artists alike.[238] Curated by Clifford Charles and Prince Dube, the exhibition included a wide range of established and emerging South African artists working across a broad spectrum of media.[239]

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[233] Britton, C. 1999. *Eduardo Glissant and Postcolonial Theory: Strategies of Language and Resistance.* University of Virginia Press, p. 22.

[234] For more on the global cultural flows, see Arjun Appadurai. 1996. "Disjuncture and Difference in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* University of Minnesota Press, pp. 33-36.

[235] Anonymous. 1989. "The Occupation of Art and Gentrification" An article from "No Reservations — Housing, Space and Class Struggle"; News from Everywhere and Campaign For Real Life, London, 1989. Published in French (2008) in the insurrectionary anarchist journal *Non Fides* N°3 from France.

[236] According to a City Health Inspector, many impoverished urban workers sleep on rooftops and under roof eaves at night during the week, so that they do not have to commute to and from peripheral locations from the CBD.

[237] Anonymous. 1989. "The Occupation of Art and Gentrification" An article from "No Reservations — Housing, Space and Class Struggle"; News from Everywhere and Campaign For Real Life, London, 1989. Published in French (2008) in the insurrectionary anarchist journal Non Fides N°3 from France (np).

[238] Danby, N. 2002. "Remarks on Joburg Art City", in Joburg Art City Brochure.

[239] Including Sue Williamson, Jurgen Schadeberg, Mbongeni Buthelezi, Zwelethu Mthethwa, Sam Nhlenethwa, Stephen Hobbs of Trinity Session and Artist Proof Studio amongst others.

Like *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) and Johannesburg Art City (2002) were intended to coincide with a number of high-profile global events in South Africa: the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), the Cricket World Cup and also Arts Alive – the annual city arts festival.[240] In the opening message of the Joburg Art City (2002) catalogue, Amos Masondo, then executive mayor of Johannesburg, stated that the City of Johannesburg expected the summit to contribute approximately R1.3 billion to the national economy, of which the City of Johannesburg expected to receive R1 billion, in addition to 14,000 jobs as well as a boost to tourism. Aside from these short-term economic goals, the City of Johannesburg and the CJP saw the occasion of WSSD as an opportunity to intensify the efforts of local government programs – particularly those related to infrastructure development.[241] These sentiments were also echoed by Neil Frasier, on behalf of the CJP thus:

> "We immediately recognized the potential for such a project [Joburg Art City]. The potential not only to showcase South African art and artists on a large scale, but also to use the artworks to direct the attention of the public to the projects that had recently been completed or were under construction as part of the revitalization of downtown Johannesburg."[242]

Johannesburg Art City 2002 was further supported by Nicola Danby, CEO for Business and Arts South Africa, who stated that the event was staged to "show support for the arts, the World Summit and the revitalization of Johannesburg inner city... and [that] business demonstrates its commitment to urban regeneration through the arts."[243] The wide selection of artworks and media – from photography, to painting to media installations did not provide any conceptual clarity – or thematic unity – except as a demonstration of cultural diversity and national citizenship of the artists. However, the list of participating corporate galleries in the project suggests that the demarcation of inner city revitalization – rather than artistic thematic clarity and a new era of multiculturalism and a form of 'cultural democracy'[244] – was at stake in the project.

Additionally, Cell-C, South Africa's third largest cellular operator and a subsidiary of Saudi Oger,[245] commissioned over 40 artists to produce artworks that would reflect their personal interpretation of Johannesburg's inner city as part of their advertising campaign.[246] This advertising campaign coincided with the Joburg Art City project as an initiative to use art to generate interest around urban renewal. According to the chairman and CEO for Cell C,

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[240] CJP Website.

[241] Masondo, A. 2002. "Message from the Executive Mayor, Amos Masondo" in *Joburg Art City Brochure*.

[242] Fraser, N. 2002. *Joburg Art City* Brochure.

[243] *Joburg Art City Brochure*. 2002.

[244] Knight, K.C. 2008. *Public Art: Theory, Practice and Populism.* Blackwell Publishing

[245] Saudi Oger is a large multinational multi-divisional company based in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. It covers construction, facilities management, real estate development printing, telecommunications, utilities and IT services. Cell C South Africa is 100% owned by 3C Telecommunications, which is 60% owned by Oger Telecom South Africa, a division of Saudi Oger; 25% owned in an unencumbered holding by CellSA, (a Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment entity representing over 30 black empowerment companies and trusts), and 15% by Lanun Securities SA (Lanun is a wholly owned subsidiary of Saudi Oger Ltd).
http://www.securities.com/Public/company-profile/ZA/CELL_C_en_2587149.html retrieved 29/01/2013.

[246] The only criterion was that artists should include the letter "C" in the work and that it should be signed "for the city".

Talaat Laham, this advertising campaign was conceived as a 'new and visually exciting'[247] branding strategy for the communications company. This branding strategy was officially endorsed by the MEC of Sports, Recreation Arts and Culture in Gauteng Province, Mondli Gugubele, who stated that the advertising campaign was "one of the most inspired and forward thinking brand campaigns to hit South Africa in a long time." He went on to say that Cell C's campaign was a "powerful vote of confidence in the city".[248]

A total of 12 listed urban renewal projects were located along the Joburg Art City Route. Many of these catalytic projects enjoyed substantial expenditure from both the City of Johannesburg and provincial government in the form of Blue IQ in addition to corporate funding.[249] Notably, these regeneration projects also sowed the seeds for future legislated and un-legislated City Improvement Districts (CIDs).

The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) had developed the concept of using the Johannesburg inner city as a large art gallery in 2001. This city-wide project had two main objectives: to promote South African art and artists to the general public and to showcase projects under construction in the city from August 2002 to March 2003. The CJP had distinguished itself by establishing City Improvement Districts (CIDs) and Retail Improvement Districts (RIDs) in the main retail area of the inner city (see Fig. 18).

As part of their vanguard role in urban renewal, the CJP entered a range of partnerships with various public and private entities, like Johannesburg Inner City Business Coalition (JICBC), Business and Arts South Africa (BASA) and the City of Johannesburg, in which the City of Johannesburg provided the seed funding to run a national art competition and the infrastructure necessary to realize the project. Various private sector art galleries and large financial and mining institutions supplied specific works from their collections for the event. South African banks like ABSA, Nedcor, Standard Bank and the South African Reserve Bank all participated through contributions from their gallery collections, as did smaller institutions like the Bag Factory, Wits Gallery and the National School of the Arts.

The investment of major South African banks in Johannesburg Art City 2002 was further reflected in the designated art tour route. Corporations, banking houses and a small group of private property developers constitute the major property owners in the inner city. According to Anne Stephanie – a founding member and director of the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) – the city is anchored by the three big national banks: Standard Bank in the south, ABSA in the east and First National Bank in the north. Other property owners include Ned bank, Citiprop and Old Mutual,[250] whereas Anglo American

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[247] Laham, T. 2002. In *Joburg Art City Brochure*.
[248] Gugubele. M. 2002. *Joburg Art City Brochure*.
[249] For example, Constitution Hill (R 450 million in government seed investment),the Civic Theatre, Braamfontein – a massive upgrading project with major corporate headquarters, retail and residential stock, Nelson Mandela Bridge (R 82 million from Blue IQ, City of Johannesburg and the National Road and Transport bodies) linking Braamfontein and Newtown across the Braamfontein rail yards to other inner city locations; Metro Mall (R108 million); Mary Fitzgerald Square and Newtown; Oriental Plaza; Main Street – a precinct dominated by mining company headquarters including those of mining giant Anglo America; Hollard Street Precinct – the old centre of South African 'high finance'; Gandhi Square; the Fashion District on Pritchard Street; and the ABSA complex (R450 million).
[250] Interview with Anonymous, 14 November 2013.

(Ashanti Gold) exerts control over the southwest portion of the inner city.[251] Johannesburg Art City (2002) defined a new territory for urban redevelopment and charted a new direction in public–private infrastructure development and nation-building embodied in the new development strategy which came to be known as Johannesburg 2030.
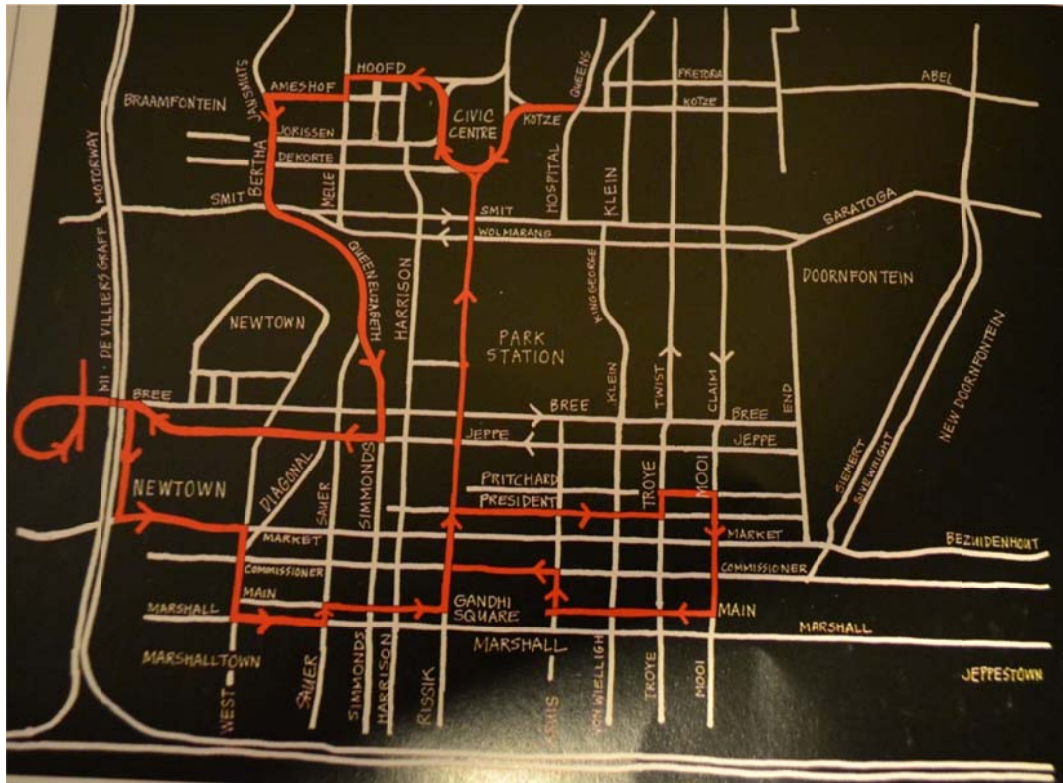
Fig. 18.   Art Route for Joburg Art City 2002
Source: Joburg Art City Brochure, 2002

Corporate precincts in the inner city served as anchors in the southeast, and northwest of the inner city, whereas iconic revitalization projects within the 'Cultural Arc' like Constitution Hill in the northeast, Braamfontein and Wits University in the northwest, and Nelson Mandela bridge and Newtown in the southwest constituted the overall territory of revitalization efforts by both the private and the public sector, forming a wide arc from the northeast to the south of the inner city (see Fig 18 and 19).
In this way, the city was reconstituted as a new cultural landscape, anchored by strategic urban renewal projects. This art map of the city constituted a cartographic exercise that grafted a new terrain of intervention out of the city where one had not existed before in this form. In particular, the art map traced the contours of City Improvement Districts in the inner city and a new zone of privatized security and urban management and major property holders in the inner city (Fig. 18.

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[251] On the other hand, a small group of private property developers have made incursions into the inner-city property market since the late 1990s.

The art exhibitions sought to reposition the image of the inner city to a global and local audience, and to enframe it as a new territory for exciting aesthetic experiences and encounters. The art exhibitions and tours can thus be read as imaginative cartographic representations that were socially constructed and which subsumed the curators' intentions and served as iconic representations of corporate and state power.[252] The tours legitimized representations of the future of the city in ways that resonated with previous discourses on the city. Thus the art circuits in both *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) and Johannesburg Art City (2002), and the strategic location of art exhibitions along the two routes, inaugurated the city as a site of consumption through branding across a vast and fragmented geographical terrain.

Remapping the city through public art events allowed corporate and state interests to gain, exercise and give legitimacy to their power. It also codified the city for propertied interests and the state. The Johannesburg Art City (2002) tour, in particular, crafted an "imaginative geography"[253], through which the inner city that was perceived as culturally and geographically distant acquired meaning through a poetic process. The art map represented the inner city as an unknown territory to be explored and conquered. This 'emptying' of the landscape sought to erase existing cultural and geo-cultural formations in preparation for the projection and subsequent emplacement of a new public–private order of City Improvement Districts. This dramatization of distance and difference involved in the imaginative geographical process, enfolded difference through a series of geographical markers such as CIDs and cultural institutions, as marketable territories, which gained visibility through public art. Public art thus demarcated desirable spaces from those ascribed to undesirable urban residents and users. This imaginative geography localized and re-spatialized the Cultural Arc., and in marking territory, it also played an important role in crafting new understandings of belonging and non-belonging in the city.

The next section will briefly outline the origins of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) in Johannesburg and argues that these new spatial formations are constituted through a combination of surveillance, confinement and spectacle. First, it will provide a brief history of how the idea of CIDs was introduced in Johannesburg through new institutions like the Central Johannesburg Partnership and then it will discuss the specific form of management that this formation entails and its relationship to existing forms of urban management.

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[252] Ryan, S. 1994. "Inscribing the Emptiness", in *De-Scribing Empire Post-colonialism and Texuality*, Lawson, A and Tiffin, C (Eds), pp. 115-120.
[253] Said is concerned with the spatial and racial order of this imaginative geography of the 'Orient', specifically the cultural and symbolic domains of this geographical understanding, which reveals the cultural politics of space and place, in Said, E. 1978. "Imaginative Geography and its Representations: Orientalizing the Oriental." In *Orientalism*. Vintage, pp 80

3.2   Frontiers

"In time… [The elite] will all come. What has happened to Gandhi Square and downtown Johannesburg is radiating into the rest of the city. I like to describe it as a very positive veldfire."[254]

Veld[255] fires are mainly human-made fires that occur outside the boundaries of the built environment and have the potential to run out of control but are also necessary for the regeneration of plant life in the savannah ecosystem and for removing alien plant life.[256] What is of interest in the words quoted above, is that Gerald Olitzki, a prominent property developer in downtown Johannesburg, articulates an imaginative geography that makes it possible for him to envision the veld fire as a positive good, not only for Gandhi Square, but also for the rest of the inner city. Olitzki conflates a man-made potential disaster to delimit the city as a wilderness – beyond an imagined homestead. Olitzki had bought and restored a large number of 'derelict' office and heritage buildings in order to transform the inner city into a desirable location for middle class consumers and residents. Real estate developers like him worked with the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) to create semi-private municipal governance in order to secure their investments in the inner city.

Thus the dynamic between private developers' desires in Johannesburg and their capitalization on the 'crisis' in the inner city produced a complex interplay between a capitalist logic, which thrives on crisis (Harvey, 2001; Tsing, 2011) and the role of the rational state which requires transparency and order (Scott, 1998). Thus the city-as-wilderness imagery re-positioned the inner city as a landscape of decay and alien species, which ultimately reconstituted the inner city as a frontier for real estate developers.

These projections of the inner city as a landscape that was both empty and wild, reconstituted it as a frontier for capital reinvestment. The frontier imaginary also legitimized a shift in urban governance that resulted in the delegation of a number of public functions by the City of Johannesburg to private developers and property owners in which the privatization and discharge of key elements of urban governance like policing and urban management, institutionalized fragmentation and spatial exclusion against people perceived as a threat to the desired social order (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; Benit-Gbaffou, Didier and Morange, 2008).

Whereas the previous chapter outlined the historical conditions that gave rise to the fiscal and organizational crisis that plagued the City of Johannesburg in the late 1990s as a combination of radical shifts in the national and global political economy of cities, crisis can also be understood as a time for realignments within capitalism. The redevelopment of the Johannesburg inner city is characterized by area-based urban regeneration schemes, fixed

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[254] Gerald Olitzki, quoted by City of Johannesburg. 2004. "Gerald Olitzki: He's got Joburg in his Bones" City of Johannesburg Website, http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=814&Itemid=52 retrieved 22/04/2012.

[255] A *veld* is the Afrikaans term given to an open countryside beyond urban limits or homestead boundary.

[256] Department of Local and Provincial Government. "National Disaster Management Veld Fire Awareness" from: http://www.ndmc.gov.za/portals/0/docs/publications/Veld_Fire_Awareness.pdf retrieved 24/04/2013.

public art commissions like William Kentridge and Gerhard Marx's *The Fire Walker* (2010)*,* as well as vast territories of privatized urban space in the form of City Improvement Districts (CID).[257] These spaces sought to secure and brand 'precincts' within the inner city as stable, thematized set pieces and reflect an incessant need to codify specific aspects of inner city life, as well as to set up a representational space and the appearance of order within the inner city.

This spatialization and re-codification of the inner city – through urban renewal projects and precincts – played an important role in forming a sense of place through understandings of belonging and non-belonging in space. It also represented the inner city as an unknown territory to be explored in preparation for the projection and subsequent emplacement of a new public–private order of City Improvement Districts (CIDs). CIDs were pioneered by the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP), which sought to address the crisis of accumulation and public order as a problem of management and aesthetics. However, as argued by Anna Tsing (2005), the interplay between crisis, bureaucratic visibility and deregulated zones, also constitutes a site where capital can operate efficiently. Capital can cooperate in the spreading of governance measures that facilitate and legitimate the appropriation of space in an 'uncanny bundling' of capitalist accumulation, such that capitalist expansion transforms a social and cultural landscape into a utilitarian unit of economic value.[258] Although discussed in the context of the gentrification of North American cities, Neil Smith (1996) similarly proposes the frontier as an analytical framework for understanding the territorial logic of capitalist expansion and socio-spatial change.

3.2.1   The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) 1992–2010

The model of City Improvement Districts (CIDs) in Johannesburg emerged as a response by local business to declining municipal budgets and services, which was informed by a range of urban redevelopment models originating from North America and the United Kingdom. According to the CJP, CIDs have been effective in providing services that improve the overall viability of a central business district or of retail or specialist nodes, resulting in enhanced property values, rentals and sale.[259] On its website the CJP states that the 'baseline need' for urban areas is to provide a safe and clean experience of the user, which is necessary before any and all other efforts to create a 'better experience' of the area. These may include: attracting business, environmental upgrades, retaining business, branding and marketing the CID precinct area or events management to attract more people to the CID area.

> "City Centers are increasingly required to perform as economic and social destinations, attracting visitors while continuing to meet the needs of the local community. The variations of spatial and social structures of the city centers, creates difficulties for traditional town centre organizations to find a sustainable income. Funding by voluntary subscription and grants from various agencies do not provide for long-term planning which is essential to enable town and city centers to incrementally develop and thrive. Thus urban property owners around the world are creating new

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[257] Known in the United States as Business Improvement Districts

[258] Tsing, A. 2005. "Frontiers of Capitalism" in *Frictions – Ethnography of Global Connection*. Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press', pp. 27-28.

[259] "CIDs Background"; www.cjp; retrieved 05/10/12.

forms of private sector management to protect their interests. With the ability to impose levies and provide collective services, Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) or City Improvement Districts (CIDs), supplement publicly funded efforts to clean and secure outdoor spaces."[260]

The Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) was established as a tri-lateral partnership between business, community and the then local authority in 1992. However, after the City of Johannesburg was established as a democratic representative local government, in 1995 – which would ostensibly represent the interest of various communities – the CJP was restructured into a Section 21 Company (not for gain). This new structure was financed by major inner city business and sought to represent their interests. By 1997, CJP had established itself as an international consulting service throughout Africa.[261] One of its most successful and pioneering interventions had been to establish City Improvement Districts (CIDs), particularly in the main retail area of the inner city which included the Central improvement District of the Carlton Centre, South West Improvement District, characterized by corporate head offices and financial institutions, and the Braamfontein Improvement District.

