

‘After’ Modernism: Architectural Articulations of Apartheid’s End in Cape Town

by  
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## ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is a study of the urban transformations that accompanied the struggles surrounding apartheid’s ending in Cape Town, seen through the lens of architecture. It examines the practices of a number of architects, who in the last decades of apartheid, began to pose alternatives to the spatiality produced through apartheid. These architects, working through academic writings and architectural designs, sought to provide redress to the ways in which colonial and apartheid-era spatial practices had created the city as a fragmented, divided landscape.

The architectural practices studied in this dissertation are focused upon two realms: modernism and the aspirations associated with apartheid’s ending. Apartheid had worked very much through space, using modernist approaches to architecture and planning to fabricate spaces and cities of inequality and separation. The architects studied here were critical of the modernism of the apartheid landscape: they connected the ways in which its homogeneity and sprawl worked hand-in-hand with racialized policies of separation and control. However, the methods they employed and formal languages that they produced were also modernist, but differed in the precedents they drew upon and the social goals they sought to engender. The modernism produced was ‘aspirational’, that expressed post-apartheid concerns and ambitions, and distinguished itself from the modernism of apartheid by acknowledging user’s needs, agency and identity. Additionally, these concerns were not carried out in uniform ways. Rather, the architects studied employed unique approaches to transforming the urban environment as a result of apartheid’s ending, reflecting differing sets of values and beliefs regarding what the content of apartheid’s ending can and should bring.

The dissertation is structured through histories of three ‘sites’ in Cape Town. Each reflects different technologies used in the making of apartheid’s spatial qualities, and each is the subject of an architectural intervention in the latter years of apartheid and/or early years of South Africa’s democracy. The sites vary in scale and architectural typology: one is set of migrant labour hostels that was ‘upgraded’ to family housing, one a neighborhood that was destroyed

during apartheid and has since been the subject of controversies around how and for whom to rebuild, and the third is a public space produced in the first decade of democracy as part of a city-wide initiative that uses public space as a method of upgrading. I approach each site in a grounded manner, studying the history of the making of works of architecture as it relates to broader political, economic and cultural practices. The dissertation is a product of methods that combine interviews with archival research. The archival data includes published texts and reports, newspaper and journal articles, personal archives, project reports, and architectural process documents – which include contracts, meeting minutes and drawings. The interviews participants include architects, architectural academics, urban designers, planners, grassroots organizers and politicians. Brought together, the different sources and types of data tell a story that is both local, documenting how the ending of apartheid was performed in Cape Town through architectural interventions, and global: illustrating how architecture works as an articulation of broader social processes, and how modernism gets used to express the contradictory, aspirational qualities of democratic movements at the end of the twentieth century.

*Dedicated  
to M, M, and Z*

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The earliest stirrings of this project began in my suburban Florida home in the 1980s, where I regularly watched the evening news with my family. In my blurry adolescent memory, the

nightly news was seared with images of South Africa burning: tanks rolling into townships, defiant residents toyi-toying in face of militarized policing, and the later horrific carnage of necklacing. These deeply disturbing images, as well as the inspiration of the ‘struggle’ against such injustice, stayed with me into graduate school. There the nascent form of the project began, in an architecture seminar on Critical Regionalism. For those entry points, I thank my parents, for exposing me to the issues of the world and instilling in me a concern for social justice, and Professor Wilmot (Bill) Gilland, for providing my entry into this intellectual journey.

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## Definitions

In this dissertation about apartheid, the language of racial classification plays a necessary, but thorny role. While I personally am very critical of the use of racial classification in South Africa, it is impossible to speak about people in South Africa during apartheid without referring to their racial classification. In writing the dissertation I have sought to use language in a manner that strikes a balance between being consistent throughout the dissertation, with which I feel comfortable, and that is appropriate to the different time periods and actors I study. The following are the key racial terms I use, and how I understand each.

**White** I use the term to refer to people of ‘European’ heritage.

**Native/African/Black** These are the three major terms used, at different times to refer to a similar racial category. Native was the predominant term used during colonial eras to refer to Bantu-speaking and to Khoi and San South Africans (who are typically considered aboriginal, not Bantu). Native carried over as the official classification under apartheid. In the latter decades of apartheid the term African came into favor by people who were critical of apartheid. Since the end of apartheid, some people have chosen to continue to use ‘African’ while others have shifted to ‘black’. Some people argue that ‘black’ is more of an umbrella term, that includes those who are considered ‘coloured’. In the dissertation I predominantly use the term black, although I do use African when the subject matter I am discussing uses the term. I only use ‘Native’ in quotations, to indicate when that is the language used in the subject matter at hand.

**Coloured** The term coloured was an official racial category during apartheid. It refers to people of mixed heritage, which might include European, Bantu, KhoiSan, and Asian lineage. Although the term is problematic, I use it throughout the dissertation to reflect the language used in South Africa.

The above three categories were the only ones used in the Population Registration Act of 1950. However, other categories including those below were developed to further subdivide these categories, particularly for use in the Group Areas Acts.

**Asian** The fourth major category was Asian, which included people with lineage from China and India.

**Malay** A last significant category developed, particularly in Cape Town was Malay. Under the Group Areas Acts, the Bo-Kaap area of Cape Town was assigned as Malay. Malay was a subcategory of coloured, and supposedly referred to people of Malaysian descent, but many scholars refute that, citing inconsistencies between Malaysian heritage and Malay classification. The category is generally considered a fabrication, which sought to create class and religious divides within the coloured population.

## Introduction: Tracing Architecture and Apartheid's (Urban) Ending

*We must concentrate our first activities at the city's centre, so that freedom of movement, accessibility and breathing spaces can be restored where they are so vital. It is possible to achieve this radical re-organisation by drastic methods only, by a fresh start on cleared ground.*

*This ruthless eradication directed towards a re-vitalising process we have, following Le Corbusier's lead, named the Surgical Method...through surgery we must create order, through organisation we must make manifest the spirit of a new age.*

-- Norman Hanson at Town Planning Congress in Johannesburg of 1938  
(Quoted in Pinnock 1989, 156)

*In the afternoon Toloki walks to the taxi rank, which is on the other side of the downtown area, or what is called the central business district. The streets are empty, as all the stores are closed. He struts like a king, for today the whole city belongs to him. He owns the wide tarmac roads, the skyscrapers, the traffic lights, and the flowers on the sidewalks. That is what he loves most about the city. It is a garden city, with flowers and well-tended shrubs and bushes rowing at every conceivable place. In all seasons, blossoms fill the site.*

-- Zakes Mda, *Ways of Dying*

The two epigraphs above represent two very distinct readings and projects of the making of South African urban space, which come together in the project of this dissertation. The two are separated by over fifty years, and offer different visions of how space is made, for whom and by whom, and for what purpose. The first epigraph reflects the ambitions of mid-twentieth century South African modernist architects and planners to re-imagine the South African city as physically - and thus socially - ordered. These ambitions eventually helped shape South African cities such as Cape Town into 'apartheid cities'. The second epigraph also reflects urban imaginations, but in this case ones which use lived experience to contest the spatial divisions that became manifest in the apartheid city. The passage speaks to how the very people that the former quote intended to order and ultimately remove from the city claim it back, through their own material and imaginative inhabitations of space. This dissertation, which examines efforts involving architects to reimagine and remake Cape Town as apartheid came to an end, is a project of working between the two quotes. It is a history that moves from apartheid's dispossessions to post-apartheid ambitions of addressing inequality and connecting the city, spatially and socially. As I will show, to understand the architectural dimensions of apartheid's ending is to examine both polarities, and to see architecture as a practice in-between.



Figure 1. The Foreshore Plan, drawn by J.H.C. Hofmeyr, 1947. The Foreshore and Duncan Docks filled in Cape Town's natural harbor to create a modernized industrial port and new central business district area. From [http://farm5.static.flickr.com/4030/4500664364\\_310a0f8418\\_b.jpg](http://farm5.static.flickr.com/4030/4500664364_310a0f8418_b.jpg).

The first epigraph comes from one of the most frequently re-quoted anecdotes in South African modern urban historiography. It is part of a speech made by Norman Hanson, a prominent South African architect, at the 1938 Town Planning Congress in Johannesburg. In the speech, Hanson argued for bringing spatial order to Cape Town, by clearing away the central city, and making “a fresh start on cleared ground.” He was speaking in support of a project that would eventually come to be known as the Duncan Docks and Foreshore (Figure 1). However, Hanson’s speech also fit within the paradigm of modernist planning as it was implemented across the globe over the course of the twentieth century. Whole portions of cities, often dense and typically sites of poverty and racialized ‘not-white’ identities, were demolished to make way for cleansed imaginaries. Such imaginaries brought together race and capital, make space for white bodies and subjectivities, and new opportunities for private property ownership. Cape Town - and other South African cities - exemplified such imaginaries. Through instances of ‘creative destruction’ such as the construction of the Foreshore and clearance and demolition of District Six (which is one of the sites that studied in this dissertation), these were acts of modernist planning and architecture in their most rational, technocratic and authoritarian guises. Through such projects, modernism in Cape Town in the middle of the twentieth century became a site for joining together the state’s - both colonial and apartheid states - policies of racial separation and architects’ and planners’ visions of the orderly city.

Hanson’s speech and the affinities between Le Corbusier’s ‘surgical method’ and South African modernist planning form one of the backbones of South African modernism’s historiography. Most architecture and planning scholars, as well as practicing architects, urban designers and planners agree to this interpretation and base their work around it. The argument,

as summed up by Parnell and Mabin, states that “the critical coincidence is that town planning in South Africa emerged at a time when the modern movement in architecture and planning was at its height...and so was the demand for comprehensive segregation in South African cities.” (1995, 55) Essentially, the apartheid city, and particularly apartheid Cape Town, was a modernist city of a *particular type*, using strategies of separations, clearances, dislocations and neglect to attempt to create both spatial order and social control. What concerns me in this dissertation is how architects and urban designers<sup>1</sup> who were personally critical of apartheid, deployed their perception of the entanglements between modernism and apartheid to articulate alternative visions for a ‘post-apartheid’ Cape Town. These architects, as professionals and scholars, brought to light the histories of entanglements between modernism and apartheid, and worked to provide architectural alternatives for the city. Their project of creating architectures of the ‘post-apartheid’ speaks, conceptually, to the possibilities suggested by the second epigraph.

The quote from Zakes Mda’s novel, *Ways of Dying*, approaches the apartheid city from a radically different perspective than the adherents of the ‘surgical method’. In the text, Mda’s protagonist, Toloki, claims the city for himself in ways which illustrate the power of imagination and offer alternative narratives to the more disabling readings of the Manichean divisions of the apartheid city. As a black South African man, who makes his living as a ‘cryer’ for hire at funerals in the devastating time of the AIDS rampage, Toloki’s daily, lived experience clearly includes all of the inequities wrought by apartheid. Yet, he manages to see the city as not only a space of boundaries and prohibitions, but also one of connections and possibilities. His is a reading that begins from experience of the apartheid city, as produced by planners such as Hanson, but moves *beyond* their modernist imagination. Jennifer Robinson illustrates this when she uses Mda’s text to argue for rethinking the apartheid city, in ways more multivalent than one-dimensional understandings of experiences of apartheid’s spaces (1998, 164). She uses Mda’s novel to argue the need for scholarship that recognizes the prohibitions of apartheid, but also attends to other types of spatial practices, with the potential for seeing and nurturing innovative linkages across what are otherwise understood as divided cities. The characters of this dissertation - the architects, grassroots organizers and city officials - are deploying just such imaginations, albeit in varied and sometimes-confrontational ways.

This dissertation is thus a project of tracing where Toloki’s city interacts with the city produced by Hanson and his colleagues, *through architecture*. It is a project of uncovering the making of architecture as an articulation of ‘the post-apartheid’ - in all the complex, contradictory and limited aspects of that condition. The dissertation examines how, during apartheid’s last years and the first years under democracy, architects got involved in struggles concerning urban transformation in Cape Town. I do so by studying three ‘sites’ in Cape Town, each which illustrates a key facet of apartheid spatiality (a term I will define in Chapter One),

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<sup>1</sup> Planners also fit into this category, but the dissertation only tangentially addresses the field of planning.

and was the subject of architectural intervention during the extended period during which apartheid came to an end. I trace the history of efforts to realize each intervention, looking at how each space was produced through colonialism and apartheid, and what was at stake, socially and spatially, in efforts to address aspects of apartheid's legacy in each intervention. I will tie architectural histories to urban histories at each site by locating architects as social agents, and the making of architectural designs within broader narratives. In so doing, I will show how architectural modernism was deployed, in differing ways, as an expression of apartheid's ending in Cape Town. I will illustrate that for architects, modernism was both a subject and method of action, which enabled them to draw together their personal political positions with their discipline-based concerns as professionals. While architects drew upon their architectural critiques of apartheid's modernist urban planning and design, they simultaneously produced a new modernity, one that anticipated and aspired to apartheid's ending and the production of a new social and spatial order.

### **Architecture and the Ending of Apartheid**

The moment in which apartheid officially ended is generally considered to be April 27, 1994. On that date South Africa held its first ever democratic elections, resulting in the victory of the African National Congress, with Nelson Mandela as the nation's first black President. Prior to that, since the (white and Afrikaner) National Party came to power in 1948, South Africa had been governed through apartheid. Apartheid, which means 'the state of being apart' in Afrikaans, was a racially based system of segregation, which institutionally privileged white South Africans through legislation that worked through space, labor, government and personal relations. While segregation had been the rule of the land throughout the colonial and republic periods in South Africa leading up to 1948, apartheid took racialized separation and dominance to an unprecedented level, regulating every aspect of life. It is this intense degree of segregation that made South Africa infamous on the international stage, and the (relatively) peaceful ending of apartheid that equally stirred the imaginations of people across the world.

As this dissertation is concerned with the ending of apartheid, the 1994 date and the election are central to this dissertation. Yet, for me it is less because they are epistemic moments - which they are - but because I am concerned with problematizing the ending of apartheid and unpacking its relationships with architectural practice. I am concerned with how the grounded, lived, and particularly spatial realities of apartheid came to an end in gradual way, beginning before 1994 and continuing long after. I am interested in how the ending of apartheid was anticipated and imagined by architects and others involved in the production of space. I am interested in the ethics of architectural practice that shaped how architects used their professional practices to operationalize their opposition to apartheid. I am interested in how the shifts in governmentality related to apartheid's ending were carried out in the realm of architectural

practice. I am interested in how, as a result of change in government policy, architects were or were not able to act in different ways and thus remake the practice of architecture.

To answer these questions, I have studied, in a grounded manner, three instances in which architects took part in efforts to reimagine the city in ways that reflected their anticipations of the 'post-apartheid'. For me, in this dissertation, the post-apartheid is both a temporal and epistemic condition. I use it to refer to the time after apartheid, and to the ways of being and operating that reflect anticipations of the ending of apartheid. The post-apartheid, for me, is not synonymous with democracy, though it is overlapping. Democracy refers to a particular mode of governing and all of the challenges and complications involved, while the post-apartheid is a condition that reflects the (often contradictory) aspirations related to apartheid's ending. Like most scholars of post-apartheid South Africa, I recognize the very limited ways in which meaningful change has been realized for the majority of South African since apartheid has ended: many black South Africans remain living in poverty, with arguably even more precarious access to resources such as housing, water and electricity than during apartheid (G. P. Hart 2013; Marais 2001; S. Robins 2005). Events such as the Marikana massacre on August 16, 2012, when thirty-four striking miners were killed by police officers, have brought to light the state's continued alliances with capital, at the cost of 'redistribution' or policies that benefit the material reality of most South Africans (Desai 2014; Marinovich 2012).

In light of these problematic aspects of the post-apartheid period and condition, I use the term post-apartheid to refer to the multitude of differing practices that address these and other aspects of coming out of apartheid. I use the term similarly to some of the ways in which the 'post-colonial' is understood. I am not equating apartheid with colonialism, but using the post-colonial to help structure a definition of the post-apartheid. In particular, I draw on the definition of the post-colonial that in scope and content includes,

the totality of practices, in all their rich diversity, which characterise the societies of the post-colonial world from the moment of colonisation to the present day, since colonialism does not cease with the mere fact of political independence and continues in a neocolonial mode to be active in many societies. (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1995, xv)

My definition of the post-apartheid borrows from this in numerous ways: first, I agree that the post-apartheid refers to practices "in all their rich diversity", meaning that it refers to an expansive body of practices related to the experience of apartheid. It also indicates that the term speaks broadly to societies that have experienced apartheid, meaning both the apartheid equivalents of 'colonized' and 'colonizers'. Third, temporally the post-apartheid is not limited to the moment from which independence begins, but rather includes ideologies and practices that developed during apartheid, in anticipation of its ending.

The ‘post-apartheid’ period can therefore be considered lengthy. My study, however, focuses on the years from the mid-1980s through to about 2004. As I will discuss in the body of the dissertation, this period brackets a lengthy moment in which architects, amongst and in participation with other social actors, found ways of agitating against apartheid and posing spatial imaginaries that directly engaged with the architectural legacies of apartheid. These ways, for reasons that will be discussed in the body of the dissertation, were not possible prior to the mid-1980s and shifted in nature from around 2004 onwards. The in-between years that are the subject of this dissertation were a time in which architects uses their professional practices as a way of working against apartheid, imagining and anticipating social and spatial orders that would reflect apartheid’s ending.

### *Meanings of Architecture*

To unpack what I call ‘architectural anticipations of the post-apartheid’, I study how architecture is ‘produced’. Just as I am unpacking what the ending of apartheid ‘looks like’ as it takes place across the space of Cape Town, I am looking closely as how architecture is made, in ways that frame architecture as encompassing social and spatial practices. This means that I am studying works of architecture - architectural products - and the process of producing them<sup>2</sup>. Those processes involve the work that architects engage in as professionals<sup>3</sup>, and the social relations in which their work is embedded.

Bringing those two spheres together means I study the internal workings of the profession as well as locate architecture amongst other spheres - politics, the economy, cultural practices - and architects among other actors such as clients, users, state actors, and planners. Internally, I study the design of each of the three sites, as well as alternative designs proposed, often for other clients and by other architects, for each. I examine precedents: the designs that the architects profess to have been influenced by and earlier design projects they themselves took on, that informed their work. I look at related work by other architects. I also examine the questions and concerns that architects address as they produce each design. I care very much about what set of problems architects address in producing each design, and I include in my study problems that are spatial, social and technological. In sum, I view design as the product of a number of

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<sup>2</sup> One of the limitations of this dissertation is that I focus deeply on the process of designing, and somewhat constructing works of architecture, but pay limited attention to what happens to them after construction. I consider the inhabitation of architecture and adaptation of a work of architecture by its users and over its lifespan to be a critical component of architecture, but was not able to include study of that in the scope of this dissertation.

<sup>3</sup> Spiro Kostof defines the profession of architecture as “the specialized skill that is called upon to give shape to the environmental needs of others.” (2000, vi) This broad understanding of architecture as ‘environmental needs’ is reflected in my definition, in that it includes a host of elements in the built environment, and includes the imaginative and administrative work required to meet the ‘needs of others’.

influences and factors, and not something conjured up in an isolated vacuum, by one lone figure. This dissertation is, in part, a history of architecture as a history of those agglomerations of influences.

In order to also locate architecture globally, amongst other spheres, I examine architects' work alongside: the capitalism of the apartheid and democratic states; state policies regarding race, labor and housing; grassroots social movements; and histories of informality in Cape Town. In this way, the dissertation is a 'relational architectural history' (Cupers 2014, xvi), which locates architecture as a constellation of divergent practices, all involved with efforts to remake spaces in Cape Town that reflect ambitions of the post-apartheid. By working through this understanding of architecture, the dissertation serves as an urban history of Cape Town during the transition from apartheid to democracy, told through the lens of architecture.

The practices that I study in this dissertation diverge from many traditional architectural histories. They concern the act of designing and the resultant designs and eventually constructed works of architecture. The act of designing as I study it, while informed by factors that are predominantly internal to architecture as a discipline, it is not limited to those. Internal design impetus includes architects' creative visions and explorations, the formal precedents they study, and the concerns they pursue as they respond to a project's scope and context. The production of architecture, however, also is informed by project briefs, which describe the scope of the architectural project. Studying architecture for me means to study contracts and other measures of the relationships between architects, clients, contractors and consultants. It includes paying attention to project budgets and sources of funding. I look at regulations, and negotiations between project representatives and state agencies. I look at how architects work with clients and users, and how designs are informed by 'client input'. I approach these, and all the other sites of architecture that I study, as open to critical and creative reinvention. These are sites of practices that are neither politically neutral nor fixed; they are as much the sites of potential innovation as are new building forms or materials. They are also the sites in which power gets produced and social relations get performed and negotiated.

I see and frame architecture in this dissertation in this way in order to unpack architecture as an 'articulation' of apartheid's ending. Borrowing from Gillian Hart (2007), I am using 'articulation' in two ways. First, I use articulate to mean to 'express': I am studying architecture, in this broadly defined way, as an expression of the process of apartheid's ending in Cape Town. Hart, however, also uses Stuart Hall's (1980) conception of articulation to further develop just how articulation 'works'. Hall defines articulation as a ligament, that binds together multiple systems and categories. I am framing architecture as such a ligament, through which numerous types of practices related to apartheid's ending come together. As Hart explains, 'articulation' is a critical, though debated concept in the study of the South African political economy. It

becomes important in finding ways to understand how the categories of race and class have been brought together in the making of apartheid.<sup>4</sup> While I am not myself offering new analyses of the political economy of apartheid's ending, I am building upon scholars such as Hart, Harold Wolpe (1972), Stuart Hall, Deborah Posel (1997) to understand apartheid, particularly in regards to race, class, space and labor. As part of my indebtedness to this literature, I am using articulation as my framework for the relationship between architecture and the cultural, economic and political dimensions of apartheid's ending as it took place in Cape Town. Just as Wolpe, through Hall, sees articulation as a binding practice, I see architecture as a site through which different types and categories of practices come together, in ways which draw together the making of space and the making of social relations. I am not suggesting that architecture is exceptional, amongst all fields of practice, but that it is informative. By defining and framing architecture through both what architects produce and how they go about producing it, in ways which bring together diverse terrains, this dissertation tells architectural histories of a very specific place and time: Cape Town during the (long) period of apartheid's ending.

### *Architectural Ambitions of the Post-Apartheid*

The architectural practices that I study in this dissertation concern a distinct set of post-apartheid ambitions: those that seek to address apartheid-produced injustices, particularly ones that have spatial manifestations. I am not examining abstract ambitions, but a very specific, grounded set of ambitions and anticipations. These are the ambitions of architects and the groups and individuals with which they work. As I will demonstrate throughout the dissertation, these relate to poor housing conditions and the poor quality of spatial environments produced in the parts of the city that black, coloured and 'Asian' - or 'non-white' residents are forced to live. They concern the spatial practices that characterize apartheid's imprint upon Cape Town, practices that I will define as *displacement*, *clearances* and *neglect*. The post-apartheid ambitions that I study in this dissertation are ones that seek to create a new social and spatial order in Cape Town, that reflect the ideals and complicated realities of racialized equality.

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<sup>4</sup> As Hart illustrates, understanding that race and class become articulated through each other in conjunction, rather than each as reductionist categories, enabled "Wolpe to call into question the assumption that opposition to white domination would necessarily function to unite all black classes against the regime. Pointing to the enormous expansion of a black petit bourgeoisie in the 1980s which was becoming increasingly organised, as well as to possible divisions within the black working class, he warned that political struggles to overthrow or sustain white domination in South Africa could not be read off structures of either class or race. Instead, they would depend on the specific conjuncture and forms of struggle." (G. Hart 2007, 88) These questions become crucial in understanding factions developing within the ruling ANC party in the decades after apartheid, and the larger crisis affecting post-apartheid South Africa.

The desire, on the part of architects, to address these conditions through their professional practices is not unique to South Africa. Architecture, particularly modernist architecture, has a long history of attempting to be ‘social’ (Crawford 1991; Cupers 2014). Nineteen-twenties European modernism was marked by housing experiments such as New Frankfurt, intended to address postwar housing shortages and provide new, egalitarian models for living (Heynen 1999). Modernists from CIAM to the Soviet avant-garde sought to ‘liberate’ women from ‘domestic servitude’, and promote ‘common happiness and well being’ (Holston 1989, 38–39). CIAM’s Athens Charter sought to save cities from the “unbridled domination of private interests in the public realm” (Holston 1989, 41), from the capitalism of the industrial city. After World War II, grandly planned New Towns proliferated globally, as expressions of the “belief in modern architecture as a vehicle of social progress.”(Cupers 2014, xiii) Architects saw their work as providing the spatial framework for new social arrangements.

As I discussed in the opening of this chapter and will elaborate in Chapter 1, these ambitions were present in apartheid’s early years; the social project at that time was one of ordering the apartheid city. The effects of such modernism were to marginalize black South Africans, pushing them to the city’s periphery, creating only the most minimal and minimally appointed housing, devoid of urban amenities. However, similarly to so many other instances globally, by the 1970s architects and society as a whole became disillusioned with such modernist projects. Both the modernist forms of New Towns and the grand ambition of ordering society came under critique (Cupers 2014). In South Africa, such dismay paralleled a period in which apartheid itself came under increasing scrutiny and opposition. So it was that during the latter decades of apartheid, architects began to work in ways that expressed dismay with the modernist landscapes produced through apartheid. This dissertation is a story of how such critiques took shape and produced alternative imaginaries in Cape Town.

As I will discuss, the South African case gives a particular insight into the architectural social project, and what it means personally and professionally for architects to direct their designs towards realizing social goals. In part, the history of architectural engagement in South Africa sits within a larger history of white opposition to apartheid.<sup>5</sup> I say ‘white’ opposition because the majority of South African architects, up through apartheid and after have been white. Architects form part of the category of South Africans that enjoyed the privileges of apartheid, even if politically opposed to it. Their deployment of their professional practices for politically oriented goals, then, grounds the abstract of the ‘social project’ in the specificity of apartheid and its spatial and social imprint upon the city. Some of the architects studied in this dissertation took part in demonstrations and methods of protest not directly related to the professional practices; it

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<sup>5</sup> To better understand this history, see historical collections such as Lazerson’s *Against the Tide: Whites in the Struggle against Apartheid* (1994), Rogers’ history of the Black Sash (1956), and *The Liberal Slideaway* (Wentzel 1995). Also see <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/black-sash>.

is important to locate architectural articulations of post-apartheid ambition alongside such actions, to contextualize the local ‘architectural social project’.

I will be arguing that as political critique was expressed through professional action, modernism served as the terrain for architects to engage in anti-apartheid ambitions. Modernism served as both the source of critique, and method of articulation. Just as modernist architects such as Hanson idealized architecture’s potential to make manifest social ambitions, so too did the architects I study. They equally believe(d) in the power of architecture to serve as a vehicle for social change. However, they sought goals of equality and restitution rather than separation and control. As I will illustrate, the ways in which architects developed alternative imaginaries, of the post-apartheid, were modernist. In order to make clear what I mean, the following section will lay out what I understand as modernism and modernity.

### **Modernism, its Multiples and Afters**

One of the key premises of this dissertation is that modernism is far from a singular construct. My argument is that while the architects I study were critical of the alliances between modernism and apartheid, and their criticisms led to ways of using architectural practice to engage in anti-apartheid struggle, they similarly deployed modernist strategies in their own architectural practices. These practices were not unintentional reproductions of the spatial conditions that enabled inequality<sup>6</sup>. Rather, they were anticipations of apartheid’s ending, which worked in equally though distinct modernist ways to imagine and produce alternatives to the city as it was produced under apartheid. These were multiple modes of modernism.

When I speak of modernism, I am speaking of an epistemology or way of seeing the world that has manifestations in a host of different realms, *including* architecture. This way of understanding and operating in the world, despite its many different tendencies, is ‘modern’ because of its particular sort of ‘rationality’ (Rabinow 1989), which includes questioning tradition, reliance upon rationality and scientific methods, shift from religiosity to secularization, and expanded scales of operating in the world, such as on through the nation state or (multi-national) corporation. As Berman (1988) notes, following Baudelaire (1863), modernity is characterized by constant change, and to be modern is to operate with an awareness of such change and its possibilities. Berman argues that the perpetuation and speed of change reflect

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<sup>6</sup> There is a strong body of literature that examines how the development of urban space after apartheid has led to reproduction of inequality. Some examines this from the perspective of methods of privatizing space (Marks and Bezzoli 2001; S. Robins 2002; S. Robins 2003). Others point to the work of developers, at times allied by planners and architects, in bringing together ‘world-class’ ambitions with visually sanitizing aesthetics, in ways that perpetuate dislocations of poverty from cities (McDonald 2008; M. J. Murray 2008). While I do not contest this work, I am looking at a different set of practices.

technological innovation, but are experienced and carried out through cultural practices and interpersonal relations as well as by states and technological means. As it applies to South Africa, apartheid and the making of urban space such as in Cape Town, modernism is linked to ambitions of trying to order the world. Modernism is a system for bringing order, interpreted and developed in widely different ways. What is central to this dissertation is the position that while some modes of modernism - such as apartheid - are seen as trauma-producing (Escobar 2008), modernism in other modes and through other eyes, for example those of the architects studied in this dissertation, is seen as a vehicle for solving social ills. What I will be demonstrating is that while the makers of apartheid, which include architects and planners, engaged in a project of ordering the world, so too did those individuals and organizations critical of apartheid. The latter, however, sought to remake the world in different ways. This, then, is a story of these multiple strains of modernism. As I shall argue below, there are similarities running through these modernisms - as well as important distinctions.

One of the critical questions that this dissertation explores is how architecture sits amongst other terrains of modernism. As Heynen defines it, borrowing from Berman’s triad of modernization-modernity-modernism, modernism is “the body of artistic and intellectual ideas and movements that deal with the process of modernization and the experience of modernity.” (1999, 3) This relational understanding opens up modernism, just like to modernity, to many moments and iterations. The projects of architectural modernism, in part, address technology and innovation. This is seen through aspects of architecture’s physicality: structure, climate controls, and material choices (Forty 2000). It is in the radically new forms and approaches to form making that architectural historians such as Sigfried Giedion define modernism (Giedion 1982). However, the modernist project has also addressed social relations and conditions, from providing housing appropriate to contemporary social conditions, to providing the institutions and spatial order that reflect and engender a ‘modernizing’ society.

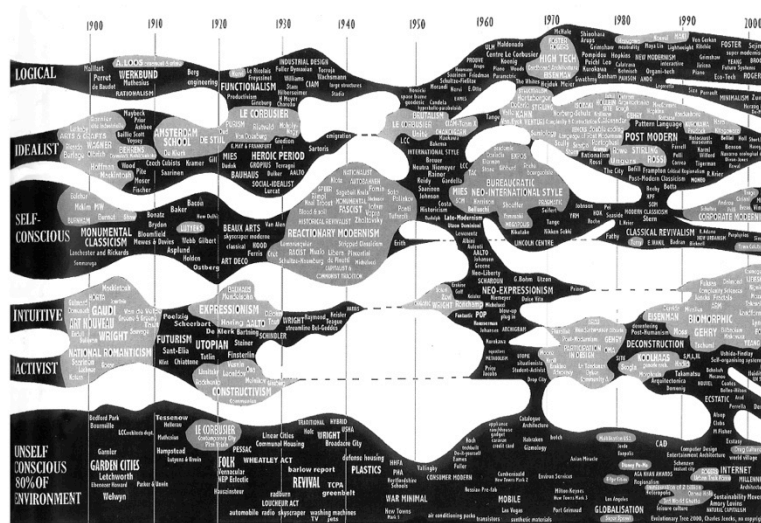


Figure 2 Charles Jencks’ “Theory of Evolution” Diagram. In the diagram, originally published in *Architectural Review* in July 2000, Jencks lays out the twentieth century’s myriad of micro-architectural movements, by both chronology and ideological impulse. 11

The project of tracing modernism's many moments and differing expressions is not unique to this research. Colin St. John Wilson suggested modernism's history (and future) include multiple, or an 'other' tradition, divergent from the hegemony of CIAM and the International Style (1995). Comprehensive histories of modernism, from Kenneth Frampton's 'critical history' (1992) to William Curtis' scoping, textbook approach (1996), work by cataloguing individual architects, collections of architects, and geographically and temporally defined moments. Charles Jenck's 'map' of twentieth century architecture similarly illustrates all its differing tendencies and trajectories (Figure 2). More recent collections, such as *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Legault, Goldhagen, and Centre Canadien d'Architecture 2000) and *Use Matters: An Alternative History of Architecture* (Cupers 2013), draw attention to modernism's multivalency and differing methods of social engagement. In this dissertation I will be drawing upon already-established understandings of different modernist precedents, in order to demonstrate *how* architects in Cape Town assembled the differing tendencies in their own design work. The following discussion lays out terms and histories, to make clear which modes of modernism were referenced by Cape Town architects.

### *High Modernism and Technical Rationality*

One of the central aspects of modernity, as relates to apartheid's proponents and collaborators, as well as its opponents, is the belief in the possibility of realizing social change through large-scale social and spatial projects. The making of apartheid and its eventual dismantling were political projects manifested on grand scales through a host of terrains, including space and legislation. As I will describe in Chapter One, one of the features that makes apartheid stand out, amongst political projects, was the scale of ambitions it manifested. The separation and unequal treatment of South Africans along racialized lines did not begin with apartheid. It was one of the hallmarks of colonialism under the British, who controlled South Africa from 1806, as well as under the Dutch East India Company - who in 1652 founded the refreshment station at the Cape that would eventually become the Cape Colony. Some of the key pieces of legislation that underpinned racialized inequality in South Africa, such as the 1913 Natives Land Act, which limited the 'purchase' or 'hire' of land for millions of South Africans, were implemented prior to apartheid. What makes apartheid stand out, then, in South Africa's history of racialized inequality, is the scale of the project, as well as its rigid methods of cementing and continually reproducing racial divides and hierarchies.

This scale of thinking and its development through technocratic methods and capitalism is critically modernist. It can be understood as the type of modernism that Scott calls 'authoritarian high modernism' (1998). Scott argues that 'high modernism' is an ideology of 'desire' or

ambition by states to undertake sweeping “experiments in social engineering” (1998, 88). Such ambitions, which he argues are essential elements of state-making that began to emerge in the twentieth century, work through space. This can be seen in the design of entire new capital cities such as Brasilia or Chandigarh (Holston 1989; Prakash 2002; Scott 1998, 88; Vale 1992), or the remaking of ones such as Robert Moses’ New York (Berman 1988).<sup>7</sup> As a project of governance, authoritarian high modernism applies to iconic twentieth century cases such as Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa. These authoritarian modes of governing work in close relationship with high modernism’s beliefs in scientific and technical progress. Thus, what Scott refers to as authoritarian high modernism is closely aligned, although not synonymous, with techno-rationalism.

Technical rationality refers to a “way of viewing the world from a highly rationalized, science-based methodological perspective, with an intrinsic belief in specialized bodies of knowledge and optimal solutions to problems.” (Doctors 2013) Schon characterizes the epistemology of technical rationality through qualities including the belief in problems being separable, divisible into disciplines, and distinct from solutions. The path from problem to solution relies upon explicit techniques and procedures, which if followed will lead to optimal solutions (1983). Techno-rationalism forms part of the worldview deployed by ‘high modernists’, such as Hanson and the apartheid (and earlier) South African state. As Scott illustrates, one of the key qualities of the deployment of authoritarian high modernism is its use by states of “ruling elites with no commitment to democracy or civil rights” (1998, 89). Thus, technical rationality is closely linked to ‘ruthless’ modes of operating, which sweep aside history and its spaces in favor of supposed progress (Scott 1998, 94).

Both historians and those that executed South Africa’s version of authoritarian high modernism agree that Le Corbusier is the exemplary figure of the authoritarian mode of high modernism. In his individual writings he called for a ‘surgical approach’, in which the ‘knife’ must be employed, to bring order to the modern city (Le Corbusier and Etchells 1971). As a central member of CIAM, Le Corbusier’s vision of the modern city was laid out in further detail. James Holston reads CIAM’s support for authority in his analysis of Brasilia. For Holston, like Scott, modernism is a project of shaping idealized citizens and subjects through spatial practices. He argues that architectural modernism’s authors work from a teleological view of history, which enabled the imagination of radically new social orders. Unpacking how CIAM’s intentions were to “transform the city of industrial capitalism, and by extension capitalist society” (1989, 22), he argues that the “CIAM city is conceived as a city of salvation.” (1989, 41) Yet, such salvation was not singularly aligned with one political program, or even an overarching notion of Leftist politics. Instead, modernism, particularly in the hands of figures

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<sup>7</sup> Of course one of the key precedents for Moses’ interventions is Baron Haussmann’s in Paris, making the nineteenth century city the “capital of modernity” (Harvey 2006) and “capital of the nineteenth century (Benjamin 1969).

such as Le Corbusier, sought ‘authority’, in its singular sense, as the bearer of progress and change. Like the making of the apartheid state, scale is a critical aspect of the methods of the CIAM modernists. Scale in this sense is the degree of intervention, rendered through the desire to radically remake entire cities and nations.