The CJP played a central role in advocating for a new approach to urban management and redevelopment in the Johannesburg inner city.[262] It advised provincial government on urban renewal strategies and legislation as well as disseminating information about its research and inner city vision though a range of publications and media platforms. Along with advocating for a new regime of urban governance, central city change and security initiatives like CCTV, the CJP worked with the Gauteng Provincial Government of Development Planning and Local Government in envisioning strategic planning for the inner city, and also for the development of City Improvement Districts and informal trading by-laws.[263]

The founders of the CJP, Neil Frasier and Anne Stephanie, had a longstanding interest in the inner city. Frasier in particular, sought to improve investment opportunities and public space in the inner city, which led to a number of other international study tours as a major part of the CJP's conceptual framework for inner city regeneration. The CJP undertook various research projects in global urban redevelopment strategies – either directly or in partnership with others with the aim of assisting or advising the business sector as well as the visioning process with national and provincial organs of government.[264]

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[260] CJP Website, 05/10/2012.

[261] CJP Website, 05/10/2012.

[262] Following various interests identified by the CJP since its establishment, CJP formed a new organization within the Kagiso Group known as Kagiso Urban management (KUM) in July 2003. KUM was a multi-disciplinary consulting and management services company specializing in precinct management and precinct development or "place-making". According to the CJP website, it works in partnership with local government, local business interests and urban users/interest groups and undertakes precinct management and provides urban consultancy services throughout southern Africa. As part of the Kagiso Group, KUM is a black-owned equal opportunity company.[262]

[263] They also interfaced with the various organs of national and provincial government, and assisted in framing the Gauteng Four-point Plan for Regenerating and Integration of Cities, Towns and Township centers.

[264] Such research initiatives included research on: 1) compiling relevant broad economic data, indicators, benchmarks relative to the inner city; 2) Primary research led by ICHUT and the Johannesburg Housing

Beginning in the early 1990s, the CJP undertook two years of international research into various approaches to what they describe as "the problems of urban decay and urban management." The CJP identified Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) as the most common model throughout northern America and various other countries outside northern America. Although the idea for City Improvement Districts (CIDs) came from Canada, Frasier and Parks Tau – who became the second mayor of a united Johannesburg City Council after Amos Masondo and who worked in the Department of Economic Development at the time – began by looking at Philadelphia and New York City as models for urban redevelopment in 1996.[265]

Study tour destinations included cities in the United Kingdom and the United States of America in 1996 that also included engagements with the Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum in the United Kingdom and the International Downtown Association in Washington DC. Other study tours included previously 'blighted' cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore with participants including elected councilors and officials, provincial government officials, community leaders and business representatives.[266] Additionally, the CJP lead a research initiative with the South Africa Police Service into the use of CCTV in interventions in the United Kingdom in early 1996, which precipitated a visit from an international CCTV expert from the British Home Office to the city in August of the same year.[267] They also facilitated the relocation of a provincial government precinct centered on City Hall, from Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa in order to stabilize tenancy within the inner city.[268] The CJP assisted the Gauteng Provincial Government in drafting legislation that would establish Improvement Districts throughout Gauteng's towns and cities. The Gauteng Provincial City Improvement District Act No. 12 of 1997 was unanimously approved by the Gauteng Provincial Legislature in December 1997. By 2004, the CJP had processed four of the previous voluntary CIDs into fully legislated CIDS in terms of the Provincial Government Act.

3.2.2 City Improvement Districts and the Urban Enclave

A City Improvement District (CID) is a defined geographic area within which the property owners agree to pay for certain services to enhance the physical and social environment of the area. The services provided are supplementary to those provided by the local authority and usually include safety and security patrol officers, pavement cleaning, litter collection, maintenance of public spaces and the removal of illegal posters.[269] Other complimentary

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Company into residential accommodation in the inner city; and 3) Primary research into retail activity in the inner city.

[265] Interview with Anne Stephanie, Wits University, Johannesburg, October 2013;

[266] The CJP obtained funding for the tour from government funding agencies in the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as local business. Prior to the creation of the JDA in 2000, The CJP organized attendance for Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town council representatives to Long Beach, San Jose and San Antonio. "Central Johannesburg Partnership: CJP as Consultant/Researcher. www.cjp.co.za, accessed on 05/10/12.

[267] Subsequently Business against Crime (Gauteng) (BAC) took over the project in 1999. Other security initiatives included the city's community policing forum for a number of years and generally in all anti-crime activities related to the inner city.

[268] In total, approximately 100,000 square meters of office space and subsequent requirements were activated, in addition to the accommodation provided by the legislature building.

[269] CJP Overview, www.cjp.co.za; retrieved 05/10/12.

services within CIDs include web-based communication and information systems connecting all businesses in the area.

In legislated CIDs, property owners bear the costs of providing additional services through the CID levy. Property owners are required by law to pay the levy, usually based on the rateable value of individual land values. Unlike rates, CID levies may be spent only in the area in which they are collected.[270] Typically, all property owners and major tenants within a clearly defined geographic area must be identified and consulted about the establishment of a CID. Property owners must achieve a pre-determined majority (51 per cent) in order to establish an improvement district. Additionally, the local authority must approve the CID.[271] Following approval, 100 per cent of property owners are required to make financial contribution to the CID once the district is authorized. Legally constituted CIDs authorize the city council to levy an additional tax on improvement district members, who are in turn required to pay them as they would pay rates. The council collects the levy on behalf of the improvement district and pays the money received directly over the improvement district without deduction or authorizes an approved agency to collect levies on its behalf. Each district has its own board of directors elected from the members of the CID Section 21 company and they control the district within the terms of their original improvement district business plan.

Although the board may include non-voting members, such as councilors, tenants or other stakeholders, property owners must be the majority. The board usually appoints a specialist urban management company to manage the day-to-day operations within the district. Although the supplemental services provided to the CID should be based on the needs and goals of the property owners, CIDs are fundamentally determined by property owners. Both the CID and the city council enter into a Service Level Agreement (SLA) to ensure that the CID services remain supplementary, rather than a substitute for local authority baseline services. The improvement district is established for an initial period of three years but it can continue until such time that members make material changes to the original business plan.[272]

According to the CJP, CIDs have a number of benefits for property owners. These include: an integrated, 'holistic approach' to urban problems; increased investor confidence and improved competitiveness in the region; a 'positive identity' for the area (place marketing); increased private sector management and accountability; monitoring new developments in the area; effective working relationships with the council, Johannesburg Tourism Company and local tourism associations; and the capacity to petition for new initiatives to the council, like traffic surveys, in order to improve the functioning of the area.[273]

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[270] In Gauteng Province, applications to create a formal or legal improvement district are made to local authorities and are considered in terms of the Gauteng City Improvement District Act No. 12 of 1997; approved by the Gauteng Provincial Legislature on 9 December 1997 (9 refer 01). In parts of South Africa where no legal mechanism exists for the creation of CID the only option available is to create voluntary CIDs – and thus levies become voluntary.

[271] Although only 25 per cent of property owners need to apply for the CID, 51 per cent of the relevant property owners must be in agreement to obtain final approval of the application.

[272] CJP: How is it Legislated; www.cjp.co.za. Retrieved on 05/10/12.

[273] CJP: What are the Benefits? www.cjp.co.za; retrieved 05/10/12.

At the end of 1998, the CJP had established four CIDs in the Johannesburg Inner City covering nearly 50 city blocks. They employed over 200 security officers, cleaners, informal trading and environmental management personnel. By 2006, there were ten CIDs, four of which were legislated and managed by the CJP, and six of which were voluntary.[274] Added to this, the CJP lists a number of other major redevelopment initiatives in the inner city, including transitional housing on Cornelius Street, upgrading of Gandhi Square, upgrading and pedestrianistion of Fox Street between Kruis and Eloff Street, the Braamfontein Corporate Precinct, the High Court Precinct, Main Street, the Fashion District, the Legislature Precinct, and the Alexandra Informal Business (Figure 5).[275]
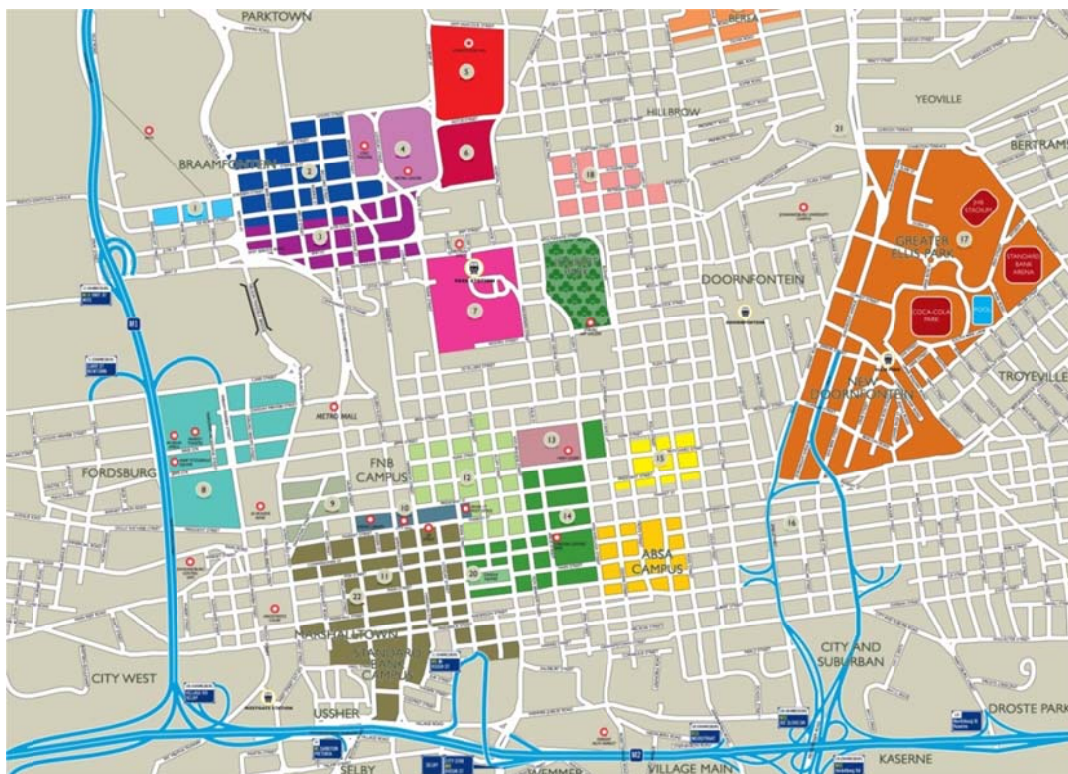
Figure 19: Map of legislated and unlegislated CIDs in downtown Johannesburg
Source: Kagiso Urban Management

The new territory delineated by CIDs in Johannesburg followed the contours of the Cultural Arc and corporate enclaves within the inner city – drawing adjacent areas into its ambit and excluding the less desirable elements therein. The shift from modernist, apartheid-era city planning to 'post'-apartheid city planning was marked by increasing fragmentation of an already splintered urban realm and a theatricalization of urban space, similar to post-modern planning practices (Murray, 2001; Landman, 2002; Boyer, 1986; Harvey, 1989).

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[274] The first four were: the Central Improvement District (inner city); South Western Improvement District (inner city); Retail Improvement district (inner city) and Braamfontein. The latter consisted of: Civic, Legislature, Newtown, Constitution Court, Main Street and Fashion District.
[275] CJP Website: www.cjp.co.za; 05/10/12.

Fragmented elements of the inner city were redeveloped as autonomous elements, with little relationship to the larger city and with direct concern only for adjacent elements.

As a result, the inner city was remapped as a site of accumulation, in which the interests of provincial and local government, banks, cultural and educational institutions intersected through their desires for urban regeneration. Thus, fragments of the city were increasingly regulated and marketed as themed precincts with clearly defined perimeters and private security, urban infrastructure and management services.

Various urban scholars have argued that CIDs in particular, constitute a form of 'fiscal secession' from a shared tax base and that this secession might undermine the principle of a unified city government and dilute the role and responsibilities of public authorities such that CIDs become "*de facto* private politically unaccountable governments" which, like residential enclaves, produce fiscal and spatial fragmentation (Graham and Marvin, 2001; Caldeira, 2001; Davis, 1990; Bremner,1998, 2000; Landman, 2002; Benit-Gbaffou, 2008). The consequences of this re-apportionment of urban space are that areas within CID perimeters stand out as zones of safety and are identified as 'clean and thriving' business areas, whereas spaces outside the CID suffer from social abandonment and the displacement of violence (Marcuse, 1995; Benit-Gbaffou *et al.*, 2008:14-15,19-20). Furthermore, they argue that this emergent carceral landscape works to legitimize class distinction and aesthetic consumption as a form of cultural reinforcement of urban spatial structures of fragmentation and hierachization at the local level.[276]

Whereas the state's delegation of a number of public functions is a reflection of a growing international trend, this shift has taken several forms, which are contingent on the degree of segregation, urban morphology and the institutional and political context in South African cities. In Cape Town and Johannesburg, delegation took two forms, namely road closures, which developed extensively in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg since the mid-1990s, and City Improvement Districts (CIDs), which first emerged in Cape Town.[277] Benit-Gbaffou *et al.* argue that CIDs have become a symbol of post-apartheid inequality and reflect the 'messy specificity' of a particular experience of neo-liberalism, manifested in the selective nature of delegation, which nevertheless represent new forms of (in-direct) state control (2008:3).Thus public authorities increasingly reassert their authority over some forms of community-led initiatives,[278] while simultaneously encouraging public–private partnerships in the form of City Improvement Districts (CIDs).[279] Furthermore, they argue that CIDs, like

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[276] Boyer, C.1986. "The Return of Aesthetics to City Planning", *Society*, Vol. 25, Issue 4, pp: 55.

[277] The Cape Town model was established under the New National Party representatives in the residential areas of Cape Town. See Beavon, 2004.

[278] The role of the police force was reconstituted as a police service in 1995 in an attempt to shed their negative public image and role as the guardians of a minority white supremacist regime. The period shortly following the first democratic election was marked by several experiments, at community level, to address crime. Whereas private security companies already existed in affluent white suburbs during apartheid, new forms of security measures emerged afterwards. See Benit-Gbaffou (2008) for a detailed discussion of various security measures during this period, which also included Community Policing Forums in the townships and the suburbs.

[279] Benit-Gbaffou, C, Didier, S and Morange, M. 2008. "Communities the Private Sector and the State: Contested forms of Security Governance in Cape Town and Johannesburg" in *Urban Affairs Review*, January18, 2008. Sage Publishers.

road closures and gated communities, produce social polarization and spatial fragmentation. CIDs are also unconstitutional because they create inequality in access to security which further undermines attempts to overcome the apartheid legacy of segregation, exclusion and inequality.[280] Specifically, the requirement that all residents within a CID have to pay a levy is an additional tax which displaces some occupants economically.[281] Furthermore, according to Benit-Gbaffou *et al* (2008) this devolution of key elements of urban governance to private citizens also creates conditions where social discrimination and spatial exclusion may go unchecked.

Thus the collective control of what is putatively public space ultimately fosters segregation as security can become a screen that filters out 'undesirables' like the homeless, street children and street traders from public and commercial spaces. In short, it excludes people who are perceived as a threat to the prevailing or desired social order (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; Benit-Gbaffou, Didier and Morange, 2008). Collusion between government officials and corporate interests is more acute in light of the possibility that the fiscal secession of CIDs may be read as a proxy for neo-liberal restructuring by a local and national government, which deflects attention away from the public authorities who have failed to address inadequate service provision to impoverished township residents (Benit-Gbaffou *et al.*, 2008:19).

The discourse of the frontier in Johannesburg, then, is an imaginative project capable of molding both places and processes. It is a space of desire that creates its own demands and productive confusions, constituted through unstable binary frameworks such as legality and illegality, public and private ownership, violence and law, preservation and eradication.[282] The frontier creates new edges as new territories are forged. Like colonialism, the violence of territorial expansionism eviscerated and reconstituted a landscape as 'wild and empty' in order for people to come and claim it, as suggested by Tsing thus:

> "Frontiers are not just edges; they are particular kinds of edges where the expansive nature of extraction comes into its own. Built from historical models of European conquest, frontiers create wildness so that some – not others – may reap its rewards."[283]

This ambiguity is a fertile space for capitalist accumulation in Johannesburg and for the proliferation and intensification of new opportunities and violence as the urban landscape is unmapped and reconstituted in the image of neo-liberal capitalism.

On the other hand, the international study tours undertaken by the CJP and various government officials were an indication of the aspirations of private and state entities to participate in networks of knowledge production in the administration and management of

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[280] Benit-Gbaffou *et al.* (2008:10).
[281] Benit-Gbaffou states that some CID supporters in Cape Town for the Upper City Bowl stated at a public meeting that those who could not afford to pay the levy should move somewhere cheaper (2008:11).
[282] Tsing, A. 2005. *Friction: Ethnography of Global Connection*. Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 44-45.
[283] Tsing, A. 2005. "Of Capitalism" in *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press', pp. 27-28.

complex urban environments. However, these circuits of knowledge, the aspirations and desires that generated them as well as the processes of privatization and territorialization that ensued, materialized as fraught and contradictory socio-spatial formations. In particular, the creation of CIDs, despite their problematic relationship to transparency and accountability and constitutional rights, created conditions of possibility for a limited number of informal street traders, which were largely denied them by local government. Therefore an appreciation of the contingency of such encounters across difference and distance is productive for understanding the unexpected and unstable aspects of global connection.[284]

3.3   Enframing the City

South Africa was faced with the challenge of nation-building and also of finding spaces of mutuality in everyday life after the end of legal apartheid. With the end of apartheid, leisure assumed a heightened role in Johannesburg, as it has in other cities globally, giving rise to the thematization of urban environments. This rise of aesthetics in city planning has been central to urban entrepreneurialism, which has intensified an emphasis on the aesthetic of city space and the street (Zukin, 1991 and 1995; Boyer, 1986). These developments are a manifestation of a new urban economy which has its roots in tourism, sports, culture and entertainment,[285] and is embodied within the creation of CIDs. This tendency is also evident in the attempts of cities to reflect the image of the city back to its inhabitants, as well as through the rise of public art projects, upgrading derelict areas, the development of galleries, cleaning and rebranding initiatives, that seek to reconstitute the city as a 'landscape of leisure'.[286] The art tours facilitated by the CJP and the JDA reflected an incessant need of city agencies and art practitioners to define, categorize, and project order onto aspects of inner city life. This 'enframing'[287] of the city entailed a structured representation of reality through the techniques of dividing, containing and simulating but also scaffolding.

Cultural institutions like art museums and galleries in 'post'-apartheid South Africa have emerged to embody both material and symbolic power, which seeks to incorporate people within the processes of the state through newly constituted open and public space in the hope of cultivating the development of a metropolitan bourgeoisie citizenry. However, democratic politics requires not merely that the population be governable but also that it consents to being governed, which in turn creates a need to enlist active popular support for the values and objectives enshrined in the state. Thus, cultural institutions, like the art

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[284] Tsing, A. 2005. *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[285] Hannigan, J. 1998. Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit" in *The Post-modern Metropolis*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1-2.

[286] Hannigan, J. 1998. "Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit" in *The Post-modern Metropolis*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 5.

[287] In *Colonizing Egypt*, Timothy Mitchell (1988) focuses on the political and intellectual impact of Europe in nineteenth-century Egypt and the colonizing nature of disciplinary power and panopticism, in which non-European others found themselves being placed on exhibition, as objects of European curiosity. These exhibits highlighted the European concern for rendering things up to be viewed. This set up two distinctions, between the visitors and the exhibit, and also between the exhibit and what it expressed (1988:2).

museum, the gallery and exhibitions themselves, played a critical role in nation-building because they were deployed in the efforts to cultivate ethical and moral citizens, through new regimes of representation embodied in art and architecture.

Johannesburg witnessed the application of this method of enframing to the inner city and its social realm, where such practices as the re-construction of the inner city as a new cultural terrain allowed appreciation for the otherworldly nature of a city of dereliction and the process of renewal underway. Exhibitions, as a form of scaffolding, were more flexible than their institutional counterpart – the art gallery – because they could be adjusted to respond to shorter-term ideological requirements to serve the hegemonic strategies of the political and economic elites.

According to Bennet (1988), the distinctive influence of exhibitions consisted of their articulation of the rhetoric of progress and improvement to the rhetorics of nationalism and in producing an expanding cultural sphere for the deployment of the exhibitionary disciplines within sites of popular culture. In Johannesburg, one of the sites for colonizing popular culture was the commercial landscape of the city, and specifically billboards and building wraps them.

An analysis of city-wide public art events like Johannesburg Art City (2002) and *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) not only spatialized state and corporate interests in urban renewal, but also showed the co-option of artists in lending legitimacy to this process. On the other hand, an analysis of *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) revealed that urban renewal strategies and place marketing are not a single unified process that unfolds in the inner city, but rather a negotiated and conflictual process.[288] These public art exhibitions constituted moments of 'awkward engagement'[289] as various monied interests and state actors sought to stake public claims to the inner city – albeit in often messy and uncoordinated ways.
The enframing of the inner city of Johannesburg as an art gallery and a new space of representation permitted the construction of a temporally organized order of things and peoples. This order aimed at being a totalizing one, metonymically encompassing all things and all peoples in their interactions through time. This order organized an implied public of a cultured, multicultural and emancipated citizenry – into a unity, effacing divisions within the body politic against the crudely racist teleological conception of the relations between blacks and whites, through a new regime of representation.

The values, culture and the rhetoric of power from society's ruling groups and embodied in this new regime was manifest in its ability to organize and co-ordinate a visual, spatial and symbolic order and to produce a place for the people in relation to that order. This power aimed at a rhetorical effect through its representation of otherness rather than at any disciplinary effects. However, more importantly, the technologies of surveillance and of spectacle also overlapped, with a transfer of meanings and effects between them.[290]
In fact, Bennet (1988) argues that the peculiarity of this regime of representation lay in the way it incorporated the same principles of the panopticon together with those of the panorama, forming a 'technology of vision' which served to regulate the crowd and to do so

[288] Tsing, A. 2011. *Friction: Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton University Press.
[289] Tsing, A. 2011. *Friction: Ethnography of Global Connection.* Princeton University Press.
[290] Bennet, T. 1988. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in *New Formations*, 4 Spring 1988; pp. 76.

by rendering it visible to itself, by making the crowd itself its ultimate spectacle – thus democratizing the eye of power.   ,   ,

The next section will explore the representation of benign black women in the colonial and apartheid imaginary as a 'maid' and it will argue that the symbolic remapping of domesticity and the racial complicates the notion of cultural technologies as serving the interests of power in the public realm alone. Additionally, the following section will explore the paradox inherent in the art exhibitions, because of the fragmentary nature of the City's urban renewal strategy and the exigencies of fiscal austerity, such that the art strategy, like Sibande's figures, provided an illusory, rather than substantive controlling vision, such that the site of unification became simultaneously the site of fracture.

3.3.1 Black Woman as Trope

During the colonial era, race and sexuality were used as ordering mechanisms that constituted a 'dense transfer point' of power which set out distinctions of bourgeois identity rooted in the sexual politics of the home. The idea of the chaste Victorian wife and mother, as the ideal of bourgeois respectability and sexual morality, ushered in a renewed interest in the domestic milieu and scrutiny of the privatized habitus in which European bourgeois values could be cultivated. Although differently conceived for different sexes, attempts to regulate desire and sexual behavior were ultimately attempts to regulate gender.[291]
The figure of the maid invoked a range of discourses that circumscribed the subjectivities of black women as house-maids in ways that were fundamentally concerned with a re-alignment of that subjectivity to service colonial desires and to safeguard against such desires from unsettling the colonial order. In short, the refashioning of colonized women sought to contain their sexuality and reconstructed gendered identities as servants, wives and mothers through regimes of Christian domesticity and Western bourgeois propriety.[292]

The discourse on bourgeois selves was thus based on what Foucault describes as a certain 'grid of intelligibility': it strategically mobilized categories of racial, class and sexual difference in order to legitimize both colonialism and nineteenth-century liberal states.[293] Significantly, the domestic milieu played an important role in the construction of both public life and national identity. Thus, the home became a site where a new kind of knowledge tied personal conduct to racial survival that registered how much a lack of self-discipline was a risk to the body politic. The sexual politics of the home in the Victorian colonial project required domestic servants that would perform a range of intimate and nurturing services

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[291]At a symbolic level, white women were seen as the embodiment of civilization who bore the standards of civilization and colluded in their own restriction through the daily reproduction of labor and the social reproduction of a racially divided and class-structured colonial society (Phillips, 2011; Hansen, 1989). On the other hand, white colonial masculinity derived its invisibility from its privileged and central position within a network of power, whereas black women were not formally incorporated into the wage-labor economy. Their worth lay in quietly reproducing the workforce, at the periphery of centers of production in the city. As such, their exclusion limited their visibility and apparent worth. As embodiments of both motherhood and pleasure, they signified all that was desirable in a culture worthy of protection. Whiteness lent women a "contingent subjectivity", not as women, but rather as members of the white colonizing class (Phillips, 2011: 107-112).
[292] Comaroff, J and J. 1992. "Home-made Hegemony: modernity, Domesticity and colonialism in South Africa," *African Encounters with Domesticity*, (Ed) Karen Hansen (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1992) pp. 37-74.
[293] Foucault, M. 1985. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books.

such that the colonial home functioned as a racialized 'micro site' that designated claims to racial membership, gender roles, and cultivation. It also delineated new 'interior frontiers', which determined how bourgeois identity was intimately tied to notions of 'whiteness' as much as it mapped out the moral parameters of European and colonial national identity by identifying marginal members of the body politic.[294]

This new configuration of a bourgeois 'class' body was constituted through the working of race through the language of class. Discourses on difference not only served the interests of the bourgeois, but also lent moral authority to colonialism and nineteenth-century liberal states. Stoler (1995:9-11) extends Foucault's argument further through her engagement with the coloniality of bourgeois identity thus:

> "In the nineteenth century… race becomes the ordering grammar of an imperial order in which modernity, the civilizing mission and the 'measure of man' was framed. And with it, 'culture' was harnessed to do more specific political work; not only to mark difference, but to rationalize the hierarchies of privilege and profit, to consolidate the labor regimes of expanding capitalism, to provide the psychological scaffolding for the exploitative structures of colonial rule."[295]

Popular representations of black domestic workers in South Africa were rooted within an ideology of racialized and gendered subordination.[296] These social relations were not only centered within the household but they are also embodied in stereotypical representations of the 'maid'. According to Patricia Hill-Collins, the representation of black female domestic workers as figures of 'lack' was constituted through socially constructed and controlling images of black womanhood, that portrayed the family ideal of black womanhood as pious, pure, submissive and domesticated, in order to maintain the inner-workings of racialized domination.[297] In South African society, the figure of the 'maid' was not only a ritual object, symbolically affirming social hierarchies within a highly racialized society, but she also enabled whites to conjure a typology of 'natives' that legitimated her subordination within white households. Therefore, the staging of domesticity in the city was powerful because it had mobilized a black woman, a 'maid' and a figure of repression and maternal love as a trope of freedom and desire.

These monumental representations of a domestic worker writ large on the Johannesburg skyline were all the more striking because a typical domestic worker's characterization in

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[294] Stoler, L.A. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire*. Duke University Press p. 97.

[295] Stoler, L.A. 1995: *Race and the Education of Desire*. Duke University Press p. 27.

[296] For further discussion on representations of domestic workers see: Ginsberg, R. 2011. *At Home with Apartheid: The Hidden Landscapes of Domestic Service in South Africa.* University of Virginia Press; Parnell, S. "Race, power and urban control: Johannesburg's inner city slum yards, 1910-1923," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29, 615-637; Cock, J. 1990. *Maids and Madams: Domestic Workers under Apartheid*. Womens Press; Ally, S. 2009. *From Servants to Workers: South African Domestic Workers and the Democratic State.* Cornell University Press.

[297] In the North American context, Patricia Hill-Collins argues that the 'mammy' was imagined as the figure of black maternal love, fictive kinship, and deference to authority, "magnificently physical, contained and non-threatening – without sexuality, desire or fertility". Hill-Collins, 1989. "Mammies, Matriarchs and Other Controlling Stereotypes" in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*. Routledge Classics, pp. 79-80.

South Africa often bespeaks submission and invisibility (Mokoena, 2010). Domestic service required suspension of control over one's own movements and submission to the anticipated and unanticipated demands of white family members. Her posture was an expression of her role: kneeling, crawling, stooping, bowing – not only bespoke subjugation but also discomfort and submission (Ginsberg, 2011). Thus, Sophie's spectacular, excessive costumes and postures (Figure 20) not only dramatized the skyline but also appeared to breech the aura of submission that often surrounds domestic workers in a colonial imaginary. Sophie's appearances and her ostensibly radical performance seemed to signal a significant rupture in colonial and apartheid-era socio-spatial relations, and a surfacing of the repressed histories and identities of the lowermost category of South African social hierarchies. Her appearance not only exposed the foundations of colonial family life but also worked as a monumental contestation of the invisibility and the 'disciple of sameness' imposed on African female domestic workers (Mokoena, 2010).

The appearance of a monumental, seemingly benign, maternal black figure on the skyline re-mapped the symbolic and psychological scaffolding of domesticity onto the city in service of the exploitative structures of urban renewal and city branding. It highlighted not only the centrality of race and sexuality in the discourse and practice of domination, but also, the foundational role of black domestic workers in the articulation of colonial and capitalist ideals of civility with racialized and gendered hierarchies within the city. This reading of the city resonates with contemporary imaginaries of work and social reproduction in an age of neo-liberalism, whereby temporary employment and endemic unemployment and the erosion of the public sphere from currents of capitalist exploitation.[298]

Thus, the figure of the maid could also be read as a sign of workers that are rapidly disappearing under the pressures of economic need and that work has become increasingly constrictive. This contingency and flexible mode of production, also manifested in acute need in the inner city, forecloses spaces for juridical protections and universal rights, independent from specific juridical personhood.[299] Additionally, the monumental scale of this exhibition advanced the visibility of a black figure historically contained within the confines of the domestic milieu. It also resurfaced colonial socio-spatial hierarchies and racist stereotypes about black women. Through this doubling of the 'maid' as object–agent, Sophie's ambivalent appearances in the city, publicly called into question the (im) possibility of freedom within existing structures of domination and inequality in contemporary Johannesburg.

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[298] Marazzi, C. 2011. *Capital and Affects: The Politics of the Language Economy* – Semiotext. Los Angeles, p. 136.
[299] Marazzi, C. 2011. *Capital and Affects: The Politics of the Language Economy* – Semiotext. Los Angeles, p. 45.

Fig. 20.   Mary Sibande: *They don't make them like them like they used to* (2008)
Source: Gallery Momo

3.3.2. Branding, Art and Real Estate Values

Contemporary city space and architectural form have become increasingly packaged environments, which are tethered to significant socio-political shifts in the global economy and branding (Al and Shuper, 2012). As seen in the two outdoor exhibitions discussed above, local government agencies and private property interests sought to dramatize the redevelopment of the inner city, through which the city was transformed into a monumental spectacle, with varying degrees of nuance. These curatorial strategies sought to consolidate a fragmented imaginary of the inner city, into both discreet and totalizing aesthetic experiences through which select urban environments were designed and managed as architectural set-pieces, in a dual strategy of spectacle and surveillance.

In rendering the city as an art gallery, and in 'enframing' both the city and Sophie herself, the exhibition structured a representation of the city that encouraged the viewer to explore and reflect on the changes taking place in the city as much as it enframed sites of dereliction and marginalization of impoverished populations within the public sphere. These seemingly subversive representations of a domestic worker on the city's skyline thus created new aesthetic experiences of the city, which were enfolded into the logics of city branding and place-marketing,[300] through which affect and atmosphere congealed with city branding.

Unlike advertising in other media, outdoor advertising inhibits an individual's capacity to avoid exposure to advertising displayed throughout public space.[301] In addition to circulating through the deeply perspectival and fluid landscape of modern media like the internet, the art wraps addressed themselves to a universal audience, by occupying the space of commercial billboards – the everyday spaces of mass consumer culture. Johannesburg Art City (2002) and *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) produced a spectacle across the city – a new topological formation of the brand.

However, rather than mere spectacle, the exhibitions sought to promote the process of people seeing and identifying themselves as part of this emerging urban citizenship and city. Thus, people seeing the billboards through windscreens, from the highway, on the street and through the art event, created opportunities for collective and individual identity formation in relation to both a distributed spectacle and permanent displays of art in public open space. This new visual regime thus provided a temporary framework of governmentality to be applied to both buildings and the populace.

The rendering of the inner city as an art gallery and the site of cultural consumption in public open space was also constitutive of the communicative technologies of neo-liberal capitalism, which, according to Marazzi (2011), are mechanisms contributing to the construction of new forms of sociality. It was also constituted through a symbolic organization of the world through signs and a carefully constructed visual language that has

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[300] McDonough, T. 2009. *The Situationists and the City: A Reader*. Verso Press, pp 11.

[301] A study of outdoor advertising panel density in African American neighborhoods revealed a correlation between outdoor advertising panel density, income level, race and physical decay. The study conducted by Naa Oyo a Kwate and Tammy H. Lee (2006) revealed targeted advertising of alcohol and tobacco advertising in African American neighborhoods. Additionally, vacant lot square footage was also a positive predictor of advertising density. In "Ghettoizing Outdoor Advertising: Disadvantage and Ad Panel Density in Black Neighborhoods" in *Journal of Urban Health: Bulletin of the American Academy of Medicine*, 84:1, pp. 21-31.

increasingly become a means for constituting a particular conception of urban citizenship that is mediated by branding.

Al and Krupar (2011) expand on the notion of branding and subject formation, beyond mere spectacle and mediation within the urban realm. They argue that the brand has shifted from a two-dimensional static graphic marking device to an expanded terrain of the brand umbrella, which blurs the distinction between art, architecture, urbanism and marketing. Thus the processes of subject formation and mediated by spectacle, has changed. They argue that the contemporary reconfiguration of spectacle as 'brand', and its architectural and urban manifestations, seeks to mobilize emotional expression, customization, perception, enjoyment and pleasure.[302] They argue further that these new 'brandscapes' create opportunities for playful, experiential and sensuous embodiment that claim the status of public life.

"Brandscapes"[303] such as the two art projects also appropriate Marxist critiques and the use of Debordian methods to create 'atmosphere' in a visual and sensory landscape that is mediated by surfaces and subjective experiences of the consumer, which aims to cultivate identities for people or places and produces aesthetic transformations by evoking the unconscious desires of domesticity, for communities.[304]

Additionally, 'brandscape atmosphere' uses psychological connection to the user through 'emotional design' that engages the body and collective memory which are loaded with cultural associations through which artists and architects are increasingly called into the service of the 'experience economy' and its associated play on surfaces (Al and Krupar, 2012:253). Therefore neo-liberalism and brandscape atmosphere increasingly underpin claims to urban citizenship in Johannesburg – at the level of individual self-making and in the forms of sociality and collective identity that consumer culture generates and elicits.

The attempts to redevelop Johannesburg is an example of the effects of de-industrialization of inner cities taking place in many parts of the world in which art was mobilized as a state-manipulated gentrifier. The rise of large-scale public art events was also a manifestation of the return of corporate power and investment to the inner city.[305] Art was thus brought in the service of urban redevelopment and real estate interests, as both the private sector and government agencies sought to stimulate the real estate market.

This process of urban renewal in Johannesburg is somewhat similar to the process of urban redevelopment in New York (Deutsche, 1998:279). In Johannesburg, artists were engaged by state and corporate interests out of a desire to stimulate a new cultural and real-estate economy. On the other hand, in areas such as the Lower East Side of Manhattan of the

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[302] Al, S. and Krupar, S. 2012. "Notes on Society of the Spectacle/brand" in *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory,* Crysler, G.C., Cairns, S. and Heyen, H. (Eds). Sage Publishers, pp. 247-264.

[303] Ibid. 2012, pp 247-9

[304] Al, S. and Krupar, S. 2012. "Notes on Society of the Spectacle/brand" in *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory,* Crysler, G.C., Cairns, S. and Heyen, H. (Eds). Sage Publishers, p. 247

[305] Harvey, D. 2001. "The art of Rent: globalization and the commodification of culture" in Spaces of Global Capital: Towards a critical Geography. New York: Routledge, pp 394-395; Harvey uses the term 'monopoly rent' to describe how localities and cultural forms are enmeshed with contemporary processes of economic globalization, local political economic development and the development of cultural meanings and aesthetic values. Harvey suggests that the monopoly power of the economic elite derives immense profits from controlling in rare commodities like famous art. (2001:395-396)

1980s, artists were pioneers of gentrification and in forging a new frontier for middle class consumers. Nevertheless, these processes are similar in that the artistic events and the cultural ambience that they produced attracted middle-class art consumers, or what Rosalyn Deutsche refers to as an 'art public'.[306] This in turn created a market for other cultural needs. As a result, the Lower East Side became mythologized as an exciting bohemian environment, objectified in maps delimiting its boundaries and aestheticized through various media representations.

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Two years after *Long Live the Dead Queen* had come down, the author retraced the locations where Sophie been sighted. I came across the one of her sites along End Street. All evidence of Sophie was gone, save for the National Lottery logo on the side of building (Figure 7).

Figure 21: Photo of derelict building after long live the Dead Queen (2010) had been taken down.
Source: Mpho Matsipa October 2012.

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[306] Deutsche, R. 1998. *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, p. 300.

The frames to the industrial building in the background that had once encased panes of glass were now inhabited by a dense ensemble of voids, shards of glass, cardboard panels, pockets of tapeline, plastic, cellophane and garbage bags in black, blue and white, all of which are interspersed with the personal effects belonging to the inhabitants within. None of the window frames on the second floor had glazed panels. Black trails on white window frames recorded the passage of toxic tendrils spiraling towards the third floor – evidence of past fires. The ground floor was strewn with waste, paper, bottles; rags were strewn on the ground amongst fetid pools of grey water. From the street, the interior appeared dark and quiet.

The resurfacing of a derelict building with high art had not so much denied the material reality of the city in favor of ornament, symbolism and branding, as much as it had appropriated these into their representational logic. The building wraps had re-packaged the city, in a manner that conditions of scarcity and the city's abandoned gateways and derelict buildings coalesced with the exigencies of branding in an uncanny bundling. In transforming the city into an outdoor art gallery, the exhibition had momentarily unified the desires of private property interests and the promise of freedom within a depthless surface.

Without Sophie, some building wrap infrastructure was repurposed for more outdoor advertising, and the derelict building and home to the city's immiserated inhabitants, which had served as temporary scaffolding for fantasies of freedom, desire and longing, was stripped bare. The porousness of the urban fabric yielded the precarity of inner city life, and the city once again re-emerged as a fractured representational space of bourgeois urban citizenship, abjected black bodies and unfulfilled affective associations of the inner city and the nation-state itself.

This chapter has focused on how Johannesburg Art City 2002 and *Long Live the Dead Queen* (2010) represented the poetic process by which a new 'brandscape' was grafted onto the inner city in order to attract middle class consumers and to lend territorial coherence to the identity of the inner city. This branding was rooted in a new political economy of public–private management and privatized public space, which sought to contain informal trade and to stabilize the inner city environment – both economically and socially. The following chapter will analyze how these processes of territorialization and representation were not only experienced and contested by informal street traders, but also how the produced informality in the inner city. Therefore, the next chapter aims to explore the ways in which urban informality was produced through state attempts to regulate and territorialize urban space. Additionally, it argues that not only has informality become a significant and generalized feature of South African urban life, but also that it is rooted in a set of transnational networks and cultural flows,[307] that are central to the aesthetics and visual culture of the city.

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[307] Appadurai, A.1996. *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Public Worlds. University of Minnesota Press

4. DISPLACEMENT

Fig.22   Trading Typologies along Bree Street
Source: Kim, M; Flanagan, M; Mdakane, J; Mphake, L; Plaskocinska, P. 2013. *In A Day in the Life of Bree Street 2.0,* (unpublished), Wits University

Informality in African cities has largely been pathologized.[308] It has been viewed as a source of urban disorder, as a manifestation of structural adjustment programs of the 1980s (Rakodi, 2003, Davis, 2007) and as a reflection of the failures of venal post-colonial African governments to regulate their economy and urban environments.[309] However, recent scholarship has also argued that African cities constitute and are constituted in the interstices of global capitalism, and that African cities are increasingly becoming sites for the

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[308] See Robinson, J. 2002. "Global and World Cities: A View from Off the Map" in International *Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 16 December 2002; and Roy, A. 2005. "Urban Informality, towards an Epistemology of Planning." In *Journal of American Planning Association*, Vol 71. No. 2 Spring 2005
[309] Bayart, JF; Ellis, S and Hibou, B. 1999. *The Criminalization of the State in Africa*. James Curry, Indiana University Press in association with The International African Institute. Also see Mbembe, A.2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press

emergence of new urban cultures and processes (Enwezor, 2003; Simone, 2004; McGaffy, 2000).