Bringing together Scott and Holston’s insights, Shannon May has compiled a list of seven attributes of modernist thinking or ‘sensibility’ that set it apart from other strategies for ‘enacting civilization’. These attributes include a rejection of the contemporary organization of society and daily practices, and the belief that an alternative form of life should be brought into being. This necessitates the third attribute - the idea that the “complexity of human activity and organization can be known”, and that the “future can be modeled, and the model instantiated.” The fourth attribute confidently believes that intervention will bear the expected effect. The fifth and sixth attributes are particularly relevant to the building of the apartheid state, in that modernists build - rather than write - and that the “project to replace the past with the present must be done with both speed and scale.” Lastly, modernists view the environment as either a source for resources or background to civilization. (May 2011, 39–40)

The critical significance of the technocratic modality of ‘authoritarian high modernism’, when it was put to use in South Africa, was that it worked explicitly through race. The history of South African planning in the middle of the twentieth century exemplifies the surgical method in ways that illustrate race’s central role in modernism (S. Robins 2003) (Pinnock 1989). The racialized aspect of technical rationality is not terribly unique, but the overt nature of the connections between race and modernism in South Africa are extreme. It is South Africa’s condition as an exceptional case of segregation - and its urban, spatial manifestations - that make it a worthwhile and globally applicable study subject. Therefore, one of the topics that will be discussed in this dissertation is exactly how race came to be articulated through modernist architecture and planning in Cape Town. This will be discussed as the historical condition that the architects I study worked against as they sought to imagine another city, albeit in equally modernist ways. This city, I will show, is one premised upon social integration and equal access to rights and resources, but also subject to all the struggles and perpetuations of inequality that have marked the post-apartheid condition in Cape Town.

### *European Ideals*

Thus, to understand how the architects studied in this dissertation materially expressed their criticism of modernism’s alignments with apartheid, it is important to discuss other modernist moments and tendencies, beyond the techno-rationalist. The two historic moments that are most central to the practices studied in this dissertation are the socially-inflected housing experiments

in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, and what Colin St. John Wilson calls the ‘other tradition’ of modern architecture (1995).

For a number of the architects studied in this dissertation, the housing experiments in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s represented the highest moment modernism’s social project.<sup>8</sup> This can clearly be seen in the example of Ernst May’s plan for the ‘Neue Frankfurt’. The ambitious housing program, which ran from 1925 to 1930, arguably provided 15,000 housing units.<sup>9</sup> For believers in modernism’s social capacity, the program represented a coming together of ideals of equal rights with the formal attributes of architectural modernism and modernization in construction. As Heynen states,

The purpose of the Frankfurt experiment fitted perfectly in the scheme of the optimistic, pastoral ideology of Enlightenment that took the view that “progress” was the result of an increasing rationality at all levels of life and of society. In this scheme of things, the social aspect occupied a prominent place: it was the deliberate aim of May and his team to ensure that the housing needs of the poor and the underprivileged were alleviated, as one aspect of the increasing emancipation of all individuals. For this reason it fits perfectly into what Habermas describes as “the modern project.” In any case, the aim was to harness the achievements of avant-garde artists and developments in the field of technology for the actual (architectural) design of the daily lives of a large portion of the population. (1999, 46)

As Heynen describes them, the *Neue Frankfurt*’s aims were as modernist as those of the techno-rational projects discussed above. Both iterations of modernism expressed faith in technology, and sought to operate on a large scale, affecting “a large portion of the population.” As I will discuss in the following chapter, the modernist architects working during apartheid’s earliest years and prior (particularly in the 1930s) adapted the *siedlungs* of the *Neue Frankfurt* as precedents for early efforts to (racially) order the Cape Town’s space through housing design. What distinguishes those adaptations from the ones of the architects I study are two aspects: the first was the attention to poverty alleviation through housing design, the second was the pedestrian scale of the housing blocks.

The desire to use architecture, whether housing or public space, as a device for “the emancipation of all individuals” was certainly one of the primary goals underlying the architectural work that will be studied in this dissertation. However, what I will also demonstrate is how the application of architecture, particularly modernist architecture, for socially oriented goals is a slippery operation. Foucault noted this in his discussion of architecture generally (not

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<sup>8</sup> This was directly stated by Lucien le Grange in an interview on 9 February, 2012.

<sup>9</sup> Although this is the number typically quoted (Frampton 1992, 3rd:137), Heynen notes that the number may have been inflated by May (1999, 43).

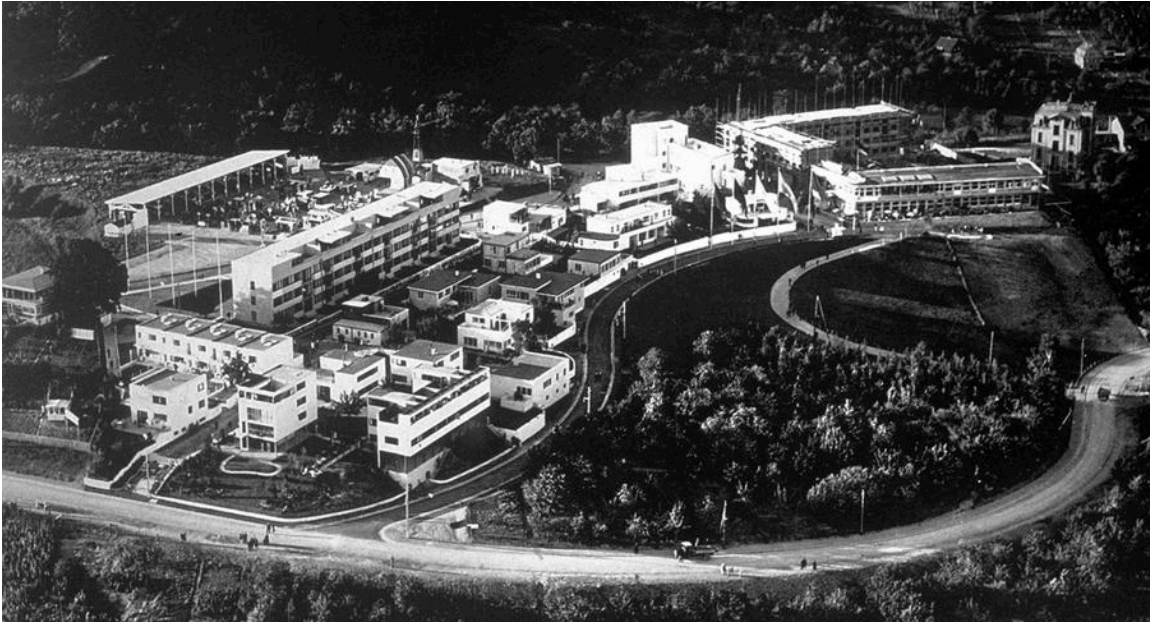


Figure 3. Weissenhofsiedlung. In 1925 Mies van der Rohe coordinated the assembly of a variety housing prototypes by architects including Gropius, Taut, Oud, Stam and Le Corbusier on a ‘brow’ overlooking Stuttgart (Curtis 1996, 3rd:198). Despite the variety across the prototypes, together they illustrate many of the modernist features that came to be associated with the housing of the ‘New Objectivity’. From Mies van der Rohe 1925-1927.

modernist architecture), stating that architectural goals, expressed through designs, require “a certain convergence” with the way the architecture is used and inhabited: architecture can only “resolve social problems” when “the liberating intentions of the architect coincide with the real practice of people in the exercise of freedom.” (Foucault 1984, 246–247) Therefore, one of the questions that will be addressed is how the intentions of architects have coincided with larger political programs, particularly those of the state, and with the practices of the grassroots organizations, with which a number of the projects I studied were allied.

It is less murky to study the formal lineage of the ‘New Objectivity’, which includes the *siedlungen* designed for Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Berlin, and J.J.P. Oud and Mart Stam’s housing projects in Holland. These projects, although also not a homogenous group, on the whole displayed many formal features that came to be associated with modernism: architecture stripped of ornament, with a plasticity of form, marked by strip windows, flat roofs and metal railings (Figure 3). I will argue that what appealed to South African architects were these formal qualities, accompanied by what seemed to be a privileging of well being of the human occupants. This can be seen in the low-rise of most buildings, typically limited to three stories, which enabled each resident to have easy, direct access with the ground - and thus with their neighbors and gardens. Oud and Stam’s precedent of conceiving of the street as an “external, enclosed

room” (Frampton 1992, 3rd:135) came to be an important device for countering the modernism of high apartheid. While the exact approach to arranging buildings on site, and constructing a social arrangement between individual units and the public realm varied from architect to architect and project to project, the housing iterations of the ‘New Objectivity’ - *neue sachlichkeit* - (Figure 4) offered to South African architects visions for modernism’s potential to engender social relations, equitably, and through affordable, rational means.



Figure 4. Pedestrian path at Westhausen Siedlung. The pedestrian-scaled arrangement of buildings and shared garden space at projects such as Westhausen (Ernst May, 1929-1931, Frankfurt) provided South African architects an image of modernism as an architecture of social connectivity. From Heynen 1999, 61.

The question of the fulfillment of modernism’s social project is one that underlies this dissertation. I will argue that the Cape Town cases that I will present are attempts to realize this social project. In the larger, historical context, this question has plagued architects and architectural scholars since the 1930s. For some, the question is whether the modern movement ever maintained its ‘good intentions’; for some it is a tracing of how and when those were abandoned (Habermas 1992; Henket and Heynen 2002; St. John Wilson 1995). For St. John Wilson, the answer is that an ‘alternative philosophy’ developed, particularly through architects such as Alvar Aalto, Gunnar Asplund, Sigurd Lewerentz, Carlo Scarpa and Hans Scharoun. This group of architects, and the approach they developed, has played a strong influence upon the ‘alternative imaginaries’ of the architects I study.

One of the key facets of what St. John Wilson calls the ‘Other Tradition’ that was carried forward in South Africa is the focus on the human, or rather placing “man at the centre.” (St. John Wilson 1995, 23) As St. John Wilson represents it, and I see it carried forward in South Africa, there is an ethos to the ‘Other Tradition’ that speaks to the rejection of apartheid high modernism or techno-rationalism while not abandoning modernism overall. That ethos includes:

privileging ‘purpose’ over ‘mere utility’ (St. John Wilson 1995, 55), attending to and differentiating parts of a program and space (St. John Wilson 1995, 65), attention to context (St. John Wilson 1995, 76), and developing a relationship between building and occupant (St. John Wilson 1995, 67). Julian Cooke, a Cape Town architect who is one of the key subjects of Chapter Two, writes about South African architects’ shift away from avant-garde modernism in the 1930s and 1940s. He draws connections between a rejection of the formal language of what came to be known as the International Style and the turn to Scandinavian precedents. As Cooke notes, the International style was ill-suited to the climate around Johannesburg, where it first was utilized: flat roofs and sleek surface mounted windows leaked, plastered walls cracked, and solariums and un-shaded ribbon windows ‘baked’ in the intense Transvaal<sup>10</sup> sun (Cooke 1998). The South African versions of modernism that took hold came to be associated with post-war houses surrounding Pretoria: “Unlike Johannesburg, which made an elegant translation of Purism in the early 1930s, Pretoria architecture is marked by the promotion of a regional ethos, a synthesisation of international concepts with locale”. (Peters 1998) As I will demonstrate, the Cape Town architects picked up on the developments in Pretoria, and strived to create an architecture of place and people.

What I will ultimately show is that the drawing together of lessons and examples from the ‘Other Tradition’ and the housing of the ‘New Objectivity’ movement did not occur in a vacuum. Rather, these precedents provided the architectural techniques and methodologies for expressing ‘post-apartheid ambitions’. Furthermore, these ambitions were manifestations of opposition to apartheid, in a generalizable, abstract form, and grounded responses to urban conditions in Cape Town.

### *Designing the Nation*

The third facet of modernism that I address in regards to the post-apartheid relates to the role of the state in the making of the post-apartheid nation. Many studies of architectural modernism point to central role of the state in sponsoring modernism as a technology for realizing modernizing ambitions (Bozdogan 2001; Vale 1992). There is particularly a history of African nations deploying architectural modernism to represent the values of post-liberation. From the higher education complexes built in Ghana and Nigeria (Figure 5), to the entirely new capital city of Abuja, Nigeria, modernism has been used to declare the modernity of post-liberation

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<sup>10</sup> The Transvaal refers to the area surrounding Johannesburg and Pretoria, and geographically refers to the area north of the Vaal River. The area is known for hot summers with intense afternoon thunderstorms, and dry, cold winters. After apartheid ended, the province formerly known as the Transvaal was renamed Gauteng.

African nations (Folkers 2010; Kultermann 1969).<sup>11</sup> As Manuel Herz says, summing up V.S. Naipaul's imaginary post-liberation city in *A Bend in the River* (1979), "Development and technology are not the exclusive features of Europe and the Western powers anymore. They are the tools of liberation and the instruments for forming a new national identity." (Herz et al. 2015, 5) These intertwinings of modernization of the state and space sit alongside uses of modernism across colonial Africa. One of the most notable examples of this is the iterations of the 'imported' Italian modernism in Eritrea and Libya (Fuller 2007; McLaren 2006). Even more closely related to my research, the design of the Cape Town Foreshore that Norman Hanson advocated at the beginning of this chapter epitomizes the coming together of modernization impulses at the site of the state and architecture.

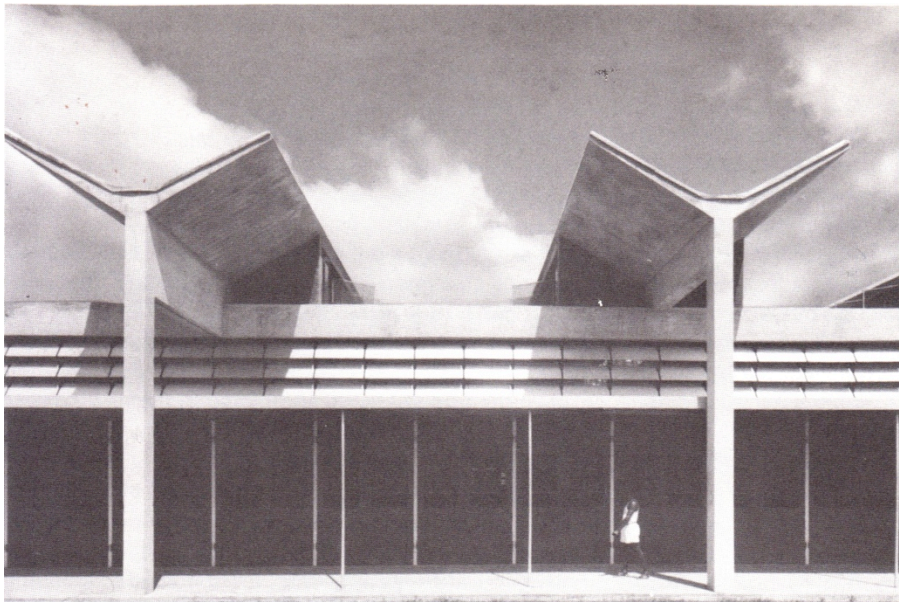


Figure 5. Engineering Building, Kumasi University, Ghana, designed by James Cubitt, 1956. The design plays particular attention to climate, using modernist forms to provide shade, cooling and indirect light. From Kultermann 1969, 26.

However, as I will show, the state plays a much more nuanced, and often oppositional role in the questioning modernism that articulates the post-apartheid project in Cape Town. Jonathan Noble (2011) begins to unpack the architectural development of the post-apartheid, examining how South African architects have attempted to develop architectural languages that approximate the post-apartheid condition. He is concerned with the tension between expressions of local culture and 'modernism' and modernizing construction technologies. It is a tension he frames

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<sup>11</sup> As Herz notes, the history of 'decolonization' is fraught and incomplete, in nations across the African continent. Yet, he continues on to state "The investment in schools, universities, libraries, hospitals, conference centers, exhibition halls, state-of-the-art office buildings and luxury hotels are substantial. Their architecture speaks of courage and optimism, promising to deliver advancements to the country. And deliver they did! At least initially." (2015, 9)

through Fanon's bifurcated concept of 'black skins' and 'white masks' (Fanon 2008), which Noble argues speaks to the method of applying a 'black mask' of cultural symbolism to the 'white skin' of modernist design. He structures his research into post-apartheid works of architecture through the state, examining state buildings such as legislatures and courts. The cases I study call for a different methodology. In my research, I suggest that the localized, grounded efforts of architects in Cape Town, to agitate against apartheid and its spatiality as it has manifested in the city, are efforts that have predominantly worked in conjunction through the grassroots, rather than the state. This is not, however, purely an architectural history of the grassroots: Chapter Four is a story of a state-led intervention by the local, metropolitan democratic government, to use design to address the legacies of apartheid. However, even in this case, the architectural ambitions of the post-apartheid that I examine are neither directly controlled or authored by the state or enlarged apparatus, nor do they have the agenda to reorder space at a grand scale. Instead, these are architectural ambitions of the everyday.

Steven Harris and Deborah Berke have argued that architectural attention to the everyday represents a "distrust of the heroic and the formally fashionable, a deep suspicion of the architectural object as a marketable commodity." (1997, 3) The argument I will be making in this dissertation is that the architectural imaginations of the post-apartheid city - referring to a city of inclusions and where people come together, rather than one of exclusions and separations - were neither heroic nor overly fashionable. Instead they have been articulated in small, modest ways. The projects I study - which stand for a larger body of similar projects - address what can be considered 'everyday' spaces: housing, schools, clinics, and transit interchanges. The lack of major public architectural articulations of the 'post-apartheid' in Cape Town speaks to a second aspect of Harris and Berke's definition of everyday architecture. They argue that the architecture of the everyday begins at the site of the body and the domestic (1997, 4-5). This privileging of the body and the domestic as opposed to public spaces and spaces of power is borne out in the articulations of the post-apartheid that I study. As I will demonstrate, both apartheid and resistance to it worked very much through the human body, using the categories of race and gender to articulate difference. As I uncover, the methods architects used to suggest alternatives to apartheid spatiality found openings in the domestic - particularly housing - and focused design efforts on bringing physical and social comfort to the body.

My argument, that the architectural articulation of the post-apartheid in Cape Town is of the everyday, is in part a historical fact: Cape Town has not been the site of any grand memorials to apartheid or significant infrastructure of the new democratic state. There have been memorials, such as the Trojan Horse Memorial in Athlone (Figure 6), but these have been modest in size and embedded in existing, very localized contexts. The museums built to remember apartheid - Robben Island, the District Six Museum (which I will discuss at length in Chapter Three), the Slave Lodge, and the Bo Kaap Museum - have also all been modest in scope and in their presence in the urban landscape: predominantly occupying existing buildings, with no new exterior alteration and no grand internal architectural interventions. The few new memorializing

buildings - the Nelson Mandela Gateway, from which boats leave for Robben Island, and the very recent Prestwich Memorial - remain modest in scale and the language they employ, relatively quietly fitting into their context.<sup>12</sup> There have been no new court buildings or new universities or other representations of the radical shift in political paradigm.



Figure 6. Trojan Horse Memorial, designed by Human Rights Media Centre and ACG Architects, 2005. The design is built at the site of the massacre and incorporates a concrete fence graffitied shortly after the event. From *Digest of South African Architecture*, Volume 10, 22.

I am arguing, overall, that this story of apartheid's ending in Cape Town was one in which groups of citizens and architects got together to take on specific, grounded concerns, using the making of new spaces and their architectural expression as ways to quietly subvert apartheid and suggest ways forward for the post-apartheid. Matthew Barac notes a similar strand in the architecture of the post-apartheid, stating that,

the South African city is both an exception - it has its own particular history - and at the same time it is what Jennifer Robinson calls, somewhat disarmingly, an 'ordinary city': one that should not to be treated as an object apart from the world.<sup>13</sup> This line of critique suggests that designs on a meaningful urban future are less likely to be found in the grand narratives of unity and justice that make South Africa so special than in ordinary stories of occupation common to city life everywhere. (2007)

My research illustrates exactly this, that the architectural ambitions of the post-apartheid are rooted in 'ordinary stories of occupation common to city life everywhere'. I am therefore presenting an alternative story of the modernism of the post-liberation nation. I am arguing that it is a modernism rooted in the ambitions of citizens as much as the state.

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<sup>12</sup> Both projects were also coincidentally designed by Lucien le Grange, who is a subject of Chapter Three.

<sup>13</sup> Jennifer Robinson, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006).

## *'After' Modernism*

An additional issue complicates the role of modernism in the articulation of apartheid's ending. Tafuri pointed out, in his critique of architecture's relationship with capitalism, the problems that underly modern architecture's attempted attention to a social project, particularly to the 'liberation' of the working class: "Modern architecture has marked out its own fate by making itself, within an autonomous political strategy, the bearer of ideals of rationalization by which the working class is affected only in the second instance." (Tafuri 1976, 181) He argues that "the entire cycle of modern architecture... came into being, developed, and entered into crisis as an enormous attempt... to resolve... the imbalances, contradictions, and retardations characteristic of the capitalist reorganization of the world market and productive development." (1976, 178) I use his argument not to discount the possibility of modernism being used as an approach to realizing the ambitions of the post-apartheid, but as a cautionary note. Tafuri provides a challenge, to think carefully about how architects have framed 'liberation' in regards to other concerns in their work, and to be open to finding contradictions.

Thus, two interlocking questions explored in the dissertation: what versions of modernism are used to pursue the ambitions and anticipations of the post-apartheid, and how are these used? In *Anxious Modernisms*, Goldhagen and Legault argue against the oversimplification of modernism's history. They are particularly concerned with the period immediately after World War II, but their insights speak broadly to the multivalency of modernism demonstrated in Cape Town (Legault, Goldhagen, and Centre Canadien d'Architecture 2000). As they state, the notion of 'expiring modernism' is "a tidy narrative that oversimplifies and distorts [the postwar] period's architectural culture." They point to a host of actors - and the tendencies they embody - in what can be called 'postwar' modernism, from Team Ten to the Metabolists to Alvar Aalto and Louis Kahn, and to "early modern 'masters'" such as Mies van der Rohe or Le Corbusier whose later work definitively moved away from the abstractness of their earlier work (Legault, Goldhagen, and Centre Canadien d'Architecture 2000, 11). Goldhagen goes on to state that we need frameworks for analyzing modernism that "identify various strains within, and account for internal complexity... It would necessarily be dynamic, because modernism in architecture was a coping mechanism for men and women living in an age of change and invention." (Goldhagen 2000, 302) This claim parallels what this dissertation illustrates, which is the many ways in which modernism gets interpreted, practiced and deployed.

Thinking about modernism's multivalency raises the issue of the titling of this dissertation, the 'after' of modernism. In the title, after is placed in single quotation marks to illustrate the questioning nature of the term. In some respects, the entire dissertation is about 'afters': after apartheid, after modernism. The 'after' modernism, however, refers in one respect to the rejection of the techno-rationalist modernism associated with apartheid and to the normative, grand modernism of state building. Yet, the quotation marks work to throw the sense of after into question; they work to suggest the continuity that accompanies change in architectural ways of

working. The questioning of ‘after’ also refers to the challenge to dismantling the inequalities produced through apartheid. As stated earlier, one of the premises of this dissertation is that the ending of apartheid has not brought material change to the majority of South Africans’ lives. As the cases in this dissertation will illustrate, particularly the case of District Six discussed in Chapter The, the concreteness of ‘after’ is in actuality quite murky. The practice of architecture, at this time, in Cape Town, with the project of imagining a post-apartheid, particularly illustrates this.

Thus, this dissertation is a story of the complicated and sometimes contradictory ways in which architects have worked with modernism to articulate imaginations of the post-apartheid. Their practices have been ones that sought to move beyond the modernism that produced apartheid Cape Town. However, as I will argue, what they have actually articulated are different modernisms, modernisms of the ambitions of ‘after’ apartheid. This dissertation is the story of the making of such modernisms, of apartheid’s ending.

### **Tracing Architecture: Theories and Methods of the Dissertation**

The conceptual structure of this dissertation is using key - or ‘exemplary’ - architects in Cape Town as intersection points, at which a variety of practices come together. These practices include those that operate within the architectural discipline, of which I focus on design, and those that take place at a broader scale across the city. By using architects as an intersection point, I am arguing neither for architecture’s elevated significance amongst other sorts of practices, nor am I valorizing the architects I have chosen to study. Rather, I am developing a method of conducting architectural history that grounds the history of architectural design within broader histories of social practices. It is a method that approaches architectural designs as processes, rather than as static artifacts. In order to study how designs are produced, it is necessary to attend to their authors - architects - as central figures. These figures then are located as actors in broader processes, which take place outside of the intellectual space of the architectural discipline, and the social and physical space of the architectural office. Thus, I locate the architects involved as central points in an assemblage of ambitions, desires and struggles.

My method of studying architecture, as something which is dynamic, lived, and *practiced*, draws upon the notion I have developed that architectural practice takes place in three realms: pedagogy, design, and professionalism. Pedagogy, the teaching of architecture, provides insight into the lineage and transmission of architectural concepts. Studying pedagogy frames architectural history as an intellectual history, so to give insight into how architectural ideas are formed and transmitted; this includes how subjects from outside architecture have come to bear

on the concerns addressed by the making of architecture. I incorporate pedagogical histories into telling the story of the production of the three ‘sites’, to flesh out the lineage of architectural thinking involved in each. In ‘designing’ - the second leg of the triad - I am addressing the creative, generative practices in which architects engage. While the day-to-day professional life of an architect involves many activities, the act of designing a building or object is one of the crucial attributes of being an architect. Notably, it is the creative act that interests me, as an architectural historian who studies built form. Although this dissertation moves away from traditional architectural histories that study built forms as autonomous objects or works of singular authors (Crysler 2003, 37), it does not neglect form. Rather, it puts the production of form into discussion with other practices, widening the scope of what is understood as architecture and architectural history. It locates design and the informants of design in relation to diverse practices. The third aspect of the triad, professionalism, addresses the social relations that are constituent in being a professional.<sup>14</sup> These in part reflect the broader social practices within which the practice of architecture is situated, listed above. It also refers to how architects perform their condition as professionals. One of the premises from which this dissertation operates is that being a profession is performative: that architects fashion roles and identities for themselves that bring together ethics and their larger roles in society. I study specific instances of such performances. Unpacking these performances illustrates how the condition of being an architectural professional has shaped how architects have participated in larger social processes, such as agitating against apartheid.

Clearly, architects serve as central actors in this dissertation. Giving them such a prominent role does not glorify them, but rather provides a method for studying architecture as a process.<sup>15</sup> I am arguing that authorship is a critical aspect for architecture, as a design field, and such authorship and agency deserve critical inquiry. While studies that overly valorize the figure of the architect have come under deserved scrutiny, I believe that it remains valid to probe architecture through the analytic of the actors involved in its making.<sup>16</sup> To treat buildings otherwise is to de-historicize architecture, to act as if buildings simply appear and the process of their design and production are irrelevant. My project is to argue otherwise, and to illustrate methods for contextualizing the design process and product amongst broader contexts.

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<sup>14</sup> Although I am indebted to the literature of the sociology of architectural practice, I am not directly in conversation with the work of Judith Blau (1984) or Garry Stevens (Stevens 1998). Rather, my concern is closer to the ways in which Mary Woods, in her study of the history of the architectural profession in the USA, examines the trajectory of the architectural office (1999). My concern, however, differs from Woods’ in that I am not directly studying how the architectural profession, say in Cape Town, has constituted itself.

<sup>15</sup> I recognize that it is limiting to exclude all of the spatial and built work produced by non-architects. However, I do not seek to discount buildings produced without architects, or mark them as inferior. Rather I am working to bring the voices of non-architects into conversation with architects, to understand architecture as a broad field of practice.

<sup>16</sup> By studying each site - and the related architectural project - through individual actors, I have been employed a form of actor-network theory (Latour 2005).

## *Space, Produced*

This method of looking at architecture builds from Henri Lefebvre's concept of space as produced (1991). He argued that space is neither abstract nor empty, but rather is *produced*. For Lefebvre, space is a social product. While this is now a widely accepted notion, such a conceptualization of space was considered highly unusual at the time he first posited it (Schmid 2008, 28). One of the significant aspects of this understanding of space is that it takes on modernist conceptions of space, by critiquing the notion that space is only 'Cartesian'. "Not so many years ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply that of an empty area." (Lefebvre 1991, 1) With these words, Lefebvre begins to lay out the opposition between the 'mathematical' view of space and his concept of a 'social space'. Such critiques speak for example to the influential way in which Sigfried Giedion defined space, and by extension architectural modernism (Giedion 1982). For Giedion, modernism was innovative for manifesting new conceptions of space. The new understanding of space, which was epitomized in Cubist painting, joined together space and time. However, such space was still defined through its formal attributes, rather than being understood as something 'social'. This distinction is critical for Lefebvre – and this dissertation: he holds that space never exists in itself. Space is always something produced, as "an 'active moment' in social reality" (Merrifield 2006, 107). Space for Lefebvre is "both the result and precondition of the production of society." (Schmid 2008, 29)

One of the key attributes of Lefebvre's intertwining of space and society is that it is a fundamentally Marxist position. Andy Merrifield describes Lefebvre's project as one of 'exposing and decoding' space, as a method of expanding Marx's notion of production. As Merrifield explains, Marx was 'obsessed' with production, as means of 'getting to the root' of capitalist society, in order to "get beyond the fetishisms of observable appearance, to trace out its inner dynamics and internal contradictions, holistically and historically" (2006, 104). Lefebvre's concept of the production of space builds upon Marx's concept of the stages of social development – and thus production:

Each mode of production has its own particular spaces, and 'the shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space'; industrial capitalism dismantled feudal space, late capitalism has produced – goes on producing – its historically specific urban and industrial forms, continuing to colonize and commodify space, to buy and sell it, create and tear it down, use and abuse it, speculate on and war over it. (Merrifield 2006, 107)

Lefebvre's project expresses a Marxist concern with the modes of production, and operates through methodological parallels to Marx's work. To begin to examine space as something produced, and to "capture in thought the actual process of the production of space", is a project of empirical and theoretical research (Merrifield 2006, 108). Lefebvre recognized the inevitable

difficulty of such a project. In order to enable working through the dilemma of rendering what he considered the “perceptible and imperceptible” qualities of space, Lefebvre constructed a heuristic device: the ‘spatial triad’. This triad, which consists of spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces (Lefebvre 1991:33), is one of the most commonly discussed aspects of *The Production of Space*, particularly by architects.<sup>17</sup> They speak to space as it is experienced, imagined, and built. While the temptation of readers - especially spatial practitioners such as architects and planners - of Lefebvre has been to read the triad as a trio of spaces, according to Christian Schmid, the triad is actually “three dialectically interconnected processes of production” (2008:42). Merrifield reiterates Schmid’s analysis, describing the triad as “‘a triple determination’: each instance internalizes and takes on meaning through other instances” (2006:111). The spatial triad was, for Lefebvre, neither an end in itself nor a taxonomy of spaces, but rather a device through which one may be able to begin to think through space.

I employ the triad in exactly this way in this research, thinking about each site through the myriad ways it has been spatially produced. I look at each through its conceptualization - by professionals such as architects as well as by users, grassroots organizations and the state; the regulations and institutional structures that determine the physical and social shape the space can take; and the cultural practices that represent space and have spatialized components. I extend my conception of the space each site beyond what is normatively defined as works of architecture. I do this by looking at: the *discursive* making of places, in addition to their physical construction; political struggles that take space as their terrain of action, such as moving across the urban boundaries legislated through apartheid; plans of buildings and neighborhoods - many of which are unrealized; and interventions associated with my architectural subjects, such as the District Six Museum, which I examine not in terms of its architectural design but as a ‘space’ of action.

The conceptions of space that I work from borrow from Doreen Massey as well as Henri Lefebvre. Massey, who never directly cites Lefebvre but seems to ally herself with his perspective, defines space as “social relations stretched out” (1994, 2). She goes on to link space to place, the latter which for her is a particular articulation of ‘stretched out’ social relations. One of her significant contributions, that I work from, is the notion that social relations stretch *beyond*. With this she is arguing against the validity of bounded ways of thinking about space and places. For example, she discusses the notions of neighborhood and community, arguing that for both, there is no single, coherent identity that applies to all residents and members. In both, members are part of networks that stretch far beyond the spatial and social imagined limits of the

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<sup>17</sup> The triad’s popularity amongst architects may be because it is the focus of the portions of *The Production of Space* that are often included in architectural anthologies, such as K. Michael Hays’ *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (1998).

unit.<sup>18</sup> This argument challenges claims to internal histories or timeless identities, which is particularly relevant in the context of apartheid. As an ideology, apartheid sought to assign essentialized identities to entire people and places. Massey helps illustrate that it is critical to unpack identity production and space, often together, in grounded ways; I attempt to do just that in this dissertation.

### *Writing Architecture from the Global South*

My project of finding methods for examining architecture as something actively produced relates to my interest in what I am calling urban studies of the Global South - and finding appropriate means of integrating architectural histories with such studies. In recent years an incredibly wealthy literature has emerged from South Africa, other parts of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and even corners of the North - Europe, the United States - that are typically under-attended. While this literature is diverse, there is a connecting project of drawing attention to theories and empirical research grounded in experience outside of the North/West. A number of the threads connecting the various pieces of this literature help ground my research project.

First, there is attention to informality and to voices that are typically not heard in the Western urban studies literature. This literature works to recognize the diversity of ways the built environment is produced and the numerous, different types of actors involved. It examines modes of self-build housing, and traces inhabitation of already constructed environments. These models can be seen in the range of informalities represented in Roy and AlSayyad's collection *Urban Informality* (2004), and in AbdouMalik Simone's study of the human relations developed as people, often urban migrants subjected to incredibly precarious conditions, attempt to make lives in cities such as Dakar and Johannesburg (Simone 1998; Simone 2004a). Simone's work is particularly significant for introducing the concept of 'people as infrastructure' (2004b), drawing attention to the making of place through human relations, which take shape in ways that far exceed those conceived by architects, planners and authorities. Related to this work is that produced by scholars associated with the African Centre for Cities at the University of Cape Town.<sup>19</sup> For example, the collection *Rogue Urbanism* (2013) draws attention to the numerous practices and histories that constitute 'African urbanism'. The essays in the collection, and related collections such as the issues of the *African Cities Reader*,<sup>20</sup> point to the variety of lenses needed to examine both the structural forces - economic, political, and environmental - and the

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<sup>18</sup> See particularly "Chapter 6: A Global Sense of Place" in *Space, Place and Gender* (D. B. Massey 1994).

<sup>19</sup> There is a great deal of similarly strong, important work coming out of other centers and by other scholars around the world; because of my research in Cape Town, I am most familiar with and informed by the work of ACC. I also was associated with ACC during my fieldwork period.

<sup>20</sup> See <http://www.africancitiesreader.org.za/about.php>.

everyday, ‘ordinary’ practices that together make up ‘cityness’ in all its many iterations.<sup>21</sup> The ‘ordinary’ practices include those related to commerce, housing, and cultural practices. One of the noteworthy aspects of this literature is the attention to practices of musicians and artists; my project is to add architects to the category of ‘rogue’ cultural practitioners.

Another important theme in the Global South urbanism literature is the critique of developmentalist models and other ways of seeing that provincialize or marginalize experiences from outside of the West. Jennifer Robinson calls for breaking down the hierarchical categorization of cities, with some cities categorized as ‘modern’ and others as ‘developing’. She calls for instead conducting comparative urban studies, viewing all cities as ‘ordinary’ (Robinson 2006). A related move is Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nuttall’s call for ‘writing the world’ from ‘below’, from an African Metropolis. They describe their project as ‘deprovincializing’ scholarship, examining Johannesburg through lenses that exceed “South African studies, and for that matter, African studies, while drawing on the strengths of each.” (2004, 360) These projects illustrate the connections and similarities between cities, and argue for “an urban studies whose reference points more effectively incorporate the experiences and challenges of urbanization and urban life in ‘most of the world,’” (Parnell and Robinson 2012, 595). A third, related perspective comes from Ananya Roy and Aiwa Ong, who offer the model of ‘worlding cities’, as a way of thinking about globalization that sheds critical light on the limiting aspirations of the ‘world city’ (2011).

My project builds upon this literature and these concerns by contributing new methods of writing architectural history, that reflect the situated nature of sites such as the period of apartheid’s ending in Cape Town. In the dissertation I am making two claims about how to write architectural history: first, that it is important to read architectural history from the Global South. This is in part a call for global architectural histories, but is one that calls attention to critical difference, that does not subsume architectural histories from places such as South Africa under ‘othering’, non-Western categories (Nalbantoğlu 1998). Second, I am calling for doing architectural histories *differently*. I am arguing for writing similar kinds of architectural histories that approximate the approaches used by urban studies from the Global South, which are noteworthy because their methods reflect situated knowledges. Such architectural histories would - as this dissertation does - examine buildings and their making in relation to broader sets of practices, taking place both in the halls of power and on the street (or in the informal settlement).