Debates on informality which date back to the 1970s (ILO 1972, Hart, 1973), challenged modernization theories of the 1950s and 1960s, which understood economies in the Africa, Latin America and Asia to be set on an inevitable path to modernization (Rostow, 1960). Instead they argued that the "informal sector" - a term coined by Keith Hart (1973) – was a creative, resilient and efficient component of the urban economy.[310]

Building on dependency theories developed in Latin America,[311] World Systems theorists argued that Western imperialism and colonialism had underdeveloped Africa, Asia and Latin America (Gunder-Frank, 1967; Wallenstein, 1974; Amin, 1977). Whereas Castells and Portes (1989) argued that the informal economy was a significant yet dependent feature of capitalism in advanced capitalist economies, and the reorganization of the global distribution of labor, decentralized production and the deregulation of labor.

However, much of this earlier literature was concerned with delineating a clear distinction between the "formal" and "informal" sector, and some sought to eliminate it through processes of modernization. Additionally, they paid little attention to the spatial implications of these economic transformations and the ways in which they shaped patterns of urbanization as well as urban culture. Alsayyad and Roy (2004) are attentive to the cultural dynamics of informality – primarily in the 'developing world'. They argue that informality is a "new paradigm for understanding urban culture… that is embedded within the organizing logic of liberalization."[312] Roy (2005) in particular, argues that informality is increasingly seen as a generalized mode of metropolitan urbanization.

The inner city of Johannesburg, and Bree Street, in particular, is a paradigmatic site for understanding how informality, as argued by Roy and Alsayyad (2004), is constitutive of urban space, policy regimes, public institutions and transnational dynamics, rather than merely describing the organization of economic transaction beyond the purview of the state's regulatory framework.

This chapter also builds on Simone's (2004) attention to mobile social infrastructures. It attempts to spatialize the specific points of intersection between traders, transnational circuits of culture, as well as the regulatory environment of the city. In so doing, it seeks to map emerging geographies of informality within the interstices of neo-liberal capitalist development in Johannesburg. By exploring the micro-geographies of informal traders, it demonstrates how informality is enmeshed with capitalist development. This chapter thus

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[310] Since then, the informal sector has been understood in a variety of different ways. Some scholars viewed informal economic activity as a source of livelihood for the working poor, some saw it as a deviant activity to avoid taxation and state regulation, whereas others saw it as a means for informal entrepreneurs to gain a foothold in the economy. See: WIEGO. "Informal Economy: History and Debates". Women in Informal Employment, Globalizing and Organizing Retrieved 09/02/2013

[311] Gunderfrank (1966) challenged dichotomous understandings of underdevelopment as a failure of modernization, but rather argued that capitalist   expansion had penetrated even the seemingly most isolated sectors of the underdeveloped world. Therefore, their underdevelopment was a direct result of the historical development of the capitalist system. This dynamic set up a polarized world in which industrialized countries In former colonial metropole dominated and subjugated underdeveloped countries.

[312] Alsayyad and Roy (Eds). 2004. *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia.* Lexington Books.pp. 9 - 16

offers an analysis of how market liberalization in Johannesburg, has given rise new urban cultures and spaces, but also how deregulation has also inaugurated a renewed cycle of accumulation and displacement.

4.1   Woza Sweet-heart

Bree Street is a threshold space in the city and the Gauteng region. It is constituted by cross border trading network, regional and local transport linkages. Like Jeppe Street, Bree Street is a site of "global consumerism and …entrepreneurialism."[313] It is characterized by robust trading and turn over but more importantly, by recycled of buildings, new agglomeration economies, and increasingly, future plans for an international transportation hub in the vicinity of these which includes multi-storey developments, for regional trade (Zack2013:284). However, Bree Street is also a manifestation of the emergent and complexly textured geographies of informal traders in the city. It is also highly a contested site, for different regimes of capitalist accumulation.

For the first year of Johannesburg's existence, Bree Street marked the northern boundary of the city. However by 1887 the city had grown northwards by three city block, which terminated at Noord Street.[314] Although it once served as an artery for the city's tramway system, by the late1970s, Bree and Jeppe Street served as a major transportation loop that connects a large number of commuter routes across the city. Bree Street is anchored by two of the biggest local and trans-border informal transportation hubs in Johannesburg: Bree Street Metro Mall to the west, and Park City (MTN) Taxi rank to the east, as well as Park Station Railway Precinct to the north (see Fig. 23). Local taxi's that circulate in Bree and Jeppe Streets, service mainly Soweto and other areas which lays South-West of the Central Business District, whereas taxis at MTN taxi rank service the eastern portion of the greater Johannesburg region.[315] A large number of Johannesburg's estimated 30,000 mini-bus taxi's pass through the city daily and an estimated 1.4 million people also pass through the city on a daily basis,[316] of which, According to the South African National Taxi Council (Santaco), 60 to 70 per cent commuting with minibus taxis.

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[313] Zack, T. 2013. "Seeking logic in the chaos precinct: The spatial and property dynamics of trading space in Jeppe." In *Rogue Urbanism – Emergent African Cities*, Pieterse, E and Simone, A.M. (Eds). (EDS), Jacana Media in association with the African Centre for Cities, UCT, PP 283-292

[314] City of Johannesburg. (n.d) "Why Bree has a Kink in it."
http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=278&Itemid=51

[315] The taxis drive down Sauer Street past Westgate from Soweto into Sauer Street then Rank at Bree Street Metro-Mall. Taxi's leaving the city for Soweto exit via Jeppe Street Westwards down Ntemi Piloso Street to join the M1 south highway.

[316] According to Seftel, mini-bus taxis are not organized as a business, but rather as 30 different taxi associations. Seftel, the executive director of transportation in the City of Johannesburg, stated that mini-bus taxis are the first exclusively African-owned industry in Johannesburg and remain unsubsidized by the state and continue to be marginalized in transportation policies and planning. In Johannesburg. Interview 2013/09/09

The industry was rapidly deregulated, leading to an influx of new minibus taxi operators, after 1987.[317] However, the main informal trading areas in the city follow historical patterns: close to the main exit and entrance point for Africans: at the Johannesburg Station in the vicinity of Noord and Hoek Streets, the African bus terminus in Newtown and at Westgate, the secondary commuter railway station on the west of the CBD (Beavon, 2004).

Bree Street houses a wide range of retail and wholesale spaces that sell mass produced fashion items, accessories and electronics. Between 2012 and October 2013, Bree Street accommodated approximately 643 informal street traders along its sidewalks and approximately 1035 established retailers.[318]

In the past two decades, hair has come to plays an increasingly important role in the employment of many women in the city. Bree Street alone accommodates approximately 60 to 80 women traders specializing in hair.[319] The women are not only from within South Africa, but they are also from the countries within the Southern African Development Corridor (SADC),[320] as well as West and East Africa. These women work as advertising agents on the street, for hair and beauty services, that are offered in the adjacent office spaces, storage rooms and basements. On the other hand, a smaller number of women, and some men, perform these services on the side of the street. Most of these vendors, if not all of them, do not hold municipal trading permits or "smart cards." This is in part because; municipal by-laws regulating street trade preclude street trading activity on sidewalks that are less than 4 meters in width.[321]

Woza (come) -sweet-heart is a common enticement that is employed by *ama-boardo*, to attract potential clients for much sought after beauty services on Bree Street. Playful and assertive in equal measure, these solicitations - directed at potential women customers by women touts – pattern the pulsating, high-pitched aural landscape of Bree Street, composed by revving engines, relentless mini-bus taxi horns and the electromagnetic waves from wholesale/retail fashion store sound-systems, that transfigure their doorways into thunderous sound waves of house, *mbaqanga*, synthesized marimba and gospel music.

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[317] Fobosi, S. 2013. "Minibus taxi Industry in South Africa: A servant for the Poor?" CAI, 2 May 2013; http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1288:the-minibus-taxi-industry-in-south-africa-a-servant-for-the-urban-poor-&catid=82:african-industry-a-business&Itemid=266

[318] Kim, M.J; Flanagan, M; Plaskocinska, P, and Mpakhe, L. 2012. "Street Trade on Bree Street" in *A Day in the Life of Bree Street 2.0* (unpublished). Matsipa, M (ed) School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand,

[319] This figure is based on the author's observations along Bree Street alone, not including patterns on cross streets or other trading arteries in the city, including Jeppe Street. These observations were made in mid-November at the onset of the Christmas season, on a weekday in the middle of the month. Numbers of women advertising services fluctuate throughout the week, month and time of year, depending on pedestrian cycles, pay-day and migration in and out of the city at Christmas and Easter – the two major public holiday periods in South Africa. However, the cycles also vary depending on the time of day and season: there would be more women on the side walk on a hot day or a dry as opposed to when it rains and women have limited shelter from the elements.

[320] Including, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo amongst others.

[321] These by-laws prohibit trading on narrow pavements, in front of public monuments, places of worship, banks, buildings owned or occupied by the government etc. City of Johannesburg. 2004. "Street Trading By-laws," - published in *Provincial Gazette Extraordinary* No. 179, 21 May , Notice 833
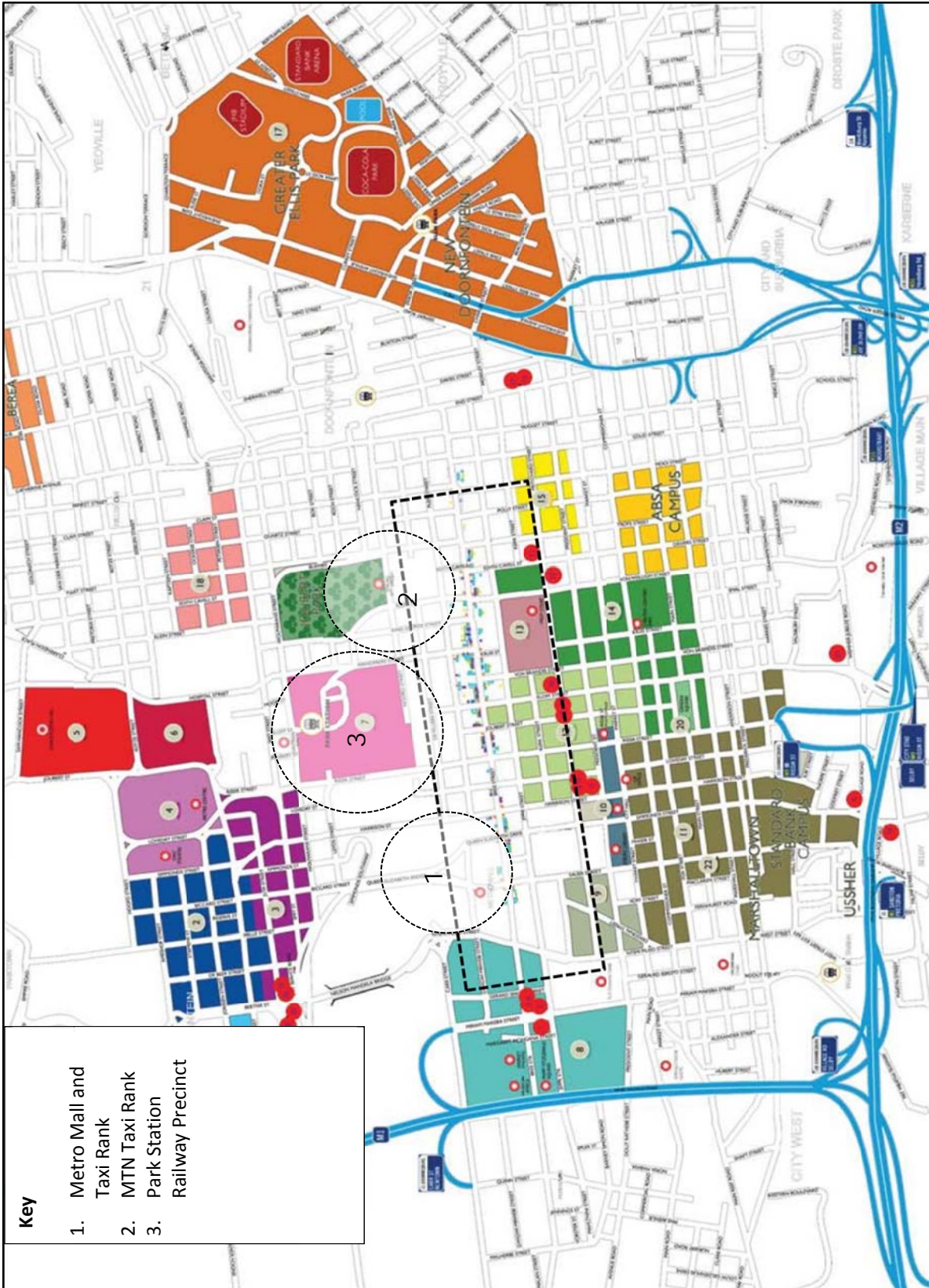
Fig. 23. Hair Advertising Agents on Bree Street, November 2012

Key

1. Metro Mall and
   Taxi Rank
   MTN Taxi Rank
2. Park Station
3. Railway Precinct

Fig. 24   Density of Street Trade along Bree Street

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4.1.2   Networks of Desire

On Bree Street, cultural meanings are produced and exchanged in the appropriation of cultural objects and images. These 'things' are incorporated into the rituals and practices of everyday life. These processes of appropriation are mediated through the use of global mass media technologies, through which meanings between different cultures circulate, are taken up and re-interpreted at an unprecedented scale and speed.[322] For example, geographical distance and difference are reworked on the advertising boards themselves.[323] Consider the mobile advertising board below.

Usually an itinerant photographer will offer the 'original' hairdresser a free photograph in exchange for exclusive copyright in the image. The photographer or graphic designer inserts both internet images of American popular culture icons in the same frame as photographs taken of local women, in a non-hierarchical grid. These images are then mass-produced as mobile, outdoor-advertising catalogues and panels, which are sold at a profit to various vendors throughout the city. These boards provide a way of thinking about how meaning and value is produced at several different sites, and how it circulates through different global processes and practices. The possible differences in meaning from one geo-cultural location to another are flattened within a grid of interchangeable images. Both local and global images are transformed into family resemblances of each other, which promise to deliver a skilfully crafted aura of feminine beauty and sophistication.

The images are given value and significance in the process of their incorporation within local desires and practices. Thus commodities like synthetic hair – which are more affordable and accessible than 'human hair' - are worked upon and generate new meanings locally.[324]

The extent to which these qualities can be obtained, and the quality and cost of hair used, gives a certain cultural and class meaning to one's appearance. This appearance can be used to maintain and mark out differences between groups and individuals. However, hair can also be mobilized to subvert those meanings through a reworking of ones bodily appearance.

Sarah Nuttall (2008) suggests that the revolution in fashion and style has its roots in the post-apartheid period. She found its greatest expression amongst post-apartheid South African youth, the "Y-generation" in affluent northern suburban retail spaces, like Rosebank Mall. These youth, according to Nuttall, restyle themselves in ways that efface racial and class differences.[325] However, hair practices on Bree Street, equally suggest that African women in the inner city craft their social personae as an integral part of their cultural capital in several spheres of public life.

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[322] Hall. S. 1997.*Representataion: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. Sage Publications pp 3

[323] Williamson, J. 1978. *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, Volume 13. Marion Boyars Publishers

[324] Hall. S. 1997.*Representataion: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*. Sage Publications pp 8

[325] Nuttall, S. 2008. "Stylizing the Self" in *Johannesburg, the Elusive* Metropolis. Nuttall, S and Mbembe, A (eds) Wits University Press, pp 91 - 118

Fig 25. Photo of advertising Boards – showing a combination of American and South African women's styles on Bree Street.

Source: Author's Own

African hair, with its capacities to be sculpted, altered and molded, also has within itself the potential to contest elite distinction in women's spheres of exchange and representation.[326] This aesthetic economy can be and is mobilized to cut across, or at the very least, efface class divisions such that the elite shopping malls and the inner city high street, become linked sites where meaning and identity is produced and negotiated.

The desire for human and synthetic hair extensions and wigs may be complicit with local and transnational ideologies of wealth and status, colonial ideologies of 'civilization' and patriarchal ideologies of the feminine.[327] This suggests, as argued by Hudita Mustafa, that women's strategies rely on complicities with hegemonic constructs of femininity and glamour and with local indices of distinction. However this complicity must be read against a context of socio-economic crisis, in which African women rework themselves as the canvas of representation through which the body has historically been used as the only cultural capital that one has.[328]

On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, these practices of self-styling in Johannesburg might also be read as techniques devised by women to reframe their own bodies, through which their bodies become a terrain of distinction. Thus hair is a key site for developing various ideologies of modernity and desirability; through which women continuously reclaim their selves, against colonial and to some degree, patriarchal imaginaries.

This section has been concerned with hair as an aesthetic and cultural practice. The next section will briefly discuss the role of migration in the production of this new urban sensibility. Although hairdressing requires some skill, it is nevertheless an important point of entry to employment for newcomers to the job market in the city, and a potential avenue for social mobility. According to Peberdy (2013), the transformation of hairstyles and the diversity of sartorial choices available to African women in the inner city is a direct result of immigration of women to Johannesburg. Thus in addition to providing employment for other women, migrant women brought with them a wide range of skills which enabled them to engage in a wide range of entrepreneurial activities, that also expanded the skill set many South Africans women.[329] The large number of women vendors, advertising this service on Bree Street, is both a manifestation of the high pedestrian volumes along Bree Street, as well as a reflection of the complex relationship between global circuits of desire, self-representation and urbanization. These practices of representation embody concepts and ideas of personhood and femininity which can be interpreted and mobilized as individually and collectively understood modes of identification and connection, and are in them expressions of aspirations for social mobility.

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[326] Mustafa, H.N. 2002. 2002. "Portraits of Modernity: Fashioning Selves in Dakarois Popular Photography" in *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*. Landau, P and Kaspin, D (Eds). Los Angeles, Berkeley London: University of California Press, pp. 172- 195

[327] Comaroff and Comaroff. 1997. *Of Revelation and Revolution*: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*. University of Chicago Press. The Comaroffs engage extensively in the ways in which Christian missionaries fundamentally re-ordered the bodily schema of African communities by introducing new tastes, commodities and sensibilities form the colonial metropole in 19th century mission stations in Botswana

[328] Mustafa, H.N. 2002. 2002. "Portraits of Modernity: Fashioning Selves in Dakarois Popular Photography" in *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Post-Colonial Africa*. Landau, P and Kaspin, D (Eds). Los Angeles, Berkeley London: University of California Press, pp. 175-179

[329] Peberdy, S. 2013. Class discussion on trans-border micro entrepreneurs in Johannesburg. University of the Witwatersrand, School of Architecture and Planning, August 14, 2013

The high demand for affordable commodities and beauty services generally (nails, eyelashes extensions, tattoos, hair etc.), has generated new spatial and aesthetic economies in the inner city. These networks and economies have reconfigured not only the outward appearance of African women, but they have also generated complex and itinerant micro-geographies that reanimate formally under-utilized office and retail spaces in the inner city.

The profusion of new modes of molding, self-styling and transformation through hair - signals not only the entanglements of South African and mainstream global aesthetics, and a renewed urban sensibility amongst some African women in the city. These new practices of self-styling epitomize the capacity of fashion, and hair-as- commodity, to envelope the self and to insert a culturally legible screen - apart from one's person -between human beings and the world. These practices signal how global circuits of culture are appropriated by African women in Johannesburg, in order to radically reorder locally established codes of body management and appearance.

4.1.2   *Gender, Migration and Hair on Bree Street*

Migrants and immigrants are a heterogeneous group, with varying skills, different capacities to find work and different income groups. The City of Johannesburg Local Municipality has a total population of 4,434,827 of which 36, 2 per cent of its 1,434,856 households, are headed by women.[330] Johannesburg also has a long history as a site of economic opportunity. Migration remains a key feature of the city as it has been since its earliest years.

 However, in 1991, the official definition of an immigrant was that he or she had to be able to assimilate into the white population. By definition, Africans were not considered immigrants. Rather, they came to South Africa as temporary contract migrants under bilateral agreements between the apartheid government and neighbors including Lesotho, Mozambique, and Malawi. This gave rise to the infamous South African migrant labor system.[331]

Contemporary Johannesburg has the highest number of migrants in South Africa, with approximately 45 per cent of the population in the large metropolitan region who were not born in Johannesburg. Significantly, Gauteng province, in which Johannesburg is located, also showed the highest increase of all provinces in internal migration between 1996 and 2001 (5% or over 430,000 people) of all provinces, such that internal migrants, constitute a significant part of the population in the province. The majority of South Africans born outside Gauteng who lived in Johannesburg in 2001 came from Limpopo (27.0%), followed by people born in KwaZulu-Natal (25%), and the Eastern Cape (14.9%) (StasSA, 2003).

 Census data suggests that, following global trends, women are increasingly migrants in their own right, as well as being the partners of migrants (Peberdy *et al*, 2004). Caroline Kihato (2009) claims that international African migrants women migrate to Johannesburg for a number of reasons: war and insecurity to escape patriarchy, declining fortunes in the

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[330] StasSA, 2011. http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1021&id=city-of-johannesburg-municipality retrieved 2013/08/30
[331] Crush, J. 2008. "South Africa: Policy in the Face of Xenophobia"... *Southern African Migration Project.* July 2008 http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=689 Retrieved 2013/08/30

countries of origin. However, Kihato also suggests that some migrants also saw travel as a rite of passage or an opportunity to get an education. She also argues that women's motivations are gendered and exceed the bounds of economistic rationalities, because migration for immigrant women has the potential to shift their social status within 'their' communities and for the women to obtain social mobility through economic means.[332]

However, according to Peberdy (2004), the future plans for Johannesburg hardly mention internal nor cross border migration nor does the census data reflect whether those who are struggling are new arrivals, or whether they have been struggling ever since they arrived in the city, or where they are located in the city.[333]

4.2   Micro-Geographies of Informality

Rapid urbanization and increasing pressure for affordable, centrally located space was reflected in the re-scaling of physical space in the inner city. This altered the pattern of land-use in the inner city, together with the streetscape and ground floor street interface. Whereas some inner city residential areas saw an explosion of entrepreneurial activity, entrepreneurs also appropriated commercial spaces for a variety of micro industries and businesses.[334] Significantly informal trade was not only limited to sidewalk retail, but it also extended to the upper floors of low grade commercial buildings in the inner city (Zack, 2013).

Bree Street is both porous and shaped in relation to a particular phase of capitalist redevelopment in the inner city, which itself has been reshaped around changes in transportation systems . However, Bree Street also cuts across multiple sets of private and municipal measures that territorialize the city and street, and is itself a constantly shifting boundaries and micro-territories. Whereas the "zoning technologies"[335] employed by corporate interests, business owners and municipal agencies alike, seek to consolidate their power by creating distinct archipelagos of security and control, informal traders have also created other spatialities through which public space and notions of private property are continuously contested. The highly contested character of the sidewalk due to the heightened emphasis on surveillance and codification of urban space creates a volatile situation for these traders.

The next section will discuss how re-cycled office space in parts of the inner city, offered an affordable choice for entrepreneurs to gain a foothold in the urban economy. House X is one example of inner city buildings that have been re-appropriated to accommodate these changes.

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[332] Kihato. C.W. 2009. *Migration, Gender and Urbanization in Johannesburg.* Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of South Africa. August 2009

[333] Peberdy, Crush and Msibi. 2004. "Migrants in the Inner city of Johannesburg: A Report for the City of Johannesburg. " *Southern African Migration Project* (SAMP). City of Johannesburg Website: http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/corporate_planning/migrants.pdf; Retrieved 2013/07/30

[334] Field work conducted by the author in the inner city, June – December 2012 and June to September 2013

[335] Ong, A. 2006. *Neoliberalism as Exception – Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. London and Durham: Duke University Press, pp 98

4.2.1   Informality in Johannesburg

Informal trading in Johannesburg falls under the Department of Economic Development (DED) in the Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) development sub-unit of the Development and Support Directorate. The Department of Economic Development is responsible for implementing the City's Informal Trading Policy (2006) and drawing up and implementing the informal trading by-laws. However, the management of informal trading is spread across two entities: The Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC) and the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP). [336] Their mandate it is to manage street trading in the inner city and each entity is responsible for various trading facilities throughout the City. These entities work with the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and the private sector, whereas the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) is tasked with enforcing the street trading by-laws which regulate trading in the inner city.

Municipal approaches to informal street trade in Johannesburg have varied over time. [337] In the latter phase, the municipality increasingly sought to draw informal street traders into formalized trading spaces. City official hoped that formalization would remove traders from the sidewalks and that the formal markets would provide a management model through which to regulate the activity and thereby boost investor confidence in the inner city property market. Thus many of the informal street trade management practices over the past 10 years resonate with earlier iterations of urban management in Johannesburg. These include racial profiling and xenophobia, evictions, the use of the state violence (through either the traffic department or a "Hawker's Squad"), declaring large territories within the inner city as prohibited areas, as well as issuing a limited number of trade licenses as a mechanism to restrict access.[338]

The City of Johannesburg re-introduced the re-regulation of informal trading in 2000. [339] Both official City policies and stakeholders, viewed informal street trading and 'bad buildings' as a public nuisance that contributed to the general blight of the urban landscape (Tissington, 2009, Elias, 2012). The City of Johannesburg sought to formalize malls[340] and

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[336] The Metropolitan Trading Company is a municipal owned entity which was established in 1999 as a profit-driven company. Their mandate was to manage, develop and market and maintain informal trading markets. In 2009, the MTC managed various aspects of informal trading and public transport in the City of Johannesburg, including the various facilities the City had set aside for micro retailers and taxi operators. There were about 12 trader markets and taxi ranks under its control in 2009, located throughout the City of Johannesburg. These include the City's various street trading sites in the inner city and markets in Hillbrow, Yeoville and the Faraday Market and Metro Mall. According to MTC, it has approximately 4500 people registered with it, although there are approximately 15,000 informal traders operating in the inner city. (Tissington, 2009)

[337]They and can be divided into three phases: restriction, repression and prosecution (1886 to the mid-1980s); deregulation and rapid expansion (mid 1980s to 1990s) and urban renewal (1990s to early 2000s). Informal traders in South Africa are also sometimes referred to as hawkers or micro-retailers Tissington, 2009:1

[338] Tissington, 2009: " A Brief History: Context to Informal Trading in Inner City Johannesburg" ,Section 6.1 in "The Business of Survival: Informal Trading in Inner City Johannesburg" Centre for Applied Legal Studies

[339] Beall, J. Crankshaw, O, and Parnell, S. 2002. *Uniting a Divided City: Governance and Social Exclusion in Johannesburg*, Earthscan, p 9

[340] Metro Mall Market and Taxi rank was an infrastructural project that was initiated by the Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC). The project was valued at R 140 million. Urban Solutions the architecture and urban designer firm responsible for the design developed a business model and calculated that rental rates would be at R50 per meter square.

markets and to issue "smart cards," in order to demarcate the entire city into restricted or prohibited areas where traders could only trade with a license or permit issued by the Metropolitan Trading Company (MTC).

The Inner City Regeneration Strategy (ICRS) had set out a number of targets in order to rejuvenate the inner city and to halt "social and economic decline".[341] In the inner city, it entailed maximizing returns on industrial space, promoting new industries and sectors, promoting safety and security and implementing an informal trading policy.[342]

The Inner City Regeneration Strategy Business Plan 2004-2007, which was created to implement this strategy, gave rise to numerous high profile projects[343] including Bree Street Metro Mall and Taxi Rank and it established City Improvement Districts (CID) in the inner city. The Central Johannesburg Partnership and the City of Johannesburg cooperated with business and endorsed an initiative to have street trading by-laws changed in order to prevent unregulated street vending and to ensure the removal of street vendors to formalized markets.[344]Inner City Regeneration Charter was finalized in July 2007.[345] While it acknowledged the role that informal street trading, played in sustaining livelihoods to thousands, the City nevertheless stated it intended to see an end to   'unmanaged trading' on the streets of the inner city beyond 2009. The Charter also states the following:

> "… The City of Johannesburg will work with all necessary stakeholders to ensure that there is no more unmanaged trading on the streets of the Inner City beyond June 2009. Disorganized trading refers to trading without the necessary permits, in an area that is not designated as one or other type of formalized trading space, and / or in a manner that is in contravention of appropriate by-laws. To facilitate the re-organization of street trading the City will directly provide or indirectly work to ensure the provision of well-located, appropriate and affordable trading spaces and places. A limit will be set on the number of micro retail and service enterprises that may trade in the Inner City from approved spaces and this limit will be strictly enforced."[346]

Additionally, the city stated its aim to reduce the number of traders, by providing a number of other employment opportunities to trader(through formal market spaces, linear markets, co-operatives, flea markets, mini shops and kiosks, manufacturing hives, car guarding, waste recycling, transport services etc.)[347] However, according to Tissington, by

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[341] The five pillars identified as integral to urban regeneration in the inner city include: 1) Address Sinkholes; 2) Intensive Urban Management; 3) Maintain and Upgrade Infrastructure; 4) Ripple Pond Investments and 5) Support Economic Sectors.
[342] Tissington, K. 2009, "Inner City Regeneration Strategy" in The *Business of Survival: Informal Trading in Inner City Johannesburg*. Centre for Applied Legal Studies
[343] Projects like Constitutional Hill, the redevelopment of Newtown as a cultural hub, the Fashion District upgrade, the new Nelson Mandela Bridge,
[344] Beall et al, 2002. *Uniting a Divided City,* pp. 115
[345] The Charter addressed a number of key areas in the regeneration of the inner city, including providing a number of deadlines for specific projects pertaining to street trading. The Charter highlights the City's acknowledgement and prioritizing of informal street trading or "Street trading/ Micro retailing" in the inner city.
[346] "City of Johannesburg Inner City Regeneration Charter" (July 2007) pp. 24- 26; http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/2007/pdfs/inner_city_regeneration_charter.pdf
[347] Ibid, pp 24

2009, only two linear markets had been created in a context of shrinking municipal budgets, and by 2012, the MTC had effectively collapsed under accusations of mismanagement and rampant corruption,[348] whereas a thriving counterfeit "smart cards" market had proven to be an illusory technique of registration and surveillance.[349] Tissington (2009) argues that the seemingly progressive rhetoric of city officials stood in stark contrast to the eviction, confiscation of goods and prosecution of street traders by the Johannesburg City Council and its subsidiaries.[350] The street trading by-laws and informal trading policy in particular, were often disjunctive with the official rhetoric of inclusion of street traders in this city vision, while simultaneously bolstering the privatization of public space in the form of City Improvement Districts (CIDs). As a result, argues Tissington, the timing and sequencing of City interventions in informal trading management and regulation had not been effective in protecting street traders nor in providing alternative legal sites to trade or opportunities for formal employment before evicting them from the street. A prominent informal street trader representative, who has a trading space within a CID, claimed that CIDs create "rich enclaves" for formal businesses and restrict the access of informal traders to potential customers which often merely displaces those trying to make a living from one prohibited area to another, which also creates conditions for xenophobic violence:

> "We need a process of major engagement. Gauteng Provincial Legislature invited us to two meetings in which the entire City of Johannesburg is present. But there is no proper engagement – there is no consensus – you [street traders] only make your input. There is a high demand for trading space but the supply is low, which gives rise to xenophobia. Foreigners naturally pay bribes and there's racketeering"[351]

However, he was also ambivalent about the privatization of public open space. He also expressed concern that large sections of the city increasingly prohibited street trade in terms of the street trading by-laws. Thus, even though he referred to the CJP as "a council within a council,"[352] he also noted that there were 300 well managed traders on Kerk Street unlike other city-managed public open spaces, which, according to him, are immersed in predatory economies of corruption, extortion, bribery and 'cartels'.[353]

Ultimately, the informal trading policy and by-laws are fragmented and contradictory. This fragmentation reflects how structural shifts in urban governance, marginalized certain sectors of the urban population, differentially. These urban renewal strategies and the street trading by-laws, also reterritorialized the large tracts of the city, which it turn generated and sustain *ad hoc*, variegated forms of governance and rights to public space. The highly contested character of street life, suggests that the municipality has become subject to a plurality of coding systems and of "graduated sovereignty" (Ong, 2006), which are a manifestation of how state power is rescaled across the national and urban landscape.

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[348] Anonymous. Informal interview, Johannesburg, August 2013.
[349] Anonymous. Informal Interview, November 2013.
[350] Tissington cites a case in which the City of Johannesburg employed the Red Ants and the police to knock down illegal structures in Berea in a drive to uplift the city's image in 2009. Internet shops, spaza's, telephone booths, hair salons and restaurants were demolished. These removals were enacted after the City had obtained a High Court order giving them permission to destroy illegal structures.
[351] Anonymous, interview in downtown Johannesburg , October 2012
[352] Anonymous., Interview in downtown Johannesburg November 2012.
[353] Anonymous, Interview in Johannesburg, November 2012

This form of sovereignty, as argued by Ong, suggests that the state is not a political singularity, but is rather an ever-shifting assemblage of "planning, operations and tactics that are increasingly informed by neoliberal reason."[354] In such a context, micro-scaled and city wide zoning technologies produce differential scales of regulation on diverse populations, which articulate and intensify frontiers of difference and violence.

4.2.2   House X and Micro-enterprises

Nomsa* (not her real name) is 33 years old and petite. She works for herself as a marketing agent on Bree Street. She owns and runs her registered business, which has one employee. Nomsa services her client in her salon, which is on the sixth floor of House X. Nomsa, has worked as a hairdresser in the inner city since she finished high school in 1995. The salon is a 3.5m x3.5m cubicle, for which she pays R650 (85 USD) in rent per month, including electricity and water. Despite the absence of any apparent plumbing infrastructure in her salon, she is reorganizing her space for a new basin and shelves for chemical hair-processing products. Mannequins dressed in hybrid *se- Shoeshoe- West African* [355] costumes man the narrow entrance way, in which an impromptu, repurposed melamine office desk serves as a reception and security desk. It is placed in front of the old lift shaft which is no longer in use, largely due to the prohibitive costs to the building manager to repair it. The sidewalk outside House X and the entire block along her Street is populated by traders selling a variety of goods and services.
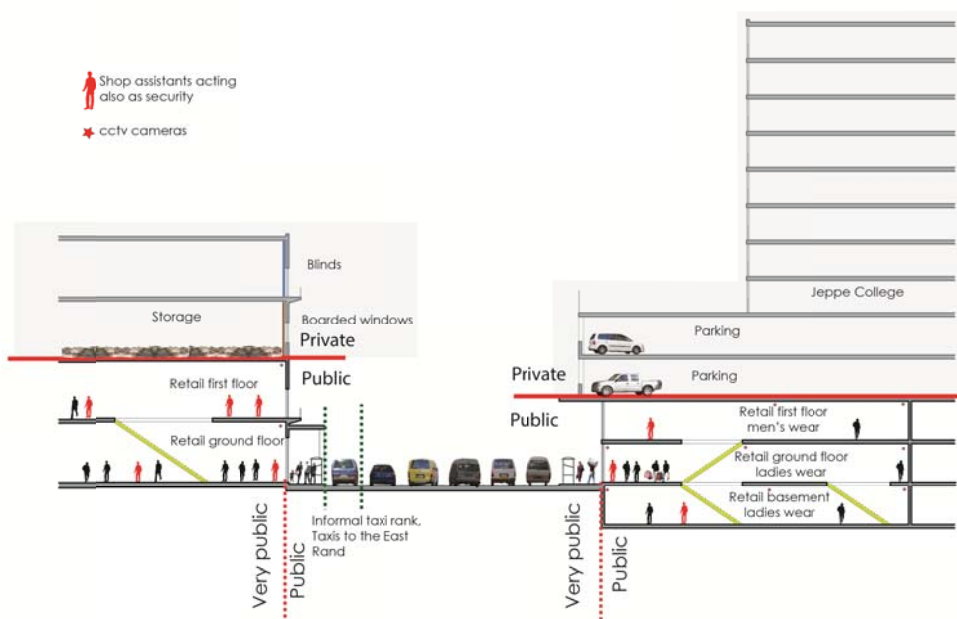
Fig.26. Retail Typologies along Bree Street
Source: Hirshon, B; Mdakane, J and Vally, S. 2013. *In A Day in the Life of Bree Street 2.0*, Wits University

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[354] Ong, A. 2006. *Neoliberalism as Exception – Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. London and Durham: Duke University Press, pp 99
[355] This is a starched cotton fabric used by Basotho in their "customary" dress. This German print fabric was introduced by missionaries in the late 18th century to indigenous Basotho and Tswana groups in Southern Africa.

Some shop interiors have stairs leading to subterranean levels where more commercial activity takes place, whereas other shops are only marginally deeper than a shop front display window. Each store seems to specialize in a particular commodity: gold-plated jewelry, cell phones, luggage, hair extensions, and accessories like shoes, bags and seasonal hats and socks. What was once a diaphanous ground floor plan has been recalibrated in order to accommodate a diversity of retail activities of varying sizes (see fig. 26 and 27).

House X was built on two adjoining parcels of land in 1955. This reinforced concrete frame 8-storey building was designed to house a carpet business. The show room was located on the ground floor. The boiler room and other services were located in the basement. The second floor housed show rooms, workrooms, a few offices and workmen's rooms. Floor 3 to 7 housed offices. Servant's quarters were located on the roof in 'skylight flats.'

From the mid-1970s until the late 1980s, House X accommodated a variety of trade unions. It presently houses a variety of programs such as retail on the ground floor. Beauty services, micro-manufacturing (shoes, bedding, curtains clothing), driving and computer schools, residential accommodation, training school and control room for security guards, seamstresses, a recording studio, storage spaces and a canteen, are housed in the cellular spaces on the upper floors. Each space on the upper floors is operated by business owners, or, more often, the space is shared by people offering similar services. The building has a caretaker who lives on the 7th floor, which is inaccessible to the public. The building is an agglomeration of "individual privacies"[356] that congeal into a single form.

House X demonstrates how immigrant traders, micro-entrepreneurs and their landlords have occupied and redefined buildings in the inner city, creating a rich, dense and vertical urban market area.[357] The density of programs within House X also suggests that it is constituted by a dynamic programmatic layering. [358] The Russian constructivist concept of a 'social condenser,' provides a useful way of thinking about the overlapping and intersecting programs in which, the circulation and complex programming creates collision zones amongst different constituencies, that would be otherwise dispersed or exist as discreet social communities.[359] Similarly, the diversity of programs in House X contains a mix of private, shared and commercial spaces, which generate different social patterns, thresholds and temporalities within the building.