To do so, I have constructed a dissertation that sits between two bodies of South African literature: that of the post-apartheid city, and critical and revisionist architectural histories. The former group is heavily dominated by studies of city planning and urban governance, which

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<sup>21</sup> A related approach is included in some of the pieces in *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*, most notably that by Le Marcis (2004).

examine how the transition from apartheid to democracy has manifested in each terrain (Beall, Crankshaw, and Parnell 2002; Freund and Padayachee 2002; Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008; Pillay, Tomlinson, and Toit 2006; Swilling, Humphries, and Shubane 1991; Watson 2002). There are additionally grounded studies of how the ‘transition’ has taken place in specific cities. Some of these operate from anthropological or visual studies perspectives, addressing the lived reality of the ending of apartheid (Besteman 2008; Malcomess and Kreutzfeldt 2013). A number of others focus upon the challenges to realizing material improvement in people’s lives, as has taken place in individual cities (Enwezor 2002; Haferburg and Ossenbrügge 2003; McDonald 2008; M. J. Murray 2008; M. J. Murray 2011; E. A. Pieterse and University of Cape Town, African Centre for Cities 2010; Saff 1998; Tomlinson 2003). There is a gradation from this city-based literature to the architectural literature that focuses upon South Africa after apartheid. For example, architectural scholar Lindsey Bremner has published multiple volumes focused on Johannesburg, which sit between urban studies and architectural history. In *Writing the City in Being* (2010) Bremner assembles a collection of essays she has written concerning the city, historically and as a site of architectural practice, while in *Johannesburg: One City, Colliding Worlds* (2004) she provides a textual and visual tour of the city that attempts to approximate the city’s diverse and often conflicting practices.

Bremner’s work sits amongst a body of architectural literature that takes on the ambitious project of representing the diverse practices at play in the post-apartheid South African built environment. A predominantly visual example of this is *Contemporary South African Architecture in a Landscape of Transition* (Deckler, Graupner, and Rasmuss 2006). At the time of its publication, the book was iconic in the way it visually, and through a small number of essays, sought to scope the South African architecture that reflected the transition from apartheid. International exhibitions have proved a forum for launching such projects, which seek to speak to the multiple voices and newly-recognized methods of producing the built environment. *Contemporary South African Architecture* grew out of the South African exhibition at the 2005 International Biennale of Architecture and Design in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Another text that emerged out of an exhibit is *Blank: Architecture, apartheid and after* (Judin and Vladislavic 1998), which was the outgrowth of a traveling exhibition organized by the Netherlands Architecture Institute, NAI, shortly after apartheid ended. *Blank*, as it is simply known, was the first large-scale effort to bring critical awareness to the relationship between architecture and politics. The book consists of textual and visual essays, which address a broad range of historical, contemporary and theoretical topics. The book takes an expansive view of the South African built environment, and arguably remains one of the most significant works on architecture in South Africa. My project has been heavily inspired by *Blank*. I see my project as working from its intellectual lineage, although focusing on a single city, time period and category of architectural practice, while *Blank*’s entries address a multitude of time periods, places and locates architects’ work amongst a host of other built environment practices. A number of more recent collections have continued *Blank*’s project of bringing together different disciplines to unpack the post-apartheid built environment. The collection *Desire Lines: Space,*

*memory and identity in the post-apartheid city* (Noëleen Murray, Shepherd, and Hall 2007) works between architecture, planning and archeology. A quite different collection *African Perspectives, [South] Africa: City, Society, Space, Literature and Architecture* (Bruyns and Graafland 2012) is internationally produced and focuses more exclusively on contemporary architectural practices as well as literature. Together, all these collections work from an interest in representing the production of architecture and the built environment in broad ways, alongside other related cultural practices, and raising some of the myriad of issues that emerge in unpacking the spatiality of South Africa's apartheid history and fraught transition from apartheid. *The Digest of South African Architecture*, which is published annually, adapts this approach to the format of an annual review of the most noteworthy works of architecture produced each year in South Africa. The journal is edited by Iain Low, who is arguably one of the most notable of the South African architectural scholars. Low's work, which is part of larger body of scholars including Bremner, Hannah le Roux, Noeleen Murray and Melinda Silverman, consists of analyses of architecture and political transformation published in peer-reviewed journals and multi-disciplinary collections. Low's work is particularly relevant to this study as he focuses specifically on 'space and transformation' in Cape Town (Low 2003; Low 2004; Low 2005; Low 2010).<sup>22</sup>

It is the single-authored architectural histories that typologically this dissertation most directly sits alongside. There is a growing body of single authored texts, mostly manuscript versions of doctoral dissertations, that have critically revisited key moments in South African architectural history: Nicholas Coetzer (2013) examines the work of architecture in producing order in Cape Town in the decades preceding apartheid, Andre van Graan ties into Coetzer's focus on the pre-apartheid years by focusing on Cape Town's early iterations of modernism (2011), and Noeleen Murray traces key moments in the work of Roelof Uytenbogaardt (whom is a key background figure in this dissertation) as an exemplar of later iterations of South African modernism (Noëleen Murray 2010). Shifting away from Cape Town, Rebecca Ginsburg (2011) studies the space of domestic workers in apartheid Johannesburg, and as mentioned earlier, Jonathan Noble (2011) unpacks the architectural language of high-profile public post-apartheid projects. This dissertation is similar to these, in the project of telling a critical architectural history. Yet, it also differs from all three, in that I speak to the urban histories that address the fraught nature of apartheid's ending and work to suggest new methods of doing integrated architectural and urban history. By working between these two disciplines, I am illustrating the ways in which the making of architecture is grounded in urban processes. Thus, the dissertation is focused equally upon the context in which architecture gets made, and upon practices undertaken by architects. In doing so I am focused on smaller subjects than the studies immediately above - only three 'sites' in Cape Town - but exploring each in great depth. I am

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<sup>22</sup> Low is also intellectually relevant to my work since he served as my advisor and primary coursework instructor for the MPhil that I completed at the University of Cape Town. His teaching and thinking were instrumental to how I initially began to understand the apartheid city.

working from a provocation by Lindsay Bremner, who writes that “rarely in architectural discourse is the city problematised or acknowledged as such a contradictory, contested and open-ended space. Instead, it is portrayed as an ‘objectified and essentialised reality, a “thing” operating outside the social construction of meaning’, and studied through the formal categories of urban typology and morphology.” (2010, 59) My project is to do exactly the opposite, and thus this dissertation has brought together questions that problematize the city and the architectural ‘thing’, together, as articulating processes.

### *Architecture and Activism: Tracing Agency*

In my project of tracing architectural imaginations of a city after apartheid, I pay attention to the struggles internal to the architectural profession to find political agency. One of the key terrains that agency of opposition must navigate is the historical alliance between architecture and capitalism, as part of the articulations of architecture with class, race and gender.

The question of entanglements between architecture and capital is most essentially visited by Manfredo Tafuri. Tafuri argues that there cannot be a ‘class architecture’, only a “class criticism of the aesthetic, of art, of architecture of the city itself.” (1976, 179) This argument is the culmination of an exploration of the relationship between modern architecture and capital, which takes on modernism’s utopian claims. Tafuri comes to the conclusion that as much as architects may try to subvert capitalism, it is impossible to do so through professional practices; only scholars such as architectural historians can produce class-based criticisms.

Tafuri’s analysis presents a challenge to this dissertation. While it is sound, it dashes optimism that architects can work against apartheid, particularly in light of the historic alliances between apartheid policy and capitalism (Wolpe 1972). The project that I am taking on does not try to disprove Tafuri, but rather understand in light of his perspective, how architects in Cape Town<sup>23</sup> have worked in anticipation of apartheid’s ending. To develop a framework for tracing this, I assembled perspectives put forward by David Harvey, Gibson-Graham and Jane M. Jacobs.

Harvey offers the concept of the ‘insurgent architect’ (2000). As Harvey states, in agreement with Tafuri, architects along with other professionals, have become ‘cogs’ in the machinery of capitalism. Yet, he goes on, optimistically to state that “yet the architect can (indeed must) desire, think and dream of difference. And in addition to the speculative imagination which he or

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<sup>23</sup> There have also been vibrant communities of architects elsewhere in South Africa, notably Johannesburg that have also worked in similar ways against apartheid. I have not studied them because this is a study that seeks to be grounded in Cape Town rather than work as a scoping of architecture against apartheid across South Africa.

she necessarily deploys, she or he has available some special resources for critique, resources from which to generate alternative visions as to what might be possible.” (2000, 237–238) The use of the figure of the architect by Harvey is both symbolic and significant: in some ways the architect stands in for the general member of society, the bearer of revolution. Yet, there are specific reasons Harvey has chosen an architect as his figure: he points out the special role that space plays in the making of the city and thus that the architect serves as a critical and unique agent of change.

Harvey and Tafuri both point to the challenges to realizing change in the face of architecture’s relationship with capital. In this dissertation, I will address that challenge, not by arguing against its existence or strength of those relations, but by demonstrating moments in which capitalism is not the only critical force at play. I have developed this position through two sources. The first is Gibson-Graham’s concept of ‘the end of capitalism’. Their work seeks to “disturb essentialist and over-deterministic notions of capitalism” (Gibson-Graham 2006, 16), and in general to problematize capitalism as an “economic and social descriptor” (Gibson-Graham 2006, 2). In their critique, they point to the many spaces which illustrate slippages in capitalism’s supposed hegemony. Similarly, my work has sought to illustrate that architecture’s relation with capital is not absolute, and that creative circumnavigations are found around capitalism.

To illustrate moments in which capitalist concerns are not central, I have found inspiration in Jane M. Jacobs’ grounded analysis of the Spitalfields neighborhood in London (1996). Jacobs insists upon recognizing complex, shifting alliances that cross categories of ethnicity and class. For example, in discussing proposals for developing Brick Lane, the central street in Spitalfields as ‘Banglatown’ in the vein of a Chinatown<sup>24</sup>, she notes that a faction of the local Bengali population sought to influence, rather than oppose the scheme. She addresses how the group, which consisted of male business owners, was “modeled on private/public partnerships typical of the Conservative Government’s approach to inner-city revitalisation.” (J. M. Jacobs 1996, 98) In pointing out this faction, who stood in opposition to the position of the ‘local Left’, Jacobs illustrates how ethnicity does not get neatly mapped onto class. Instead, class and capital sit as one set of categories amongst others, which include ethnicity, race and gender, and that actors bring together their multiple constituencies in different ways in different contexts.

Jacobs illustrates the importance of paying close attention to how interests and motivations play out on the ground. This position makes it possible to trace how architects attempt to map their political values onto their professional practices. The ways in which I do this shy away from absolute categories, focusing instead on specific acts in specific instances. In this way, I

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<sup>24</sup> Spitalfields is home to a large Bengali population, and the story Jacobs tells centrally concerns post-colonial conflicts between Bengali interests and the production of Spitalfields in the image of ‘Englishness’.

will illustrate not that Tafuri is wrong, but how architects negotiate the impossibility of their professional status to produce instances of meaningful change.

### **Making the Dissertation: Its Sites and Organization**

The following section discusses how I bring together the concerns and positions expressed above in selecting the sites of the dissertation, conducting the research, and assembling the dissertation.

#### *Reading Architecture: Research Processes*

When I arrived in Cape Town to conduct the fieldwork for this dissertation, I knew my questions concerned the role of architecture in the urban imprint of apartheid's ending. I immediately realized this was an overly broad research agenda, which must become focused. In order to do so, I began to conduct a review of the architectural projects and literature that were produced either during or in study of the period around when apartheid came to an end. This scoping exercise resulted in a number of revelations, which brought the subject of my research into focus.

The first of these resulted from reviewing from architecture journals<sup>25</sup> and texts by South African architectural scholars<sup>26</sup>. A critical moment came when reading an article revisiting the University of Cape Town School of Architecture class of 1984: in the article most of the architects, no matter the type of projects they now design, indicated that the most significant aspect of their education was its attention to social issues. The prospect that there was a history of architectural practices of a politically progressive, activist nature in Cape Town set the dissertation on the course of studying the undoing of apartheid.<sup>27</sup>

Once I established that a historical connection existed between architectural practices in Cape Town and what I have discussed above as the social justice-oriented ambitions of the post-apartheid, I went about identifying sites through which to trace the articulation of these

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<sup>25</sup> I began by reviewing *Architecture SA* in what were potentially insightful years, namely 2010-2011; 1993-1994.

<sup>26</sup> I focused on work by Noeleen Murray (2004; 2005; 2007); *Architecture of the Transvaal* (Fisher, le Roux, and Maré 1998); Andre Van Graan (Andre van Graan, n.d.), (2011); and Jonathan Noble (2011).

<sup>27</sup> This prospect was confirmed through various means. One was when I gave presentation to the UCT School of Architecture on my research as it was beginning, in October 2011, and was the staff confirmed my hunches. I was particularly directed to John Moyle, a retired professor who had been a leader in establishing activist curricula in the school.

ambitions. An *a priori* decision was for the ‘artifact’ of study to be built projects in Cape Town.<sup>28</sup> The next steps, then, involved identifying those sites. The sites needed to reflect the practices that had produced apartheid spatiality, a concept I will more thoroughly explain in Chapter One. Namely, they had to address the categories of dislocation, clearance and neglect, through which apartheid had worked, and had to tell stories of how alternative to such spatiality had been produced.

I conducted the research through a mixture of ethnographic and archival methods. The ethnographic component consisted, in part, of working as a participant-observer in the UCT School of Architecture. I was given desk space in the School, and for one semester lectured architectural history; the two activities, in addition to having a history with the school<sup>29</sup>, gave me access to the members of the School and both formal events and informal conversations. I spent much time in the staff ‘tea room’, listening to and participating in conversations integral to my understanding of the history of the School and the concerns faced by its current students and staff. I also conducted much of the research through interviews: I interviewed, often multiple times, all the architects involved in the projects I studied. I also interviewed other key figures involved with each project or other programs related to the research. I made sure to interview individuals from a variety of backgrounds - architects, state officials, clients and users when possible - to construct the histories from multiple voices.

The archives for this project have taken a range of forms. A few of the figures I have studied have had collections devoted to them<sup>30</sup> in traditional, formal archives. These archives, notably at the University of Cape Town and District Six Museum, have also held collections of newspaper clippings and interviews that I studied. I particularly used collections of newspaper clippings to understand the history of events involved in the rebuilding of District Six. However, much of the primary sources I used were not housed in traditional collections: most of the architectural drawings and professional records that I studied are held - and were generously shared - by architectural firms. Similarly, reports and policy documents were often found either in private collections of the individuals that authored them, or were publicly available from state websites. I also treated architectural texts as primary sources, using them as evidence of the thinking of the authors, as a way to assemble intellectual histories.

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<sup>28</sup> I borrow the term ‘artifact’ from Nicholas Coetzer, who used in the term in my presentation, mentioned in the previous note, on October 24, 2011.

<sup>29</sup> From 2004-2006 I was an MPhil student and part-time lecturer in the School.

<sup>30</sup> Namely, two of the Head’s of the UCT School of Architecture - Leonard Thornton-White and Ivor Prinsloo. A collection of the papers of Roelof Uytendogaardt, whom I discuss at length, is held at the UCT Manuscripts and Archives but is not publicly available so I was not able to consult it.

The assemblage of research sites and methods speaks to this project as a history of the contemporary<sup>31</sup>. Such a history has been produced through a triangulation of oral histories with archival sources. It has been both a blessing and a challenge to work on a project in which so many of the participants are still alive. It has meant that I have had the opportunity to gain amazing insight from speaking to those intimately involved, and my awareness of their presence has forced me to rigorously defend insights that they might initially differ from their own self-reflexivity. It has also meant, however, that the projects I have studied have yet been archived, making data gathering a challenge that relied upon the generosity of individuals.

### *Choosing Sites*

Once I decided to frame ‘apartheid’s ending’ through architectural practices that sought to serve spaces and citizens that had been marginalized under apartheid, I set about deciding which practices to focus upon. With the decision already made to work outwards from built projects, I began a mapping exercise to decide which projects to choose. In selecting projects, I worked with three requirements:

1. The projects needed to be located in spaces that reflected the categorization of apartheid spatiality in Cape Town, being either sites of *dislocation*, *clearance* or *neglect*.

2. The projects needed to reflect efforts of resisting and re-imagining the apartheid city - in other words, working with and against the above categories of localized apartheid spatiality. As a collection, the projects chosen needed to address the transitions that have taken place apartheid’s demise. Together, the projects had to tell a story about the resistance to an oppressive regime, and what comes after that regime ends, focusing upon how architects engage with all the opportunities and messiness that comes with ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’.

3. The projects had to stand out as significant for both the city and the architectural discipline. By this I mean that the sites were significant, and that the completed architectural projects were lauded by architectural critics or that the participants were significant public figures - either generally or in the architectural community.

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<sup>31</sup> By this, I am drawing upon Foucault’s concept of a ‘history of the present’: I am using a historical approach to ‘develop the genealogy’ of a contemporary condition (Garland 2014).

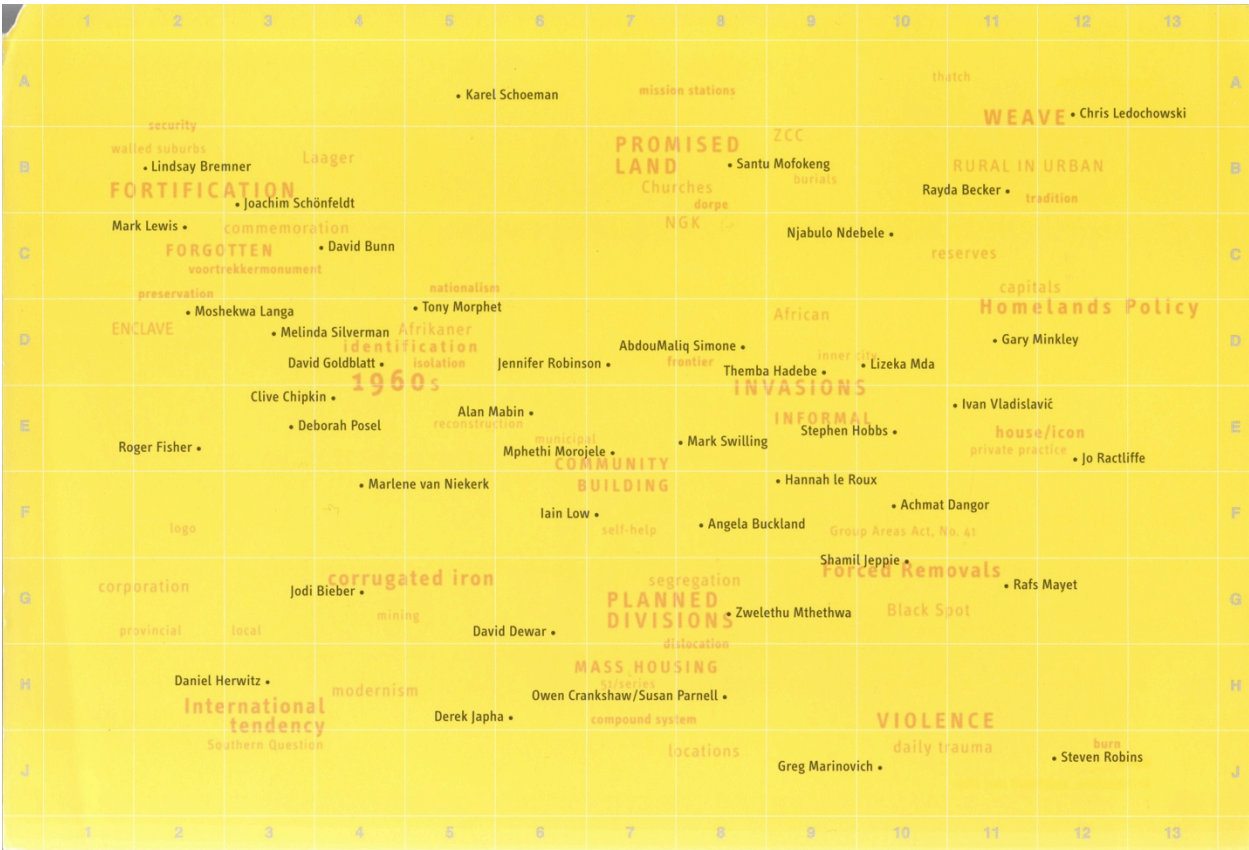


Figure 7. Table of Contents ‘Map’, *Blank: architecture, apartheid and after*. The map represents key architectural concepts, in which “affinities were represented as proximity, tendencies by direction and intensities by accumulation.” A grid was then superimposed over the map, locating each chapter by letter and number. From Judin and Vladislavic 1998, 6.

To select the sites I conducted a series of mappings, which were inspired by the Table of Contents of *Blank: architecture, apartheid and after* (Judin and Vladislavic 1998) (Figure 7). Below are some of the iterations of the mappings. This first map, Figure 8, was a large scale scoping that sought to see relations between a host of categories, including actors, projects, and types of practices. The items included in the mapping were:

1. Projects and architects that met Requirement 3 from above, which I identified by their presence in architectural journals or publications - and through my own familiarity with contemporary architecture in Cape Town.
2. Tendencies, institutions, and aspects of Cape Town that I identified through the analysis I completed in my initial scoping exercises, in the first phase of my fieldwork and while preparing my dissertation prospectus.

These two categories of items, when integrated, began to produce a picture of the city that included particular spaces, key architectural figures, and the concerns that were addressed in architectural practices as well as programs produced by the state and grassroots citizen organizations. In other words, these mappings in some form began to illustrate ‘architectural articulations of apartheid’s ending’.



Figure 8. The initial dissertation scoping map.

I completed other mappings in parallel, which were organized as timelines or as mental maps, with lines connecting different actors and practices. From these maps, I identified an initial nexus of four actors-practices-spaces; these were selected because they emerged from the initial mappings as potent sites. I qualified each of these as ‘potent’ in regards to the intensity in which they addressed the three categories above: apartheid spatiality, resisting and reimagining such spatiality, and notability within the architectural epistemic community. I then produced

another set of mappings, which focused on each nexus; these sought to uncover what might be at stake in each project and the site in which it was located (Figure 9). Lastly, of the four, I chose three to focus upon: the Hostels Upgrades Project, The District Six Pilot Project, and the Philippi Public Transit Interchange.



Figure 9. Conceptual map of each potential research site.

*Assemblages of Intervention: From Migrant Labour Hostels to District Six to Philippi*

The three sites chosen are palimpsests of interventions by the state, by residents and by architects, made through a series of actions and reactions. The significance of the sites, particularly in relation to the history of the city as will be discussed Chapter One, is that each serves as instances of intervention. These are spaces in which it is possible to read both histories of apartheid spatiality and resistive reactions to that spatiality. As will be seen, what makes the story of each site significant, when viewed alongside each other, are the multitude of ways in which ‘apartheid’s ending’ gets imagined, by different actors, and the challenges posed to realizing any of those imaginations. As it will also be seen, this story is not one of a linear, singular, progressive history. The stories told in the following chapters illustrate how the post-apartheid has played out, at an architectural and spatial level. In doing so, the making of resistance and alternatives to apartheid’s spatiality is traced in a grounded way, rather than as an ideal that my research has sought to discover.

The three sites sit in somewhat geographically disparate parts of Cape Town, across five ‘suburbs’ (Figure 10). Cape Town’s geography can be understood as consisting of six general areas:

1. The ‘City Bowl’, which includes the central business district (CBD) as well as residential neighborhoods that sit to the south of Table Bay, north of Table Mountain, east of Signal Hill and west of Devil’s Peak.
2. The counter to the centrality of the City Bowl is the area known as the Cape Flats: this is the area to the east, that sits east of Table Mountain and west of the Hottentot Mountains, which are home to towns such as Stellenbosch and widely populated by vineyards and wine estates. The Cape Flats are a sandy, marshy area that flood easily with winter rains and are subjected to the brutal ‘South-Easter’ wind that often blows in the summer months. All of the formally planned townships in Cape Town sit on the Cape Flats.
3. Between Table Mountain and the Cape Flats, along the lower slopes of Table Mountain is an area known as the Southern Suburbs. This area was first inhabited by the large farms that served the Dutch East India Company’s (VOC) initial refreshment station enterprise. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the development of railway and tram lines brought City Bowl residents out of the center of the city, and farms were broken up into smaller, residential plots. This area in the twentieth century, and particularly after the forced removals that accompanied enforcement of the Group Area Acts, is predominantly white, English-speaking, and upper and middle class.
4. Moving north and east from the City Bowl, along the eastern shore of Table Bay and further inland, is an area known as the Northern Suburbs. The residents of these suburbs are predominantly white and Afrikaans-speaking. The development of this area is on the whole

much more recent than the Southern Suburbs, although some of the land was also farmland from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

5. Along the Atlantic seaboard, in the sliver of land on the western slopes and at the foot of Table Mountain, are a constellation of suburbs. These are predominantly quite wealthy and white areas; this is some of the most valuable real estate in Cape Town as the area does not experience the 'South-Easter' nor the early sunset brought about from the shadow of Table Mountain, and has stunning views of Table Mountain and the Atlantic Ocean. Because of the relative isolation of the suburbs and their relative wealth, informal settlements have developed at the periphery of some. These informal settlements were initially populated by people who were employed as domestic workers or other type of service to the wealthy suburban residents.

6. The southern end of Table Mountain is bordered to the west by False Bay, which is generally considered part of the Indian Ocean. There are a series of suburbs along the western coast of False Bay. These suburbs are predominantly white, although there are coloured areas; notably there is one part of Kalk Bay that is predominantly coloured that was successfully able to resist being deemed 'White' under the Group Areas Act and the residents forceably removed. This area is also notably scenic, although not as economically exclusive as the suburbs along the Atlantic seaboard.

Of the three dissertation sites, one is located in the City Bowl and two on the Cape Flats. The first that will be discussed, the Hostels Upgrades, took place at a large collection of migrant labour hostels that were located in three different townships on the Cape Flats: Langa, Nyanga, and Gugulethu. The second, District Six, is located in the City Bowl. It is a neighborhood at the periphery of the CBD, at the edge of the City Bowl. As will be discussed at length, it was the site of a massive forced removal during apartheid, and was subsequently bulldozed to the ground. The dissertation story focuses upon the controversies surrounding how to rebuild District Six. The third, Philippi, is a 'township' - a term that will be introduced in Chapter One - at the western edge of the Cape Flats. Of all of the townships on the Cape Flats, it is one of those closest to the Southern Suburbs.

As will be discussed, all three sites bear the imprints of apartheid spatiality. In simplistic terms, the Hostels Upgrades demonstrates 'dislocations', District Six 'clearances' and Philippi 'neglect'; however, the categories and sites cannot be so simply mapped upon each other. Each site bears the traces of multiple forms of spatial practices undertaken under apartheid, and of intervention into these. In essence, each of the following chapters is a story overviewing the production of apartheid spatiality at that particular site, and a history of interventions into that spatiality. Two of the stories - the Hostels Upgrades and the District Six Pilot Project - begin in the mid-1980s, and were conceived as ways of resisting apartheid. Yet, they both, in differing

ways and with different time lines, continued on past 1994. The Philippi Public Transit Interchange is a project that was completely undertaken after 1994. It was conceived and completed in a very short time, from 1999 to 2000. Yet, it bears the imprint of critiques of apartheid spatiality that were developed long before 1994, and is the realization of imaginaries produced during apartheid. In this way, each project stretches out before and after South Africa's moment of freedom, to articulate the (longer) process of transitioning from apartheid to democracy. In addition to illustrating the differing modes of apartheid spatiality, the sites bring to light different strategies and challenges in realizing the material goals of apartheid's end. The histories of intervention at each site tell stories related to continuing racialized marginalizations, to conflicts between capital and difference in land development, and to the use of design as a tool for post-apartheid governing.



Figure 10. Cape Town. Major portions of the city are identified in blue text, the dissertation project sites in orange text. Base map courtesy of South African Department of Rural Development, National Geo-spatial Information.

*Bringing Together Architecture, Cape Town and the Ending of Apartheid: The Shape of the Dissertation*

I begin this project around 1985 because that marks a time in which apartheid was beginning to come under pressure in ways that were visible in the built environment. By this I mean that architects began to find opportunities for engaging with organizations fighting apartheid in various ways, and some of the most spatialized pieces of apartheid legislation - including the Group Areas Act and Pass Laws - were coming under threat by this time. I conclude the research around 2004 because that time, at the end of the first decade of democracy, marked a turning point: democracy was reaching a sub-maturity that was felt in spatial practices in Cape Town. There had been an initial 'heyday' following the 1994 elections, when the democratic state and NGOs were able to realize building projects that reflected the pent-up imaginaries of alternatives to the apartheid city. By the end of the first decade, the reality of the challenges of democracy sank in, marking a shift in strategies and perspective. Apartheid was effectively over, and now democracy was the new paradigm full of contradictions and possibilities to address. This dissertation is focused on the years in-between, on how a city experienced the 'ending' of apartheid, seen through the lens of architectural practices.

To tell this story, the dissertation consists of two parts. The first, Chapter One, sets the stage for the sites and practices studied in the main body of the dissertation. The chapter provides an overview of what I am defining as apartheid's spatiality and the role of architects in producing it. The chapter discusses how such spatiality was realized generally in South Africa over the course of the twentieth century, and more specifically in Cape Town. The chapter then discusses the historical origins of architectural criticism of apartheid and its related iterations of modernism, and finally introduces in greater depth the three sites that will be studied in the remainder of the dissertation.

The second part of the dissertation, its majority, consists of histories of three sites. Each site has a single, entire chapter devoted to it, which will tell the history of the making of the site and its architectural intervention(s). Together, the three sites tell a story of the spatialized contestation of apartheid, of the reimagining of the spaces and spatial practices that manifested apartheid's imprint upon the city. The sites exemplify the ways in which apartheid and its ending, together, marked the city. Together, the stories of the three sites illustrate both what has been at stake in apartheid's ending in Cape Town, and how practices of architecture have been involved in articulating this ending. Each chapter is about a different set of problem spaces engaged by the architects, both in the performance of their professionalism and in their efforts to make form. Each also narrates the making of iterations of the anticipatory modernism of apartheid's ending. Together, they bring together an exploration of apartheid, its modernisms, and ambitions to produce 'afters'.

## **Chapter 1. Prelude: Designing (Apartheid) Cape Town**

Owen Crankshaw and Sue Parnell stated, in their chapter in *Blank: Architecture, apartheid and after* (Judin and Vladislavic 1998) that “while considerable attention has been given to interpreting the urban landscape of high apartheid, we know relatively little about the changes wrought by apartheid’s decline.” (Crankshaw and Parnell 1998, 442) This dissertation, as a whole, is a response to Crankshaw and Parnell’s challenge: it addresses exactly that absence in knowledge, examining the ending of apartheid and how the (architectural) space of Cape Town was productive and reflective of that process. This chapter, however, addresses what, as they argue, is already known: the urban landscape of high apartheid. Or more, specifically how architects, along with planners, helped to produce Cape Town as an apartheid city. It provides an overview of the making of the “urban landscape” of apartheid, looking at the build up to apartheid, the architectural contributions to ‘high’ apartheid, apartheid’s latter years when architects began to contest the spatiality of apartheid, and finally the ending of apartheid.

The chapter has four sections, which move chronologically. The first section begins prior to 1948, with an overview of the spatial practices of colonial modernity. The section looks broadly at South Africa, and more specifically focuses upon Cape Town. The section examines how architects and planners went about shaping cities in the nineteenth century and first part of the twentieth century, in the decades leading up to apartheid. The second section builds on this to unpack the making of what I am calling ‘apartheid spatiality’. The section focuses on the role of architects in producing this spatiality, and at the three forms of apartheid spatiality in Cape Town that I have identified. These three forms serve as the analytical anchors through which I begin to investigate each of the three sites of the dissertation, and thus are central features of the dissertation. The third section shifts from ‘building apartheid’ to resisting it, examining how, beginning in the 1960s, architects in Cape Town began to provide alternatives to the spatiality of high apartheid. These practices, though they will only be briefly discussed, set the stage for the interventions focused upon in the body of the dissertation. The final section introduces the period after apartheid ended, overviewing state policies that most centrally affected architectural production and efforts to address apartheid spatiality. Together, these four sections set the stage for the remainder of the dissertation, by illustrating the broader context from which the three sites and architectural practices of redress emerged.

### **1.1 Colonial Modernity in Cape Town: Setting the Stage for the Apartheid City**

Cape Town is South Africa’s first (European) colonial city. On April 8, 1652, Jan Van Riebeeck, a captain with the Dutch East India Company (VOC), landed a small fleet of ships in Table Bay. This historic landing began a process of territorialization, in which space became a

key terrain of action for the tensions between European colonizers, indigenous KhoiSan people, Africans who subsequently moved south into the Cape, and imported slaves. What was initially produced was a small town, organized along a regularized grid, surrounded by the spatial accouterments of colonialism. These included a fort, rapidly expanding farms to support the 'refreshment station' that the Cape was originally conceived as, and those spaces considered outside, such as burial grounds and gallows. The neatly defined town, bounded by streets, canals and the ocean, was from its beginnings the site of racialized and gendered contestations. Runaway slaves and washerwomen, as well as the indigenous hunter-gatherer San and pastoral Khoi, inhabited the slopes of Table Mountain in ways that contested the spatial and social order of the VOC 'company town' (Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998; Elphick and Shell 1979). For these groups, evading and transgressing the roles that the company ascribed to them inextricably involved also inhabiting space in ways that exceeded the colonial logic. The interplay between their practices and the VOC's produced a palimpsest of contestation that has critically overlaid the regularized order of early Cape Town (Tomer 2006).

Such colonial imprint of Cape Town is significant as the foundation of 'urban landscape of high apartheid' (Crankshaw and Parnell 1998). In the three centuries that passed between Van Riebeeck's arrival and the instituting of apartheid policy, Cape Town's identity as a colonial, and later 'imperial' city were solidified. It was a city marked by tensions between its own center and periphery, with the original boundaries reproduced in ways that continued to negotiate what was included inside and what was excluded from the city, as imagined by the ruling white minority. On both in the inside and outside, as well as the liminal zones in between, were spaces of capitalism, religion, leisure and residence: what differed was spatial form and how each was marked by identities that worked through race, ethnicity, gender and class. Yet, the division between inside and out was never absolute; it was never a neat binary. Rather, the coherence of the images of colonial and imperial Cape Town necessitated a 'constitutive outside' (Nalbantoğlu 1998): a spatial Other to relegate that which articulated the boundaries of the center. These two parts, as in most colonial conditions, "'solicited' each other", producing a city of uneven exchanges rather than absolute separation (J. M. Jacobs 1996, 14). These shifting conditions of inside and out established the terms by which apartheid Cape Town came to be a city divided. As will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, the work that apartheid did was to reinforce and intensify the mechanisms and products of division.

Before focusing specifically on apartheid, however, it is important to understand the context from which it emerged. I am not speaking of the political context: that is important, but addressed very much by others (Posel 1997). Rather, I am speaking about the spatial context, the practices undertaken by architects and planners in a context of colonial modernity. Unlike other colonial cities, nineteenth century Cape Town cannot easily be classified as a dual city (Immerwahr 2007). However, this is not to say that colonialism did not imprint Cape Town. It did, particularly in the sense that the development of the city closely followed the logics of capital; as it well known, modernity, the colonial project and capitalism are deeply imbricated in

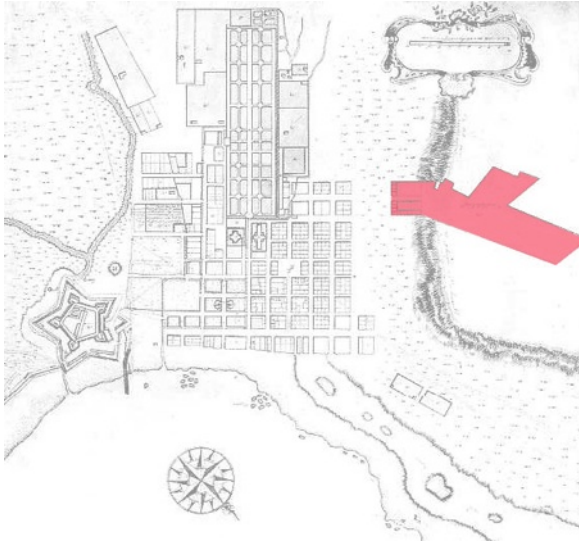


Figure 1.1 Waalendorp. The initial development of the Bo-Kaap, originally called Waalendorp, began as a set of speculative rental housing constructed to the north-west of the initial boundaries of Cape Town (shown in red), up the slopes of Signal Hill. Base map from Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 41.

each other (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; McClintock 1995; Mitchell 1988). Urban expansion from the original colonial central core primarily took place through two patterns: the first was the construction of speculative, often rental housing, built to house the city's immigrant and working class. This pattern began when former slave owners used the restitution they received from the British crown upon the abolition of slavery in 1834 to construct housing up the slopes of Signal Hill in what became the Bo-Kaap (Figure 1.1). Ironically, many of the tenants were the landlords' recently freed slaves, illustrating the spatial and social entanglements between Cape Town's different races. This pattern continued with the development of District Six on the other side of the city center. Located just above the city's harbor and between the center and the developing rail terminus, District Six (which is the subject of Chapter Three) was often the first place new immigrants to the city, arriving over land or sea, would settle. Similar development continued southward from District Six, to areas such as Woodstock, Salt River and Observatory (Figure 1.2). The second method of expanding Cape Town in the nineteenth century took place



Figure 1.2 Salt River. As compared to the leafy suburbs along the Liesbeek River (see Figure 1.3), Woodstock, Salt River and Observatory were more open, wind-swept and less desirable – and thus more working class. From Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 256.

through more suburban scale development that spread along the Atlantic seaboard and southward between the lush slopes of the eastern side of Table Mountain and the Liesbeek River (Figure 1.3). These new suburbs, enabled by the construction of tramlines in the 1860s, produced leafy, middle-class suburbs (Bickford-Smith 1990; Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998). The expanded Cape Town of the second-half of the nineteenth century most certainly had racialized markings: the new suburbs were predominantly white, dock workers who were almost exclusively African were housed near the harbor, and the working class neighborhoods such as the Bo-Kaap and District Six were racially mixed - although with decreasing white populations. The city that resulted provided an alternative to the dual city model typically encountered in other colonial conditions (Fanon and Philcox 2004; Wright 1991). This particular pattern of growth, in addition to the patterns of social relations, produced an unequal but somewhat integrated city (Coetzer 2013, 183–184). It was one that is often considered more racially ‘mixed’ than other South African cities, setting up Cape Town’s supposed history of liberalism (Bickford-Smith 1989). But this mixing, particularly its spatial component, was also about to be subject to radical interventions, which would pave the way for apartheid and for Cape Town to eventually become South Africa’s most divided city.