The diversity and interchangeability of programs, generates thick and sometimes conflictual interactions and agglomerations. Furthermore, these programs are tied to intricate networks of activities inside the building, and which extend into the street below. This extruded web of activities generates differentiated thresholds of accessibility and

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[356] Koolhaas. R.1994. *Delirious New York – A Retroactive Manifesto for* Manhattan. Rotterdam:010 Publishers pp 82-84
[357] Le Roux, H. 2009. "coffeemanifesto: sampling instant and slow spaces in the
African city" Conference proceedings from the *ArchiAfrica* Conference, held at the University of Pretoria, August 2009:
http://web.up.ac.za/sitefiles/file/44/1068/3229/9086/African%20Perspectives/PDF/Papers/le%20roux.pdf; retrieved, 2013/08/01
[358] McGetrick, Brendan; Koolhaas, Rem, (Ed.) 2004. *Content*, Taschen, pp. 73.
[359] For example, in their design for the Narkomfin Communal House in Moscow (1928-30), Ginzburg and Zundblatt sought to subvert fundamental concepts of domesticity. They hoped that this would lead to intensification of unexpected encounters and of public social life.

permeability. This new form of "unknowable urbanism"[360], promises, ongoing programmatic instability.
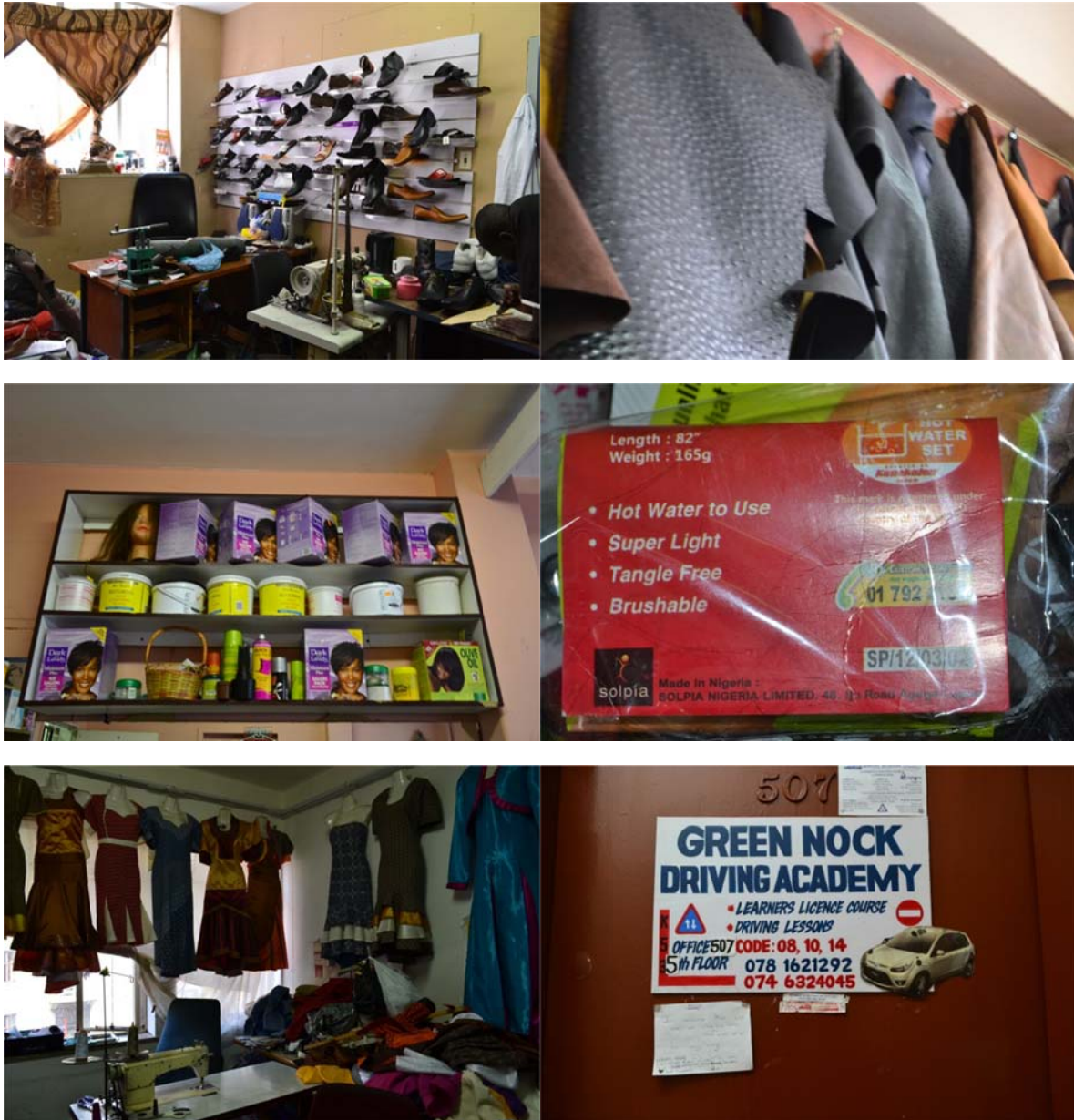
Fig 27. House X interiors and programming
Source: Author's own 2012

[360] Koolhaas, R. 1994. *Delirious New York*. 010 Publishers, pp 87

Sixth Floor Plan

KEY: Types of Activities

Pillows	� Driving School	Shoe Repairs
Duvets	Hair Salon	Burial Society
� Curtains	Recording Studio	Cafeteria
Seat Covers	Shoe & Belt Maker	Internet Cafe
� Dress Makers	Belt Making as a Hobby	� No Access
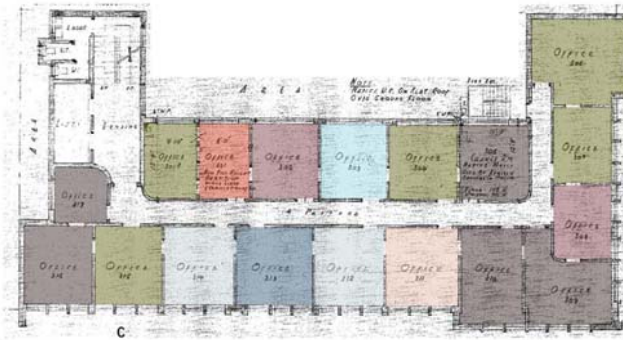
Fourth Floor Plan

KEY: Types of Activities

� Pillows	Driving School	Shoe Repairs
Duvets	Hair Salon	Burial Society
Curtains	Recording Studio	Cafeteria
Seat Covers	Shoe & Belt Maker	Internet Cafe
▔ Dress Makers	Belt Making as a Hobby	No Access
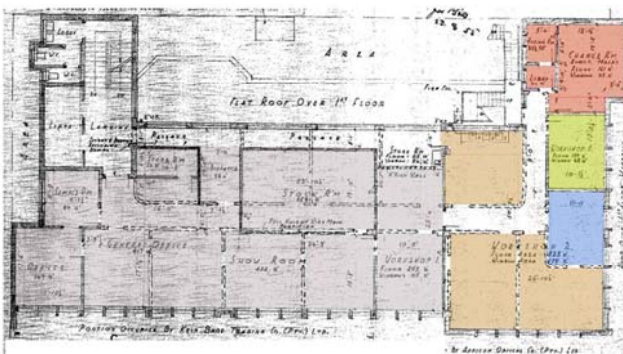
Second Floor Plan

KEY: Types of Activities

- Security Training
- Cafeteria
- Internet Cafe
- Storage
- Office

Fig 28. House X floor plans and programming
Source: Author's own with Rethabile Moleko, October, 2012

4.2.3 Nomsa's Narrative

It is a sunny day in November 2012 and the north facing sidewalk of is warmed by the late afternoon sun. Nomsa sits on a small plastic stool between two shop entrances. Along this slender, densely populated sidewalk, a group of five women are sitting at a nearby corner with their boards. They speak energetically with each other, while a man in his late 20s stands with five large fuchsia cushions on the pavement, wrapped in clear plastic, waiting, watching thongs of passers-by and potential customers. The atmosphere is convivial and watchful.

Nomsa is talking to her neighbor Bongani* a man in his late 20s, who specializes in dreadlocks. Their conversation ends abruptly when I approach, and he leaves. Nomsa retrieves a stool for me from her neighbor. We sit down on twin plastic chairs leaning against a clean, freshly tiled wall. People pass us on the sidewalk and a few women stop to look at Nomsa's large rectangular advertising board or to exchange greetings. However, there don't seem to be any customers on that day.

From a seated position, the busy intersection of X and Bree Street looks completely different from when it is viewed in transit. The complex semiotic landscape[361] of Bree Street emerges in Amharic signs on first floor balconies, and in numerous signs advertising discounted brand names, electronic goods and hair. A group of four men sit at a makeshift table on the balcony, deep in conversation, while over-looking Bree Street. The broken windows behind them belie the large number of salons and renovation work underway. Nomsa had agreed to meet on Bree Street, instead of the salon, because November and December are profitable months for her:

Trading Spaces

"I started in the hairdressing business as a *ma-boardo*[362] because I didn't have money to go to school. The woman I used to work for cheated me. She had a salon on Small Street Mall by the Southern Sun Hotel, where a lot of people are moving. I worked in a salon. I didn't know how to do hair then, but I learnt. I worked by myself on the Kerk Street, between Von Brandis and Eloff Street. There were a lot of other women doing hair there. I didn't stay there long. I couldn't stay there because they used a lot of *muti*[363]. I also didn't like the way they did their marketing – shouting at clients in the street. There is too much competition here in town. Most people are selling the same thing. You just see lots of people sitting next to each other all selling onions. Like now it's three of us [hairdressers] doing the same thing here. But you do get business.

At that time (the 1990s), the city was really dangerous. You would see tourist being mugged at knife-point – people would just walk around them….Yes the city is safe

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[361] Jaworski, A and Thurlow, C. 2009. "Introducing Semiotic Landscapes" , pp 13 http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/resources/publications/jaworski-adam/papers/jaworski%20and%20thurlow%20introducing%20semiotic%20landscapes.pdf

[362] An A1 light-weight placard showing a variety of hairstyles on offer by hairdressers. Most hair-styles are of various kinds of braids: cornrows, singles, weaves but also dreadlocks
[363] Traditional medicine sometimes associated with witchcraft.

now! Why are you asking? Is it because of the incident on Noord Street?[364] You can't judge a place just because of one incident. But maybe I don't mind because I'm used to it. Everybody knows me here. You know, if you do something every day, you stop feeling it."

Rent and Sub-letting

"I used to have a space in King's Court Building, between Bree and Plain Street. The rent was cheap, but the building was bad. I was sub-letting from the owner of the business from 1996 to December 2006, but we didn't get along, so I moved out. She had a lease. I remember the date because it was not a nice thing – she chased me away. There were a lot of hairdressers there; there are still a lot of hairdressers there.

I found House X through a friend who was also working on the pavement. I then had a space in a building on St George's Street. I shared a space on this floor with my friend, but then she died [brief pause]. I then worked with her sister, but it didn't work out [silence].

Now I have this space. I have been here since 2006. I have been on the 2nd floor then the 3rd floor and finally 5th floor. This building is really safe. You don't see strange people moving around here. We have a security guard. I have often asked myself why the rent is so cheap [smiling]. I don't know. Before it was R500, but now it is R650, including electricity – even in winter when we have the heater on all day and night. We used to pay rent at the bank, but we were always late because of the long queue. Now a man comes every month and we hand the rent to him. The lift doesn't work, so I have to climb the stairs everyday – but the building is safe. Before, the building used to be closed on weekends, but we had a meeting, and told him that we need the building to stay open after hours. We agreed to pay and extra R20 [3 USD] for the security. Now the building is open 24-7."

The Corners

"There is no boss on the street. But you cannot just go with your chair and start braiding. If you are going to do that, you have to know how to talk. The women there will tell you "there are three of us here, we don't have space for four – you can't stay here". That's why I say you need to know how to talk. If they say that to me, I would tell them "I have children to feed just like you – I need to be here." So no, there is no boss. Usually where you find people trading, it's because the business owner and the security company that works there are alright.

Where you see an open corner, it's because there is a problem. Like in front of FNB campus (First National Bank campus on Jeppe Street) there you know that there is a problem [laughs]. The security guards are the *problem* and the landlord or business-owner. I moved away from the corners, and set up a salon because my clients will not allow me to do their hair on the street. Would you allow me to do your hair on the street? …. Exactly! People on the street do not want to pay rent – but the price I charge for hair, and their price is the same.

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[364] In 2008, there was public outcry when two young women were sexually assaulted by taxi drivers at Park City Taxi Rank, which precipitated the mini-skirt march, led by groups of women's NGOs in the city.

These two shops are owned by the same person. The shop owner tried to chase us away, but we said "Is this your space? If this is your space then take those mannequins and put them on the pavement." But he didn't do that. This is a municipal space. He sent his securities to come and chase us away. They do have their own securities inside – not outside. Each shop has its own security.

I also moved from the street because of the police. If the Metro Police (JMPD) come, they arrest you and fine you R300 – and your client's hair is only 'half' [laughs]. If you are arrested on a Friday, you can stay in jail the whole weekend. Metro Police are horrible. They do not treat us like women. They treat you like something else.

They say we are loitering. When the police come, you just see everybody running. They say we are loitering, sitting like this with our boards. We are not loitering – we are advertising our business on the street. Sitting like this – is it loitering?

I also market [advertise] at the corner of Jeppe and Small Street. You can't put a chair there like you do over here. That is because it is not allowed. There's a security there *outside.* Except for the shops, you have to stand. It's only South of Bree Street (the City Improvement Districts) that you don't find people doing hair. Here we have no problems. Maybe after 5 years there'll be securities too, to chase us away.

I don't know where we will be then."

Home

"I used to live in town at on the corner of Bree and Rissik Street with my husband. N, my eldest daughter lived in Soweto with my mother, and K, my youngest daughter stayed with us. K moved to Soweto when she was two-years old. It is not safe for children in a flat because of balconies. You can't supervise them all the time. I moved into an RDP house in X Park (close to Soweto) because I wanted to stay with my kids. I also moved because I got tired of paying rent. At least now I own my own house.

We are four in the house. Just the four of us [pause]. My husband works, he sells all sorts of traditional shoes. He makes them from home and sells them at the corner of Pritchard and Small Street. We have a small workshop in the back at home. He takes small orders - he is the main supplier. Sometimes people from Durban sell the animal skins to him – but there are also places here in town where they sell skins.

It takes 15-20 minutes to get to town from Freedom Park (south of the CBD, near Soweto), and it is 5 minutes to walk to the taxi rank. I pay R9.50 (1 USD) each way. I don't have a fixed schedule. I leave the house depending on the appointments I have with my clients. Sometimes I come home late between 12 and 2am. I sometimes do people at night. I use "delivery" on Commissioner Street; they leave you at your gate for R25. I have no idea how much I spend a month, but I think it is a lot." [365]

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[365] Nomsa, Interview on Bree Street, 05 November, 2012

Networks

"I buy my hair from a Nigerian shop because they have the best quality and texture. Clients come depending on the time of month. I get really busy at the end of the month. But clients in the suburbs expect me to go *there* – and my salon here in town is closed during that time. The price [in the suburbs] is the same as it is in town. Petrol prices rise, taxi prices go up – but my prices are still the same. I'm scared to raise the price because my customers will run away – so you see, I'm losing money.

I don't have money. I go to the suburbs [house calls] to do cornrows. I charge R200. The hairpiece costs R40, transport from Soweto to Johannesburg is R20 there and back; and transport from Johannesburg to Sandton is R20. That's R40 for transport, minus hair piece (R40). That's R80. What are you left with? R120 (12 USD), after four hours of work [pause]. For single braids I charge R350-550 (35 – 55 USD) depending on the length. You need 2 people working. The hair piece is R80 because you use two packs. Transport for two is R80. It takes 6 hours to do singles – which means I can only do one person a day.

For a weave, I charge R250. The client buys her own hair – now that's where I get profit. I only spend money on transport and I go alone. It takes only one and a half hours and I can do 6-7 weaves, if I do have clients. I also still have to pay Isabella (her employee) R500 (50 USD) at the end of every week."

Nomsa faces narrowing profit margins. She has very limited space to maneuver, especially in a context where the encroachments of inner city redevelopment, place increasing pressures on available street trading spaces. These encroachments intensify competition for trading space. They also create conditions for pricing wars, amongst different classes of traders i.e.: those who work exclusively on the street and those who rent space in buildings.

Furthermore, Nomsa's resources are eroded by patterns of Mobility that are dispersed across the entire metropolitan region. Cycles of scarcity, force her to traverse vast territories, at great personal cost, in order to sustain herself. This sprawling network– from home to multiple work sites – requires a number of time consuming and arduous operations in order for her access resources, like housing, education and childcare. This distended spatial geography is patterned by both apartheid spatial planning and the splintering networked infrastructures associated with late capitalism.[366] Despite these challenges, Nomsa's narrative suggests a certain degree of flexibility and predictability in her daily interactions. It also suggests that networks of trust - that cut across ethnic and national identification - are fairly central in her ability to conduct a viable business in the inner city.

Nomsa's housing trajectory suggests a slow process of upward mobility into state subsidized home ownership. However, it also signals her spatial displacement from the inner city because she could not afford to purchase or rent satisfactory housing in the city centre. According to Zack and Silverman (2007), rentals in the more desirable category of inner city housing (R800 (80 USD) per month to R2500 (250 USD), were often beyond the means of most low-income inner city residents who, on average, could afford to pay approximately

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[366] Simone, A.M. 2004. "People as Infrastructure." *Public Culture*, 16 (3): 407-429; Duke University Press, pp. 408-9

R500 (50 USD) per month per person, including utilities like water, electricity, sewer and refuse.
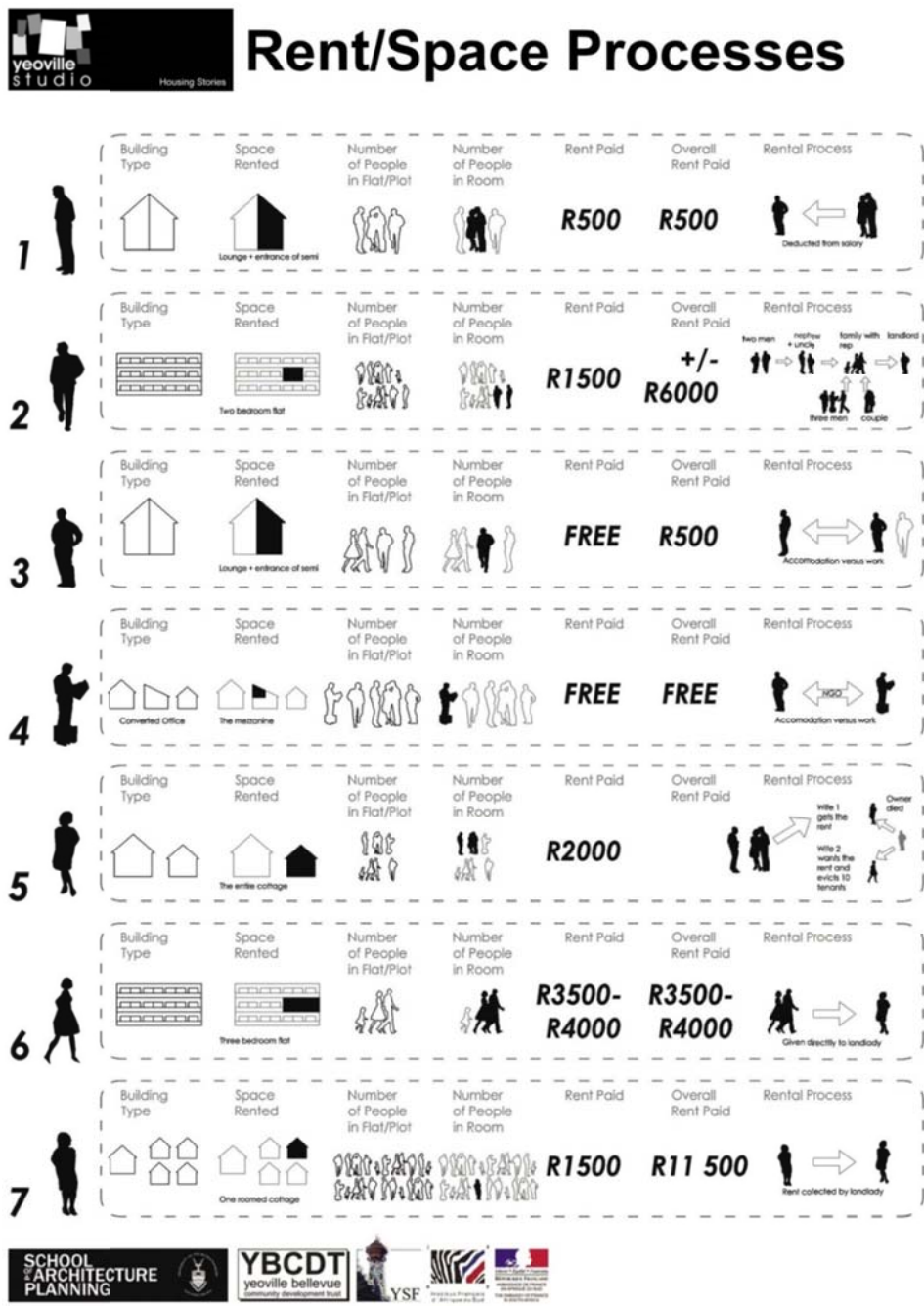

Fig. 29: A chart showing the various Rental Housing Options in Yeoville, an inner city Immigrant neighborhood in Johannesburg.
Source: Benit-Gbaffou, C., K. Doermann and Matsipa, M. 2010. *Housing Stories*. An exhibition of Housing narratives of Yeoville Residents. Yeoville Studio, University of the Witwatersrand.

It is highly probable that X House was also Shared accommodation, in which subletting and shared facilities were the most economically feasible way to live in the city at that time.[367] This is because the large amount of space coupled with poor affordability creates conditions whereby tenants occupy apartments on a one-room per family basis (Zack and Silverman, 2007). These housing arrangements are exemplified in sub-letting arrangements that Nomsa alluded to in an informal interview, but they are also widespread a dense inner city residential neighborhood, like Yeoville[368] (See Fig xx). These housing conditions existed in part, because municipalities had failed to regulate the rental housing market, which placed pressures on existing building stock.[369] Furthermore, according to CoHRE (2005), rigidities in national housing subsidy programs and severe fiscal austerity combined to relegate low-income housing settlements to more peripheral locations and at a distance from major urban centers because of the availability of cheap land.[370]

4.2.4   Street Trading By-Laws (Hair)

Chapter 8 of The *Provincial Gazette Extraordinary of* 21 May 2004 issued a series of by-laws relating specifically to hairdressing, beauty and cosmetology services, which set out the minimum requirements for health standards in salons.[371] As a result, un-licensed informal traders, like Nomsa, face routine harassment from the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department, private security personnel - employed by private urban management companies - and private security personal employed by individual businesses and property owners.

This suggests that discourses on informal trade, including those embedded in municipal by-laws; shape the contours of this informal trade landscape. In a number of informal interviews conducted by the author, in 2012, several city officials and traders complained that hair dressing was particularly dirty. They stated that stray hair contaminated food preparation, and that hair extensions used by hair-dressers clogged drainage pipes, in addition to hairs posing a danger to pigeons and for providing nesting material for rats. There may be legitimate public health and safety concerns that these laws seek to protect. However, the contexts in which they are developed and enforced, also delimit the

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[367] On the other hand, some buildings were simply run down and were occupied by the working poor and very few of these residents were engaged in formal work and few earned more than R1, 000 per month. In "Affordable Rental Housing Through Shared Facilities", Appendix 2 in Zack, T and Silverman, M. 2007. *Grey Areas: Land Management and Democratic Governance in Hillbrow/Berea*, Report Submitted to CUBES and Planact (draft)

[368] Benit-Gbaffou, C., K. Doermann and Matsipa, M. 2010. "*Housing Stories*". An exhibition of Housing narratives of Yeoville Residents. Yeoville Studio, University of the Witwatersrand.

[369] "Affordable Rental Housing Through Shared Facilities", Appendix 2 in *Grey Areas: Land Management and Democratic Governance in Hillbrow/Berea*, Zack, T, and Silverman, M. 2007, pp. 97

[370] According to a CoHRE report forced evictions in Johannesburg, The municipality delivered significant numbers of new houses, launch a number of major urban renewal initiatives and pioneer considerable land release and low cost housing settlement programme, despite the institutional and fiscal uncertainty which characterized city governance in the early post-apartheid period in Johannesburg. (8 March 2005)

[371] The by-laws require any person rendering these services is required to sanitize their instruments after each use, wash and clean all plastic and cloth towels after each use, wash his or her hands with soap and water or disinfectant before and after rendering such services to clients, wash all walls, floors chairs and other surfaces at least once a day amongst a range of other sanitary requirements. Taken from: Provincial Gazette Extraordinary, 21 May 2004, No. 179 pp. 185-188

possibilities of marginalized people to eke out an existence, while mobilizing pollution as a "social metaphor." [372]

Beyond a concern for public hygiene, there may be other, less tangible considerations of why hair in the city is such a contentious issue. Hair practices constitute an important aspect of symbolic behavior - be they religious rituals or other rites of passage– which may also be tied to culturally coded understandings of sexuality (Leech, 1957). Thus, more than any other trading activity, hair-dressing practices on the street are viewed by many City officials, and street traders as an especially noxious activity, which not only pollutes the public environment, but also inverts recognized symbolic or at least intimate practices of bodily care. This inversion unsettles dichotomous understandings of public and private space.

Street trading by-laws force traders to navigate a patchwork of zones of relative in-security and profit that are patterned by shifting territories of private property entitlements and institutionalized violence. Nomsa's silences and evasion of questions about interpersonal violence in the inner city, suggests a her refusal to being transformed into an embodiment of "otherness," but also that the city is a 'highly fragmented social space,' [373], that is patterned by threats of (unspeakable) interpersonal, gendered violence. Ultimately, these silences also register the precarity of profit margins for her, in this business location.

The micro-geographies of informality on Bree Street thus also constituted by multiple sites of micro- power. Relations of domination and subject are not only mapped on spaces, but also onto bodies. As such, informality is a dense transfer point of power, through which market driven regulatory regimes, inscribe different modes of gendered and economic power in the city.

4.3. 'Bad Buildings' and the Criminalization of the Poor

Johannesburg Inner City Regeneration Strategy (ICRS) identified 'bad buildings' as key challenge to urban regeneration.[374] According to CoHRE (2005), an international housing rights organization, there were approximately 235 'bad buildings' in the inner city, housing approximately 25,000 people (2005:41). In February 2005 CoHRE and CALS estimated that the backlog of decent low-cost housing in the Johannesburg inner city area stood at around 18,000 households. Most, if not all, of these households were believed to live in these buildings because they were located close to formal job opportunities or points of entry into

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[372] Swanson, M. 1977. "Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909" in *Journal of African History*, xviii(1977) pp. 387-410

[373] Simone, A. 2004. "People as Infrastructure – intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg". *Public Culture; pp* 417-423

[374] . Inner city officials identified 'bad buildings' as buildings in which: owners owed large amounts in service and rate payments; and/or where owners have abandoned the building; and/or which are derelict, overcrowded, or in a 'dilapidated or deplorable' state; which were 'invaded' by squatters and used to conduct criminal activity. Makda, Y. 2004. 'From slum to (financial) sustainability: Johannesburg's Better Buildings Programme' in
Development Update, 5 (1), *Interfund*, pp187.

the informal economy.[375] Furthermore, cooperative and social housing in the inner city catered to people earning between R1, 250 and R3, 500 per month, which was well above the level of the city's poor.[376] Resident in the inner city, with an income of less than R3, 200 were unlikely to be able to afford accommodation on the unsubsidized market.[377]

Low-income housing is not attractive to market-driven housing companies in Johannesburg because the rental income accruing from low income housing barely covers operational costs. The high costs of water and electricity services further inhibit the development of low income housing, especially in the absence of an adequate state subsidy towards utilities in the inner city (Zack and Silverman, 2007: 100). Furthermore, the financial returns on low income housing that meets building and environmental standards are very low, compared to more lucrative rentals charged to individuals in higher income categories.[378] The Inner City Regeneration Strategy, prescription for 'bad buildings' or "sinkholes," was to evict the building's occupants and seal the buildings off – as part of an intensive programme of by-law enforcement.[379]

4.3.1   The Better Buildings Program

The Better Buildings Programme was managed by the municipal Department of Housing. Initially, it was intended solely to address the backlog in social housing provision in the inner City. However, after 2003, the program was reconfigured as more market-driven scheme, that focused on the identification of suitable commercial or non-profit organizations to manage upgraded buildings effectively (CoHRE, 2005).

Programme 3 of Pillar 1 of the Inner City Regeneration Strategy sought to secure the 'control of buildings and illegal businesses' through "clean ups, building closures and legal action etc."[380] In line with this policy realignment, management of the Programme was transferred to the Johannesburg Property Company, a commercial subsidiary of the Johannesburg municipality. Under this program, approximately 55 of central Johannesburg's 235 'bad' buildings, would be converted and upgraded to provide 3,000 'social housing' units in the inner city over the three years from mid-2003.[381]Notably, the Better Buildings Programme sought to match private housing developers up with 'bad' buildings identified during the course of the municipality's by-law enforcement operations, and which were considered capable of rehabilitation. [382] This allowed the municipality to take ownership of these buildings through a range of complex legal measures, through which buildings were sold in execution of the debt (arrears in rates and taxes), or to force the liquidation of the

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[375] "Any Room for the City's Poor: Housing Evictions in Johannesburg, South Africa". CoHRE Report, March 2005

[376] "Any Room for the Poor? Forced Evictions in Johannesburg, South Africa" 2005. Centre of Housing Rights and Evictions 8 March 2005pp 8: http://www.cohre.org/sites/default/files/south_africa_-_any_room_for_the_poor_-_forced_evictions_in_johannesburg_8_mar_2005.pdf. Retrieved 2013/08/20

[377] According to Statistics South Africa, in 2001 there were 20,515 households (approximately 78,000 people)

[378] Zack, T., and Silverman, M. 2007. *Grey Areas: Land Management and Democratic Governance in Hillbrow/Berea*. Draft Report Submitted to CUBES and Planact, pp:98

[379] Inner City Regeneration Strategy Business Plan, Financial Years 2004 –2007

[380] Inner City Regeneration Strategy Business Plan, Financial Years 2004 –2007

[381] *Better Buildings Programme, Revised Implementation Framework*, document dated 17 April 2004

[382] The municipality is usually owed in services, rates and taxes more than, or a great portion of, the value of most 'bad' buildings.

company owning the building, and acquire it when the company's assets are sold.[383] The municipality then entered into agreements with private developers to take ownership of the building, upgrade it, and rent the units out. The debt owing on the building could be written off at the state's discretion as an incentive to encourage the developer to upgrade the building and to perform its obligations under the agreement.

Some buildings were sold to commercial developers and rented at commercial market rate, whereas others were intended to be provided to social housing institutions to provide low-cost housing units to beneficiaries of the Institutional Housing Subsidy.[384]

Once vacated,[385] these buildings would be transferred to large private property developers, like Trafalgar, Ithemba, Connaught, Jozi, and the Johannesburg Housing Company who in turn would redevelop them as housing for a higher income population. According to Zack and Silverman (2007) large buildings (ranging from 200 to 80 residential units) offered greater economies of scale for property owners or managers, given the high costs associated with security, maintenance of communal spaces, and upkeep of services and salaries of caretakers. Smaller property developers could obtain bridging finance from the Trust for Urban Housing Fund (TUHF) to redevelop smaller buildings with approximately 20 residential units. TUHF assisted smaller or emerging property developers who were more likely to seek out entry-level housing stock, with smaller profit yields (Zack and Silverman, 2007: 16).

Unfortunately, evicted tenants very rarely re-occupied redeveloped housing units (CoHRE, 2005), because the financial viability of social and co-operative housing schemes in the inner city requires household earnings of more than of R3, 500 per month, which is above the entry level of qualification for a housing subsidy. Therefore, many of the people evicted from 'bad buildings were rendered homeless or displaced to informal settlements win the city or in the distant urban peripheries. [386] Not only did the bulk of Johannesburg inner city evictions constitute a violation of international law, and specifically General Comment 7 on the Covenant, but It also did not offer a sustainable solution to the housing crisis of the inner city poor (CoHRE, 2005: 60-66).

Some devalued capital assets, like 'bad buildings', were bought up cheaply and profitably recycled back into the circulation of capital by property developers. As a result of these renovations, and in the absence of an adequate state subsidy, the previous tenants could no longer afford to live in these inner city buildings. The transfer of devalued inner city buildings to private developers suggests that state agencies played an important role in supporting processes of capitalist accumulation and displacement. The City of Johannesburg, in particular, orchestrated institutional arrangements like the Better

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[383] "Any Room for the Poor?" CoHRE Report , 8 March 2005, pp. 68
[384] Ibid.
[385] When the municipality identified a 'bad building 'it is inspected by an 'inter-disciplinary task team', comprising an environmental health officer, a building control officer and an officer of the municipal fire department followed by a number of notices to the owner or person in charge of the building. According to CoHRE, These initial notices seldom made their way to the occupiers of the buildings in question, until they appeared annexed to an eviction application. [385] In cases where applications are unopposed because of the absence of legal representation, evictions are implemented swiftly and efficiently.
[386] Ibid,2005 pp. 8-9

Buildings Programme that benefitted private property developers. Furthermore, such arrangements were underpinned by systematic, institutionalized violence.

David Harvey notes that the historical geography of capital accumulation is characterized by practices that are often violent, predatory and even fraudulent.[387] According to Harvey, this form of "primitive accumulation"[388] is constituted by a wide range of processes that include: the commodification and privatization of land; the forceful eviction and immiseration of entire communities; the conversion of various forms of property rights into exclusive private property rights, and the suppression of alternative forms of production and consumption, amongst others. Furthermore, he argues that processes of taxation – and the privatization of basic utilities, like water – are also means of primitive accumulation,[389] because they rely on complex regulatory and financial systems to rob people of their assets.

The Better Buildings program was able to release a set of assets at very low cost. Large property developers, who had access to funding, appropriated such assets and immediately turned them into profitable use,[390] Thus one of the prime functions of the 'bad buildings' interventions, was to orchestrate forceful evictions in ways that allowed on-going 'accumulation by dispossession' to occur. Therefore, market driven urban renewal, and its associated policy and regulatory regimes, produced increasing levels of social inequality, through the displacement and eviction of lower-income inner city residents.

Municipal officials and other role players in the ICRS, officials often alluded that these buildings were "populated chiefly by illegal immigrants who have no legitimate business in the city, or indeed in the country." [391] Thus, according to CoHRE, xenophobia and a fear of 'crime' - more than a concern for health and safety standards - were the overriding concern for many city officials.

Not only did the attempts to regulate informality result in the criminalization of the poor, but they also exacerbated the precarity of informal trade. This precarity was in part effected by predatory practices of state agencies and the private sector, which will be discussed in the following section. Furthermore, the conjuncture of power and difference produced new articulations of differentiated dispossession for racialized, ethicized and gendered groups, through which processes of development mapped differences not only onto space but also onto bodies. [392]

In March 2006, the High Court of South Africa, sitting in Johannesburg, ruled that the City of Johannesburg's housing policy failed to comply with the Constitution of South Africa because it did not cater for the needs of the inner city poor. The Judge ordered the city to devise and implement a comprehensive plan to cater for people living in the inner city of Johannesburg who are in desperate need of accommodation. The judgment established that poor people resident in so-called "bad buildings" of the inner city of Johannesburg should

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[387] Harvey, D. 2003. *The New Imperialism.* Oxford University Press, pp 148

[388] Harvey, D. 2003. "Accumulation by Dispossession" in *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, pp 144

[389] Harvey, D. 2003. "Accumulation by Dispossession" in *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, pp 145

[390] Harvey, D. 2003. *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, pp 150

[391] CoHRE Report. 2005. "Any Room for the Poor?," pp 45

[392] Doshi, S and Carsolo, J.2013. "Domesticated Dispossessions? Towards a transnational feminist geopolitics of Development", *Geopolitics*, 18:4 pp800- 834

be given access to housing in the inner city area if the city wants to evict them from accommodation it considers unsafe. [393]

Despite this earlier victory, evictions are ongoing in Johannesburg. However these evictions and increasing homelessness also gave rise to mounting legal challenges by various groups against the eviction of traders and inner city residents, notably in March 2005 and December 2013.

In October 2013, the City of Johannesburg, embarked on yet another round of evictions under the auspices of "Operation Clean Sweep," through which more than 8000 traders, were violently evicted, their goods impounded, and foreign nationals were searched for asylum papers.[394] In the wake of these evictions, trader organization held several meeting with the City on Johannesburg, in an attempt to negotiate their return to street trading. Two trader organizations, (SANTRA and SAITF) and 1 500 informal traders sent a letter to the City of Johannesburg and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) demanding that they be permitted to return to trading in the inner city. When these requests were denied, the traders filed an application to the Johannesburg High Court to review the decision to forcibly remove them and thousands of other traders under the auspices of the City's "Operation Clean Sweep."[395]

Additionally, some street trading leaders, SERI and activists, embarked on a trenchant media campaign, via e-mail, newspaper publications, radio shows and social media like *Twitter*, which gave the evictions and street trading national and international visibility, and forced City officials and JMPD to publicly account for the evictions. Despite the City's violation of Inner City Charter (2007) and its own street trading by-laws, the City of Johannesburg and the JMPD remained intransigent. In October 2013, The City of Johannesburg Mayoral Office issued a press statement to the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper that maintained that "Operation Clean Sweep" was a "strategic intervention to address illegal trading, dumping and littering, illegally occupied buildings… (as well as to address a)… lack of civic pride and ownership."[396] Additionally, following the order handed down by the South Gauteng High Court of 27 November 2012, wherein Justice Monama found that the matter of evictions should not be heard on an urgent basis, The SA National Traders and Retail Alliance (SANTRA) applied to the Constitutional Court in order to protect the rights of the 'legal' informal traders.

On the 5th of December 2013 the Constitutional Court granted relief for over 1000 traders. The Constitutional Court interdicted the City of Johannesburg from interfering with lawful informal traders' rights to trade in the inner city, pending the hearing of an application to

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[393] This was a ground-breaking court-case, in which more than 300 residents in a multi-storey building known as "San Jose", also in Berea represented by attorneys from the Wits Law Clinic and Webber Wentzel Bowens, claimed the city's practice of clearing so-called "bad buildings" in the inner city is unconstitutional in March 2006. CoHRE Report, 2005.

[394] Tolsi, N and Nxumalo, M. 2013. "The Scouring of Jo'burg's Inner City" in *Mail and Guardian Newspaper*, 25 October 2013. http://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-24-the-scouring-of-joburgs-inner-city; retrieved 2014/01/07

[395] SERI. 2013. "Informal traders take City of Joburg and JMPD to court over Operation Clean Sweep". SERI press release, 14 November 2013

[396] Tolsi, N and Nxumalo, M. 2013. "The Scouring of Jo'burg's Inner City" in *Mail and Guardian Newspaper*, 25 October 2013. http://mg.co.za/article/2013-10-24-the-scouring-of-joburgs-inner-city; retrieved 2014/01/07

the High Court to review the decision to implement "Operation Clean Sweep" in the inner city.

Operation Clean Sweep is perhaps the most pronounced articulation of the incoherence of different public institutions and agencies within the city, and a moment in which the municipality, in all of its incoherence, laid its violence bare. The JMPD - also a party to the Constitutional Court urgent application - disregarded the order handed down by Judge Moseneke and prevented the informal traders from setting up their stalls in the places they had occupied prior to Operation Clean Sweep, as authorized by the court order.[397]

Furthermore, JMPD spokesperson Wayne Minaar defended violent police action against returning street traders – including firing rubber bullets at them and arresting their lawyer - by stating that "The JMPD has a legal mandate to enforce bylaws of the city."[398]

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In the wake of the evictions, I went to visit Nomsa at House X. The mood on Bree Street was somber, the street looked and bare, marked largely by mounting piles of uncollected refuse at street intersections. Several groups of 3- 4 police volunteers were patrolling the streets, conducting arrests, inspecting trader's document and were rumored to be extracting R50 bribes from traders. The few fixed municipal trading stalls that had stood along Bree Street had been uprooted, leaving gaping holes in the sidewalk and shards of torn metal. A few brave traders clung to the edges of the sidewalk, soliciting customers while others kept watch over approaching groups of uniformed JMPD officers.

Their boards, once the size of rigid A1 poster, had shrunk into to the size of a supple lamented notebook sized sheet.

Nomsa's building had been shut down briefly due to Fire and Safety violations that had emerged in the wake of the campaign. She looked haggard and somewhat shaken. She expressed doubt with a certain degree of bravado and a hint of humor, at the sustainability of the evictions.

She was not aware of the court actions. It would not have mattered to her either, since she did not hold a trading license, nor did she belong to any organization that represents the interests of traders. We sat down again in our usual space on the sidewalk.

She expressed frustration that Isabella had left her salon to work elsewhere in the northern suburbs and the prospect of her needing to rent a space outside the city centre. Nomsa seemed uncertain about whether Randburg would be a better business location for her because it would also entail longer travelling times, and higher rental costs.

Understandably, she was less animated than she had been in our previous conversations, but she seemed determined to maintain her marketing routine, even in the face of the evictions and the decreasing profits over the previous 2 months. Our conversation was punctuated by sporadic silences, between which she informed me that she had started seeing strange new faces on Bree Street, and also that she disliked police volunteers far more than she feared regular criminals.

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[397] SERI. 2013. "JMPD officials disregard Con Court order, assault and arrest lawyer acting for informal traders", Press Release Issued by: Socio-Economic Rights Institute of SA (SERI), 5 December 2013

[398] Van Rensburg, D. 2013. "Joburg hawkers' lawyer arrested". In *City Press* newspaper 5 December 2013; http://www.citypress.co.za/news/joburg-hawkers-lawyer-arrested/; Retrieved 07/01/2014

The legal contests entered by some street traders presented the concerns of a limited number of traders in the city. This partial representation suggests a certain degree of fragmentation amongst traders as well as a lack of access to information and the law, for others. This contestation is still unfolding. Nevertheless, these partial legal representations and contestations, point to two linked phenomena: that even though the governance of public space is undemocratic in the city, the courts of law remain a space in which vulnerable groups can contest undemocratic practices. Secondly, it registers differential embodied experiences of development and dispossession, amongst a heterogeneous group of traders, and perhaps also the limits of litigation as a means to secure collective urban rights for vulnerable groups.