Figure 1.3 Rondebosch. One of a string of picturesque middle-class suburbs that sat between Devil’s Peak (seen on the right) and the Liesbeek River. From Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 199.

### *Early Imperial Cape Town: The Romantic Side of the Modern*

As the nineteenth century came to a close, so did colonialism, in certain guises. Colonialism officially came to an end with the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 and formation of the South African Union in 1910. However, the first half of the century in Cape Town can be categorized



Figure 1.4 Groote Schuur. Cecil Rhodes' house in Cape Town, remodeled by Herbert Baker in the 1890s, epitomizes the revivalist 'Cape Dutch' architecture. From Coetzer 2013, 23.

as the city's Imperial age (Coetzer 2013). The most celebrated architecture of the first years of the Union expressed pastoral notions of both architecture and the city, embodied in the hybridized 'Cape Dutch' architecture (Figure 1.4). Epitomized in the work of locally celebrated architect Herbert Baker, Cape Dutch was a means of resolving a host of contradictions: between city/country, English/Dutch and even the Self/Other dichotomy that constantly undergirds colonial relations such as in South Africa (Coetzer 2013). The colonial and imperial years were represented in architectural scholarship by descriptive, nostalgic monographs. The city in these collections was represented as a peaceful assemblage of neat urban spaces and bucolic estates, as seen in *Gentleman's Walk: The romantic story of Cape Town's oldest streets, lanes and squares* (Picard 1968) and *A Cape Camera* (Elliott 1993). Alongside such historicized modes of practice and scholarship was an architectural education that through the 1960s was based upon the model of the *Écoles des Beaux-Arts* (L. Le Grange 2012). Such architectures of nostalgia, however, like most any pastoral practice were not benign: they spoke to impulses to control the city and its citizens, by representing them in an imagery associated with idealized images of a fictionalized British - and pastoral - homeland (Coetzee 1988; Coetzer 2013; McClintock 1995).

The overall architectural landscape was not simply a turning to (fabricated) traditions, however. Modernism was a key terrain of architectural practice in the years leading up to and through apartheid - and after. Modernism, as a mode of architecture and planning, was utilized to modernize city in regards to infrastructure, as well as to produce a particular set of aesthetics and system of social control. Architects for the most part enthusiastically celebrated and pushed along the different modes of modernizing the city, in ways which either ignored or participated in the political programs of the Union government. This iteration of professional ethics, which focused on space as divorced from politics set the stage for architectural contributions to the making of apartheid.

A key example of this can be seen in the work of Leonard Thornton-White, who in 1937 became the University of Cape Town's first Professor of Architecture. In addition to his academic career, in which he helped develop the Faculty of Fine Art and Architecture, Thornton-White proudly led the team that designed the Cape Town Foreshore. The Foreshore and Duncan Docks, referenced in the opening epigraph of the dissertation, were a project that filled in part of the city's harbor to create a new industrial port and addition to the central city's business district. The latter part of the scheme was a high modernist dream, "based on aggressive Le Corbusian lines," (Pinnock 1989, 156) with wide, grand boulevards, a new 'monumental' entrance to the city and massive "free-standing slab constructions marching from the docks towards the mountain." (Pinnock 1989, 155) The Foreshore plan poignantly stands in for one type of architectural thinking prominent in the decades leading up to and during the beginning of apartheid. It represents the high modernist visions being circulated across the globe at the time. Its proponents, such as Thornton-White, were concerned with making a modern city that was efficient, 'healthy' and 'harmonious' (Scott 1998, 107). Similar to other modernist projects, such seemingly benign goals obscured the conditions that required their realization, namely the sort of clearances that would make space for the new city. In Cape Town such clearances tapped into urges that were first seen in Cape Town's early twentieth century 'Imperial' age, and later became codified as an instrumental aspect of apartheid planning (Coetzer 2013). The Foreshore was not merely a device for modernizing Cape Town. Or, perhaps it is more accurate to say that modernizing was a project of cleansing the city of not only crowding and disease but also the black and brown bodies that supposedly carried such disease. In the case of building the Foreshore, this meant making some of first cuts through central, urban neighborhoods, setting the stage for destroying the city's most potent spaces of racial mixing and the city's eventual apartheid partitioning.

The reason that these attributes of the Foreshore are relevant to professional ethics are that while Thornton-White was proud of his participation in the Foreshore scheme, in later private communication he stated that "apartheid is still of course the fundamental evil among us". The combination of his professional work and personal politics offers insight into a long line of architectural agents in Cape Town whose professional practice illustrate allegiances that seemingly oppose their personal politics. In these cases, attitudes toward professional identity helped render a type of citizenship that might be uncomfortable with extreme racialized inequality, but which participated in the larger system as a design professional. However, before further unpacking this particular iteration of architectural citizenship, it is necessary to go back to the entanglements between modernism and the colonial ambitions of pre-apartheid Cape Town.

*The Modernist Intervention: Planning, Architecture and Colonial Ambitions*

Apartheid did not emerge, fully formed, out of the ether in 1948. Rather, both apartheid policies and its spatiality are historical productions. By this I mean that the spatiality that accompanied, manifested and was productive of apartheid was a development that grew out of earlier histories. As Sue Parnell and Alan Mabin - amongst others<sup>32</sup> - have pointed out, urban segregation in South African cities was not the privileged domain of apartheid. Rather, they claim that in order to understand urban segregation, it is necessary to look to the practices of urban administrators in the first half of the twentieth century - *before* apartheid was implemented. It is thus necessary to step back, momentarily, from before the time of Thornton-White to discuss the first modernist interventions in Cape Town.

‘Sanitation’ provided the guise and method for the first spatialized, racialized interventions into supposedly laissez-faire nineteenth century Cape Town. As will be discussed in further depth in Chapter Two, when bubonic plague erupted in Cape Town in 1901, the city’s first ‘native location’ was constructed. To supposedly address the plague, the ‘Native’ dockworkers and many other black people living across Cape Town were forcibly removed to the new location. While the plague actually arrived in Cape Town with European sailors, the construction of the location and removal of racialized bodies reflected the modern impulse to use sanitation as the impetus for urban control. This was but one of the first moves in a century-long history of drawing together race and space. However, as Mabin is careful to argue, the first locations set up a constellation of practices, in which town planning, modernism, and segregation come together in ways that were not preordained but coincidental (Mabin and Smit 1997; Parnell and Mabin 1995).

After the initial burst of effort put into planning and ordering South African cities at the turn of the century, during a time in which plague coincided with the Anglo-Boer War, few orchestrated plans were put forward by government administrators again until the 1920s. These next iterations, the first instances of ‘town planning’ in South Africa, began to be practiced by local administrators in Cape Town and Durban in the 1920s and 1930s (Parnell and Mabin 1995, 53). Town planning in Cape Town was shaped by an assemblage of concerns and interests, which included addressing housing shortages and decay, and introduced new urban models such as the Garden City (Mabin and Smit 1997). In Cape Town these urges worked to both ‘reform’ the center of the city and to suggest new models for expanding the ‘white city’ outwards. In the center, ‘slum’ spaces were identified as sites of physical and moral decay. As can be expected, such sites were typically found in neighborhoods such as District Six and the Bo-Kaap, which were racially mixed. For example, Wells Square in District Six, which will be discussed in Chapter Three, was first demolished and then a modernist housing block was constructed in its

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<sup>32</sup> See Swanson (1995) and Bickford-Smith(1995).

place (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999; Coetzer 2013; André Van Graan 2011). The new housing, Canterbury Square, reflected the modernism of the contemporary German *siedlung*, introducing a modernity to Cape Town that would increasingly rub up against the morphology of and identities associated with the city's working class nineteenth century neighborhoods. As happened in Canterbury Square, modernism in Cape Town becomes a site of distinction, between imperial and apartheid spatiality and the spatial expression of anti-apartheid opposition.

The second mode of town planning was focused on outward expansion. Interestingly, the Garden City model became the dominant mode of doing so for both new white suburbs, notably Pinelands, and what came to be known under apartheid as 'model native townships'. The constellation of histories and differing practices that come together at Pinelands deserves a brief discussion. Local merchant and member of the Union cabinet, Richard Stuttaford, first championed the introduction of the Garden City model to Cape Town as an alternative to the crowded dwellings and narrow streets that bred disease. He used his personal funds and access to government to initiate the construction of Pinelands, which was located adjacent to Ndebeni - the location established upon the plague outbreak in 1901 (Coetzer 2013; Mabin and Smit 1997, 197). The land was available because Langa, a permanent 'township' was constructed to replace Ndebeni once it was realized that the location would become a permanent feature of the Cape Town landscape. In a history laden with irony, Cape Town's first Garden City, which would set the stage for the form of suburban development that dominated the city for the remainder of the twentieth century, was located on the site of the city's first 'Location'.

Stuttaford's fascination with Garden Cities would have held less significance had not the South African planning and architectural communities come increasingly under the influence of British modernist models. Key figures in architecture and planning brought town planning training from Europe to South Africa in the 1930s and 1940s. These figures brought together the different iterations of modernist town planning that came to imprint cities such as Cape Town (as well as Johannesburg). Rex Martienssen, one of South Africa's foremost modernist architects, helped develop architectural and planning iterations that linked South Africa to CIAM. Martienssen is arguably best known for South African articulations of the International Style (Herbert 1975); however, Parnell and Mabin argue that his contributions to local architectural practice also worked through 'town planning' practices (1995, 54). While Martienssen and his colleagues worked primarily around Johannesburg, building modernist villas across the city's growing northern suburbs (C. M. Chipkin 1993, 164; Herbert 1975), Thornton-White similarly brought European town planning practices to Cape Town. He arrived in Cape Town with an English education focused heavily on the then-emerging field of town planning, and he frequently returned to Europe for study tours (TWP). Parnell and Mabin indicate that Martienssen and Thornton-White were not lone proponents of town planning: after WWII a number of South African planners studied in London with Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, a prominent member of CIAM, amongst other adherents to town planning (1995, 54). As I will discuss

further in the dissertation's case study chapters, the modernism of planning in Cape Town reflected an assemblage of high-modernist, techno-rational thinking and 'town planning' movements such as the Garden City model.

What marks this emergence of town planning was its "critical coincidence" with both the rise of the modern movement and apartheid (Parnell and Mabin 1995, 55). As Parnell and Mabin note, the epistemological basis of all three shared distinctive affinities. As it was practiced in South Africa, town planning was concerned with cleanliness and control - in ways that linked aesthetics with morality (Coetzer 2013, 87). The modern movement, as it intervened in urban space and particularly through CIAM, was an assemblage of critiques of the nineteenth century, industrializing city (Holston 1989, 41). What marks the convergence of modernism and town planning in mid-twentieth century South Africa was the turn to zoning as a town-planning tool, and the deployment of zoning to separate not only activities, but also races. This extension of zoning, from practices to people, may have fit within apartheid's racialized program, but also reflected modernist practices more generally. In fact, in preparing planning teaching tools, Tyrwhitt quoted from Sigfried Giedion as stating that "(The modern town planner) thinks no longer in terms of streets and axes, but in terms of populations groupings." (Parnell and Mabin 1995, 55) (quoting *Town and Country Planning Textbook* edited by APRR with an introduction by William Holford (London, 1950), p. 145) As I will discuss in the next section, modernism's scientific interest in populations and rationality came together in critical ways with apartheid policy to produce what I call 'apartheid spatiality'.

## 1.2 Apartheid Spatiality in Cape Town: Making the Segregated City

One of the central premises I operationalize in this dissertation is that the architectural practices that I study are at their core concerned with addressing 'apartheid spatiality'. I use the phrase 'spatiality' in order to indicate that the concern is generalized: I am not classifying particular spaces as associated with apartheid, but rather *qualities* related to space. I use the term as an umbrella for a number of scales and sites of action. I use it in part to refer to the spatial form of cities as they were developed under apartheid. This of course was not uniform: there are many different types of spaces that made up cities during apartheid, as at any time. Therefore the encompassing nature of 'apartheid spatiality' includes the diverse range of forms. The term also refers to how the apartheid state - and the private institutions associated with it - used urban space as a tool for realizing apartheid policies. In that way, I am interested in the different types of spatial practices that together worked to constitute iterations of apartheid spatiality. And lastly, but not least significantly, I am interested in the role that architects played in the production of apartheid spatiality. This section of the chapter will address all of these concerns. In it I will lay out the types of spatial practices that helped produce apartheid, architects' roles in producing these, and the particular approaches to apartheid spatiality that are most significant in Cape Town. The latter, of which there are three, will form the structuring backbone of the

dissertation: the three sites of the dissertation were chosen in part because each serves as an example of one of the types of apartheid spatiality.

In addition to laying out the concept of apartheid spatiality, this chapter section is also a (brief) history of the practices involved in producing South African cities in general and Cape Town in particular during ‘high’ apartheid. It focuses on the role of architects, examined alongside practices undertaken by planners and the state. This is a very abbreviated discussion of a subject that could easily form a dissertation in itself; its purpose here is to establish the historical background and conceptual framework for the practices focused upon in the body of the dissertation.

### *Methods of Making Separate*

One of the most critical dates associated with apartheid is May 28, 1948. On that day, the National Party (NP), a predominantly Afrikaans party led by D.F. Malan, won the South African general election. It is commonly stated that with that decisive victory, the NP began to institutionalize apartheid. Deborah Posel, however, has argued that apartheid was a system that was made, not one that arrived fully formed with the election of the NP. Arguing against the analysis that apartheid was a ‘grand plan’, pre-conceived in its entirety by the NP leadership before its electoral victory, Posel instead reads the making of state policy as “struggles with and beyond the state, which forced the architects of state policy to adapt and revise many of their original strategies.” (1997, 5) Just as state policy was a product of negotiations, apartheid spatiality also did not arrive fully formed. As I discussed above, it was an outgrowth of the spatial practices of colonial modernity that preceded apartheid. It was also an expression of the NP’s overt project of producing separation, and worked in ways that were both new and intensifications of previous practices.

There were a number of strategies used to spatially produce apartheid. As Mark Swilling states, “[u]rban apartheid was premised on the very specific conception of the articulation of industrial time, urban space, and political citizenship.” (Swilling, Humphries, and Shubane 1991, viii) These different spheres worked together to shape the city in its range of scales and sites. The labor relations that spun out from industrial ‘time’ and political citizenship affected all types of space across the city: spaces of residence, industry, commerce, education and transport, amongst other. Some of these worked at the scale of the city, or zones of the city, designating where certain racialized bodies could inhabit and under what sorts of regulations. Others worked at smaller, more intimate scales that illustrated that absolute separation was neither possible nor actually desirable. These strategies operated at the scale of the street, and inside the place of business and the residence, where cheap black labor was essential to the capitalism that accompanied apartheid. A third strategy, which architects were particularly involved with, was

the design and building of apartheid's institutions. These were state apparatus, the institutions that accompanied the apartheid state and the new spaces of separation.

At its largest scale, the spatial control of bodies that took place at the scale of the nation. The 'Bantustan' system established the terms of differentiated political citizenship, in which the nation was carved into ethnic homelands to which all Natives were assigned citizenship. Movement outside of the homelands was controlled through 'influx control': the broad category of policies implemented that control the movement and labor of 'Africans'.<sup>33</sup> The influx control legislation worked in tandem with the neglectful maintenance of the homelands. On the one hand, the flow of cheap black labor to sites such as mines and factories was ensured through the 'enforced decline of peasant commercial output', which referred to the congestion, landlessness and crop failure that the apartheid government produced through its management of rural land in the homelands (Browett 1982, 18; Bundy 1979). Influx controls additionally limited the number of Africans that could live in urban areas (Posel 1997). Working through devices such as 'passes' - which will be discussed in greater length in Chapter Two - influx control fixed Africans to rural, ethnically defined homelands. The system rendered citizenship a state of exception (Agamben 1998), with space and the resources and opportunities associated with place working as the categories through which inequality was produced.

At the scale of the city, perhaps the most pervasive form of racialized control took place through what is known the location strategy. The location strategy conceptually worked in tandem with influx controls, as part of a program of policies that sought to 'protect' cities from African urbanization, and therefore both symbolically and materially produce them as 'white spaces'. In its essence, the location strategy was a system of gathering racialized - black - populations in patially contained areas. I discussed above the first instance of the location strategy being deployed in Cape Town with the 1901 bubonic plague epidemic, when most all Natives were removed from their homes and forced to live in the newly constructed 'location' of Ndebeni. As I stated, the 'dislocation', as I call this method of apartheid spatiality, was initially only intended to be temporary. However, it was made permanent when Ndebeni was replaced by the construction of Langa. This set into motion a practice that was repeated across urban South Africa: whether in cities or industrial sites such as mine compounds, black bodies were 'located' in contained, controlled spaces, producing both racial separation and control. Jennifer Robinson uses the location strategy to argue that the apartheid state relied upon its spatial programs as an essential component to produce its power. She argues that 'administrative capacity', which is a key requirement for a functioning state apparatus, required maintaining control of urban populations. This was achieved through what Foucault identifies as 'biopower', which involves the ordering of human life as an 'explicit practice of government' (Robinson 1996, 12). Robinson uses Foucault to avoid the debate over the relative importance of race or capitalism in

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<sup>33</sup> Like most all of apartheid policy, influx control laws were adopted and implemented piecemeal over the span of apartheid (Posel 1997).

the making of apartheid, instead focusing upon the state and governmentality (Wolpe 1972; Hall 1980). It is crucial to understand that the use of biopower is an expression of the modernity of apartheid. It worked through an enlarged administration and through a significant new spatial model: the model township (Robinson 1996).

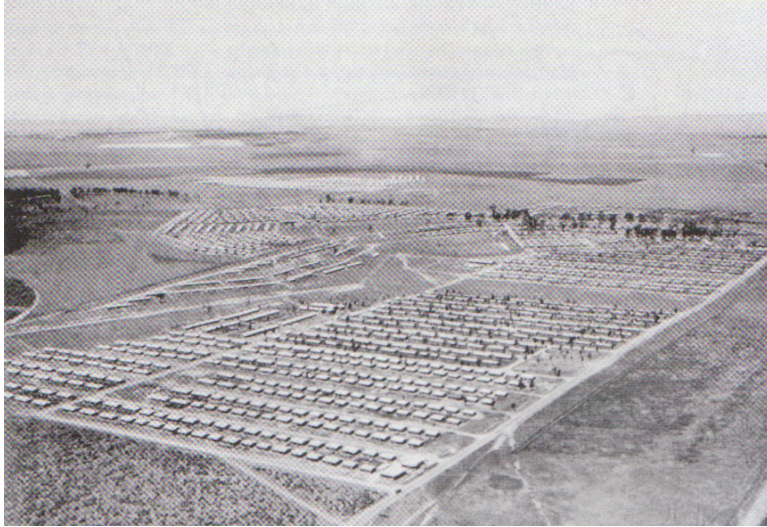


Figure 1.5 KwaThema, 1955. One of the first ‘model townships’ produced, KwaThema on the periphery of Springs, near Johannesburg, illustrates the monotony and isolation characteristic of the ‘native township’. From Japha 1998, 433.

The location strategy produced some of the most tangible arrays of spatialized difference, most notably with the making of townships (Minkley 1998). Townships were conceived of as austere, homogeneous landscapes, providing only residences and (marginal) schools and secluded at the urban periphery (Figure 1.5) (Crankshaw and Parnell 1998). The ‘native township’ of the 1950s and ‘60s came to define the form and character of the apartheid city (Japha 1998, 423) (Robinson 1996). The design of townships and housing in general was one of the key ways in which architects participated in the production of apartheid spatiality, in ways that are particularly relevant to this dissertation.

Housing came to be one of the foremost realms through which the apartheid state spatially practiced control (Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008, 26; Crankshaw and Parnell 1998, 439). In the early days after the Nationalist Party came to power, and apartheid began to be implemented, the South African state struggled to systematize and control the production of housing for ‘Natives’. To address the issue, the state formed the NBRI (National Building Research Institute), which took on projects of experimental housing at 2 locations: Witbank and KwaThema. What was produced for these sites were the planning and architectural models that would come to define apartheid spatiality: the model township and the 51/9 house. The model township was conceptualized as an ‘urban island’, separating races and ethnicities and hiding concentrations of poverty (Japha 1998, 433). Townships consisted of “endless ranks of ‘matchbox houses’” and hostels - for collectively housing migrant laborers (Crankshaw and

Parnell 1998, 439). The houses, whether semi-detached or the iconic detached 51/9 or its preceding iterations (Figure 1.6), became ubiquitous features of the South African apartheid landscape: monotonous and austere, the minimal containers for life, devised by architects and built by the apartheid state.



Figure 1.6 51/9. The ubiquitous ‘Native house’ model provided a bare minimum of shelter and amenities and imprinted the South African ‘township’ landscape. (Source Crankshaw and Parnell 1998, 438)

At this point two key attributes of the production of ‘apartheid spatiality’ need to be pointed out and unpacked. First, as discussed above, the introduction of apartheid did not cause a radical paradigm shift. Rather, there was a continuum of spatial practices, in which the desire for order and control far preceded the institution of apartheid. Where such practices shifted, as they did with the formation of the NBRI and development of model townships, these were not radical deviations from previous practices. Rather, the NBRI brought together the (new) apartheid state’s methods of institutional structuring of racial separation and control, executed on an enlarged scale, with architects’ modernist ambitions. The latter reflected the techno-rational belief that through design explorations, architects could solve societal problems. The NBRI provided institutional support for architects to explore the spatial issues that had interested them for decades prior. The intertwining of these social issues with the instruments of the apartheid state pose another instance in which contradictions arise between architects’ professional ethics and political citizenship. Derek Japha provides insight into exactly this set of contradictions, by tracing how South African architects practicing in the 1930s and 1940s addressed social problems.

Japha constructs a sophisticated framework that connects modernism and architects’ values, arguing that the participation of architects was a case of “the association of two modernisms.”

(1998, 437) He argues that beginning in the early 1930s, almost two decades prior to the Nationalist Party's election and subsequent implementation of apartheid, South African architects were concerned with questions of 'native housing'. This concern overlapped modernist housing explorations going on in Europe after World War I, which I discussed in the section 'European Ideals' in the Introduction. The fact that these concerns continued to be pursued in South Africa in the late 1940s and beyond raises questions concerning modernist architectural practices in South Africa. While most scholars agree that modernist architecture began to be 'imported' and produced in South Africa starting in the 1920s, some have argued that modernism came under critique in South Africa beginning in the late 1930s (Fisher, le Roux, and Maré 1998; Herwitz 1998). Japha counters that that it was only a particular form of modernism that fell out of fashion, and the alternatives developed in response were equally modernist, just of a different vein. Julian Cooke, whose professional work will be the subject of Chapter Two of this dissertation, also identifies the late 1930s crisis of what he classifies as a first wave, avant-garde modernism, closely allied with the International Style. Cooke argues that the modernism that subsequently came into favor was a softer, localized 'humanist' modernism (1998). Japha's concern is less about formal language and more about the ideological concerns represented by differing modernisms. It is worth quoting Japha at length:

My case that in 1939 the South African Modern Movement was just beginning rather than ending is based less on this continuity of personae and programme, than on the proposition that the entire enterprise seems in so many ways a quintessential modern project. Its key concepts were the need for rigorous studies of the urban neighborhood, the importance of standard-setting exercises about space and meticulous technical investigations of standardised houses, and the general claim that the work should be seen as the practical implementation of an objective science of the environment. The congruence between this complex of propositions and the surveillance planning of apartheid came, not so much because a naive, liberal programme was co-opted by a ruthless regime, but from the association of two modernisms: the modernism of apartheid social engineering and the modernism of the creation of subjects through science. (Japha 1998, 437)

In distinguishing between these two modernisms, he builds on Paul Rabinow's categories of 'techno-cosmopolitanism' and 'middling modernism' (1989), which provides a crucial way to make sense of the ways in which South African architects participated in apartheid. Rabinow defines middling modernism as a project that sought to create new human subjects, which sought to modernize society, in part through spatial production. Conversely, techno-cosmopolitanism was concerned more with creating localized forms of modernism's technical imperative. Rabinow uses these concepts to make sense of the shift in approaches used by modern architects and planners working to forward the French colonial mission. Japha argues that what began for architects as a middling modernist project - that of addressing 'abstract human need' - became one of techno-cosmopolitanism through its engagement with the state. To again quote Japha:

“The middling modernist project... would have been impossible to implement in South Africa, the environment above all others where culture counted, where the primary definer of difference was race, and where, whatever social science could purport to measure, it was certainly not abstract human need.”(Japha 1998, 437) As I will illustrate through numerous moments in the dissertation to follow, the question of the possibility of architectural attention to ‘abstract human need’ defined architectural practice during apartheid as well as ‘after’. The very question of how to use architecture to address apartheid spatiality has continued to wrestle with the two modernisms.

However, before exploring these questions, it is important to examine additional ways in which architecture was harnessed to produce apartheid spatiality. While the differential location of bodies was critical to apartheid, architectural scholars point out that architectural programs also accompanied the development of the apartheid state. These sought to articulate the architectural languages appropriate to the state’s developing ambitions and programs. One example is the developing architectural program of the Volkskas Bank – the bank of Afrikaner nationalism - which Melinda Silverman argues serves as an expression of the self-modernization of Afrikaans identity and its associated institutions (1998). She identifies three stages in Volkskas’ buildings: first a romanticized evocation of idealized, rural past, epitomized in designs by Gerard Moerdyk, who is perhaps best known as architect of the Voortrekker Monument (Figure 1.7). As Silverman illustrates, the National Party’s 1948 election brought not only political change but also an urge for modernization, at the scale of the nation, its cities and institutions. As part of this process, the bank sought to financially incorporate the ‘hinterland’ of smaller, rural Afrikaans towns, and thus hired Gabriel (Gawie) Fagan - who would later become one of Cape Town’s most notable and respected architects. Fagan was brought on to remake the bank in the image of a modest and localized modernism (Figure 1.8). This iteration of Bank - and Afrikaans - identity was displaced by the mid-1960s, when a sense of ‘economic, social and



Figure 1.7 Voortrekker Monument. Scholars widely agree that the monument to the ‘Great Trek’ symbolizes the imagery and ambitions of Afrikaner Nationalism.



Figure 1.8 Volkskas Bank, Warrenton branch. One of Gawie Fagan’s designs for the bank, during its second stage of modest and localized modernism. From Silverman 1998, 139.

political domination' took hold for the Afrikaner population. Its architecture was epitomized in Samuel Pauw's design for the Volkskas headquarters in Pretoria: a soaring building that exceeded local building heights and mass limits, with an imposing concrete form. As Silverman states, "there was nothing modest about it." (Silverman 1998, 141)

As the development of the model township illustrated the unfolding, interlocking modernisms of the architectural profession and apartheid state, the trajectory of the Volkskas tells the story of the coming together of Afrikaner identity, the institutions of capitalism, and apartheid - and the accompanying architectural imprint. Both sites speak to the critical role scale serves in apartheid's spatiality. Both Silverman and Posel point to enlarged scale as a key feature of the apartheid state. Just as Silverman traces the size and grandiosity used to architecturally represent the Volkskas, Posel traces the increasing 'bloat' of the apparatus of the state. She questions 'does size matter?' in regards to governance, answering that in the case of the apartheid state it did. (Posel 1998, 245) However, it is a contradictory response, for size served as a feature that simultaneously extended the apartheid state's reach into its subjects' lives while also diluting its capacity. Posel argues this led to its eventual dismantling. Chipkin, however, illustrates another side of scale, as he notes how in the years after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, the state was able to escape the stain of international condemnation of shooting of peaceful protestors to become a key site of foreign investment. A building boom that radically remade Johannesburg accompanied this surge of funds, deepening the ties between capitalism, apartheid and the grandiosity of architecture (C. Chipkin 1998).

Rebecca Ginsburg draws attention to the ways in which African bodies were controlled at the much more intimate, domestic scale. By studying the spaces inhabited by domestic workers in the white residences in Johannesburg's Northern Suburbs, Ginsburg demonstrates the ways in which marginalization are central to the social relations during apartheid. Using the tiny domestic quarters at the rear of homes as her entry point, Ginsburg points to the many, reinforcing ways in which marginalization - of African domestic workers, who were for the most part women - both was executed and resisted. Her analysis illustrates the interconnectivity of race, gender and class, as middle-class life was reliant upon the labor of such women as well as their invisibility. This points to both the micro-scale of dislocation, on which workers are forced to dwell 'apart' within the same property, as well as the impossibility of absolute separation. Apartheid domestic life as much as apartheid industry relied upon cheap black labor; the domestic scale illustrates how this reliance made true spatial and social separation impossible (Ginsburg 2011).

This discussion has focused on specific ways in which the spatiality of high apartheid was architecturally produced. These practices have left their imprint upon the South African landscape, particularly in cities, and architects' collective consciousness. In order to understand how both architectural practices and spatial forms were transformatively addressed at the end of

apartheid in Cape Town, the next section will look at the specificity of apartheid spatiality in Cape Town.

### *Localized Methods of Apartheid Spatiality*

One of the key attributes of Cape Town's local iteration of apartheid spatiality is the relationship between control of bodies and the realm of the visual. This is to say that while space was used to locate and conduct surveillance over bodies, spatial practices also demonstrated great concern for the visual. Coetzer argues for the prominent role played by visual concerns in town planning practices in Cape Town:

Judgments of an aesthetic nature - an aesthetics of order framing the apprehension of the city - were devastating for those at the periphery of Cape Town's economy of power. The administrative archives of the city are filled with the socially disruptive operational agency of 'beauty' - at times veiled, at times explicit. Beauty, or the aesthetics of visual order, can radically undermine those who are officially determined not to possess, inhabit or apprehend it. Imperial beauty wanted to reorder the city from a place to inhabit, struggle and cohabit into a place to *look* at, from a city into a *cityscape*. The significance of the agents of Empire's apprehension of the city as a visual problem is paramount. (2013, 83 emphasis in original)

He goes on to argue that the practices that realized such concerns deployed both the picturesque and the modern - the former as a sensibility and the latter as a technology of practice. Both he and J.M. Coetzee illustrate that race and nationalism were deeply tied to the visual imagination. While Coetzer addresses the architectural language deployed - materially and discursively - at sites across Cape Town, Coetzee discusses how textual representation revealed anxieties of the otherness of the South African landscape. Addressing the writings of colonial-era visitors to South Africa, Coetzee describes how affinities for certain landscapes reveals the privileging of that which is familiar (Coetzee 1988).

This relationship was realized through what can be understood as three types of spatial practices: dislocations, clearances and neglect. I have developed these terms to categorize how the apartheid city was made, in ways that clarify why the spaces focused upon in the following three chapters are so significant. Each of these practices has imprinted the city, and was realized in a variety of spaces. The three types of practices worked together, reinforcing each other, and have often been deployed in relation to the same spaces.

Dislocation refers to the ordering of where bodies are allowed to exist in the city. I define it as the practice of removing people, typically from spaces considered central to the city. What is

central to dislocation is not so much where people are removed to - sometimes to spaces on the cities periphery, such as to 'locations' or sometimes entirely from the city, to rural Homelands. Rather, dislocations concerns the practice of removing and relocating bodies, for the sake of producing a racialized, gendered and class-based order to the city (Western 1981). Dislocations can be understood as addressing a range of strategies, including forced removals, influx controls and the clearance of informal settlements. These strategies worked through all of the previously mentioned categories of race, gender and class. Dislocations are complex and often contradictory practices in which certain bodies are removed either entirely from the city - during apartheid forced to rural homelands - or pushed to the city's periphery. Yet, at the same time the state and its associated private industries rely on the labor of those bodies to construct and maintain the city and the capitalistic system upon which the nation was structured. Dislocation is the practice of creating a city of difference, of spatializing inequality.

Clearances, like dislocations, concern the removal of bodies. However, clearances are concerned more with the remaking of the sites of removals. Clearances involve removing bodies in order to remake space through architectural forms and spatial orders that reflect different imaginaries - namely ones that are 'white'. The practice of clearance is about making room for new spatial productions. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, sites of forced removals such as District Six were cleared of both people and buildings in order to create something new in their place. District Six is by far the largest scale clearance that occurred in Cape Town, but many more took place in much smaller ways, during and before apartheid (Western 1981).

The third practice, neglect, refers to how the spaces which bodies are removed to are addressed. It is a counterpart to clearances, in that as clearances produces a white imagination for what are considered central, privileged sites, neglect is used to render black sites as marginal or 'other'. Neglect also typically characterized the management of sites of dislocation. Neglect works towards the production of spatial difference, which is one of the key attributes of apartheid spatiality. Neglect speaks not to the location of bodies, but how the spaces in which bodies are located are resourced and made. I am using the category of neglect to speak to the provision of services - schools, transportation, housing - as well as to spaces provided and the quality of those spaces.

Together, these categories do not represent physical spaces but rather practices. These practices are significant for the range of spaces they have produced: ones on the periphery of the city as well as those geographically center. All are active participants in the production of power. It is these practices through which the dissertation's cases are structured. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Hostels Upgrades - the subject of Chapter Two - epitomizes 'dislocation' and how it has been addressed. Similarly, in Chapter Three, District Six stands in as an exemplar of 'clearances' and in Chapter Four, Philippi as an instance of 'neglect'. However, before going on to discuss each of these, the remainder of this chapter will discuss the practices that set the stage

for the address of apartheid spatiality, both those that took place in apartheid's latter decades and in the first decades after apartheid ended.

### 1.3 Sowing Seeds: The Emergence of Alternative Architectural Imaginaries

*The first pillar of classic apartheid began to crumble the moment Durban's workers downed tools in 1973 and hit the streets with their red flags and faceless leaders.*

-- Swilling, Humphries, and Shubane, *Apartheid City in Transition*

Apartheid never went unopposed. From its first inception, black and white - although predominantly black - South Africans resisted and struggled against apartheid regulation. As the quote above indicates, in the 1970s the nature of struggle and its effectiveness shifted.

It is widely agreed that there are two features to the struggles of the 1970s that were particularly significant: the first is rise of the labor movement, which may have begun in Durban, but quickly spread to workers in all major South African cities.<sup>34</sup> The movement's claims very carefully and insightfully linked the differentiated political citizenship of apartheid to the capitalist system that accompanied it, demonstrating that cheap black labor was structured through apartheid and essential to industrial capitalism. The second feature of the 1970s was the 1976 Soweto Uprising. On June 16 of that year, school children in Soweto, Johannesburg took to the streets to peacefully protest the government's directive requiring all instruction in all schools be conducted in Afrikaans alongside English. The government's response to the protests was horrifically violent. Militarized police fired teargas and live ammunition on the students, killing many.<sup>35</sup> In response, the protests spread throughout the country (Western 1982). Both the nation and the international community were shocked and galvanized by violence. As the labor movement articulated the entanglements between apartheid policy and industrial capitalism, the 1976 protests showed the world and white South Africans the violence that the maintenance of apartheid required (Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008, 33).

In the architectural profession, opposition to apartheid initially took hold not as a political movement but as a discipline-specific reaction to the techno—rationalism of the modernism of high apartheid.

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<sup>34</sup> For a history of the labor movement in the Western Cape, as it relates to the national scale, see "The General Worker's Union, 1973-1986" (Maree 1989).