Nevertheless, the court rulings stalled forced evictions from in the inner city for some residents and traders, although they did not give rise to a viable inner city housing scheme nor did they halt evictions by private property developers. However, nascent trader organizations, together with organized labor groups and non-governmental organizations increasingly   voice their concerns with street traders, not only in the management and regulation of informal street trade, but they are also increasingly demanding an active role in shaping the forms of governance and spatial frameworks for inner city trading.

5.0 The Entanglements of Pleasure and Conquest

Johannesburg is in a permanent condition of incompleteness and uncertainty, despite the attempts by powerful interests to codify it.[399] Thus, part of aim of this dissertation has been to locate how and where the marginalization of lower-income urban actors is located within existing discourses about inner city urban redevelopment. Additionally, it has paid attention to considerations of affect, embodiment and subject formation. In so doing, it has drawn attention to the limitations of structural Marxist theories which privilege class power as the only site of struggle, and thereby consign racialization and gender construction as mere epiphenomena of capitalist expansion and domination. In effacing these power-laden practices, structural analyses also tend to overlook the granular and embodied processes through which capitalist social relations are mapped through and on the body, and also how they are embedded within regimes of representation.

Whereas the previous chapters have been concerned with mapping the spatialities of capitalist redevelopment and regimes of representation in Johannesburg, this chapter will concern itself with a discussion of representation and democratic public space as a way of thinking through the 'post'-apartheid city. However, given the complexity of the city and the specificity of regeneration strategies in the inner city – as opposed to the larger metropolitan region - these remarks will be necessarily provisional and they are set down in an attempt to map out areas of future research.

5.1 Fractured Publics

Johannesburg went through a process of economic and social change in which new public art and architecture, were enlisted to restructure the symbolic orders of the city. This regime of representation differed from colonial iterations of nation-building, because it embodied the aspirations of an inclusive, democratic non-racial nation-state. In this new regime, historically repressed subjectivities were represented in public art. This focus on black subjectivity and some black artists, in particular, became a feature of the post-apartheid public sphere.[400] Furthermore, these aesthetic practices were constitutive of a new, 'art public,'[401] that suggested a break with the exclusions of colonialism and apartheid.

However, state officials and corporate interests, also mobilized public art in order to re-territorialize Johannesburg as an attractive global investment location, and as a site for blue and white collar cultural consumption and production. In so doing, they displaced many lower income residents and traders, many of whom were the causalities of neo-liberal economic restructuring in the city and the region, as well as the legacy of racialized dispossession and inequality under apartheid. Therefore, even though architects, urban designers and art practitioners had some agency - and their intentions often diverged from

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[399] Simone, A.M. 2004. "People as Infrastructure." *Public Culture*, 16 (3): 407-429; Duke University Press

[400] Farber, L. 2010. "The Address of the Other: The body and the senses in Contemporary South African visual Art" in *Critical Arts*; South-North Cultural and Media Studies, 24:3, pp 303-320

[401] Deutsche, R. 1998. "Agoraphobia" in Evictions*: Art and Spatial Politics*. MIT Press

the interests of the state - their projects were nevertheless circumscribed by the logic of market liberalization, privatization, and predatory capitalist accumulation.
This conjuncture of nation-building through culture, and market driven urban redevelopment, produced a highly differentiated citizenry, with different rights and often violent experiences of urban renewal for some.

What is notable is that the production of spectacle in Johannesburg constituted a mode of governmentality.[402] Monumental public exhibitions constituted a means for inscribing power throughout society. Government entities and some members of the corporate private sector, mobilized architects, urban designers and cultural institutions (art galleries, museums and universities), in order to rework the image of the city and thereby cultivate a new civic culture and a marketable brand identity for the built environment. Thus rather than merely rendering the urban population visible to the people in power, these public spectacles and urban upgrading projects, sought to transform the urban population into a socially cohesive, art-loving public.

Tony Bennett's concept of the "exhibitionary complex" [403] is a useful way of understanding how the built environment, was used as means through which the ruling classes sought to manufacture public consent. He proposes that cultural institutions - such as the art museum - served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines, discursive formations and "technologies of vision," [404] in order to address the problem of public order. According to Bennett, nineteenth century imperialist nation-states orchestrated public spectacles in their cities, in order to order structured representations of an ideal social order for their populations. State agencies and cultural institutions thus constructed or manipulated architectural forms and a range of other displays, which integrated the populations as participants in that desired order. In so doing, it was hoped that the population would not only identify with elite cultural power - and its attendant aesthetics - but also that they would internalize those values of social order as their own (Bennett, 1988:80-1).

According to Bennett, this form of dominance was achieved through a diffusion of power throughout the social body. World's fairs and imperial expositions created a space in which populations became all-seeing – as both the objects and subjects of the spectacle. Additionally, these efforts at constructing national identity and disciplining citizens of empire also entailed the construction of, and a play on difference between colonial citizens and colonized subjects. By setting up, what Bennet refers to as hierarchical, 'progrssivist', taxonomies of humanity - including the display of conquered peoples - the exhibitions encouraged participants to differentiate themselves from those subjugated peoples on display? In so doing, it was hoped that colonial citizens would identify with state power and the 'civilizing' role of the colonial project. [405] Public exhibitions were particularly insidious – and effective - because they appropriated spaces that had hitherto been the preserve of popular entertainment, and they integrated them with panoptic modes of self-monitoring.

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[402] Kind thanks to Professor Greig Crysler for clarifying the connection between visuality, branding and governmentality. Skype conversation December 8, 2013.
[403] Bennett, T.1988. The Exhibitionary Complex, *New Formations*, No. 4, spring pp93-7.
[404] Bennett, T.1988. The Exhibitionary Complex, *New Formations*, No. 4, Spring pp93-7.
[405] Bennett, T.1988. The Exhibitionary Complex, *New Formations*, No. 4, Spring pp 99

These techniques of "enframing,"[406] were used to cultivate a new national consciousness and an ethos of public conduct.

The intersection of systems of (cultural, political and economic) power embodied in the exhibitionary complex, thus provide a useful lens for understanding how regimes of representation are tied to power/knowledge relations that seek to exercise coercion and manufacture consent. In Johannesburg, city agencies as well as financial and cultural institutions, employed similar "technologies of vision." [407] They hoped that the populace would internalize the discourse of Johannesburg as a global city and the values and ideals of a multi-cultural nation-state.

The deployment of spectacle in Johannesburg, shared three distinctive features with the exhibitionary complex. First, in seeking to expand the public audience for art and thereby educate the populace, public officials sought to render the city as a whole, and in its parts, visible to the public. This "democratization of power"[408] was effected through networks of surveillance and display embodied in the public open space and art program. Second, the state increasingly and indirectly asserted its presence and involvement in the provision of inner city spectacles via public exhibitions. Third, the Art in Public Spaces Program (per cent for art) and public exhibitions provided a context for the public display of a new national identity and consciousness, in which the state was able to displaying its ability to command, order and control city space.[409] Thus similar to the exhibitionary complex outlined by Bennett, cultural institutions in Johannesburg sought to educate the public and to manufacture an orderly, and citizenry and public.[410]

However, whereas nineteenth century imperialist nation-states had the working class at their focus, the political and economic elites in Johannesburg hoped that their spectacles would stimulate and attract blue and white-collar people into the city, as well as cultivate a new creative urban populace– which would in turn stimulate the urban economy and attract further investment.[411] What was notable about the articulation of the exhibitionary complex in Johannesburg, was that the territorialization of the inner city by corporate interests, also embodied the systematic exercise of force over a distinct population, while it worked to subtly encourage consent and voluntary participation from the different publics, by appealing to affect, embodied sensory pleasure and fantasy.[412]

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[406] Mitchell, T. 1991. *Colonizing Egypt*. Los Angeles and Berkeley, California: University of California Press

[407] Bennett, T.1988. The Exhibitionary Complex, *New Formations*, No. 4, Spring pp93-7.

[408] Bennett, T.1988. The Exhibitionary Complex, *New Formations*, No. 4, Spring pp 93-99

[409] Bennett. 1988. The Exhibitionary Complex, *New Formations*, No. 4, Spring pp 99

[410] Throughout the exhibition, the South African Broadcasting service screened a number of short interviews in which various South Africans discussed their work. Additionally, the city of Johannesburg web-site as well as other public media platforms wrote profusely about the public art program in Johannesburg – particularly in the run up to the FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa. For example, see: Dlamini, D. 2010. "Public Art comes home to Jozi"http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4868&catid=212

[411] Culture driven urban renewal is not an exclusively South African phenomenon. For a detailed discussion on the cultural turn see: Miles, M. 2007. "The Culture Industries: Symbolic Economies and Critical Practices," *The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, Vol. 51, No.1 (SPRING 2007), pp. 13-27

[412] Al, S. and Krupar, S. 2012. "Notes on Society of the Spectacle/Brand" in *The Sage Handbook of Architectural.* Crysler, G, Cairnes, S and Heyen, H (Eds). Sage Publications Ltd.

These spectacles of nation-building, ironically, constituted an inversion of the ideal of democratic public space, because they were circumscribed by a desire to compel acquiescence to new forms of subordination to market-driven redevelopment. As argued by Rosalyn Deutsche (1998), the growth of corporate power in a context of neo-liberal capitalist expansion, actually undermines the rights of vulnerable and marginalized groups.[413] Therefore, public art exhibitions and tours in Johannesburg played an important role in effacing systems of domination and subjection in the city – by appearing to work towards greater social cohesion and democracy.

These 'brandscapes'[414] sought to create an embodied, coherent experience of urban renewal. However, the desire for representational coherence stands in opposition to a democratic public space. Whereas cohesion within a newly democratic nation state may be an egalitarian aim, the desire for coherence, especially within a framework of market liberalization, actually exacerbates inequality. In her discussion of struggles over public space in New York, Deutsche (1998) warns against the seemingly "benign fantasy of social completion,"[415] because it negates plurality and difference. According to Deutsche, this fantasy of cohesion depends on an image of social space that is closed by authoritative rigidities between public and private – and that consign difference to the private realm, through which 'the public' is set up as a universal sphere (1998:326). Deutsche thus suggests that the public sphere only remains democratic, if its public space is not appropriated by powerful interests, and in which exclusions remain open to contestation:

"When the exclusions governing the constitution of political public space are naturalized and contests erased by declaring particular forms of space inherently, or self-evidently public, public space is appropriated. Although it is equated with political space, public space is given a pre-political source or political meaning and becomes a weapon against, rather than a means of political struggle... (and it)…renders "the public" invulnerable to transformation."[416]

Chapters Three and Four have shown how the privatization of and prohibitions within vast areas of inner city, constitutes an appropriation of public space by powerful interests in Johannesburg. These appropriated spaces limit vulnerable populations from access to public space and economic opportunity. Therefore the quest for a unitary image of urban space – embodied in the 'World Class African City' discourses -   threatens the survival of residents and users, who are no longer deemed necessary in the new economy of the city. Additionally, this discussion of democratic public space must take into account, the historical development of Johannesburg as a colonial city, in which governance and conceptions of citizenship and political public space were historically bifurcated, gendered and racialized.[417] and sedimentations of colonialism and apartheid continue to pattern imaginaries of urban space and citizenship.

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[413] Deutsche, R. 1998. "Agoraphobia" in Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics. MIT Press, pp 271-2

[414] Al, S. and Krupar, S. 2012. "Notes on Society of the Spectacle/Brand" in The Sage Handbook of Architectural. Crysler, G Cairnes, S and Heyen, H (ed). Sage Publications Ltd.

[415] Deutsche, R. 1998. "Agoraphobia" in Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics. MIT Press, pp 273

[416] Deutsche, R. 1998. Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics. MIT Press, pp 289-90

[417] Mamdani, M. 1996. Citizen and Subject Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Princeton University Press.(Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History), pp 16 - 21

Furthermore, Johannesburg is similar to cities in other post-colonial nation states, in which governments tend to consist of a "horizontally woven tapestry or partial sovereignties"[418] as a result of the highly destabilizing effects of market principles and deregulation on the political economy.[419] In such a context, the urban landscape is constituted as a "palimpsest of contested sovereignties, codes and jurisdictions"[420] which produces a "complex choreography"[421] of various modes of governance. However, as argued by Comaroff and Comaroff (2007), it is also a site where arbitrary and routinized patterns of violence against the most vulnerable populations, characterize everyday life. This choreography has resulted in a differential distribution of rights and benefits to the urban populace,[422] within highly asymmetrical power relations.

Mary Sibande's figure 'Sophie' (fig. 20) is especially productive for thinking through notions of embodiment and the "entanglements of pleasure and conquest."[423] Sibande's figures displayed a tension between the body in pain and a "plenitude of fun and enjoyment,"[424] that also disrupted easy binaries between freedom and oppression. Unifying these categories into a single body imbued Sibande's representations with a deep ambivalence, in which resistance and acquiescence to subjection became indistinguishable.[425] As a result, the meaning of subjection was turned in on itself, while simultaneously repeating and inverting the relationship between the concepts.[426] For the purposes of this discussion, the power of the image, lies less in its "chiasmic change in signification,"[427] but rather in the power of the image to trouble an assumed temporal rupture, between 'before' and 'after' imperialism. In so doing the representations return the viewer to ongoing racialized violence and displacement in present-day Johannesburg.

Ultimately, 'the maid' is an acute manifestation of racialized and gendered power relations and as such, she constitutes an "ideological figure"[428] for colonialism. As discussed in Chapter Three, these relations of racialized and gendered domination and submission are not confined to the household alone. Rather, they are a microcosm of the rules and

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[418] Comaroff, J and Comaroff, J. 2007. "Law and Disorder in the Post colony: An Introduction." In *Law and Disorder in the Post colony.* Social Anthropology Volume 15, Issue 2, pp 133–152, June 2007

[419] Ibid, 133–152

[420] Ibid

[421] Ibid.

[422] Ong, A. 2006. *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Duke University Press

[423] Hartman provides a provocative analysis of the "slave performance" as coerced agency, through which slave holders could display their dominion over the little leisure time that they had. For a more detailed discussion see: Hartman, S. 1997. "Innocent Amusements" in *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp8; 34

[424] Ibid, pp 34

[425] Hartman, S. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press

[426] Sandoval C. 1991. "Franz Fanon and the Methodology of the Oppressed" in *Methodology of the Oppressed*, Minneapolis, and London: Minnesota Press, pp. 84-5.

[427] Sandoval C. 1991. "Franz Fanon and the Methodology of the Oppressed" in *Methodology of the Oppressed*, Minneapolis, and London: Minnesota Press, pp. 84-5.

[428] Rosalyn Deutsche invokes the image of "the homeless person" as a negative image created to restore positivity and order to social life. She draws parallels between the figure of "the Jew" and "the homeless person" as ideological figures that disrupt totalizing social schemas of public space in: Deutsche, R. 1998. *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. MIT Press, pp 277-8

character of public life and they pattern the contours of national identity and civic culture.[429] Similarly, "the" informal street trader is an ideological figure for neo-liberal capitalist redevelopment. Within the discursive framework of market-drive urban renewal in Johannesburg, 'the informal trader' is the embodiment of disorder, which disrupts any notion of a unified and conflict-free social order.

Neither of these figures - the 'maid' and 'the informal trader' - is marginal. Rather as argued by Deutsche (1998), such marginalized figures are an "acute manifestation of the uneven social relations"[430] within capitalist development, and an integral part of the city. The reading of embodied experiences of displacement and predatory accumulation[431] provided In Chapter Four, can thus be extended into a critique of "the margins" as a spatial metaphor that fails to recognize that inequality and displacement lie at the centre of neo-liberal capitalist urban development. Thus rather than mapping marginality, this dissertation has sought to map the absences at the centre of city visions and hegemonic discourses of global belonging. By seeking out multiple kinds of places: a hair follicle, the body, the sidewalk, the reworked office building, the city and the region - as well as imaginative practices like public art- this analysis has provided a number of situations through which emergent geographies of capitalist expansion present variations of inclusion, contradictions and contestations, and in how the city rationalizes and propagates its global desires.

The multiple geographies of informality that neo-liberal rationalities produce in the inner city complicate abstract claims about the universality of globalization and call for more creative engagements with the lived spatialities of global connection. Thus while global capitalism is a "structured social system,"[432] as argued by Tsing (2005), the contingency, discontinuity and awkward connections of globalization within Johannesburg, might also create new openings which give rise to unexpected alliances and collaborations, and that have the potential to create new identities and interests. Whereas the city-as-art-exhibition was constituted through an appropriation of urban space by private interest, deregulated zones also produced spaces of opportunity and of vibrant inventiveness in the city. Migrant entrepreneurs produced new, heterogeneous and creative spatialities in the inner city, such as House X and Bree Street. In so doing, they produced new regimes of representation and geographies of possibility in ways that disrupted the apparently stable places and identities of the city. Their appropriation of the public and commercial spaces of the city was a manifestation of their agency and their ability to transform geographical and urban space, despite their marginalization.

As a city within the global south, Johannesburg is a crucial site for theory construction, to the extent that it remains a relatively porous site, in which some lived spatialities may challenge the limits of architectural and urban knowledge, and thereby create a new conceptual space for theorizing cities. These new geography reflects efforts to exceed and escape forms of knowledge and power and to express desires that might improve people's

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[429] See: Ray, R and Qayum, S. 2009. *Cultures of Servitude - Modernity, Domesticity and Class in India*. Stanford University Press; and Stoler, L, A. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire - Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Duke University Press

[430] Deutsche, R. 1998. *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics*. MIT Press, pp 279

[431] Harvey, D.2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford University Press, pp 137 - 182

[432] Tsing, A. 2005. Friction: *Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton University Press, pp 13

life-chances.[433] This attention to lived spatialities and regimes of representation requires further analysis. However, in so doing, it in no way seeks to legitimize capitalist expansion and it attendant violence. Rather, it seek to point out the agency of marginalized urban actors in relation to the constraints that limited conceptions of globalization imposes on peoples' abilities to live with dignity, to claim rights to the city and to craft an alternative paradigm of development, for a truly democratic city.

5.1.1   Directions for Future Research

Malik Simone's work on African cities (2004) suggests a Deleuzian cartographic approach to subjectivity. His focus on "becoming," [434] is a useful way of thinking through the immanent fields that urban residents invent and live by, even within sites that are mediated by capitalist development. Micro-analyses of global desire and "becoming" point to opportunities and slippages within large scale processes, and which transform the city against and within attempts at structured coherence. [435] Ultimately, these desires have the potential to break open alternative pathways and can propel unexpected futures for the city, if they are taken seriously.

However these geographies are often absent from mainstream understandings of the city, and in terms of the creative possibilities that they present to an understanding of what Johannesburg can become and mean. Therefore a microanalysis of emergent spatialities requires greater attention to the complexities and desires embodied in their forms of knowledge and spatial possibilities.[436]
This study has not presented an exhaustive analysis of urban renewal. Consequently, there are a number of critical areas that require further study and analysis, which will be detailed below:

In order to grasp the spatialities of black women in the city, further work is required to understand class divisions within this category of analysis as well as the specific relationship to subalternity. Secondly, a meaningful discussion of gendered work and urban informality will require further research, in terms of the broader context of gendered work in Johannesburg, South Africa and globally as well as an engagement with key feminist debates about such processes. Third, an exploration of the role of the state in producing both gendered hierarchies and processes of informality will require a theorization of the state and state power, and the social constitution of elite power. Additionally, it will require an analysis of its relationship to the state, especially in the context of the city visions.
Finally, the aim of this research would be actively engage with postcolonial context and theories that are concerned with analyzing neoliberalism.

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[433] Biehl, J and Locke, P. 2010. "Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming". *Current Anthropology*, Volume 51, Number 3, June 2010, pp 317
[434] "Becoming" is constituted through individual and collective struggles to come to terms with difficult conditions and attempts to escape from subjection, through which subjects can achieve an existential condition in which life   is open to new relations and trajectories Biehl, J and Locke, P. 2010. "Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming". *Current Anthropology*, Volume 51, Number 3, June 2010, pp 317
[435] Biehl, J and Locke, P. 2010. "Deleuze and the Anthropology of Becoming", *Current Anthropology*, Volume 51, Number 3, June 2010, pp 317
[436] McKittrick, K. 2006. *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp xxvi

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