<sup>35</sup> The exact number killed has never been officially determined. Some estimate upwards of hundreds ("June 16 Soweto Youth Uprising Casualties" 2015).

### *The 1960s: Alternatives to Modernism*

Localized architectural resistance to the modernism can first be seen in the figure of Roelof Uytendogaardt. Uytendogaardt was an architect and town planner, and is still regarded today as one of the most talented built environment professionals of Cape Town in the second half of the twentieth century. His architectural education began at the University of Cape Town in the mid 1950s, where he studied under Leslie Thornton-White and was awarded a Rome Scholarship (Vio 2006, 19). After a stay at the British Academy in Rome, another scholarship took him to University of Pennsylvania in the early 1960s, where he studied architecture with Louis Kahn, and town planning with David Crane. Both of these figures and Uytendogaardt's time in the United States were arguably very influential on his understanding of the city and its problems. Between his studies at the University of Pennsylvania and professional experience under David Crane in Boston, he was exposed to the ideas of Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch, and Christopher Alexander. He brought back to South Africa the then-emergent understanding that the problems of the city were those of "the consumer system, the dispersion of the suburbs and the rule of the car" (Vio 2006, 20). Such ideas would have held particular resonance in South Africa, where freeways bore a heavy imprint upon the landscape and 'the rule of the car' operated in racialized ways. Jane Jacobs' public battles with Robert Moses (Berman 1988) would have seemed reminiscent of struggles against the destruction of inner city areas like District Six and the overall practice of 'surgical removal' characteristic of projects such as the Duncan Docks and Foreshore.

Uytendogaardt brought his American experience to Cape Town as a timeless, 'archetypal' conception of space, architecture, and city-making. Yet, this was not a return to classicism, or the colonial Cape Dutch revival seen in early twentieth-century Cape Town. Uytendogaardt's most iconic works of architecture are characterized by design responses to the "extraordinary scenic quality of most Cape Town sites". (Marschall and Kearney 2000, 118–199) Both his writings and his architectural work emphasize 'place making' as a strategy and responsibility of the built environment professional (Southworth 2010). Uytendogaardt "fused the romantic traditionalism of Italy" where he studied, with that of the nearby Cape winelands (Noëleen Murray 2007, 55). This romanticism for place sat alongside a love for Table Mountain, which provided both the backdrop to and inspiration for many of his designs. As I will discuss further in Chapter Four, Uytendogaardt's approach to architecture was particularly influential in regards to the bringing together of modernism and 'humanism', in ways that set the stage for the 'modernism of after' that I argue has articulated apartheid's ending.

Yet, Uytendogaardt's humanism was importantly marked by an additional characteristic: a response to the trauma of grand modernism. This can be seen most evidently in a key text, *South African Cities: A Manifesto for Change* (Dave Dewar and Uytendogaardt 1991) that he wrote with Dave Dewar, a planner and his longtime academic collaborator. Frequently cited by practicing architects, academics, urban designers and planners, the book defines the terms by

which multiple generations of built environment professionals have come to frame and address the problems of the South African city. The book serves, as the title suggests, a manifesto for what constitutes ‘good’ cities and how built environment professionals should approach making such cities. As an archive of efforts to transform the apartheid city, the text provides a great many clues about the nature of modernism’s application in Cape Town in the years of transition from apartheid to democracy. As will become evident, the ideas represented in the text form a crucial part of the architectural criticisms of apartheid that are the subject of this dissertation.

The theoretical backbone of the text is David Crane’s notion of the capital web. The capital web concept states that those involved in designing cities should do so in artful, comprehensive, and yet open-ended ways. Crane was speaking against the design of cities by engineers and as complete projects: “strategic public design program could take a leaf from India, where the Sanskrit word for ‘space,’ literally translated, means ‘opportunity for things to happen’. Thus, to make public designs is to leave and make creative opportunities for the private sphere.” Crane described designing cities as the “artful system of shaping and deploying public works in time and space for maximum encouragement and creative control of private development”. (Crane 1964, 91) The capital web was clearly a reaction against the modernist city: the city produced through technical thinking, of grand projects, and a product of the ‘enlarged’ modernist state. Dewar and Uytendogaardt re-presented the ‘capital web’ as the belief in making ‘partial plans’, directed by ‘minimal and humanist intentions’. (Southworth 2002, 122)

Dewar and Uytendogaardt’s partial plans were an amalgamation of resistance to the apartheid modernist city – the city produced in Cape Town at the Duncan Docks and Foreshore – and the humanist urges Uytendogaardt brought to his architectural practice. Such humanism was deployed as a critique of the city’s modernist history. The clearances characterized by the making of the Duncan Docks and Foreshore laid a heavy emotional scar on Cape Town built environment professionals. The collective guilt, if it can be called that, led many to discursively turn away from modernist planning practices. Dewar and Uytendogaardt’s text provided a clear blueprint for how to do so, and as such was quickly taken up and remains dominant in local planning and urban design discourses. However, an essential attribute of the self-professed humanist approach of the book is the position that place making is an activity that should take place outside the realm of politics. The introduction of the book states

The starting point for the arguments that follow is not a perception of what may or may not be politically acceptable at any point in time. The arguments are developed from the inherent logic of urban development and urban living. This does not imply that political considerations are unimportant or that, somehow, urban planning can be pursued in clinical isolation from politics. Rather, it reflects a belief that urban areas have their own logic which derives from their very *raison d’être* and from the needs of people who live in them...Politics and ruling alignments will change but the human issues raised by urban growth will not: they will not necessarily disappear with

political change and they will have to be faced. (Dave Dewar and Uytendogaardt 1991, 11)

By separating politics from ‘human issues’, this passage is arguing for an essential, ‘timeless’, human experience (Bremner 2010, 23). The sense that ‘urban areas have their own logic’ describes an understanding of cities that is based upon their spatial qualities as divorced from the political economy contexts in which they are produced. As I will discuss in Chapter Three, the distinction between politics and the spatiality of the apartheid city would lead to a divergence of approaches, between Uytendogaardt and Dewar and other architects who believed the two were inseparable.

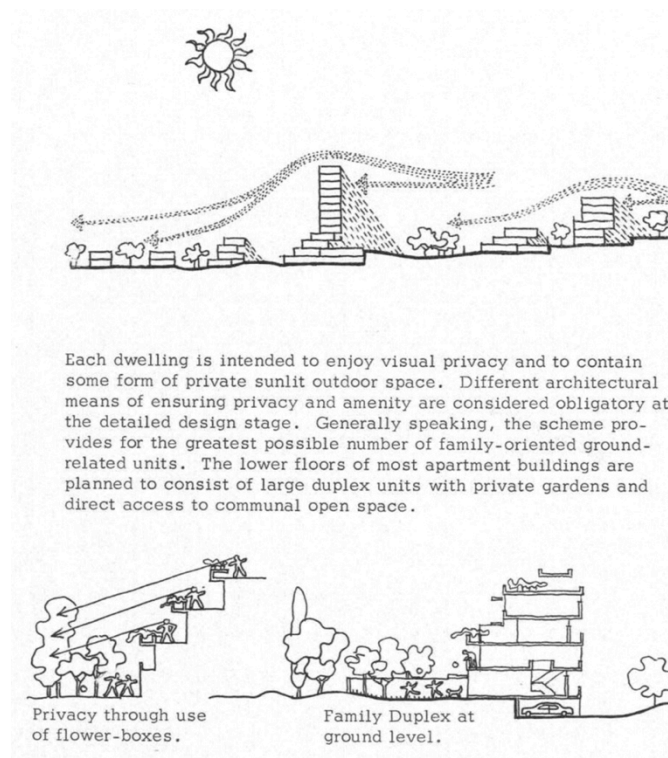


Figure 1.9 Rand Mine Property Terminal Report. The design approaches advocated in the proposal focused on shared outdoor space and other design features that would support family life. These proposals stood in stark contrast to the hostels typically constructed for mining compounds. Courtesy of University of Cape Town Libraries.

The reason, however, that Uytendogaardt and Dewar’s approach took hold so strongly was that it was reinforced by other architects’ approaches, which began in the 1960s. A good example of this can be seen in the design of housing for the Rand Mine Property by a team that included Ivan Prinsloo and Julian Cooke (the former will feature below in this section; the latter is a key figure in Chapter Two) (Figure 1.9). It may seem that architectural work for a major mining corporation would serve as a case of cooperating with apartheid, not critiquing its spatiality. As I have discussed above in the previous section, industrial capitalism was deeply entangled with apartheid governance, and mining was perhaps its most iconic site. Yet, Prinsloo

and Cooke's team did in fact simultaneously serve apartheid industry while critiquing its spatiality. Cooke explained the reasoning for working for the mines: mining corporations were major landholders and large scale employers. As employers that provided housing for their workers, they gave architects the opportunity to engage in design problems concerning ideal residential arrangements. It is clear that this response is both a reworking of the apartheid-era practice of designing model Native townships, and a project of developing architectural models that are radically distinctive to typologies such as the 51/9 and migrant labour hostels. The architectural commission served as a method of providing alternatives to the housing forms most closely associated with apartheid, but while reproducing the labor relationship between the client (Rand Mine Property), architect and eventual user.

The second part of this falls into a category of practice similar to Uytendogaardt and Dewar's. While it is easy to accuse the architects of political acquiescence to apartheid, I would like to argue that what was going on was architects seeking out means to shape space in ways that they saw as socially responsible, even if that meant working for a client whose political-economic project they opposed. Architects at this time period could not imagine a political space in which they could use their professional practices to oppose apartheid. They could, however, begin to develop spatial models that would replace apartheid spatiality. To utilize one's architectural professional skills and endeavors for social good meant to work for 'traditional' clients – such as mining corporations – but to produce buildings and planning schemes that reflected 'progressive beliefs' about space making. These were space-making practices that sought to refute techno-rational modernist planning ideals. Thus, the work that architects such as Prinsloo and Cooke undertook while working for the Rand Mine Property were the beginnings of an assertion of an ideology about space, that resisted perhaps not the capitalism or politics of the apartheid system, but at least the spatial form it took and reproduced. It would only be slightly in the 1970s and increasingly in the 1980s that architects could imagine bringing together the political and the spatial to imagine a post-apartheid.

### *The 1970s and 1980s: Developmental Decades*

Many of the moves taken in the 1970s towards more vibrantly opposing apartheid in Cape Town trace in some way to the figure of Ivor Prinsloo. Prinsloo arrived in Cape Town in 1974 as the new Head of the Department of Architecture at the University of Cape Town. Originally from a rural, Afrikaans area in what is now the Free State Province, Prinsloo began his career working at the Rand Mine Property and studying architecture at the University of Witwatersrand. He completed an extended internship in Europe, with John and Allison Smithson's office and Shadrach Woods', where he became very familiar with the ideas of Team X. He won a competition to design housing in Chile under the young Allende government, for which he moved to Chile. When the coup in Chile forced him to leave the country, Prinsloo

began a PhD in City Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). It can be argued that between his experiences in Chile and UCLA, Prinsloo developed a 'developmentalist' perspective that he carried forward to Cape Town.

'Developmental' is a term that architects in Cape Town, those that articulated the post-apartheid ambitions studied in this dissertation, used to describe their own situation in the 1980s. As Lucien le Grange stated to me in an interview, a critical moment was when they realized: "our context was a developmental context." I understand their definition of developmental as referring to the development studies literature that had emerged predominantly from Latin America. As architects working in a developmental context, le Grange, Prinsloo, Cooke and other architects such as Paul Andrew and John Moyle celebrated texts such as John Turner's *Housing by People* (1977) and Bernard Rudofsky's famous Museum of Modern Art exhibition and accompanying monograph *Architecture without Architects* (1964). Development studies helped architects understand their context as one of polar extremes: of rapid urbanization, of great disparities between the urban and rural, accompanied by thematic binaries of the 'modern' versus 'traditional'. This perspective they carried forward to the pedagogical innovations that began after Prinsloo took charge of the Architecture Department.

Prinsloo's arrival in Cape Town can be seen as a moment of change for the University of Cape Town Department of Architecture (UCT). While it is not reasonable to attribute institutional change to one character, Prinsloo embodied the energy, strategies and intellectual framework that would characterize the Architecture Department's social engagements from the 1970s into the 1990s. Under Prinsloo, the Department began to institute a number of initiatives that sought to connect students and pedagogy to a broader Southern African context and the local township inhabitants. The Department did so by offering 'engaged' studios, where students would design community facilities in townships. They established a partnership with the Lerotholi Polytechnic in Maseru, Lesotho. Prinsloo enlisted John Moyle, an architecture professor who was particularly politically active, to assist Lerotholi Polytechnic in establishing a program for technical training, and offered a pathway for graduates of the program to come to UCT for further education. The collaboration was part of a like-minded body of 'development-oriented' projects undertaken by Prinsloo and other architects. These engagements perhaps most closely reflect the 'developmentalist' ideas circulating from Latin America. Prinsloo sought out projects in "developing areas", not as a revenue stream, but in reflection of his ideals:

Ivor Prinsloo believes that the world in which we live is in the throes of one of those historically important sets of events when significant social changes occur as a result of the changes in our basic value structures. He thinks that this is most manifest in the Third World and that in this last quarter of the twentieth century Africa and in particular Africa South occupy geographical and political centrepoints. The guidance system which produces the physical environment is the concern of the architect and in this he may be a useful 'change-agent'. (IPP)

I read Lesotho as providing a terrain for South African architects to engage, to perform the methods of citizenship that they would have preferred to undertake within South Africa's borders, but were prohibited by apartheid politics. Lesotho was the 'developing' Other to Cape Town's – and especially UCT – developed self. By invoking the Other/Self binary I do not mean to suggest that architects such as Prinsloo were performing a form of colonialism. Rather, Lesotho stood in for the local: enabling architects to enact the ways they idealized contributing to their prejudicial context. This can be seen in the partnership with Lerotholi Polytechnic as well as in the school building program that Iain Low developed in Lesotho in the later 1980s (Low 1998).

Relatedly, the Architecture Department initiated a 'Development Studies' course in the early 1980s. While the collaborations with Lerotholi Polytechnic and local "community projects" expressed architects' sense of citizenship, the Developments Issue course was a direct intervention into the education of architects. As both a pedagogical and political tool, it was substantively radical. The course was premised upon the belief that architectural practice in South Africa needed to deepen its ties with its local context. The development of the course reflected the realization that for architects to do so, they needed to be exposed to methods of understanding the world around them and the possibility of their engagement within it. The content of the course, 'hammered out' over many weekends by le Grange, Moyle and Derek Japha, with Prinsloo's encouragement (Cooke 2011 Interview), was intended to inform students about the contemporary South African context, to help them understand the world in which they lived – and were about to practice.

The substance of Development Issues was an immersion in contemporary issues outside of architecture. The Development Issues course broke the hermetic seal of architectural education under the RIBA system, in which students only took professionally-related architecture courses. Development Studies opened up the department's pedagogy to an array of outside voices and perspectives. It consisted of a series of workshops, with invited lecturers from across the university, speaking on subjects that included anthropology, economics, sociology and African studies. Its structure was as a parallel program, running within the department, alongside traditional courses. The intent of the program was to expose architecture students to the world 'outside': outside the walls of the architecture building, outside the university, and outside of their own worlds of privilege. For participants in the course, Development Issues radicalized their education. Some of the students that passed through UCT during the tenure of Development Issues became active 'architectural agents of change', taking on projects that reimagined cities as spaces of democracy. Even those that established more normative practices, working on commercial projects and spaces for the elite, reminisce that Development Issues was a pivotal

moment in their educations, which informed their practice as South African architects, no matter the type of projects they typically engage.<sup>36</sup>

### *Fissures in the (Making of the) Apartheid Landscape: Crossroads and DAG*

Outside of the UCT Architecture Department, a very different, though related set of events were unfolding. By the early-to-mid 1980s, the disruptions that had begun with the labour union strikes and student protests had intensified so much that in 1985,<sup>37</sup> the government declared a State of Emergency. One of the key sites of the struggles taking place around citizenship and space in Cape Town was at the informal settlement of Crossroads.

Crossroads has long drawn attraction as an informal settlement. The settlement's rapid growth represented the public housing program's (willful) inability to keep pace with the demands of the population in Cape Town (Hendler 1991, 198). In the 1970s scholars and journalists argued that the visual, physical 'chaos' of Crossroads belied internal order (Smith 1982, 35). For Dave Dewar and Paul Andrew, UCT professors discussed above, Crossroads represented an instance in which built environment professionals could provide a new professional model, in which they guided residents in improving self-built homes themselves (Andrew 1978; Andrew 2013). Yet, for all the outside optimism for Crossroads in the late 1970s, the space was also the site of repeated waves of state-sponsored violence, which most visibly erupted in 1986. This, the 'witdoeke', an attack named for the white head cloths worn by the attacking residents, was a battle between older and newer immigrants to the city, or as Steven Robins argues, between the stereotypes of rural and urban Africans (1998). The witdoeke, who were older (black) residents of Crossroads, spurred on and supported by the police, burnt the shacks of newer, also black immigrants to the city (Cole 1987)(Rendall 2012). While the incident was spectacular and shocking on its own, it was part of a long history of struggles over expansion to the informal settlement; these were necessitated by the state's housing policies, which intentionally under-supplied housing for Africans in the city. The reactionary, conservative vigilantism of the *witdoeke* was state-produced ethnic violence, coming to life through struggles over the space of informality in the city, and gendered dimensions of the right to the city (Cole 1987; Hendler 1991; Seekings 1991). In outraged response to the event, a group of architects and planners in Cape Town formed Development Action Group, or DAG.

DAG sits amongst related built environment activist organizations that emerged in other South African cities in the 1980s, most notable Planact in Johannesburg and Built Environment

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<sup>36</sup> Student feedback was published in the themed 'Class of '84' issue of *Architecture SA*, May/June 2010.

<sup>37</sup> The 1985 State of Emergency was partial, only applying to thirty-six of the nation's two hundred and sixty magisterial districts. However, in 1986 a State of Emergency was declared that covered the entire nation.

Support Group (BESG) in Durban. These organizations formed the professional complimentary to the developmentalist pedagogical interventions going on at UCT. They worked to support the civic movements of the 1980s, that concerned housing issues such as rent increases, forced removals and informal settlement upgrading (Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008, 44; Swilling 1998). One of DAG's founders, Alastair Rendall, explained to me that in addition to witnessing the *witdoeke* (he had been volunteering at the time in Crossroads), he and colleagues were: "progressive architects and planners in the city who were looking to make a contribution in one way or another. [It was] very difficult to break into what was then the underground ANC activities – trade unions was one angle but that didn't suit architects and planners so much." As Rendall stated, he and his colleagues wanted to make a contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle that took advantage of the professional education that they had been fortunate to receive. This made most sense by providing professional support to the growing civic movement that characterized the landscape of anti-apartheid action in the 1980s (Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008, 47). What Rendall also stated was that in DAG, architects and planners used their spatial knowledge to provide support in ways relate to the built environment, but not through actually 'designing' new spaces for the groups they assisted. Instead, they aided them in setting up new informal settlements, and navigating protests against forced removals and rent increases (Low 2012). This is a subtle but crucial distinction in methods of architectural engagement, in which their work as 'architects' differs from the traditional sense of 'design'. Instead, their work suggests new, expanded conceptions of architecture in the sense that they did not design but still assisted in the aid of the production of the built environment (Awan, Schneider, and Till 2011).

Beyond being the catalyst for the formation of DAG, Crossroads serves as the unspoken background to the sites of the dissertation. Overall, Crossroads serves as an emblem of the fabrication of housing shortage and ethnic violence by the state, which worked together as part of the crackdown that marked the state of crisis in apartheid's last years. Crossroads both illustrates the violence of the ending of apartheid as well as the openings that these provided, as in the case of the founding of DAG.

As will become clear in the following chapters, DAG provided a compliment not only to the pedagogical form of activism practiced in the UCT Department of Architecture, but also to the architects that eventually found opportunities to use a full range of architectural practices, *including* designing, as a way of articulating post-apartheid ambitions. These architects, who are featured in the following chapters worked from the same impetus as Rendall and his colleagues, to use their professional skills to make a contribution. What I will trace is how the slow ending of apartheid, that arguably began with the strikes of 1973, eventually led to openings that allowed architects to find new ways of participating, ways that involved imagining and designing spatial alternatives to apartheid.

#### **1.4 Urban Policies after Apartheid: Possibilities and Limitations**

However, before diving into the individual stories, it is important to briefly discuss what the ending of apartheid brought to spatial practices, particularly in relation to economic and housing policy. As stated in the Introduction, a background to this study is the recognition that the ending of apartheid has not brought material improvement to most South Africans' lives. The reason I consider the post-apartheid such an important and potent condition to explore is because it is full of contradictions, between the expectations and aspirations that accompanied the ending of apartheid and the reality of how that ending has unfolded. While the remainder of the dissertation will explore that condition in a grounded manner, through three sites in Cape Town, it is also important to understand the structural conditions that helped produce the contradictions of the post-apartheid. This chapter sections addresses those, focusing on the shift in economic program early in the years of South African democracy, and related housing policies. These policies do not relate directly to all three sites, but are crucial informants of spatiality and the transformations that have been possible in the period after apartheid.

##### *RDP and Housing Subsidies: Ambitions and Limitations to the Post-Apartheid*

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was the democratic state's initial program for 'transformation'. Developed by trade unionists as part of the 'negotiated settlement' between the NP and opposition groups, the ANC adopted RDP shortly before the 1994 election (Marais 2001, 2nd: 95). The RDP base document that was circulated ahead of the elections "made a series of pledges to meet 'basic needs' in a 'people-driven' manner" (G. P. Hart 2002, 17). As Harrison, Todes and Watson describe it,

The RDP was not overtly socialist but was rather a neo-Keynesian programme for state-led investment in infrastructure and basic services to address the backlogs and inequities of the past. It was, nevertheless, arguably, a radical document that defined a progressive agenda for the new government. It was eagerly accepted by many planners as it seemed to offer planning a key role in the reconstruction of South African society (2008, 58).

One of the key terrains the RDP addressed, one that continues its legacy today, is in housing. Not only did the ANC inherit a massive housing backlog when they won the 1994 elections, the right to housing was enshrined in the new South African Constitution. While the urgent need for housing was broadly agreed upon, the form of housing and means of delivery were sharply debated. The housing policy adopted by the democratic government in the 1995 White Paper on Housing was the product of negotiations in the early 1990s between the political opposition, business interests and the emerging self-build NGO movement. While progressive

planners took part in the negotiations, the dominant force were ‘profit-making sectors’, led by the Urban Forum. As Huchzermeyer argues, “Central to the thinking in this sector was the creation of black home-owners, as a means of political stabilisation. Commodification of land and housing was understood, also, as vital for economic growth...the Urban Foundation's interest in poverty was primarily out of concern for the economy, and not out of concern for human rights and democracy.” (2001, 308) The policies that resulted were based on a subsidy program, that gave each family a ‘one-off’ subsidy of R15,000. The problem with this approach was that the subsidy was too small and fragmented between households to afford more than poorly constructed single houses on single plots. This meant that the newly built, or ‘RDP’ houses were located on the least expensive land, which was at the furthest peripheries of cities. This low-density expansion pushed those that qualified for subsidies further away from resources such as jobs, schools and commerce, exacerbating both the racialized divisions and sprawling nature of apartheid planning. Additionally, the subsidies were so low that the houses produced were actually smaller than and of inferior quality compared to the apartheid-era 51/9 (and similar) houses.

The housing subsidy has produced a large number of homes, and compared to the ‘sites and services’ schemes adopted by the apartheid state in its latter years, has provided complete homes rather than merely building pads and utilities (Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008, 60; Huchzermeyer 2001). However, it has also impacted the modes of housing that can be produced. Denser developments, particularly on infill sites closer to urban centers have been difficult to realize, as the individual subsidy cannot be conglomerated adequately to finance these. Thus, the constitutionally-enshrined right to shelter has ironically been provided in ways that have reproduced certain modes of apartheid spatiality. This has been just one instance in which the aspirations of the post-apartheid have been carried out in ways that produce contradiction and intensify what Hart calls the ‘South African crisis’ (2013).

Contradiction was arguably inherent in the RDP. In its ‘neo-Keynesian’ nature as described above, the RDP aspired to bring together the goals of redistribution with economic growth. The former were clearly fundamental to the expectations of many South Africans, while the latter a central demand from business and important to the incoming government (G. P. Hart 2002; Marais 2001). However, the contradictions between the differing goals of the RDP proved too divisive for it to handle. As I will discuss below, the direction that policy took to address these contradictions has had a broad impact upon space making and the aspirations of the post-apartheid.

### *The Shift to GEAR: Neoliberalism and the Post-Apartheid*

By 1996, only two years into the democratic period and into RDP's implementation, the cracks in the South African economy and in RDP began to appear. The Keynesian approach to the pre-election version of RDP was already heavily diluted by the time the RDP White Paper was produced in September 1994. The document displaced a distinct 'neoliberal trickle-down' approach, limiting redistribution to that which was possible through 'reduced expenditures' and 'budget restructuring' (G. P. Hart 2002, 18). Yet, even this shift from its original formulation was insufficient to satisfy global markets and internal demands for 'ensuring competitiveness in an unstable global economy' (Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008, 62). In June 1996, RDP was officially replaced by GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution): a clearly orthodox neoliberal policy.

The shift to GEAR is a marked moment in the democratic era and key feature of the post-apartheid terrain. As Hart states, "GEAR sits uneasily astride the emancipatory promises of the liberation struggle, as well as the material hopes, aspirations and rights of the large majority of South Africans." (2002, 7) That the ANC-led government led this shift says much about the contradictory and fraught nature of the post-apartheid condition. Using Marais' analysis that the negotiated settlement of apartheid's ending set the stage for a host of unresolved conditions, Hart views the "the process that culminated in GEAR as neither driven by the inexorable forces of globalization not by a simple sell-out, but by complex power struggles within and beyond the ANC and its alliance partners." (2002, 21) In more recent work, she has clarified this framing as struggles between 're-nationalization' and 'de-nationalization', both of which contain complex assemblages of positions. She defines re-nationalization through practices and processes that affirm the centrality of national identity. These are both of a more inclusive nature, such as in the 'Rainbow Nation' discourse, and exclusionary as seen in the ANC's anti-immigration legislation. De-nationalization "refers to alliances with the ANC through which corporate capital defined the terms of reconnection with the global economy...It includes - but also precedes and extends beyond - the extremely conservative package of neoliberal macro-economic policies set in place in 1996." (G. P. Hart 2013, xix) Through this analysis, Hart illustrates that the shift to GEAR is just one part of a complex series of practices that have produced key tensions within not only the democratic state but also for the nation as a whole.

This shift in governance strategy made significant marks on the urban landscape. In Cape Town, the neoliberal move has been manifested through practices that include the rise of influential public-private partnerships, private policing of public space, and aspirations for producing the city as a Global City (Lemanski 2007) (McDonald 2008). While the degree to which neoliberalism in Cape Town is a useful lens is debated,<sup>38</sup> it is indisputable that Cape

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<sup>38</sup> At the 2011 South African Cities Conference held at the University of Cape Town, numerous scholars including Edgar Pieterse and Jennifer Robinson debated the salience of using neoliberalism as an analytic.

Town's 'City Bowl' has been slowly, radically transformed by the increasing presence of private policing and foreign investment (McDonald 2008; S. Robins 2002). This has both made the area safer for its visitors and residents, and acted as a method of exclusion: panhandling and squatting have been almost entirely eliminated, but so has access to the City Bowl by those who lack jobs and homes. Such policing practices have worked alongside the presence of public-private partnerships, which have significantly shaped the direction urban development has taken. The Cape Town Partnership, in particular, has taken on an expansive role, developing a marketable identity for the city and leading the way in initiatives such as Cape Town's successful bid as the 2014 World Design Capital and rebranding the 'East City', which was actually part of District Six, as the creative economy hub the 'Fringe'.<sup>39</sup>

These strategies have fed into a larger South African phenomenon, in which cities are being developed in ways that perpetuate inequality. Martin Murray has studied such phenomena in Johannesburg. Both he and Lindsay Bremner have critiqued the privileging of visual, aesthetic logics in urban strategies. Murray has laid blame for post-apartheid perpetuation of urban inequality and exclusionary practices in part on architects and planners, arguing that the privileging of visual order has rendered the poor both invisible and subsequently displaced further and further to the city's margins (2008). Bremner also is concerned with architects who under-attend to social processes in their work, which she argues leaves the discipline irrelevant and outside of both official 'city-making' processes and critical, post-positivist discourses (2010).

These concerns relate to the arguments of this dissertation in two important ways. First, they illustrate the complexities and contradictions of the post-apartheid. The perpetuation of marginalization in South African cities and the shift to neoliberal policies have been key attributes of the democratic era. The practices related to these phenomena speak to the limitations to what has been realized in the democratic era in regards to redistribution, and illustrate that the aspirations and ambitions for the post-apartheid are not universally shared. Second, while Murray and Bremner astutely point to the architectural profession's culpability in the perpetuation of inequality, the stories told in this dissertation seek to turn attention to different approaches to architectural production. These are stories that unpack how architects have gone about trying to provide redress to apartheid spatiality. My approach has not been to celebrate such architects, but to uncover (architectural) histories of ambitions for the post-

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<sup>39</sup> It is arguable that the influence of a public-private partnership such as the Cape Town Partnership relates to the dominance of the Democratic Alliance (DA) political party in Cape Town. The DA, which is a historically white party but has been actively trying to change its demographic to be more representative, is the foremost opposition to the ANC (at least prior to the Economic Freedom Fighters' ascendance in the last year). Unlike most every other major city and province, Cape Town and the Western Cape have been flip-flopping between the ANC and DA since 1994. However, in 2006 the DA won metropolitan elections and have since consolidated their leadership of the city and province. While the DA does important work in Parliament trying to hold the ANC accountable for questionable practices, the party's economic policies and general positions are much more neoliberal than the ANC's.

apartheid to provide meaningful redress to apartheid. The stories in the following chapters unpack how such ambitions have been developed and expressed, by architects and by the host of actors involved with each site. These stories accept that some practices lead to perpetuation of inequality, even if unintended. They also recognize and highlight how the actors involved in space making do not universally agree upon the premises and methods of the post-apartheid. Thus, these stories trace where aspirations and ambitions find openings for action and where they come up against limitations. As stated earlier, these are not idealized stories, but grounded histories of three sites: of apartheid spatiality and efforts to provide redress. Let us now begin with those histories.

## Chapter 2. Disturbing Apartheid: Rescripting Race and Space at the Hostels Upgrades



Figure 2.1 Sean James with art agent, by Gabriel Clark-Brown. The South African printmaker produced a number of etchings throughout the 1990s that juxtapose inner experience with the city. “Sean James with art agent” shows a black artist and his white art agent passing over Crossroads, one of Cape Town’s most infamous informal settlements. While the art agent gazes at the makeshift squatter camp below, the rear-view mirror (on the bottom left corner of the image) shows the car moving away from Devil’s Peak and the adjacent white suburbs, demonstrating the separation between the two sides of Cape Town. From Vergunst 2001, 29.

In 1985, a group of migrant laborer hostel dwellers came together to pursue ways to improve the abysmal conditions they lived in while ‘temporarily’ working in Cape Town. At the time they began to organize, they simply sought to ‘upgrade’ each man from a shared to a private room and improve the general conditions of the hostels. After nine years of protracted effort, in 1994, construction began on the first demonstration units of the ‘upgraded’ hostels. These ‘Show Units’ were in actuality entire flats - or apartments - and designed to house not only the laborers, but also their entire families.

This chapter is about the process of moving from 1985 to 1994, of seeing the claims and goals of the hostel dwellers get developed, and beginning to see the Hostels Upgrades come to fruition.<sup>40</sup> In part the chapter is about the efforts that led up to the beginning of the construction of the hostels. In this way, I am concerned with the architectural process of designing the upgrades, and the political negotiations necessary to secure permission and funding for upgrading. Yet, this chapter is also about much more. The Hostels Upgrades was a site - an analytical site - at which a particular set of claims were made as part of the struggle against apartheid. The migrant labor hostels themselves, and the effort to upgrade them give expression to some of the key ways in which race, class and gender were scripted in Cape Town. This scripting - and rescripting - helps tell the story of the local, grounded shape that apartheid took in Cape Town, as well as its contestation and the struggles that continued on after the end of apartheid.

The story of the Hostels Upgrades, which is about a process as much as a final product, speaks to Cape Town’s transitional period, when apartheid was nearing its demise and democracy was ushered in. In part, this is a story about architecture as a site for destabilizing the divisions and boundaries upon which apartheid operated. The Hostels Upgrades provided an opportunity for architects to participate in an effort that critiqued the apartheid state and its policies as they took (spatial) shape in Cape Town. However, such opportunity came cloaked as a building activity, rather than protest march or boycott. The Hostels Upgrades, then, can be understood as not only an architectural exercise in improving the physical space of the hostels, but one that worked through the intertwined social and spatial implications of South Africa’s migrant labor system. In addition to these significant aspects of the project, the Hostels Upgrades was a site of political action. It deserves to be recognized as such alongside other forms of non-violent action; upgrading the hostels was a process of claim-making, that expressed critique of the apartheid system and an alternative vision for the city’s spatial and social arrangements.

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<sup>40</sup> Over the course of the projects’ life , it has had a variety of names: ‘Hostels to Homes’, ‘LaGuNya’ for the three townships (Langa, Gugulethu and Nyanga) that the hostels were located in, the ‘Hostels Redevelopment Project’. To not falsely suggest allegiance with any one phase of the project, I will be referring to it as the Hostels Upgrades for the duration of this chapter.

As a story of protest, this chapter will give particular attention to how the category of race has been used to cast the fortunes of Cape Town's urban dwellers. I will look at how race has been mapped upon the city: spatially, as a means of categorizing labor – and by extension residing in the city – and in regards to the racialized nature of the architectural profession. I will frame the Hostels Upgrades in regards to the hegemonic narratives that claim that Cape Town's history never included black South Africans. I will use the case of the Upgrades to explore how in the 1980s and 1990s, claims regarding the (in)visibility of black South Africans became articulated with housing struggles, in ways that have continued to mark housing practices and broader struggles in the city in the democratic era.

The Upgrades, as a case, brings to light three themes: first, it illustrates the troubled history of representing and including blacks in the city, by showing that the migrant labour hostels were one of the devices under apartheid that enabled perpetuating the myth, circulated by the apartheid state, that there were no blacks in the city. As I will illustrate, this myth was a localized iteration of a larger national-scale condition, in which race, labor and capital came together to produce the migrant labour system as a key terrain of apartheid. Second, the process of upgrading the hostels illustrates the possibilities of contesting, discursively, this myth. In the chapter I will examine what it meant to oppose apartheid by disturbing the racially-based discourses and related forms of dispossession upon which it was reproduced. Third, the Upgrades provide insight into how anti-apartheid struggle worked through claims based upon space-based rights. I intend to show that anti-apartheid struggle was waged not only in through armed struggle and boycotts, but also as productive interventions, as seen in building projects (Morojele 1998).

I will unpack this form of struggle through a set of lenses. I will explore the gendered ramifications of the fact that the project was a site of the 'domestic'. As I will show, the hostel dwellers very powerfully linked labour, migrancy, and familial relations in their demands for upgrading the hostels to 'homes'. Yet, I will also show how the processes through which the hostels were upgraded also reinforced normative understandings of gender – and ethnicity. I will use the category of 'difference', as understood through racial, class-based, and spatial difference, to explore the relationships between the hostel dwellers and the architects who worked on the Upgrades. I will argue that the apartheid city's divisions were contested by discursively destabilizing the boundaries produced through such differences. In this way, the chapter will examine architecture as a social act - an engagement between professionals, clients, and institutions such as the state, which is itself shaped by and contributes towards categories of privilege and poverty. Third, I will explore how the architectural interventions reinforced the subversion of apartheid, by intervening into the modernism of the planning of the migrant labour hostels.

The chapter will move chronologically and thematically through the project's history, beginning before the upgrades, with the initial history of constructing migrant labor housing in

Cape Town. Having established the racialized discourses of belonging and dispossession produced through the migrant labor hostels, I will discuss the initiation of the upgrading, working from the perspective of the hostel dwellers. The chapter will next move to the role played by architects in the upgrading, asking how their performance as professionals was a political act. The architectural study will also examine the designs produced and the process of designing, asking how this approach to architecture brought together disciplinary practices with political ones. The narrative will conclude with a brief discussion of how the designs and political agitations came to fruition, in the construction of the Upgrades. I will use the realization of the Upgrades to frame the project - and the claims made through it - as a set of continuities, that speaks to the contradictions and issues waiting to be resolved in the post-apartheid era. Lastly, the final section of the chapter will think through how to make sense of the Hostels Upgrades, as a space of action defined by categories of racialized privilege and power.



Figure 2.2 *Cabo de Goede Hoop*, by Abraham Bogaert, 1711. The engraving illustrates the separation between the Khoi-San across Table Bay and the Dutch settlers under Table Mountain. It also supports the argument that it is the Khoi-San, not Bantu Africans, who were the original inhabitants of the Cape. From Vergunst 2001, 23.

## 2.1 Building Hostels, Scripting Race and Gender

The apartheid government, building on centuries of colonialism, successfully circulated a particular myth about Cape Town, that the city historically never had a black (African) population. The myth argued that historically the Bantu-speaking tribes – who make up the constituency of ‘black’ South Africans – never migrated southwest beyond the Fish River, in what is now the Eastern Cape Province. This fiction - which is the subject of this chapter - relies upon the historically accurate fact that Cape’s pre-European contact population rather were the Khoi-San (Figure 2.2): hunter-gatherer and pastoral people<sup>41</sup> also known derogatorily as

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<sup>41</sup> The Khoi-San are in actuality two separate, but related people: the San are hunter-gathers and the Khoi-Khoi pastoralists. Since archeologists are still not certain whether one group predated the other in the Cape or the two alternated dominance depending upon environmental conditions, the two groups are often collapsed into one – the KhoiSan – for the sake of brevity (John Parkington 2004 teaching module).

‘Bushmen’, who were for the most part killed off in the early years of European settlement. This story draws sharp distinctions between the Khoi-San, aboriginal people indigenous to the Western Cape region, and ‘Africans’ – Bantu-speaking tribes, who migrated down to Southern Africa from East Africa. The circulation of this story gives deserved recognition to the Khoi-San, whose culture – notably their language (Van Sitters 2011) – and very existence has been on the cusp of extinction for centuries, but also works to sublimate the history and legitimacy of ‘blackness’ in Cape Town.

Cape Town’s migrant labour hostels (Figure 2.3) were one of the types of sites through which this myth of ‘non-blackness’ was perpetuated. The discourses that denied Cape Town a black history were reinforced by and worked through practices of dislocation, in which black ‘bodies’ were removed from the center of the city, and thus from visibility. While this removal began under a pretense of disease, as discussed in the previous chapter, it was in spaces such as the hostels that ‘dislocation’ was normalized. The hostels served as a site through which race – as well as other categories – was articulated as a marker of exclusion. Cape Town became racially imprinted, as not merely a ‘white’ city (Coetzer 2003), but more precisely as a not-black city. Throughout colonialism and apartheid, white and coloured identities were legitimized and materially supported (to differing degrees) in Cape Town, while black identities were ‘written out’ of the city.

This racialized writing of Cape Town, however, does not work through race on its own. Rather, while Cape Town may have been ‘written’ as a not-black city, the narrative worked through and was productive of other spheres, particularly housing and labor. The interworking of different categories can be understood through Stuart Hall’s understanding of articulation (1980). As discussed early, Hall argued that in conditions of segregation, such as apartheid South Africa, race and class are articulated through each other. Neither race nor class could be isolated as dominant categories. Instead, race is a modality through which class is ‘lived’, and structures of labor reproduction work through race. This is vividly demonstrated in the migrant labour hostels: as I will discuss below, the migrant labour system was a key terrain through which capital was reproduced and racialized inequality produced (Wilson 1972). As Hall states, in the migrant labour system race and class were not separable; they were articulated through each other. The hostels illustrate how the labour system was additionally ‘lived’, to borrow Hall’s phrasing, through housing. As this section of the chapter will illustrate, space provided an additional terrain through which race and class were articulated. The migrant labour hostels in Cape Town, because of the Western Cape’s particular racialized labor laws and racial history, served as a key site for the writing out of ‘blackness’ from Cape Town.

As I am arguing overall in this chapter that the Hostels Upgrades was a case of *re-scripting* race and space, in this section I will explain how those categories were first scripted, as colonial and apartheid constructs. I will argue that the hostels were one of the spaces through which

blackness was written out of Cape Town: not merely produced as apart, as to be expected during apartheid, but actually absent from the city's space or history.

### *The Hostel Landscape*

*As a result of government policy towards urban Africans, those African men who did not qualify as "permanent" urban dwellers (under Section 101(a) or (b) of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945) have been accommodated in single-sex hostel dwellings.*

-- Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association

Migrant labour hostels were one of the key residential spaces through which labor, which was a key component of the apartheid system, operated. Migrant labour hostels existed predominantly at mining compounds and in cities. In both, the fundamental premise was that the place of the labor, be it mines or cities, was not 'home' (Lemon 1991). It was a place 'apart' from where men – and it was predominantly men, though there were hostels for women – were considered permanent dwellers. Under apartheid, such permanent homes for most African men and women were in the Bantustans. Therefore, life 'up on the mines' or in cities was considered by the state to be temporary, conditional upon employment. These employees then did not have the right to establish permanent dwellings in the city (or at the mines). Instead, they 'stayed' in migrant labour hostels: dormitory-like dwellings, whose architectural and spatial conditions imprinted the practice of dislocation (Ramphele 1993).

In Cape Town, the state-owned hostels<sup>42</sup> for migrant African workers were located in three 'black' townships: Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu<sup>43</sup> (Figure 2.3). When Cape Town had a somewhat thriving manufacturing economy, the three townships were logically located nearby to sites of industry. However, these aspects of the South African economy began to decline in the 1980s and have yet to return. What remains are dormitory townships, resolutely peripheral to the bulk of the city's jobs and resources, and poorly served by the city's meager public

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<sup>42</sup> The subject of this chapter is the upgrades to hostels owned by the state. There were also privately-owned hostels in Cape Town, but the upgrading process I am writing about did not include those.

<sup>43</sup> Gugulethu and Nyanga were built in the 1960s as Langa became overcrowded. Prior to their construction, Langa was the only official place of residence for black South Africans in Cape Town. In the 1980s Khayelitsha was built as an additional township for black South Africans, but because of its late date, it did not include single sex migrant labor hostels.

transportation infrastructure. The three townships are closer to the center of the city than more recently built townships and relocation centers, such as Khayelitsha, but they were never central, geographically, to the city.

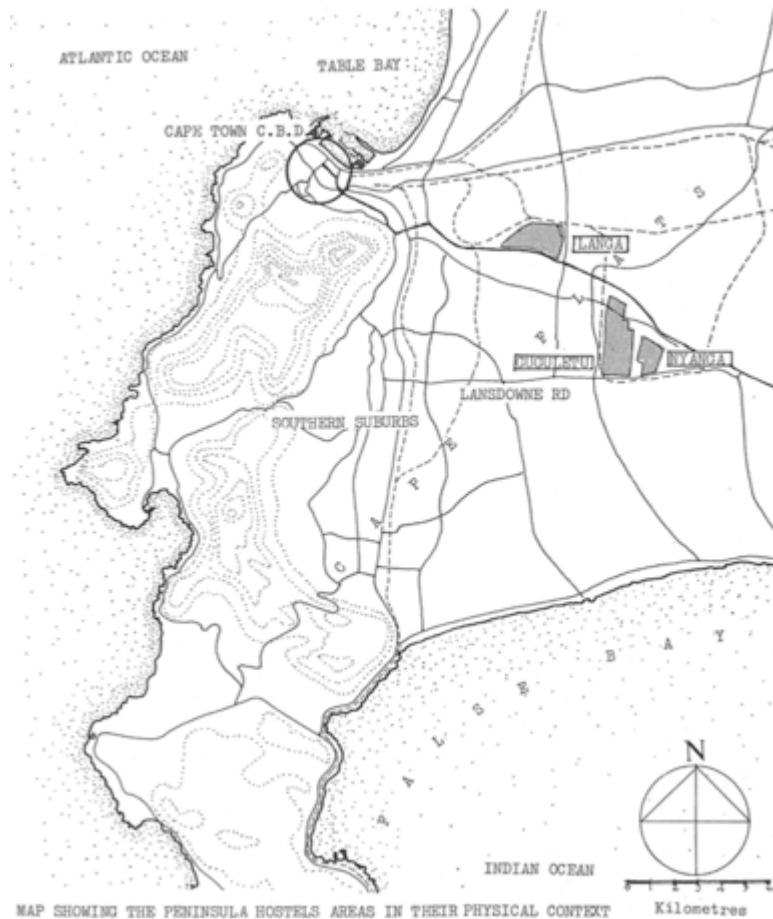


Figure 2.3 Location of Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu. All three townships were on the city's periphery, far from jobs and resources in the central business district (CBD), and privileged residential areas such as the Southern Suburbs. From Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association 1987, 4.

As of 1983, shortly before the upgrading process began, it was estimated that there were approximately a total of 28,000 beds in the migrant hostels of all three townships, including in privately-owned townships (Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association, 1987). While the number of residents should, theoretically, have corresponded to the number of beds, the realities of social life in the hostels - which will be discussed below - made it so that a reasonable estimate of the hostels population was in actuality 2.5 times as great. Due to the informality of the occupation of the hostels, it was impossible to calculate exactly the population of the hostels; however the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association did estimate in 1987 that 8% of Cape Town's African population lived in hostels (1987). It is easy to hypothesize that the total

numbers, if not the percentage continued - and possibly continues - to increase with the rapid rate of urban migration to Cape Town by black South Africans and Africans.

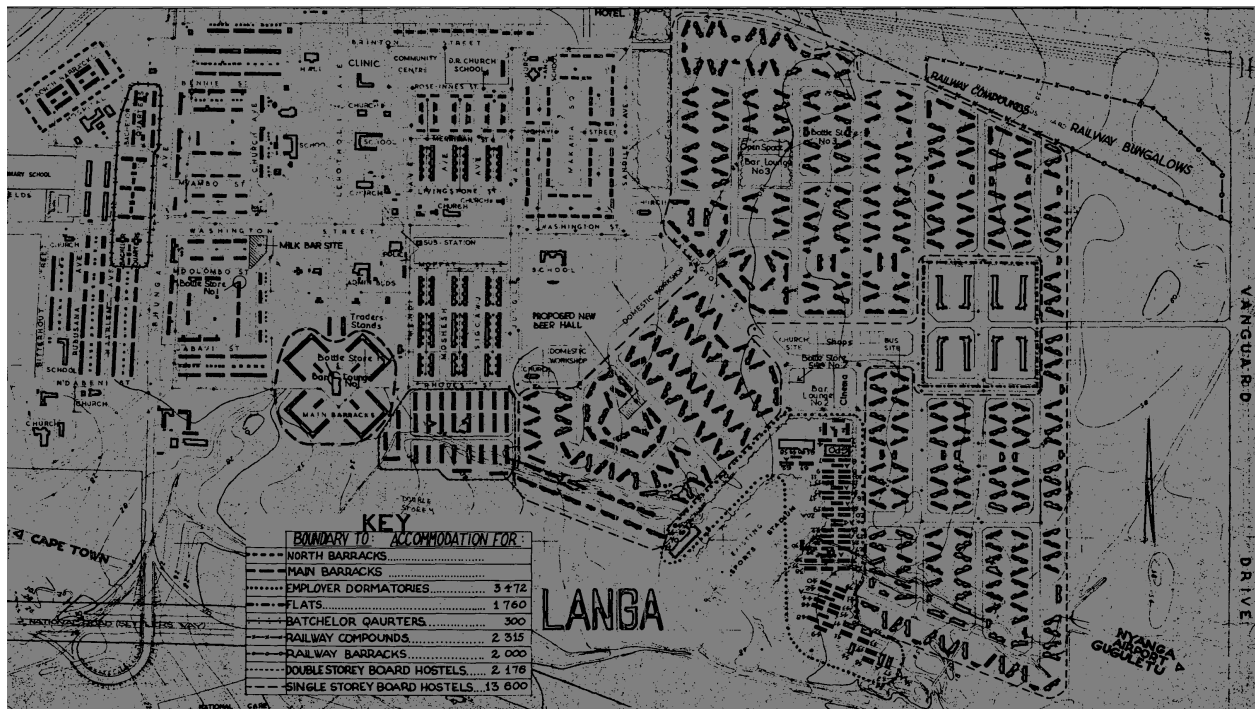


Figure 2.4 Langa Plan. The township of Langa consisted of an arrangement of hostel and other housing typologies. The hostel buildings, which are seen in the right half of the plan and the lower-center, were arranged in 'diamond' and parallel compositions. From Selvan 1976, 17.

The size and lay-out of the hostel complexes varied from township to township. The greatest number of hostels were located in Langa, and they were configured in single-story rows, in diamond-shaped patterns, and as double-story stacks of the single-story structures (Figure 2.4). An example of a type of hostel building was the 'Zones': single story hostels divided into two units, each containing six sleeping rooms, a shared kitchen, bathroom and 'store' room. As can be seen in Figure 2.5, the kitchen was clearly the only possible semi-public room for socializing. Of the six bedrooms, two had two beds each and four had three beds each, for a total of 16 beds per unit and 32 per building (Selvan, 1976). There were also double story versions of the zones, with uncovered exterior stairs used as access. As will be discussed below, in all configurations, the shared cooking and ablution facilities were completely minimal. The crowding of men and women into remote, unforgiving spaces was a technology of marginality. Marginality was produced at the hostels as a device of control, which worked to both control labor as well as to materially and discursively sublimate black identity in Cape Town (Cook 1991).

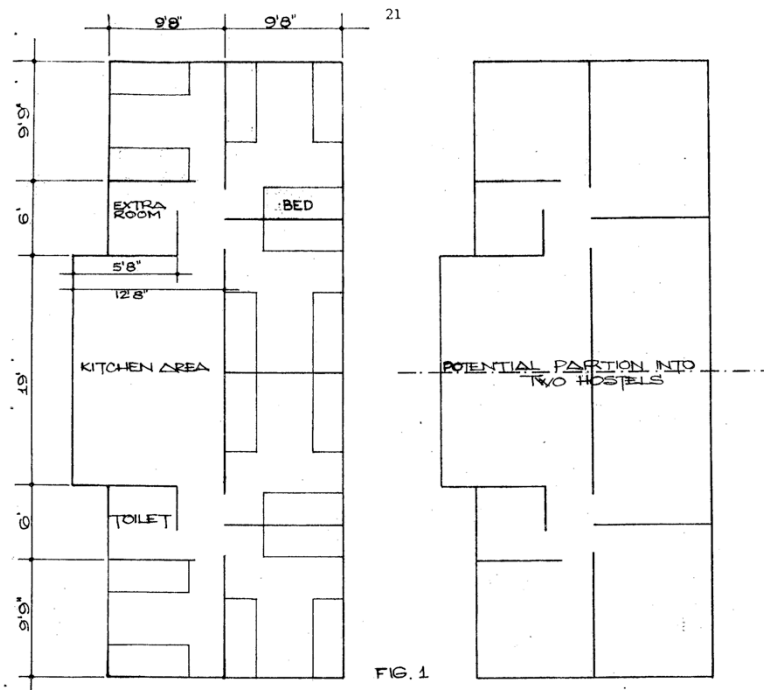


Figure 2.5 Typical Hostel Plan. A typical hostel such as this, an example from the 'Zones' area of Langa, contained six sleeping rooms, of two to three beds each, a kitchen area, toilet and 'extra room'. The kitchen area provided the only opportunity for communal gathering. From Selvan 1976, 27.

### *Removing Blackness*

While it may be historically accurate that the Fish River served as the southern boundary of the extended migration of Bantu-speakers into southern Africa, this does not mean that black people have never lived in Cape Town. In the city's earliest days, beginning with settlement by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the mid seventeenth century, labor was reliant upon slaves, whose points of origin included Africa. In the mid-nineteenth century, as the trade-based economy intensified under British colonial rule at the same time as rural areas were suffering from cattle disease and impoverishment, workers migrated from the Eastern Cape to Cape Town to seek employment on the thriving docks (Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 110). Additionally, waves of 'freed' slaves and prisoners were brought to Cape Town throughout the nineteenth century. Many remained on in the city, after serving periods of indenture (Saunders, et al., 1980). These workers built significant portions of Cape Town, from landmark buildings such as the South African Library and Museum, to key roads and rail lines, as well as the docks and the harbor (Saunders, et al., 1980). Yet, their presence in and contribution to the city have been smudged out; they have been written out of Cape Town.

Historian Nigel Worden illustrates how Cape Town's black history has been collectively forgotten through the example of the representation of history at the V&A Waterfront, a leisure destination popular with tourists and locals. He notes a display at the Maritime Museum at the Waterfront conspicuously omits Africans from the city: "Table Bay – home to indigenous San and Khoikhoi for almost 2,000 years; stop over for European sea farers for nearly 500 years; Gateway to Africa; the Mother City; Tavern of the Seas" (1994, 40). The written description and its accompanying photographs sanitize out the black men who actually constructed the Harbor in the 1870s. Whether convicts – who provided more 'pliable' labor – or free migrants from the Eastern Cape, black men were integral to the construction and operation of the Cape Town harbor in the nineteenth century. Yet, their labor at the harbor and presence in the city were systematically left out of the apartheid-era writing of the city's history. Black people are often positioned as a component in binary constructions of what Cape Town is – and is not. To be black (or African) is to be associated with the rural and traditional, and placed opposite that which is white, urban, and modern (Lalu 2007). In Cape Town, as in many other places, race gets inculcated in discourses of modernity, and blackness gets subsumed into that which is Other to the modern and the urban (Mbembé 2004; Witz 2007).

The symbolic erasure that Worden uncovers was the later iteration of processes of isolation and removal that began in the late nineteenth century. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the black population in Cape Town grew, reaching about 10,000 by then end of the nineteenth century (Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 213; Saunders 1984, 167). This was part of increasing ethnic diversity in the city, and a change that was accompanied by a growth in social anxiety. 'Africans' in particular were targeted in the media as "immoral" and a danger to urban life (Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 220; Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 18; Saunders 1984, 168). In the late nineteenth century, the white middle class' social anxieties could be mapped onto concerns around infectious disease (Swanson 1995) and capital's desires to control labor as a means of increasing profits. In Cape Town, both the disease and control discourses found expression in isolating black residents, particularly migrant dockworkers. By the 1890s, migrant dockworkers were for the most part centrally housed – and ostensibly controlled – on site at the harbor, under the aegis of the Harbour Board (Worden 1994, 41). Yet, white leaders, in both government and commerce, called for the further isolation and control of they city's African population, through the construction of a 'location', as popularized in the Eastern Cape (Coetzer 2013) (Saunders, et al., 1984). When bubonic plague broke out in Cape Town in 1901, an opportunity arose to intensify the spatialized tools of racialized social control. As mentioned in the previous chapter, although (white) sailors passing through the city's harbor likely introduced plague, it was the city's black residents who were 'dislocated'. All of the city's black dockworkers and most all other blacks living throughout Cape Town were forcibly removed to a 'location' at the plague hospital established at Uitvlugt, on the city's then periphery. While the hospital was built for the purpose of treating plague victims, the location served to isolate all blacks, regardless of whether or not they suffered from the bubonic plague. It was a removal that was to last long beyond the city's

plague outbreak: those blacks removed to the Uitvlugt location were for the most part never allowed to return to their urban homes.<sup>44</sup> Instead, the location was incorporated under the 1902 Native Reserves Location Bill and renamed Ndabeni. Ndabeni would become Cape Town's first 'location', amongst what would eventually become an array of racially controlling planning devices (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 30; Saunders 1984).

From Ndabeni, the marginalization of blacks at the periphery of Cape Town was fortified with the construction of a permanent township - Langa. Ndabeni can be thought of a somewhat hastily constructed location, reflecting ambivalence about the permanence and character of isolating black people at the edge of the city. When urban policies developed from reacting (to disease) to planning segregation, the solution was to build Langa. Unlike Ndabeni, Langa was conceived from the start as a permanent residential feature that was to function as a parallel space to the city, with administrative and commercial facilities as well as residences (Coetzer 2013, 194).

Langa<sup>45</sup> was designed to incorporate a variety of housing types: cottages for families, rental units for single men, and single-sex hostels for migrant laborers. This array of housing types produced hierarchical divisions amongst the black residents, which worked through class and gender. First, through their spatial separation from families and permanent residents, migrant laborers were visibly located at the bottom rung of the class-hierarchy. This reflected "the basic urge to keep migrant labourers separate from permanently urbanized Natives for fear of mutual social and moral 'contamination'" (Coetzer 2013, 200). Second, gender became a further expression of exclusion: there was only one hostel for women, while men had two male hostels, single male rental accommodations, and family cottages<sup>46</sup> (Coetzer 2013, 198–199). This uneven allocation of space for women reflected the uneven exclusion of women from cities. While all black South Africans were subjected to controls over their movement across the nation, including application greatly for residence in cities, women were even more severely subjected to these controls (Ginsburg, 2011). Women were expected to remain in rural homelands, taking responsibility for the family's reproductive labor.<sup>47</sup> Their movements were even more strictly constricted than men's, and their presence in cities even more liminal.

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<sup>44</sup> One exception was, perhaps ironically, 1,800 dockworkers, for whom a new compound was built next to the harbor Saunders, et al., 1984.

<sup>45</sup> I am focusing on Langa because as the first permanent township built, its history is paradigmatic of the marginalization of blackness in the city. Langa is also significant for housing the most migrant laborers in Cape Town, at least in the 1970s (Selvan 1976, 10).

<sup>46</sup> The family cottages were only available to families with male head-of-households. Female head of households were barred from applying for the family cottages.

<sup>47</sup> For a vivid representation of the gendered, spatialized roles assigned to men and women during apartheid, see Lauretta Ngcobo's novel *And They Didn't Die* (1990).

These issues of class, race, gender and space were the very issues at stake in the Hostels Upgrades. The construction of spaces such as the migrant labour hostels in Langa, and later in Nyanga and Gugulethu, worked to push black South Africans to the city's periphery, both spatially and discursively. While the myth that black people never lived in Cape Town prior to the post-apartheid urban migration was false, it was possible to perpetuate because of the dislocation of the city's black population to shadow 'location' and 'township' spaces. In the next section I will describe how life in the hostels reinforced this exclusion, working through architecture and state policy.

### *Making the 'Not-Black' City*

Coetzer classifies imperial Cape Town as the "*White city*" [sic], which he defines as "ordered, regulated and without ambiguity." (2013, 208) He uses 'white' to describe the discursive making of the city: an embodiment of white, middle class values, which can also be thought of as Imperial values. He argues, persuasively, that spaces such as Langa were critical contributions to the ordering of Cape Town. Langa enabled gathering together and sequestering the city's "Natives" into policed compounds: "the city was no longer as pockmarked with 'African' territories spread like a rash over its body." (Coetzer 2013, 208) The potential 'African-ness' of the city was contained, hidden out of sight at the edge of the city. In this section, I will build upon this framing, arguing that spaces such as the hostels reinforced the myth of Cape Town as a 'not-black' city. Such histories are significant in regards to the racialized discourses that have plague Cape Town during the transition from apartheid to democracy. From apartheid's final days through to today, housing allocation, elections and even university education are riled by the histories of writing blackness out of Cape Town. In some regards the not-black city is the white city: controlled and regulated, and lacking ambiguity. Yet it goes further: while the white city is a reflection of one population's – middle-class whites' - values, the not-black city is a more complicated construct. While both are discursive tropes, the not-black city seeks to eradicate not only the *signs* of blackness, but also to write the history and future trajectory of blackness in the city. For Coetzer, the white city is primarily one of representation, produced through architecture. The not-black city maps policy onto architecture, bringing together government and capital practices that seek to destabilize the claim blacks can make upon the city, with architectural practices that are produced through and productive of this destabilization.

I have already written above about how black residents of Cape Town, whether permanent or migrant, were initially moved out of the center of the city to the periphery: to Ndabeni, then to Langa, and as it became overcrowded, to Nyanga and Gugulethu. This process of dislocation was productive of a removal of blackness from the city. In order to reproduce the city as not-black, it became necessary to couple such internal dislocations with more outward-looking

legislation. A key way this was accomplished was through the technology of influx control (Posel 1997).

Even before apartheid became official policy, the South African state practiced influx controls. The movement of black people across the country was regulated, as a governing mechanism and tool for controlling the 'native' population. In the Western Cape, influx control was exercised through labor-based policies, which sought to limit African inhabitation of the region by giving preference to the hiring of coloured people. As early as the 1920s, influx control was instituted as an expression of officials' dual concerns: first, there was anxiety over the growing African population in the Western Cape. As I discussed above, this emerged in the late nineteenth century as a general fear of the 'immoral' and dangerous Other, in ways that reflected colonial ways of thinking and exerting control (Mitchell 1988). Second, and related, state officials expressed concern that the African population would put pressure on the employment opportunities for the region's coloured population (Humphries 1989, 170). The latter concern reflected the somewhat unique condition in the Western Cape, in which the coloured population generally outnumbered Africans. In other parts of the nation, the African population was the majority, and as such (white) domination was exercised through practices that spatially circumscribed blacks and limited their opportunities. In the Western Cape, Africans were seen – by the white population – as a foreign body, that threatened the livelihood of coloured people.

In order to allay these concerns, in the 1920s the Cape Town City Council pressured Transkei<sup>48</sup> officials to not issue passes to Africans wishing to come to Cape Town to work. This 'arrangement' was made official under the 1930s Urban Areas Act, allowing local and state governments to coordinate their actions to restrict Africans from entering the Western Cape (Goldin 1984, 110; Horner 1983, 107). Yet, labor demands during the Second World War brought a relatively large number of Africans to Cape Town for work, resulting in an almost frantic outcry by the newly elected Afrikaner Nationalist Party (Horner 1983, 3; Humphries 1989, 170). Officials demanded that the "Western Cape (the precise area of which can be defined later) must be declared a white area so that there is at least one region in the country where no point of friction can be created between Africans and whites." (Tomlinson, 1) As Horner states, this position ignores the "historical presence of the African who had been living and working in the area since the early nineteenth century." (1983, 8) While the Western Cape was never declared white in its entirety, in 1955 the national government began to administer the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy.

Essentially, the Coloured Labour Preference Area policy stated that before an employer could hire Africans – typically men – for a position, they must first show that there are no

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<sup>48</sup> The Transkei was one of the 'homelands' for Africans, specifically Xhosa speaking people, in what is today's Eastern Cape Province.

qualified coloureds available to fill the post (Selvan 1976, 2–3). The policy sought to prohibit Africans from gaining permanent residence in the Western Cape, by stipulating that “additional labour requirements were to take the form of migrant labour.” (Humphries 1989, 173) This meant that *if* Africans were to be given employment, they must retain a migrant status, rather than to be granted permanent residence in the Western Cape. By theoretically<sup>49</sup> making it impossible for Africans to claim Cape Town as home, the pretense that Cape Town was a not a black city could be upheld, as the black bodies in the city were only temporary sojourners, not actual members of the city’s population.

As temporary residents in the city, migrant African laborers faced few choices in terms of places of residence. Legally, they were forced to reside in the migrant labour hostels in Langa, Nyanga or Gugulethu. While illicit rental situations in other areas of the city were possible to find, for the most part the hostels represented the space of urban residence for migrant workers. The hostels became the zone that manifested Cape Town’s not-black narrative: they enabled the circulation of the narrative and limited the ways in which (migrant) residents could contest their marginality.

The hostels did so, in part, through the coming together of restrictive legislation such as the Coloured Labour Preference Area laws with the ways in which the migrant labour system as a whole supported – and was supported by – apartheid. Just as Jennifer Robinson (1996) shows that the location system was the state’s necessary method of controlling the population, the hostels were a space in which the precarious nature of migrant labor was reinforced through state policy, which was in turn bolstered by and reproductive of the capitalist labour system (Swilling, Humphries, and Shubane 1991).

### *The Architectural Production of Other*

What is significant for this dissertation, as an architectural study, is that the architecture of the migrant labour hostels reinforced the Otherness of the African residents, furthering the claims they could make linking black identity and the city.

When I first encountered township spaces such as the Langa hostels that had not yet been upgraded (in 2004), I was struck by the harshness of the environment (Figure 2.6). This seemed to me a place designed in reflection of the racialized, techno-rational values of the apartheid state. The architecture was of an industrial, functionalist aesthetic, and the urban design was

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<sup>49</sup> Humphries does state that it was quite difficult in both regulation and practice to actually enforce this aspect of the policy (1989, 174–176).

modernist; both scales expressing the belief that social control could be exercised by designing environments that appeared as ordered from above (de Certeau 1984; Scott 1998). These designs reinforce arguments about the synergistic relationship between modernist planning and architecture, and the governmentality of the apartheid state (Japha 1998; Parnell and Mabin 1995). Yet, this environment I encountered stands apart from Ndabeni’s and Langa’s design histories – histories that suggest ambivalence about the values that should be expressed in an environment built for ‘Natives’. At Ndabeni, planners explored fashioning an environment that reflected the spaces they were most familiar with, in the ‘imperial motherland’. Amenities such as churches and a recreation hall, with designs to be modeled upon “English Country Towns”, were considered as enhancements for an environment otherwise more similar to a concentration or military camp. In designing Langa, debates concerned whether housing should mimic ‘traditional’ African vernacular forms. Planners articulated the position that the ideal way to house “native families” was “under native conditions”, meaning by building round, versus square dwellings, made of mud and thatching rather than bricks and tin. In the end, neither Ndabeni or Langa incorporated the romantic colonial or “signifier of ‘Africa’” (Coetzer 2013, 188). The techno-rational won out, in a debate that concerned whether architecture could bring order to the city, by either civilizing the Native or setting the Native apart – as Other to the European Self (Coetzer 2013, 185–190).



Figure 2.6 A row of hostels that had not yet been upgraded. The buildings were deteriorating but their appearance suggested that even when newly built, they would not have appeared much more hospitable, with uninsulated roofs and walls, and only minimal windows to allow in natural light. The space between the buildings was an undifferentiated expanse of dirt, that did not mark graduated degrees of public and private space, and did not offer support for daily activities such as washing or congregating. Photographs courtesy of Architects Associated.

In the hostels, two to three men shared bare – unadorned, not Agambian ‘bare’ – rooms, furnished with only cement supported wooden planks, or no beds at all. Generally six rooms

would be grouped together in one building<sup>50</sup> to share very meagerly appointed kitchen and a bathroom that was limited to a single cold-water shower, urinal and toilet that lacked even a seat (Selvan 1976, 12–14). As David Selvan states in his study of migrant labour housing condition, the hostels do “not by any standard adequately cater for the basic material living needs of a 20th century human being.” (1976, 59) Figure 2.6 shows that the hostel buildings were built of uncovered, or ‘face’ brick. While brick is a common building material in South Africa, still today, the unadorned nature of its handling at the hostels demonstrates the meagerness extended to all aspects of how lives were supported at the hostels. This was an architecture of marginality, and as such, of Otherness.

The production of Other at the hostels was not limited to the interior environment. Figure 2.6A also shows that the outdoor environment was homogenously covered in dirt. There were no paths or paving, no demarcations to mark a graduated transition from the public to private zones. As seen in Figures 2.4 and 2.6B, hostels were arranged in diamond patterns or parallel rows. Both plans were contrived to simultaneously constrict entry to the hostels area while providing vast, empty spaces between individual buildings. These vast spaces allowed access by military tanks to control potentially unruly populations, and established an outdoor scale that was inhospitable for household activities such as laundry, and for socializing (Cooke 2011; Isaacs 2012; Ramphela 1993, 28). The architectural and landscape features that typically support and express the social conditions of residential life were lacking at the hostels. Instead, the forms reflected a concern for control, in ways reminiscent of the boulevards Baron Haussmann designed for Paris, scaled to prevent the ‘blockades’ utilized in earlier revolutions (see Harvey 2006). This concern for control, along with the scarcity in expenditure, worked to produce hostel life that was outside of social norms.

Mamphela Ramphela, in her chronicle of life in Cape Town’s migrant labor hostels, uses the concept of ‘limit’ to understand the hostels. At the conclusion of her description of the physical space of the hostels, a description produced through ethnographic research, she states that “hostels represent physical space that is not only *limited* but *limiting*” (1993, 30; emphasis added). For her, *limited* refers to the state of the environment as well as its affect on the residents. She reiterates many of the features described above, as well as “unpleasant odours and overflowing garbage cans,” stating that “inadequate ablution facilities and the overcrowding are indicative of *degrading* facilities.” (emphasis added)

The limited facilities also do violence to the primary purpose of housing, which is to delineate domestic space as opposed to public space. By failing to delineate private, personal space, hostels are a symbol of the denial of the personhood of the people housed in them. (Ramphela 1993, 30)

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<sup>50</sup> This was the arrangement for the hostels in one part of Langa. Floor plans were similar although not identical for other hostels elsewhere in Langa or in Nyanga or Gugulethu.

This significance of her analysis lies in how she builds from her analysis that this is a 'limited' space, to argue that it is also *limiting*. She understands limiting as a type of "total institution", put into place for the purpose of producing a compliant workforce. The totalizing aspect of the hostels is in part achieved by "the stripping of any semblance of respect and privacy in the hostel environment" and the way in which hostel dwellers are defined through their environment as "outsiders", limiting their access to the resources of the Cape Peninsula. These are three important aspects of the ways in which migrant laborers, even amongst black Capetonians get marginalized, that bring together labor, dwelling standards, and access to resources. Significantly, Ramphele argues that these methods take place through architecture. Additionally, she argues that it was the particularity of life in the hostels, amongst other types of housing in townships and across the city, which stigmatized and further discursively displaced hostel dwellers. As one of the architects of the Upgrades states, hostels throughout South Africa were typically cut off from the remainder of the city - architecturally and socially. Walls and gates reinforced a stigmatizing rhetoric of migrant laborers as "outsiders - rural, traditionalist and outsiders." (Cooke, 1993) As I will discuss in the following sections, it was this status, which worked through different but reinforcing realms, which the hostel dwellers and architects sought to address and change.

## **2.2 Safe Strategies: Deploying the Domestic**

As demonstrated above, the migrant labor hostels in Langa, Nyanga and Guglethu, in both their design and state of disrepair, were completely inadequate to serve the needs of residents in even the most minimal ways. It is not surprising, then, that in the mid-1980s, a set of hostel dwellers began to organize to 'upgrade' the hostels. The project they took on was to not merely physically improve the hostels, but to radically rethink what it meant to be and to house 'migrant laborers'. I put a questioning emphasis on the phrase migrant laborers because the upgrading project concerned not only housing form, but in fact the entire relationship between labor, space and the right to the city. It was a project of not only rethinking housing form, but also challenging the temporary, conditional nature of black migrant urban labor – and dwelling. As I will argue in this section of the chapter and the next, the upgrading process, for both the hostel dwellers and consulting professionals involved, served as an architectural exercise *and* more. The upgrading process was in essence an act of resisting and destabilizing apartheid. It was a political act, which used housing as its performative space.

My reading of the Hostels Upgrades begins with the hostel dwellers that initiated and drove the upgrading process. These dwellers came together in 1983 to form the Western Cape Men Hostel's Association (HDA) - an organization that was formally launched on June 1, 1985. The formation of the HDA was a response to two types of impetus: the first was the perceived need to advocate for hostel dweller's welfare in response to a simultaneously hostile and negligent state

apparatus, and the second addressed the oppositional relationship that the state fabricated between hostel dwellers and other types of township residents (Ramphela 1993, 89; Rendall 2012). As will be seen below, the HDA's stated goals explicitly addressed the former. However, the latter concern for the place of hostel dwellers in urban struggles was also a very important factor that ran through the hostel dwellers' upgrading efforts.

The stated goals of the HDA at the time of formation were:

- To seek the recognition of the God-given right of people to live with their families near their places of work.
- To campaign for the provision of family housing and special married quarters.
- To work for full residence and employment rights and an end to the present contract system.
- To work for the upgrading of facilities and amenities.
- To encourage and provide opportunities for adult education and cultural activities. (Ramphela 1993, 89–90)

For the most part, these goals addressed the hostel dwellers' welfare: they sought to bring together families, and to improve the physical quality of the hostels and daily life in them, by addressing education and recreation. What is more subtly stated is the linking – or 'articulating' – of space and labor, in ways that seek to radically destabilize the then-apartheid order. By claiming the right to "full residence and employment", in the same breath, the HDA significantly articulated a connection between the space of the hostels – and daily life within that space – and some of the basic ways in which life under apartheid was structured for black South Africans. The HDA was in essence contesting the 'migrant' aspect of the migrant labor system. To realize 'full residence' was to do away with the influx controls that rendered black South Africans as only temporary sojourners in the city. It also meant to erase the distinctions that the state drew, implicitly and explicitly between migrant laborers and the remainder of Capetonians. The HDA's project would *rescript* black South Africans as Capetonians.

However, the HDA's goals did not stop at transforming what had been single-sex hostels into *permanent* family homes; their goals linked 'full residence' to 'employment'. The HDA was taking on not only influx control, but also the precarious labor status that characterized the migrant labor system. It is not simply the case that black South Africans were kept out of the Western Cape through the Coloured Labour Preference policy; by imposing a temporary, conditional quality to all black labor in the region, employment was rendered precarious. The contract – or migrant labour – system, which was arguably one of the foundational components of apartheid (Legassick 1974; Wolpe 1972), by extension led to the denial of basic services: schools, clinics, and of course, housing (Ramphela 1993, 18). Therefore, the HDA's goals were a call for ending some of the basic economic and spatial attributes of the apartheid system: ones that were essential to the state's capacity to govern, and corporations and individuals' capacity to accumulate capital. Such demands were being made as part of anti-apartheid campaigns

throughout South Africa, particularly in the mid-1980s. As this section will discuss, however, what was noteworthy was the residential – or domestic – trope through which these claims were articulated.

### *From Trade Unions to HDA*

There were a multitude of terrains upon which anti-apartheid struggle was taking place in South Africa in the 1980s. The ANC's military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), were conducting a guerilla campaign, running camps and launching attacks from Mozambique and Angola.<sup>51</sup> While the ANC waged armed struggle, a significant moment of non-violent protest was seen in 1983, with the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF). The UDF was a broad coalition of civic organizations that came together in response to the state's formation of the tricameral parliament, which gave legislative representation to coloureds and Indians, in addition to whites, but in forms that were unequal and completely left Africans out of the legislative process. The UDF was conceived as an umbrella organization, which sought to "coordinate local opposition activities, but not ideas." (Marx 1992, 130) The UDF was characterized by inclusivity, which meant the acceptance of white members and local white opposition groups (Marx 1992; "Mass Democratic Movements, 1976-1983" 2014). One example of such 'internal' opposition organizations was the Black Sash, which was formed by middle-class white women in 1955. The Black Sash initially formed to oppose the elimination of coloured voters from the Cape Province's electoral rolls; in the following years they expanded upon this campaign by more broadly exposing injustices in apartheid rule of law and supporting its victims ("Black Sash" 2014). A second form of 'white resistance' was through war resistance. As the military increasingly became an arm of enforcing apartheid and racialized domination, and all white men were required to complete military service,<sup>52</sup> the End Conscription Campaign became an important voice against apartheid ("Mass Democratic Movements, 1976-1983" 2014).

However, as discussed in Chapter One, some of the most active forums for anti-apartheid struggle for black South Africans, particularly those that did not join the MK, were trade unions. There is a long history connecting South African liberation struggles with trade unionism. Since the end of World War I, workers linked their racialized repression with the development of the nation's capitalist economy (Chipeya 1990). Such an attitude was preserved throughout the struggle against apartheid, as unions viewed 'workplace struggles' as sites of the struggle for national liberation. For architect Jo Noero, the ties between trade unionism and anti-apartheid

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<sup>51</sup> Umkhonto we Sizwe, meaning 'Spear of the Nation' was formed on December 16, 1961, when the ANC leadership came to conclusion passive resistance and non-violence were inadequate to fight the increasingly brutal and repressive strategies of the apartheid state ("Umkhonto weSizwe (MK)" 2014).

<sup>52</sup> For a vivid account of resisting conscription, see Donald McRae's memoir, *Under Our Skin* (2012).

struggle are so deep that he based his design for the Museum of Struggle in Red Location, Port Elizabeth, on the ubiquitous saw tooth factory roof form. As a terrain for anti-apartheid struggle, unions were particularly distinctive for working through educational programs. These programs helped union leadership direct participants towards the formation of class consciousness, which was expressed as demands that linked racial discrimination, political domination and economic exploitation (Marx 1992, 190).

It is therefore significant that the HDA served as a complimentary alternative to trade unionism, for migrant laborers for whom union participation posed various sorts of risks. Mamphela Ramphele states that “among the early ‘converts’ [to the HDA] were people who belonged to trade unions. The HDA was marketed to them as a trade union dealing with issues off the factory floor relating to living conditions.” (1993, 90) The HDA was attractive to men who typically would have joined trade unions in part because of the similarities of approaches and concerns. Instead of organizing for better working conditions, HDA members lobbied for improved living conditions and related domestic concerns.

This shift from the factory floor to domicile was not incidental. Rather, the move was strategic. The HDA provided a forum for participating in anti-apartheid struggle that did not pose the risks commonly associated with the unions. At the time that the HDA was forming, the trade union struggles were getting very “hot,” meaning that violence was escalating, and involvement in these struggles was increasingly dangerous for the men involved. Organizing around “domestic issues” was a strategic choice for the hostel dwellers (Liebermann 2012). Not only were trade union struggles becoming increasingly violent, participation in strikes - which were technically illegal (Chipeya 1990) - posed particular risks for migrant laborers. If they lost their jobs as a result of participating in union actions, they could also lose their residence permit, forcing their return to rural homelands (Cooke 2012). Shifting the sphere of political action neutralized both sorts of risks. As I will discuss below, operating in the realm of the domestic provided both a haven and a new language for anti-apartheid struggle.

### *A Spatialized Right to the City*

The shift from labor unions to HDA was not only strategic: by staking claims through living conditions rather than sites of labor, the scope of the critiques of apartheid was re-centered and expanded. To shape critique of the migrant labor system through the lens of gender - and family life - was not new. Black women had been protesting the Pass Laws, and the ways in which they restrained their movement and separated families, since they had been passed in the 1920s (Cohen, Muthien, and Zegeye 1990, 8). The Pass Laws had long been one of the key sites through which apartheid was contested and resisted. In the 1940s, the decade in which the laws were reformatted as the Native Urban Areas Act, the arguments circulated focused upon how the

Pass Laws rendered African men as “a source of cheap and forced labor” and constricted the movement of black South Africans (Muthien 1990, 65). In the early 1950s, a women’s anti-pass campaign was launched, when they too were subjected to influx control through the 1952 Native Laws Amendment Act. These laws were seen as an attack on urban African family life. The Hostels Upgrades took up the same fight, but through new methods: rather than protesting the Pass Laws themselves – which were in fact abolished in 1986 – the hostel dwellers took on one of the material realization of the laws. By framing their site of redress as the space of hostels, rather than the Pass Laws, the hostel dwellers were exercising what I am calling a ‘space-based’ approach to political action. It was an approach, however, that did not merely hover at the realm of space, but linked spatial demands with social: by claiming the need for improving the hostels, the hostel dwellers were linking architecture to the larger migrant labor system, and by extension apartheid’s reliance upon that system.

What this linking of space to society, and migrant labor housing to apartheid capitalism demonstrated was that the struggle to upgrade the hostels was about much more than the hostels. This was an example of taking the struggle from the factory and the street, from trade unions and public demonstrations, to the home. It was a strategic deployment of housing as a site of broader struggles, that linked the urban to the political, and the city to the anti-apartheid. I have discussed above various terrains upon which anti-apartheid struggle was waged, in the later years of apartheid. In this section, I will explore what it means to wage an urban struggle through upgrading and how the domestic site of the hostels demonstrated what was possible to achieve under apartheid.

The Hostels Upgrades was, as I have already argued, a means of agitating against apartheid, at the site and scale of the home. However, as a resistance, it linked together the improvement of housing with a much larger – in range and significance – set of concerns. The nation and local were brought together, in the concern for unsettling the migrant labor system – and the host of dispossessions it included – and the Cape Town myth of the ‘not-black city’. It is precisely Lefebvre’s (1996) elaboration that the urban relies upon the privileging of use, rather than exchange, value that allows me - and the HDA - to argue that the Hostels Upgrades was a claim for the right to the city. By arguing against the migrant labor system, the hostel dwellers and architects were articulating an alternative vision of the city. The vision worked through a critique of capitalism, and included within that critique issues of labor, space, race and gender.

In creating permanent, family homes, the Hostels Upgrades sought to normalize labor, residence, and family relations. This normalizing meant claiming that black South Africans have – like white and all other South Africans – also the right for full, permanent employment, for the right to permanent residence, *in the city*, and for nuclear, heterosexual familial relations. It is a claim of the right to *life* in the city: a life in which husbands, wives and children live together, and in which they are full participants in the city. The Hostels Upgrades was about much more than simply having space in the city; it was about the right to citizenship in the city.

This argument parallels that made by James Holston, in his study of citizenship and inequality in the peripheries of Sao Paulo, Brazil (2008). His work is useful because he differentiates a multitude of different, unequal types of citizenry. Questions of citizenship are incredibly potent in South Africa: under apartheid ‘Africans’ were denied citizenship in the Republic of South Africa, and in the post-apartheid era, just as in Brazil, national citizenship has been “universally inclusive in membership and massively inegalitarian in distribution.” (Holston 2008, 197) However, what is even more relevant about Holston’s work is his attention to claims of *urban* citizenship, since this is what was most at stake in the Hostels Upgrades. In both the Cape Town and Sao Paulo cases, urban citizenship has been articulated through spatial acts. Holston argues that the process of ‘autoconstruction’ – residents building their own homes – enabled residents of Sao Paulo’s peripheries “to become urban citizens through the appropriation of the very soil of the city.” (2008, 185) This appropriation was quite material – if the residents took the soil and built upon it, they could claim to be a part of it. Similarly, Hostels Upgrades architect Julian Cooke stated that the residents he worked with saw the Upgrades as “our stake in the city. If we get one of these, we’ve got a place in the city.” (Cooke, 2012) In both cases, however, the material act was a path to the political – to the making of citizenry.

### *Intertwining Aspirations: Drawing Together Safety, Gender, and Modernism*

As the Hostels Upgrades worked by linking issues of family and space to labor and citizenship, the project did so by operating through the terrain of the domestic. Domesticity was a means towards agitating against apartheid, through constructing a material, urban reality other than that of the apartheid city. As stated above, the shift from factory floor to hostels, as a site of political action, strategically made protest ‘safer’ for hostel dwellers, in regards to both their physical safety from violence and the potential threat to their livelihoods. I believe that it is not incidental that the domestic, as a gendered terrain, was where the hostel dwellers turned to avoid the risks associated with labor-based protest. The domestic provided a method of simultaneously sheltering the (male) hostel dwellers from state and employer reprisal, while also reaffirming their own traditional gender identities and social relations. The domestic was used as a dualistically ‘safe’ space - safe from politicized harm, and from threats to male hostel dwellers’ masculinity. These benefits for hostel dwellers happened to also compliment the proclivity of the architects for the domestic. Throughout the twentieth century, architects have turned to the domestic as a site through which to link modernism and modernization. The domestic served the aspirations of both hostel dwellers and architects, as political subjects and professionals.

Situating the hostel dwellers’ struggle within the domestic removed political action from the public realm, locating it anew in the private. By doing so, the hostel dwellers were able to characterize their concerns around the personal and corporeal rather than labor disputes or outright apartheid opposition. While the claim that migrant laborers deserved better

accommodation was clearly political, as I have discussed above, it was couched in a neutralized language. The turn to the domestic as a sphere of action was a tactic for normalizing anti-apartheid protest. Hostel dwellers were not making outright calls for the end to apartheid. Their claims worked from within the apartheid system, to ostensibly improve the material conditions of migrant laborers' lives. These were claims that linked together housing with health and education, to holistically improve the lives of those living in the hostels (Cooke, 1993). In comparison to the factory strikes or going to the streets, where men and women alike toyi-toyi-ed in protest against apartheid (Figure 2.7), agitating to improve the domestic realm of migrant labour hostels was a relatively safe undertaking.



Figure 2.7 Toyi-toyi. The shuffling, somewhat militant dance-like form of protest was common throughout the anti-apartheid struggle. From [tumblr\\_mmktmfwzVu1rqkjy0o3\\_500.jpg](https://www.tumblr.com/mmktmfwzVu1rqkjy0o3) 500×332 pixels.

While the turn to the domestic provided relative safety for the male migrant laborers in their political endeavors,<sup>53</sup> the process of hostel upgrading developed in a manner that also protected traditional gender roles amongst hostel dwellers. Throughout the upgrading process, traditional gender roles prevailed within the hostels and were even reproduced. Initially, this surprised me. When I first began to study the Hostels Upgrades, it was obvious to me that there was a gendered component to the project, as an act of apartheid resistance. I jumped to the conclusion that the act of claiming the normative right to familial relations and for women to inhabit spaces from which they were forbidden under apartheid was a step towards gender equality. Instead, what I learnt was that in the hostels, traditional, patriarchal hierarchies were maintained and used to order both daily life and the upgrading efforts. Governance within the hostels was structured

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<sup>53</sup> It must be noted that the upgrading process was still politically contentious and did result in violence, including political assassinations, attempted assassinations and burning of model units. These incidents, however, were not part of the struggle between hostel dwellers and the state, but rather the violence between competing political factions (which of course were products of the anti-apartheid struggle).

through the traditional *indona* system, which the migrant laborers imported from rural homelands. Under the system, there was a ‘head-man’ or *isibonda* elected, by residents, for each hostel unit. He worked with the local committees to draft the constitution regulating the hostel, and was responsible to insuring it was adhered to, which included meting out punishments and granting privileges as appropriate (Thurman, 1997). The patriarchal nature of this system was reinforced by an upgrading process that was divided along gender lines. Male hostel dwellers took charge of the aspects of upgrading related to architecture and building, leaving women to organize those realms traditionally considered feminine, meaning organizing early childhood education and healthcare programs (Ramphela 1993; Smuts 2012). In fact the degree to which ‘upgrading’ activities were segregated frustrated Mamphela Ramphela so much that she briefly stopped participating in the project, as a way of voicing her protest (Liebermann 2012).

The secondary role women were forced to play in the upgrading process unfortunately mirrors the role that women - particularly black women - were consigned to in the struggle against apartheid and in the post-apartheid transition. As Anne McClintock notes, writing at the cusp of the first democratic elections, “whatever the future shape of South Africa, little is likely to change for millions of people, particularly for women.” (1995) McClintock based her statement on Lauretta Ngcobo’s novel *And They Didn’t Die* (1990), which brilliantly attends to the life in the ‘forgotten’ rural areas, while powerfully demonstrating the connections between South Africa’s migrant labour system, rural impoverishment and “the politics of motherhood” (McClintock, 1995). *And They Didn’t Die* is more than tangentially connected to the racialized, gendered struggles taking place at the site of the Hostels Upgrading; the novel provides a moving account of the very spatialized, social relations that were at the heart of the upgrading process. In turn, the upgrading process demonstrated how the struggles at the core of the novel have remained intact through the apartheid struggle as well as after apartheid’s dismantling. In particular, the fact that the upgrading process was segregated along gender lines demonstrates the extra struggles women face in the project of realizing equality and full participation in the urban life.

While the turn to the domestic suited the hostel dwellers as gendered, political actors, it likewise was a useful point of entry for architects, as political actors and as a means to negotiate their contradictory stance towards modernism. As discussed in the Introduction, modernism was a fraught movement for South African architects opposed to apartheid. They recognized the affiliations between modernism and apartheid, and that the urban spatial forms yielded by modernism - from movements ranging from the Garden City to CIAM - were put to use to realize apartheid’s political program. Yet, modernism at the scale of architecture - as opposed to urban design - was idealized by the very same architects, for both its formal innovations and its social program of equality of ameliorating poverty (Heynen, 1999).

The history of architects turning to the domestic as a means of expressing social ideals goes back longer than the German *siedlung* experiments discussed in the Introduction. The Arts and

Crafts Movement, which sought to address the alienation of industrialization, turned to the domestic as a realm for construing idealized social relations. While these efforts never transcended homes for the elite, it initiated a tradition of the home as the realm that brought together spatial innovation and social experimentation. The early European modernists, such as Ernst May, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and even Le Corbusier shifted attention to the domestic from the 'house' - most often for the elite or bourgeois - to 'housing' - for the masses. Housing addressed the immediate needs wrought by the devastation of World War I, and provided a terrain through which these architects' could rethink the space and social relations of modern society. For the early twentieth century Europeans, architecture "was to provoke a revolution in dwelling culture by the introduction of themes and concepts such as the open plan, transparency between inside and outside, collective housing, rationalization, hygiene, efficiency, and ergonomics" (Heynen 2005, 16).

The South African architects such as those that worked on the Hostel Upgrades sought not to transform society in universalizing terms, but rather to find a typology that enabled them to meaningfully engage in their social context. As Lucien le Grange stated, in recounting efforts to fuse his politics with his architectural education: "housing and the provision and design of housing gave us as students a possibility to believe that architecture could play a social purpose, rather than designing Parthenons and Acropolises for the Nationalist Government. Housing was the social means by which to practice architecture." (2012) Clearly housing was a means of releasing architecture from its historic servitude to agencies of power. This was a project that built upon the European modernism tradition, but which architects shifted, to develop an indigenous modernism that reframed architecture as a service for the masses. While the European modernists sought to transform the unequal gender roles played by women by rethinking domestic space, the Hostels Upgrades architects sought to simply claim a space for women and children, to normalize gender relations by transforming barracks into sites of domesticity. The Hostels Upgrades served as a means of re-instituting familial relations and making claims for permanent labor, residence and political citizenship in the city.

As seen in this section, the Hostels Upgrades served as a way of agitating against apartheid. The domestic realm of the hostels enabled hostel dwellers and the architects they employed to engage in anti-apartheid struggle in ways that strategically deployed gender and housing as simultaneously safe yet fertile terrains of action. In the following section, I will focus upon the process of realizing the Upgrades, by attending to architects and architecture as subversive agents in the struggle against apartheid.

### **2.3 Architectural Acts of Subversion**

When the HDA decided to organize to improve the physical space of the hostels, they realized they would benefit from professional technical expertise. The HDA came together as an

organization through the assistance of the Ministry to Migrant Workers, which was headed by Bishop David Russell<sup>54</sup> (Ramphela 1993, 89). Russell approached architect and UCT professor Paul Andrew, to ask for his professional help with conceptualizing how to ‘upgrade’ the hostels into family housing. Russell knew of Andrew through a pamphlet he produced with Dave Dewar, entitled “The Possible Upgrading of Crossroads” (1985)<sup>55</sup>. Andrew and Dewar became involved with Crossroads in the 1970s, where they attempted to implement strategies that Andrew developed with residents of informal settlements in Zambia in the late 1960s. These strategies were built up from Andrew’s belief in people’s ‘natural capacity’ – or ability – to improve conditions for themselves when conditions gave them the resources and free reign needed to do so (Andrew 2013). That belief, coupled with a long interest in housing as a terrain through which to address social issues, made him a natural person to introduce to the hostel dwellers.

Andrew asked one of his University of Cape Town colleagues, architect Julian Cooke, to assist him in working with the HDA. Cooke, as will be demonstrated, became one of the primary architectural actors in the hostel upgrading process. One of the aspects of the Hostels Upgrades that makes it a compelling site for examining how architecture and urban struggles come together is the close nature of the collaboration between professionals - such as Andrew and Cooke - and the hostel dwellers. It is a collaboration that begs to be unpacked in a variety of lights: in the following sections I will address the questions of race and power that come up in regards to the collaboration between professionals and migrant laborers in an apartheid context. In this section I ask how participation in the upgrading process served, particularly for the professionals, as a political act. As I discussed above, the HDA served for hostel dwellers as an alternative space of political action – a forum that was safer than the trade unionism in which they might otherwise participate. In this section I will ask how architects also deployed the different aspects of their participation in project as methods of working against – or ‘subverting’ – apartheid.

### *Architectural Speech Acts*

The initial work that Cooke and Andrew took on was helping the hostel dwellers to imagine how to transform the decaying hostels into family units. The project began in 1985, when the Pass Laws were still in effect, so the initial schemes tackled how to afford each man in the hostel his own room. However, as the Pass Laws were abolished the following year in 1986, the challenge soon expanded to finding ways to accommodate entire families, in buildings designed

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<sup>54</sup> The Ministry was a project of the Cape Town diocese of the Church of the Province of South Africa, and an example of the role of organized religion in the anti-apartheid struggle.

<sup>55</sup> Both Dewar, and his work at Crossroads with Paul Andrew were discussed in Chapter One of the dissertation.

to provide men with only a bed and a minimum of shared facilities. While this was in itself a significant architectural challenge, what renders the Upgrades a significant moment in Cape Town's anti-apartheid urban struggles is that as the architectural challenge grew, the architects' involvement also expanded beyond the typical professional sphere of action. Andrews, Cooke, and their fellow professionals (brought on over the course of the project) took on roles far beyond those that normally prescribed to by architects. Realizing the construction of the upgrades was challenging not only architecturally, but also politically and administratively. It is because Cooke, Andrews and their associates participated in all facets of the project that I consider their intervention not just a work of architecture, but what I am calling 'architectural speech acts'.

The first part of the political intervention involved acquiring permission to build the project. When the architects and hostel dwellers initially approached local officials, the response was quite positive. However, as they proceeded in negotiating permissions, the hostel dwellers and architects were sent up the ladder of officials, eventually landing them at the local offices of the Provincial Administration. What resulted was a dramatically tense meeting, in which Julian Cooke and the hostel dwellers were scheduled to only meet with "technical staff", but were 'ambushed' by Ikapa community councilors who insisted on participating in the meeting (Cooke 2011; Liebermann, Rosmarin, and Watson 1993, 13). At this time, black township areas in Cape Town were under the jurisdiction of the Ikapa Town Council. Ikapa was composed of black members who were supposedly representative of the 'community', but were regarded by most black residents as illegitimate and collaborators with the apartheid state (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 203). The hostel dwellers felt they could not negotiate with Ikapa without appearing to be themselves collaborators, and therefore losing all credibility with the larger community (Cooke 2011). As a result, at the meeting mentioned above, the hostel dwellers refused to even sit in the same room as the councilors, producing a stalemate in the process.

This left the architects – who as outsiders were not tinged by meeting with Ikapa – to serve as representatives of the hostel dwellers, negotiating on their behalf. This was one of many instances in which the hostel dwellers controlled the decision-making process, but professionals such as Andrew and Cooke increasingly 'spoke' for them in the efforts to secure approval and funding for the upgrades. After the failed meeting with the Provincial Administration, the HDA brought in more professional support, turning to organizations such as the Urban Foundation and Legal Resources Centre of Cape Town, both of which are known for working to end apartheid, and the Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU) at the University of Cape Town. UPRU was established in the early 1970s by architecture and planning professors in order to "postulate alternative possibilities" for South African cities, as a self-proclaimed apolitical way of working against apartheid. UPRU worked through a three-level approach: first, it researched areas that were anticipated as sites of change, such as housing and the informal economy; second, it engaged in state policy and legal debates as experts; and third, it advocated as an urban NGO that

worked against Group Areas removals (Dewar 2012). Paul Andrew was one of the founding members of UPRU; this, along with the group's mission made them a perfect fit for assisting the hostel dwellers. Together, all the professionals now involved with the upgrading effort formed a committee, for the stated purpose of: developing proposals for the architectural design; funding and designing an institutional framework and self-help process; and fundraising (Liebermann, Rosmarin, and Watson 1993).

The committee later recommended the formation of a trust “which could both interface with the authorities and receive funding” (Liebermann, Rosmarin, and Watson 1993, 13–14). The majority of trustees were hostel dwellers, in order to “ensure that the needs and priorities of the hostel dwellers determine the nature of the upgrade and the kind of dwelling units and living environments which are produced.” (Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association 1987, 29) Yet, Julian Cooke was made the first Chair of the Hostel Dwellers Trust (or ‘Trust’ as it was called) and the offices of the Trust were established at UPRU's facilities on the University of Cape Town campus (Cooke 2011; Liebermann, Rosmarin, and Watson 1993).<sup>56</sup> Within the committee and the Trust, the professionals served as ‘experts’ for the project – a status that all evidence suggests they performed reflexively, and by request from the hostel dwellers (Liebermann, Rosmarin, and Watson 1993, 27). Employing – or rather, deploying – experts supplied the HDA with professional, developmental skills that the upgrading process needed. It also served a political strategy, which was distancing the hostel dwellers from interaction with Ikapa and by extension the apartheid state – and thereby accusations of co-option. Cooke and other colleague's participation in the Trust also served their own political ‘ends’, in that it provided a forum for them to participate in the struggle to end apartheid. Crucially, it was a forum free from many of the risks associated with other, more radical spheres of action, such as joining the ANC or other banned organizations. Joining – or working in alliance with – the Trust was a similarly ‘safe strategy’ for professionals as joining the HDA was for hostel dwellers. It was one laden with questions regarding race and power, but those will be addressed in the following section.

### *Rejecting Modernism – and its Associations*

Once the Trust was formed, Cooke and his professional colleagues began to develop design options for converting the hostels to family accommodation. The schemes that were ultimately agreed upon by the hostel dwellers and architects were low-rise, ‘terrace-type’ buildings, organized around room-scaled outdoor spaces. In order to understand how the architects came to advocate for this sort of typology, I spoke multiple times with Julian Cooke. In one of our first meetings, he described different actors' roles in the project, stating that as the project unfolded,

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<sup>56</sup> In later years, hostel dwellers did take over chairing the Trust, with Wallace Mgoqi and Johnson Mpukumpa, amongst others, taking leadership roles.

he became predominantly responsible for the design – particularly the urban design – of the hostels, while colleagues such as Dieter Bossow took on the day-to-day (architectural) management of the project. In a subsequent meeting, I asked him to discuss the thinking that went into the design of the upgrades, such as the inspirations and the precedents he drew upon. In response, he described a year he spent in Venice, Italy, immediately after finishing his university studies in South Africa:

I spent a lot of time measuring squares in Venice. I measured them by foot, I paced them, made measured drawings, saw how they worked and so on. It's been really valuable to me my whole life... There was a lot [in the hostel design] that was coming from the same sort of source, that urban design-wise was I was trying to make squares and streets and places that were a little bit like the ones I'd experienced in Venice. Which were higher density, using buildings to line urban spaces, trying to give a feeling of enclosure, so you didn't just have streets vanishing to nowhere... Even looking at these [drawings of the hostels] I can see here's a little square... and they themselves made other street spaces and so on... Although other people worked on the urban design of it, like Arnold van de Riet... Anna Longrick... Paul Andrew... I think generally most of the main decisions in urban design I took, and I think where they were coming from was *there* [Venice].

Cooke's turn to a European medieval/renaissance city as precedent for designing spaces on the periphery of a South African city can be read as Eurocentric, and reflective of the architect's own 'whiteness'. Such a reading is in part valid, as it reflects the Eurocentric nature of Cooke's frame of reference, as well as that of most all architects trained in South Africa.<sup>57</sup> Yet, I believe that a more pertinent aspect of the use of Venice as a design source was its critique of the modernist apartheid landscape.

As discussed above, the hostels, townships and South African cities as a whole were feats of modernist planning. The Hostels Upgrades was one episode in a disciplinary moment in which architects and planners came to realize that apartheid was flawed not only as a political system, but was also accompanied by a spatial program – namely, a *modernist* one – and the resultant urban environments were deeply problematic. This was exactly the criticism argued by Dave Dewar and Roelof Uytendogaardt, in *South African Cities: A Manifesto for Change* (1991).

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<sup>57</sup> One of the dilemmas facing architects and architectural educators, in apartheid's latter days but especially since the end of apartheid, has been how to cultivate a more situated architectural education, that builds upon local architectural histories while not resorting to a pastiche application of 'indigenous' decorative practices. This problem will be discussed further in Chapter 4, and Jonathan Noble devotes an entire book, *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White Skin, Black Masks* (2011) to the tension between Eurocentric and African architectural referents. The challenge was also identified by Iain Low and Carin Smuts in a study they conducted about architectural education in post-apartheid South Africa (Low and Smuts 1997).

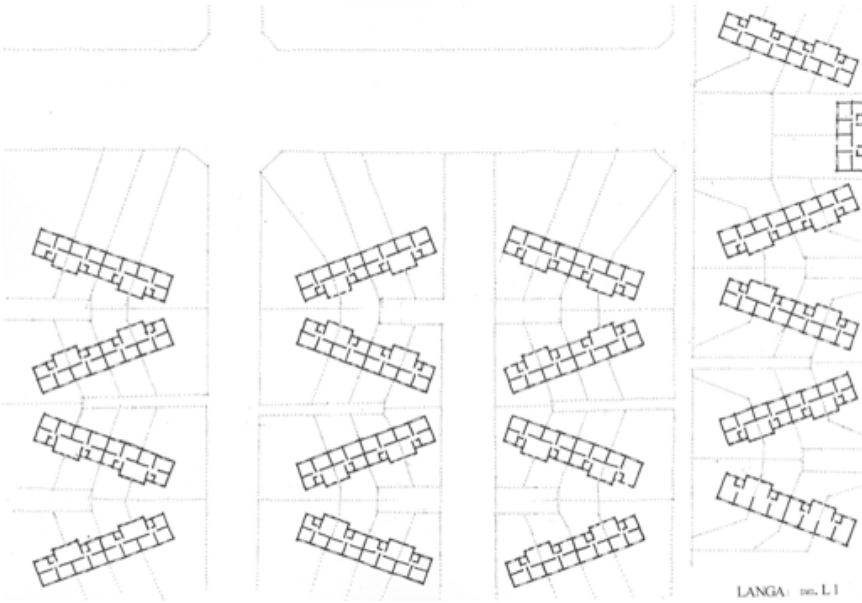


Figure 2.8 Layout of Langa Hostels, prior to upgrading. The site is marked by vast open spaces between buildings and large road reserves (or setbacks). From Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association 1987.

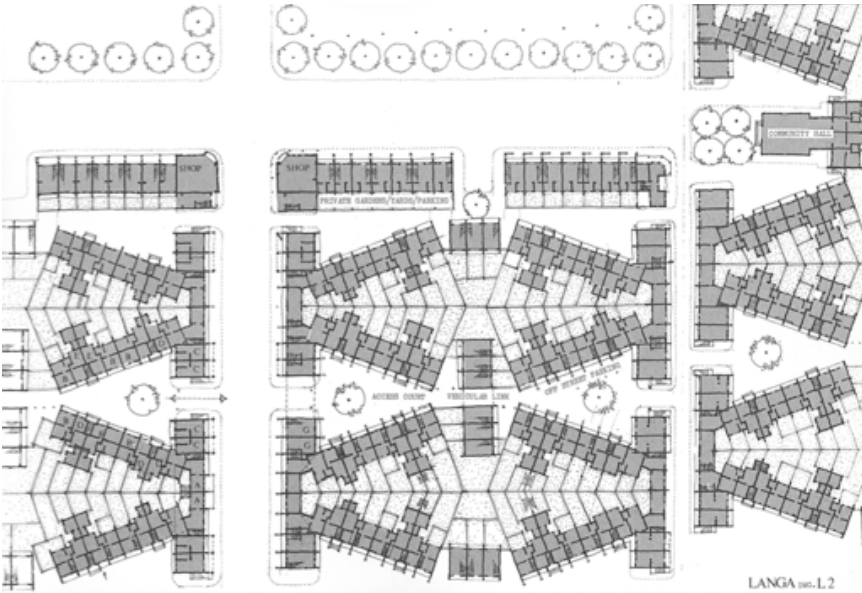


Figure 2.9 Plan for upgraded Langa Hostels. Existing buildings have been enlarged and new buildings have been added between them, so to create a more dense and vibrant urban environment and create room-size outdoor spaces. Additionally, building orientations have been reversed, so front doors now face onto courtyards instead of streets. From Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association 1987.

Lucien le Grange similarly critiqued the apartheid modernist city, for its creation of “segregated mono-functional townships” and modernist tendency to replace public space with privatized realms (1994, 25). Working only loosely in association,<sup>58</sup> the three sets of designers - le Grange, Dewar and Uytendogaardt, and the Hostels Upgrades team – used a similar architectural language and set of referents to describe their vision for a better South African city. All of their writings – and in the case of the Hostels, their designs – identify the street and public square as the key sites for bringing about transformation, advocate for higher density, and describe their vision for the South African city through European or Eurocentric precedents.<sup>59</sup>

At the hostels, critiquing the apartheid iterations of modernism took shape by building up and inverting the original hostel design. An illustrative example, amongst the three townships at which the upgrading took place, is the pilot project area of Langa, as seen in Figures 2.8-2.10. The plan (Figure 2.8) and image (Figure 2.6) of hostels prior to upgrading show that the hostel environment was vast and empty, dirty and dusty, and in general inhospitable and unsupportive of daily life. One reason for the vast space between buildings was that as part of the apartheid program of control, oversized road reserves (or setbacks, in American built environment parlance) were established between buildings. These enabled the government to bring military tanks into the hostels area, in order to control potentially unruly populations. One of the first design moves the architects made was to minimize the distance between buildings, by building out new buildings into what had been the road reserves. Their next move was to reverse the orientation of buildings – both the ‘upgraded’ existing buildings and new ones. Whereas originally entrances faced onto major vehicular thoroughfares, the Upgrades switched them instead onto courtyards. Fady Isaacs, an architecture professor at the University of Cape Town who was involved in the project in the early days of his professional career, described the design as:

A very simple typology, and it’s to address I suppose the perverse condition of the township where houses faced away from the street. It’s a modernist plan that’s the worst of modern urban kind of practice. So you banish the urban completely and you have this kind of desolate landscape, or urbanscape: poorly maintained, low dense, in terms of building density, not population, and all front doors facing on to these large spaces, not courts, these large open spaces. So the proposal reverses it, and puts front

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<sup>58</sup> All were members of the Architecture and Planning Department at the University of Cape Town, from the 1980s (or earlier) onward, but only occasionally collaborated on scholarly and professional work, and at times, such as in District Six, worked for opposing clients.

<sup>59</sup> Le Grange refers to the Zocalo, or town square, of Merida, Mexico as his precedent for the type of neighborhood-scale urban spaces that South African cities need. Although located in Latin America, the zocalo is a typology imported and developed by Spanish colonists.

doors onto the street, builds up the street edges, consolidates the perimeter block development, with backyards, private yards... (2012)

New buildings were strategically located to complete the courtyards, so that the resulting spaces were intimate ‘outdoor rooms’ (see Figures 2.9 - 2.10), where children could play and adults gather.



Figure 2.10 Upgraded Courtyard, Langa Hostels Pilot Project, 2012. In contrast with the hostels before upgrades, as seen in Figure 2.6, this courtyard demonstrates the intimate, outdoor room-like spaces of the Upgrades. Photograph by author, 2012.

In the minds of the architects involved in designing the upgrades, the relatively simple decisions to deviate from the required setbacks and invert the houses were radical and crucial design gestures. The move held implications for procedure and housing models, and was laden with political ramifications. Procedurally, building over the ‘cadastrals’ (or set backs) was a risky move, as technical approval for the upgrades were never obtained<sup>60</sup> and such a flagrant disregard for building requirements could have led to the projects being demolished (Isaacs 2012). This was just one aspect of a process that is referred to alternately as illegal or ‘ad-hoc’. The process was illegal because it both flouted what were at the time legal conventions – such as cadastrals – and because approvals were never gained. While it is true that the Trust was formed so that professionals could meet, in a politically ‘safe’ manner, with officials, in the end the first phases of the project took so long to get underway that technical approvals were never obtained.

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<sup>60</sup> As will be discussed below, after 1994, the City of Cape Town partnered with the Trust and eventually took over as the client for the project. However, before that point, technical approvals for the project were never actually obtained.

By the time the architects and hostel dwellers agreed on a design – more on that below – and funds were raised, the Trust just began to build the project.



Figure 2.11 Gugulethu Upgrade Proposal. Included in the 1987 Report on the Western Cape Migrant Labour Hostel Upgrade Programme, the proposed upgrades to Gugulethu suggested filling the space between the existing buildings (shaded) with new buildings to create more housing and to create pedestrian-scaled outdoor spaces that would foster social interaction. From Western Cape Hostel Dwellers' Association 1987.

Yet, for Julian Cooke, who coined the term in relation to the Upgrades, ‘ad-hoc’ most explicitly refers to an idea about *design* (rather than construction or project management) process. Modernism, particularly in urban planning, was concerned with planning entire cities, thereby leaving no room for adaptation. Holston critiques Brasilia exactly for this condition, arguing that as the design of the city attempted to remake Brazilian society, it did not leave the space necessary for exactly the groups and relations which eventually subverted the utopian premise of the plan (1989). Cooke and his associates took a completely anti-modern approach to planning the upgrades, for both pragmatic and political reasons. As they began to plan how to upgrade the hostels, and particularly to add new buildings to the three sites – in Langa, Nyanga, and Gugulethu – they resisted overly committing to large-scale, detail urban plans. While schemes were produced (Figure 2.11) that proposed overall approaches to redesigning each hostel area, these were only suggestions. Actual designs were not finalized until each area was addressed, and were done in order to respond to individualized, local conditions. This created a great deal of variety in the urban design and even some of the architectural-scale solutions. As Cooke stated, he came to realize that the “way to make design, and I believe this goes for

architecture, too, is ‘ad-hoc’”. He discusses how architects he admires and looked to, like Sigurd Lewerentz and Carlo Scarpa are “not big ideas people. They move towards big ideas, but the process is very ad-hoc...so that when you go to their buildings, they look like pieces of city that are built up over time...Because we had to fit into these rather awkward spaces and tight situations and so on, it actually ended up much more interesting, urbanistically, more varied and dynamic than we would have ever got if we had planned it from scratch.” (2012)

While the design process was intentionally ‘ad-hoc’, the densification of the site made an argument for a particular spatial vision of the city that was at odds with South African planning traditions. At that point in South African architectural history – and even today – the single-family house, on its own plot, was seen as a goal to emulate. It is the model that dominates the privileged, predominantly white suburbs, today<sup>61</sup> and throughout South African history. The architects rejected this model, however, and advocated instead for a much denser housing typology – what they were calling ‘terrace housing’.



Figure 2.12 Lavender Hill. The blocks of flats that make up townships such as Lavender Hill on the Cape Flats epitomize the negative associations hostel dwellers had with ‘terrace housing’. From <http://media.withtank.com/7ed11f1773/k-014915.jpg>.

Such housing both draws upon and rejects aspects of modernist architectural histories, however. The proposed ‘terrace housing’ was a rejection of apartheid planning, and was initially rejected by the hostel dwellers. When the architects said ‘terrace housing’ – and meant European 1920s and 1930s ‘social housing’ (Figure 3 and Figure 4) - the hostel dwellers ‘saw’ the flats built for Coloured townships on the Cape Flats (Figure 2.12) (Isaacs 2012). Both images actually refer back to similar moments in (European) modernism, but in different guises and with different associations in regards to privilege and politics. For the hostel dwellers, terrace housing

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<sup>61</sup> Only in recent years has living in the Cape Town Central Business District, in an apartment or condominium become highly desirable. Since [2004?] the construction of luxury condominiums has begun to proliferate in the center of the city, but for the most part, the most sought after residential real estate in the city takes the form of single-family homes.

meant ‘council housing’, which in the context of Cape Town were the barren rows of flats that made up the dormitory suburbs on the Cape Flats. These were sites of dispossession and exclusion for the city’s Coloured population. Yet, this housing, which began to be built in the 1930s to replace inner city ‘slums’ as part of a program of control, framed through a veil of sanitation concerns (Van Graan 2011, 103), held deep ties with the same modernist social housing that the hostels’ architects referenced. Both Cooke (and his associates) and the architects of places of segregation like Kewtown (Figure 2.13) looked to Ernst May’s Frankfurt housing as a source of inspiration. Yet, they drew from the precedent very different spatial and political inspirations. Cooke and his contemporaries frame the Frankfurt *Siedlungen* as socially progressive, reflecting a moment in which architecture worked to manifest liberatory possibilities in society. Yet, May’s proposal for Frankfurt was based upon the idea of satellite cities, similar to Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City model, which in turn formed the basis for South African cities’ segregated layout (Van Graan 2011, 93). As Van Graan argues, architectural modernism was instituted in Cape Town through racialized programs, as modern housing and clinics were used to manifest political programs of segregation and control (2011). It was these political manifestations that the Upgrade architects rejected; ironically, however, the terrace housing they proposed – and eventually built – was based upon the same precedents as these early Cape Town examples of modernism.



Figure 2.13 Kewtown. One of a set of key housing projects designed after Cape Town passed the Slums Act of 1934, Kewtown, or ‘Q-Town’ as it was originally named, applied ‘Corbusian’ principles to new housing to replace inner city ‘slums’ (Van Graan 2009) As shown in the Cape Town City Council Mayoral Report 1943.

Ultimately, the upgraded homes that were designed and approved were a synthesis of the critique of the planning conducted under apartheid and the housing typologies developed by

early European modernists, in ways that reflected the social and political ideals of the architects. While the actual process of constructing the upgraded hostels will only be seen to be worked out in the next section, the design strategy was established, giving the process of upgrading a spatial language that could accommodate the goals of both the hostel dwellers and architects. For Cooke, the design of the Hostels Upgrades was important beyond the scope of the project. He saw it as a method for rethinking housing delivery in South Africa, which would address the,

urgent need for rethinking most facets of the housing process, for genuine exploration and presentation of a range of alternatives - systems of tenure, housing type, contracting, financing, urban design, for a much less hidebound, and more experimental approach than exists at present and for much more learning-by-doing at an appropriately handleable scale, in place of grand theoretical policy making. (Cooke 1993)

The Hostels Upgrades was a work of architectural claim-making, imagining not only a spatial order, but a way of producing it that was completely Other to how it had been done by the modernists employed by the apartheid government.

## **2.4 Continuities**

After over two years of negotiating with Ikapa over permission to upgrade the hostels, a resolution of sorts was reached in 1989, allowing land to be used but without the state providing the required funding. In 1990, through the efforts of Susan Liebermann - one of the experts employed, though in a management capacity rather than as an architect - the Trust was able to secure funds from an international donor to construct an initial Pilot phase of Upgrades in each of the three townships. Yet, construction did not begin until 1993, in part because of the climate of violent conflict that consumed the energies of activists in townships such as Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu, making meetings and generalized grassroots efforts almost impossible. The early 1990s were an especially violent time in South African; in Cape Town much of the conflict took the form of 'taxi wars', over control over the informal taxi routes. Although these conflicts did not directly relate to the upgrading of the hostels, their impact on the upgrades reinforced the fact that processes taking place at the hostels mirrored larger anti-apartheid struggles taking place across the country (Cooke 2011).

The lengthy delay in beginning construction of the upgraded hostels made the project even more challenging to undertake. The HDA - and Trust and Umzamo - had difficulty maintaining credibility with their constituency in the face of having produced so little, materially, over so many years. The participatory process they employed was increasingly skeptically received. Their challenges were also spatial: when the project began in the mid-1980s, the spaces between the hostels were vacant, and therefore available for the infill building that was integral to the

scheme as designed. By the early 1990s, however, shacks had been built in these areas (Figure 2.6B), creating a “devastating” situation: now even more people needed to be accommodated on the sites, conflicts ensued over which ‘groups’ or sets of factions had jurisdiction over the land, and shacks would have to be destroyed to make way for the Upgrades (Cooke 1993). In light of the poisoned history of the state removing shacks, this was not a practice in which the HDA - or any community organization - would ever want engage. Additionally, land adjacent to the hostels areas, which had been vacant in the mid-1980s had by the 1990s been built up, in an increasingly suburban manner by private developers.

When it was eventually feasible to begin construction, the first steps taken were modest. A first set of ‘Show Units’ were constructed in Langa as a way of posing possibilities to the hostel dwellers. Following the Show Units, Pilot Projects were constructed in each of the three townships. In parallel with the project beginning to gather steam, South Africa held its first democratic election, and the ANC won the national elections.<sup>62</sup> In light of my argument that the Hostels Upgrades served as a method of anti-apartheid struggle, the ending of apartheid was potentially momentous for the upgrading. Of course, the limiting nature of the hostels continued on after apartheid. These continuities are, I will argue below, a localized iteration of the contradictions symptomatic of South Africa’s post-apartheid experiences (G.P. Hart 2013).

### *In Service of the State*

In 1994, Nelson Mandela announced that through the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), the new ANC government would build over one million new homes within five years. This promise reflected first, the right to housing, which would come to be enshrined in the 1996 South African Constitution. Second, it reflected the dire housing situation facing South Africans, particularly blacks. It was a situation reflective of two predominant conditions produced through apartheid policy: the first is the woeful lack of resources made available for housing for black South Africans, at the scale of both settlements and individual homes (Dewar, 1993). This fabricated scarcity was particularly felt in urban areas, but was actually distributed across the nation, in rural areas as well. The second component of the housing crisis related to urban migration, which as I have discussed throughout this chapter, was highly regulated and limited during apartheid. Because migration was technically prohibited until the abolition of the Pass Laws in 1986, and still discouraged after, very little housing was built for people migrating to urban areas. Subsequently, by 1994, a massive backlog had amassed of people living in

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<sup>62</sup> Transformation of government at the local level was slower to come: the Nationalist Party, which had been the Afrikaans-dominated party that had governed throughout apartheid, won the first democratic elections in the Western Cape Province, and Cape Town did not hold metropolitan-level elections until 1996. the ANC, however, did win the 1996 local elections.

informal settlements, in need of permanent homes. And after 1994, the rate of urban migration increased exponentially, making the need for housing even more urgent.

Within this context, the national and local governments attempted to develop portfolios of housing options. In Cape Town, rental accommodation, owned by the City, was one of the options developed. The City owned all the hostels at Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu.<sup>63</sup> Thus, at the time of the first democratic local government elections in Cape Town, in 1996,<sup>64</sup> the hostels were part of the city's housing portfolio. Although the Nationalist Party was able to keep control over the Western Cape Provincial government, the ANC won the 1996 local elections. With the process of upgrading the hostels already begun by the residents, and with the ANC in power, it fit within the new city government's agenda to take over responsibility for constructing the Hostels Upgrades. This was momentous: what had been a program that worked in opposition to the state suddenly became a part of the (city) government's post-apartheid housing program.

Part of the reason that the hostel upgrading served the city so well was financial. Firstly, the incremental, or 'ad-hoc' approach to upgrading developed by the design team was relatively cost effective. This does not mean that adapting existing buildings was a cheaper construction method than new construction.<sup>65</sup> Rather, the incremental nature of increasing the density of the site allowed for more creative approaches to financing the construction. Second, part of the South African state's post-apartheid housing program was the allocation of subsidies to each family. The individualized, compartmentalized nature of the subsidy system was - and remains - in itself quite controversial because it encouraged because it a free-standing unit (or 'one house, one plot') system, which exacerbated the nation's problem with urban sprawl. While members of UPRU such as Dave Dewar have been some of the most vocal critiques of the form the subsidy has taken - although not the concept of state assistance for residents - the individualized nature was actually beneficial for the Hostels Upgrades. Because each household is eligible for a subsidy, depending on need - which assumedly every hostel-dwelling household would meet - the state-granted subsidies could be applied towards the construction of the hostels upgrading. The subsidy was not sufficient to cover all of the construction costs, but did form an integral component of the budget (Cooke, 2011).

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<sup>63</sup> The state built the hostels between the 1920s and 1960s, with Langa beginning construction in the 1927 and substantial extensions added in the 1950s, and the hostels in Nyanga built in the 1950s and Gugulethu in the 1960s. After 1966, private employers were encouraged to construct their own hostels. Those privately owned hostels, however, were never included in the Hostels Upgrades project as discussed in this chapter.

<sup>64</sup> Although the first democratic national elections were held on April 27, 1994, provincial and municipal elections were staggered. Most were held in 1995, but because of the localized complexity of party politics, municipal elections in Durban and Cape Town were not held until 1996.

<sup>65</sup> On the surface, new construction often appears less expensive. However, the longer-term costs of building on previously undeveloped pieces of land, which are often further from resources, are generally not factored into those supposedly lower costs.

Integrating the upgrading of the migrant labour hostels served the city in respects that were not merely financial, however. The Hostels Upgrades was a politically strategic component of the city's housing portfolio. It addresses the city's Municipal Systems Act of 2000, by providing new development in the urban core, improving existing housing and providing infill development, and providing new rental housing (Dyiki, 2006). The question, however, is that if the upgrading itself served the state's political mission, how were the claims being made by the upgrades addressed by the newly democratic city and nation? In the next section, I will address this question by shifting attention to the racialized productions of power that took place at the site of the Hostels Upgrades.

## **2.5 Trajectories of Power and Privilege, or, What's Race Got to Do with It?**

That this set of architects engaged in the upgrading of the hostels, in the re-writing of race and space in Cape Town at the time in which apartheid was coming close to its end, is not simply a sign of the anti-apartheid movement progressing. While it disturbed apartheid's boundaries for architects and hostel dwellers to work together, the collaboration was not in itself neutral, in regards to race, power and privilege. Rather, the relationship between the hostel dwellers and architects is as important to critically examine as the Upgrades itself. In order to understand how architects and architecture serve as agents and sites of urban struggle, in a way that is generalizable and specific to this particular piece of history, it is important to ask very pointed questions of the collaboration between architects and hostel dwellers. The differences between the hostel dwellers and architects, in regards to race and privilege, were not only an issue for the ways in which it disturbed apartheid. Difference marked their relationship, and extended into affecting the place each group was able to claim for themselves within apartheid society. In this section I will ask how aspects of social relations such as privilege were reproduced and contested, and how it was enabling in some ways and in others produced limitations on what was possible to achieve, for individuals and for the anti-apartheid struggle. These questions will demonstrate that the collaboration between the hostel dwellers and architects was not a utopian space, free from asymmetries of power, but rather that the collaboration worked through differences in race and privilege, in ways that were at times limiting and in other that destabilized the dispossessing power of difference.

### *Whiteness?*

Much academic debate has ensued over the degree to which difference marked social relation in Cape Town. Cape Town was a somewhat racially 'mixed' city in the nineteenth century (Bickford-Smith 1989), and some scholars argue that such 'multiracialism' carried through into the twentieth century in the form of relatively relaxed 'racial relations' (Bickford-

Smith 1995). It is through this understanding of race relations that Cape Town developed a reputation as South Africa's 'liberal' city. Amongst the city's institutions, the University of Cape Town particularly was known for its liberalness. Of course, however, liberalness is an attribute applied to the city's white population, as scholars measure the city's multiracialism or liberalism by the degree to which whites are 'tolerant' of 'colour' (Bickford-Smith 1995, 65).

Such liberalness, which is debatable whether it was a characteristic of Cape Town, needs to be unpacked. Whiteness is a useful analytical lens for doing so, as it assists in bringing to light the racialized privilege that is the unspoken basis of liberalness in Cape Town. To pay attention to whiteness means to scrutinize and question a system of privilege and normalcy that is otherwise taken for granted, by its recipients and society as a whole (Ahmed 2004). For Garner, paying attention to whiteness "strips a normative privileged identity of its cloak of invisibility." In this he is calling for reversing the normative academic gaze, in which 'white academia' seeks to study and define the Other, which he identifies as "communities and individuals representative of what came to be labeled 'minorities'." (2007, 5) He is critiquing the fact that often race is only called upon in reference to those groups and individuals who are classified as something other than white, so that whiteness is normalized and not considered a subject of study.

Clearly apartheid was a system built around producing 'white privilege'. For individuals such as the professionals involved in the Hostels Upgrades, whether or not they supported apartheid, they benefitted greatly from it, in ways that were both material – in regards to access to resources such as education and space – and discursive. Considering that most of the professionals involved in the Upgrades were white, and in its earliest stages all of the architects involved were white,<sup>66</sup> it is important to question the privileged position from which they each operated. While it is clearly also important to consider how the hostel dwellers' experiences of their racialized identity affected their actions, it is the whiteness of the architects that I am here unpacking.<sup>67</sup> I initially turned to the category of 'whiteness', to see the ways in which privilege might have been addressed and subsumed, reproduced and subverted, in the interactions between *white* architects and *black* migrant laborers. Would thinking about the professionals who participated in the upgrades through the lens of whiteness help to problematize how the privilege that they systemically enjoyed impacted their participation in the Upgrades?

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<sup>66</sup> There are two caveats to this declaration: first, Mamphela Ramphele is a prominent black public figure – activist, academic, the former partner of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko, and currently businesswoman and politician - who was involved with the project in its earliest stages, and wrote her doctoral dissertation in Anthropology about life in the hostels (Ramphele 1993). And amongst the architects, at least one coloured architect, Fadly Isaacs got involved in the project in the mid 1990s.

<sup>67</sup> Because this dissertation concerns architects as agents and architecture as sites of struggle, I am primarily looking from the perspective of the architect, much more than from the hostel dweller. An important piece of follow-up work would invert the gaze, to study how race affected the collaboration from the hostel dweller's perspective.

In many ways, privilege was an essential component of the professionals' participation. As discussed above, being white – or at least privileged, such as in the case of figures such as Mamphela Ramphele – made the ways in which they participated particularly possible. For example, the role the architects took in acting as liaisons between the hostel dwellers and Ikapa was only possible because the architects were white. Because of this racial categorization, they were interested parties but not direct members of the migrant labor 'community'. Race provided them a degree of separation: it allowed them to participate in the struggle to upgrade the hostels without being actual subjects of the oppositional politics playing out between the hostel dwellers and Ikapa. The privileged position that the architects occupied within apartheid society - a position they benefitted from whether they supported the system or not - afforded them the freedom to act as liaison without fear of retribution, by the state or their community. The privilege the professionals experienced gave shape to their participation in the Upgrades. Firstly, the hostel dwellers would likely not have asked them to become involved in the upgrading to such an involved degree had they not brought with them the access to sites of power that privilege afforded them. Second, privilege rendered their participation a 'safe space'; it enabled them to engage in forms of anti-apartheid protest that may have been 'hectic' (Cooke 2011), but were much less risky than other methods of participation.<sup>68</sup>

However, I believe that the reflexivity of the professionals disturbs the simple cry of 'whiteness'. Whiteness seeks to impose reflexivity to researchers and practitioners who otherwise take their privilege for granted. It seeks to disturb the normalcy otherwise granted to the racial status of 'whiteness' and all that it confers. I believe that for at least the architects involved in the Upgrades with whom I spoke, they operated from a position of privilege, but one of which they were very aware. Therefore, the case of the Hostels Upgrades is one in which whiteness needs to be invoked, as an intellectual stepping stone for unpacking racialized asymmetries of power and privilege.

In my analysis, the Hostels Upgrades illustrated a disturbance - but not dismantling - of systems of privilege. By now I have documented how the architects' cooperation in the Upgrades was a powerful, albeit symbolic, resistive act against apartheid. However, what is also important to question is how participation in the Upgrades, by architects, activists, and even the hostel dwellers served their careers and personal fortunes. Participation in the Upgrade served for many - both professionals and hostel dwellers, white and black - as a stepping stone into positions of influence and power in the newly democratic dispensation. Figures such as Wallace Mngoni became powerful players in the ANC. Mamphela Ramphele, who both participated in the Upgrades and wrote her doctoral dissertation on the migrant labor hostels, has maintained a high profile on the national stage, even briefly entering the 2014 race for South African President.

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<sup>68</sup> McRaeMcRae, 2012 describes the harrowing - and deadly - detention of Neil Aggett, Liz Floyd, Barbara Hogan and Auret van Heerden in 1981 through 1982, bringing vividly to life the dangers face by white people (to speak nothing of black people) who worked to bring an end to apartheid.

None of the architects involved used the project to venture beyond architectural practice and teaching, but arguably that is because they already had successful careers that fulfilled their personal ambitions. Based upon my interviews with the architects and members of UPRU, I can argue that they were cognizant of their privilege and also that their racial status served strategic ends for the project as a whole - for both themselves and for the successful realization of the Upgrades.<sup>69</sup> It is for that reason that I believe a more apt characterization of the collaboration is what I discuss below: an 'enabling encounter'.

### *An Enabling Encounter*

If the expertise that the architects 'performed', particularly as trustees, is only in part possible to understand as a condition of 'whiteness', other lens needed to be employed to understand this performance and the productions of power laden within it. There are two important sets of questions that need to be asked about these expert performances. The first concerns the power produced by having professionals serve as experts for the hostel dwellers, and what happens when experts 'speak' - for disadvantaged others. The second concerns how such 'architectural speech acts' - as I am calling them - served the political interests of the professionals themselves, which returns to my claim that the Hostels Upgrades were a case of 'deploying the domestic'.

When the hostel dwellers elected the architects to serve as their voice, the question that arises is one of representation. I believe that the hostel dwellers' election of Cooke and Andrew and other professionals as their representatives does not necessarily indicate their inability to represent themselves - or to 'speak' - but rather their strategic choice to subsume their voices. The hostel dwellers' dilemma, in which speaking for themselves would have been political 'suicide', was fabricated by the political calculus of the apartheid state. The hostel dwellers were not silenced necessarily, but *constrained*: unable to operate and move within the political sphere as they desired. The architects thus worked as their proxies, representing the hostel dwellers in the sense of *vertreten* (Spivak 1988). By doing so, the architects were exercising their privileged position, which related to both their professional and personal status - as (for the most part) white, well educated and middle class.

That the hostel dwellers chose - and felt the need - to elect those who operate from positions of privilege to represent their interests raises compelling questions. First, how did the act of representing affect the standing of the hostel dwellers, as disadvantaged members of

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<sup>69</sup> I base my argument also on documentary evidence, specifically reports on the Hostels Upgrading Liebermann, et al., 1993. While these reports were written by professional members and staff of UPRU, they were commented upon by hostel dwellers, and thereby offer a degree of reliability.

society? What – if anything - did the hostel dwellers give up by not speaking in their own voices? Louise Alcoff (1991) points out the limitations to the possibility of speaking for others, for presuming one can speak in another’s voice. Alcoff states that it came to be recognized that when those speaking from a position of privilege – such as the Upgrades architects – do so on behalf of oppressed people – such as the hostel dwellers – that oppression often worsens (1991, 7).<sup>70</sup> This is an important critique of the Hostels Upgrades type of social action to which the Hostels Upgrades belongs, which raises questions for the Upgrades. I tend to believe that rather than ‘speaking for others’, the architects’ ‘speech acts’ were an *enabling encounter* - with the Other.



Figure 2.14 The University of Cape Town’s Upper Campus. The campus sits immediately below Devil’s Peak – the iconic, eastern-most part of Table Mountain. To the south and east of the campus are lush, tree-lined residential suburbs, where many of the University’s professors live. From [uct.ac.za](http://uct.ac.za).

In this encounter, the boundaries upon which apartheid operated, especially in Cape Town, were crossed. Apartheid operated through manufacturing divisions. There were urban-scale, spatial divisions, such as those that separated hostel dwellers from architects and their academics and professional associates. While hostel dwellers were isolated in townships on the city’s periphery, as discussed above, Cooke and his colleagues lived and worked on the lush slopes of Table Mountain, in the city’s affluent suburbs and at the University of Cape Town. This relationship with Table Mountain, as either a distant marker on the horizon (Figure 2.1) or part of the intimate fabric of daily life (Figure 2.14), marks life, unevenly, for all Capetonians (Vergunst 2001, 22). This uneven geography spatially separated hostel dwellers from architects, and for the most part whites from blacks. It was a boundary – a thick zone (Borden 2000) – that is both material and symbolic. Materially, the city was designed to minimize contact between races, using infrastructural devices such as freeways and railway lines to render it nearly impossible to cross from one space to another. Symbolically, the spatial divisions extended, drawing together the divisions of race with class. The significance of the Hostels Upgrades, in part then, is the way in which the project served as an encounter between those typically divided: between architects and migrant laborers, between poverty and privilege, and between the domestic and the political.

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<sup>70</sup> Alcoff was writing in 1991, when such recognition was inventive, whereas today it may be more common-place. While her work may seem a bit dated, it was contemporaneous with the Hostels Upgrades project.

By actively – and voluntarily – encountering an Other who is different in terms of race, class, space, profession, the hostel dwellers and architects were disturbing apartheid. This was a case of positing alternatives to the apartheid rhetoric of separation. It is an argument that states that apartheid's boundaries – those that drew radical *social* distinctions and distances between the migrant labour hostels and classrooms of UCT – were penetrable. Such arguments, although they operate at a discursive level, call for rethinking the prohibitions that were essential to apartheid.

Such rethinking is represented in the opening epigraph of the dissertation, from Zakes Mda's novel *Ways of Dying* (1995): as Robinson (1998) argues, the book's protagonist Toloki claims openings and crossings in the city that would not have been designed by the architects of apartheid. She points out, however, that even under apartheid and in the most abject corners of apartheid cities, resistance and invention were at play. She argues that those participating in social movements did have agency: she makes this claim by identifying frameworks that are enabling rather than limiting. Such frameworks are exactly those that I am using to examine the Hostels Upgrades. I believe that as an encounter, between the hostel dwellers and architects, the Upgrades worked to destabilize apartheid. It served as a site through which such different positions and struggles came together, in ways that subverted the apartheid program of separating races and spaces. Privileged architects, planners and educators, who normally resided literally 'on the hill' at the University of Cape Town were brought into intimate contact with both poverty and its spaces on the Cape Flats.<sup>71</sup> The lives that were rendered marginal in the hostels were made visible: to architects, to academic units at the University of Cape Town, and to municipal officials at a range of levels and capacities. The space – and by extension the social life – between the center and periphery of the city began to be traversed, thus disturbing the apartheid paradigm of separation. What's more, not only were those disparate spaces and lives made visible, significant bonds were forged. As Cooke has stated, the hostel dwellers were his 'friends', in ways that indicate that their lives - if not their fates<sup>72</sup> - were drawn together.

## Conclusion

As a history, the Upgrades draws attention to the history of encounters and alliances that tied together different races and classes in South Africa, in ways that provide an alternative to apartheid's narrative of separation. The Hostels Upgrades demonstrates how privilege, poverty, and scarcity can be framed not only through binary frameworks, but also as sites of interconnection between what are otherwise considered sites of difference.

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<sup>71</sup> The university is located on the slopes of Table Mountain, overlooking the Cape Town metropolitan area.

<sup>72</sup> Sadly, many of the hostel dwellers most intimately involved with the Upgrades, particularly the first leaders of the process, died at relatively young ages. Some were the victims of politicized violence, and some died in tragic accidents. Even the latter cases signify the relative difficulty of life experienced by hostel dwellers, and the ways in which poverty and racialized inequality cut short lives, even if indirectly.

The material, historical question that remains, however, is that if the upgrading itself served the state's political mission, how were the claims being made by the upgrades addressed by the newly democratic city and nation? The answer to this question is not at all straight-forward, and as a study that privileges architecture as its subject, not wholly within the realm of this dissertation to answer. However, there are indications that the project of rescripting how race, class and space are articulated through each other in Cape Town continues, unlike the upgrading itself, without resolution. One illustrative instance took place at the University of Cape Town in 1997. At this time, the students in the Architecture Department staged an uprising of sorts, critiquing the Department for its lack of 'transformation' in light of the number of years since apartheid had come to an end (Graham, n.d.). The actual terms and terrain of the uprising were represented to me quite differently by each individual with whom I discussed it. Some of my research participants brushed off the event, while others pointed to it as a critical moment: of activism by students, that indicated the glacial speed of transformation within the department, and by extension the architectural profession as a whole.

The first time I was told about the uprising I was told that it concerned the values expressed by the academics in the Department. The catalyst was the competition between two student thesis projects for the top mark for that year. One project was by a white male, and was a building at the V&A Waterfront, which is one of Cape Town's most visually iconic spots of consumption - and whose imagery itself is regularly circulated and consumed by Cape Town's tourism industry. The second project was by a coloured female student, located in the Bo Kaap, which had been designated as 'Malay' under the Group Areas Act and is a context fraught with social struggle. The former project received the top mark, and for the students involved in 'the Revolt' this decision indicated a larger set of values, regarding what type of architectural - and social - agendas were prioritized in the Department, and what shape architectural education should take (Jacobs, 2011). As a result of the uprising, the University administration got involved, students and professors held a number of (heated) meetings, and studies were performed concerning race and education (Low and Smuts 1997<sup>73</sup>; Carter 2004). The 'revolt' today seems prescient, as the last year has seen numerous protests at UCT and other South African universities. From 'Rhodes Must Fall' to 'Fees Must Fall' to the most recent (February 2016) protests at UCT over racialized housing allocation, students continue to articulate demands for 'transformation' at universities.

The significance of this series of events and discussions exceeds the challenge to realize 'transformation' - or to even agree upon what transformation for architectural education may mean. Rather, the point is the persistent resonance of the claims that the hostel dwellers articulated through the upgrading process. This spatialized articulation of the right to citizenship in the city made provocative, important demands for re-scripting the city. The challenge to enact

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<sup>73</sup> This study was begun before the uprising but its findings were crafted to speak to the issues raised by the students (Smuts, 2012).

such re-scripting, even in the microcosm of the UCT Architecture Department, points to the challenges faced by the hostel dwellers. Ironically, the challenges were not in realizing the Upgrades; we have seen that the upgrading process, while not yet serving every resident of the former hostels, was overall a success. Rather, the larger racialized and gendered claims, of realizing equality have yet to be resolved. It is the one of the projects of the post-apartheid condition, which sadly may continue for many years to come.

The Hostels Upgrades illustrates that in Cape Town, the post-apartheid signifies the persistence of questions over race, and the racialized identity of Cape Town. The process of realizing the upgrades also illustrates that for architects, participation in the post-apartheid was as much a project of *method* as of product. The upgrades apartments have brought great improvement to the hostel dwellers' lives, with each family now having an entire flat as opposed to an entire *bed*. And the overall landscape of the hostel settlements has been greatly improved, in ways that reflect the rejection of the modernism of high apartheid. In this way, the project serves as a model of the 'after' of apartheid's modernism. However, I have argued that the upgrading process has been one in which the architects' acts, in *both* 'speech' and design, have together articulated all the ambitions and limitations of the post-apartheid. The anticipations that have accompanied apartheid's ending, as seen in this project, have been ones in which both space and the discourses that space reflects – and is productive of – will work to rescript the city.

### **Chapter 3. Between Remembering and (Re)Building: The Perpetuation of Conflicting Images of the City in District Six**

*Faust's unfinished construction site is the vibrant but shaky ground on which we must all stake out and build up our lives.*

-- Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air*

*District Six.* In the lexicon of Cape Town, particularly where apartheid, space and (in)justice come together, there are few other phrases that hold so much weight and convey such depth of meaning and emotions. It is nearly impossible to think about socio-spatial justice and the fraught nature of the transition from apartheid to democracy in Cape Town without thinking about District Six.

Taking its name from the nineteenth century method of numbering each administrative district in the city, District Six is a residential area that was first constructed at the edge of the city center in the mid-nineteenth century, during the height of Cape Town's growth under British colonialism. Sited just above the city's docks in Table Bay, the primary marine entry point into the city (Figure 3.1), District Six was known as the first port of call for most new-comers to the city, including immigrants arriving from Europe or East Africa or Asia by sea, as well as migrants traveling overland from the hinterlands of southern Africa. The mixture of residents produced an ethnically and racially diverse, vibrant neighborhood, set against an architectural backdrop of narrow streets, and single and double story Victorian row houses (Figure 3.2) (Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998). District Six retained its heterogeneous and 'lively' character into the twentieth century, although the neighborhood became so dense and fell into such disrepair<sup>74</sup> that for many, especially nonresidents, it was characterized as more a 'slum' than neighborhood (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999).

Apartheid, however, brought about an end to that version of District Six. After much debate and supposed contestation between the apartheid national government and more 'liberal'

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<sup>74</sup> Much of the property in District Six was rental, and many of the absentee landlords intentionally did not maintain their properties.

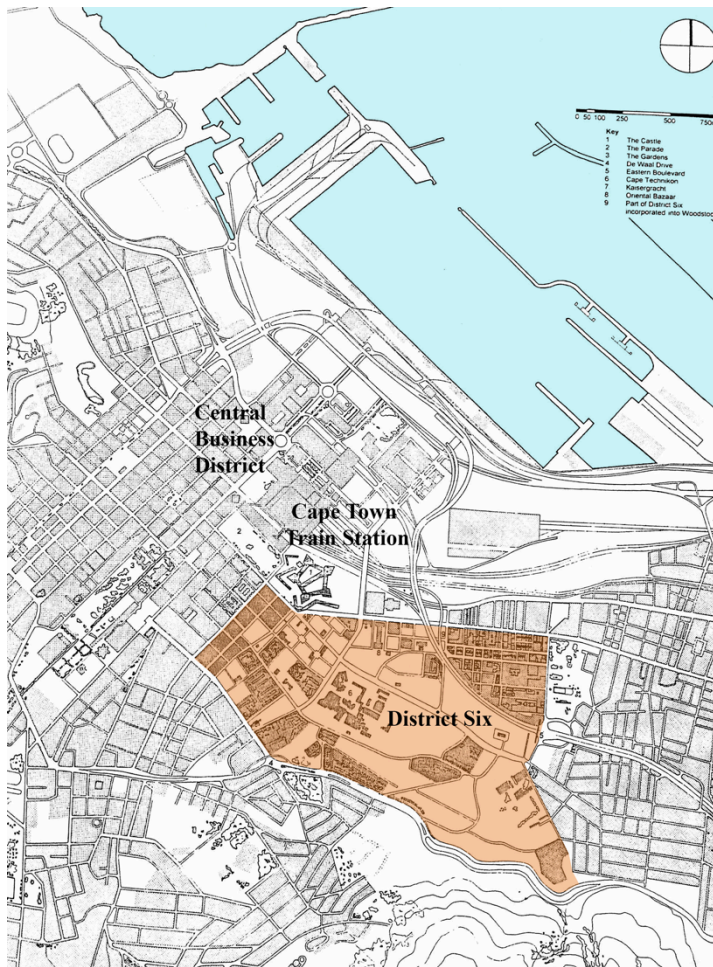


Figure 3.1 Central Cape Town Map. District Six sits just above the harbor and railway lines, at the edge of the Central Business District. Base map from Pistorius 2002, 32.

local government,<sup>75</sup> in 1966 District Six was declared ‘White’. This designation was made under the Group Areas Act - the legislation that racially designated all urban land in South Africa, and proved one of the most decisive and divisive tools of apartheid (Western 1981). As a result of the declaration, all residents of the area were forcibly removed, most to single-ethnicity dormitory townships on the Cape Flats - Cape Town’s wind-swept periphery. Following the removals, which tore apart social bonds as neighbors and even families were separated and cast off to distant corners of the Cape metropolitan area, an additional erasure was committed: nearly

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<sup>75</sup> The most accepted narrative is that the national government forced the local government to accept District Six’s designation as ‘White’. However, there were pre-apartheid ‘redevelopment and slum removal’ schemes for District Six on the boards, which indicate that the city’s white leadership were plotting the neighborhood’s radical change before the Nationalist Party ushered in the Group Areas Act (Barnett 1991). This suggests that the local political leaders were actually quietly willing to go along with the designation and subsequent clearing of District Six.



Figure 3.2 Hanover Street. As one of District Six's primary commercial thoroughfares, Hanover Street in the 1960s, prior to destruction, illustrates the architectural fabric and vibrant street life of District Six. From Bennett, Julius, and Soudien 2008, 17.

all of District Six was razed to the ground.<sup>76</sup> Yet, for various reasons, including the intense controversy surrounding its destruction, only small portions of District Six were rebuilt during apartheid<sup>77</sup> and even the early years of democracy. Until recently, the Districts remained a swath of vacant land, right at the edge of the city's central business district.

In 2003, however, construction equipment broke ground on the first set of houses built for returning victims of apartheid's forced removals, and in 2004, ownership of the twenty-four completed homes was handed over to residents by former president Nelson Mandela. The first block of new homes was a self-described, by architect Lucien le Grange, 'modern interpretation of the District Six that had been destroyed' (Figure 3.3). It was a first material realization of a struggle by one contingency of removed residents and sympathetic professionals and public intellectuals, including le Grange, to not only rebuild District Six, but to do so as an act of restitution.

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<sup>76</sup> Religious institutions, including mosques and churches were not destroyed. Those institutions continued to act as gathering points and nodes through which the 'spirit' of District Six was kept alive throughout the remaining years of apartheid, and through to today [reference].

<sup>77</sup> This is actually a generalization, and will be discussed in depth later in the chapter.



Figure 3.3 District Six Houses, Past and Present. The historic terrace houses, seen on the left, informed the Pilot Project, designed by le Grange, on the right. Photo on right by author, 2012.

This chapter is concerned with the events that led up to the 2004 ‘homecoming’ moment. The conceptual point of departure for the chapter is that District Six is a specific space and a symbol: a symbol of apartheid’s crimes of removal and erasure of people, space, and identity, and the challenges in addressing and redressing the past as the city attempts to move forward. I am concerned with how the production of space in Cape Town reflects and responds to these histories of erasure. I will examine this by probing the imaginations and contestations concerned with how District Six was to be rebuilt after its clearance. The chapter focuses not on the original crimes<sup>78</sup> of destruction, but a later set of moments, in which assertions were made about *what* District Six had been and what it *should* be, in the future. In the chapter I will draw together practices that are focused upon architecture and urban design - the physical making of space - with those concerned with the social - issues of race and class, identity and memory. I will frame these as claims, which ostensibly address District Six, but speak even more broadly to the city overall. District Six is a special space in the city, but one which serves as a site through which to examine how Cape Town has been subject to competing imaginations and practices that propose very differing ways of addressing and moving forward from apartheid’s legacy in the city.

The chapter has two predominant objectives. The first is to tell a very complicated history, of the struggles over how and for whom to rebuild District Six. This story pieces together different moments in this process, which work through very different but associated realms, including legislation, legal battles, museum formation and architectural production. The second objective is to illustrate how differing concerns over the architectural modernism of apartheid

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<sup>78</sup> There is a large body of literature that examines the destruction of District Six, so I am choosing to not contribute to this literature, but rather build upon it by looking at later periods in District Six’s history.

and after come together. This happens through different sets of actors, with different political and professional allegiances. As I will argue, political positions and architectural practices do not always align; in the struggles over how to rebuild District Six differing political alliances sometimes produce similar architectural imaginations. Thus, the second part of the story of this chapter is the teasing apart of architecture and politics, of how modernism's differing strains and urges come to articulate the contestations over District Six.

In this chapter, the story of the contestations over how to rebuild District Six will focus upon the continuity of oppositional politics from apartheid through democracy. Neither the 2004 homecoming moment<sup>79</sup> nor the processes its history entails are complete or resolved. Rather, the (hi)story of the rebuilding of District Six is one of continuous contestation. At times the conflict has been between the once-removed residents and the state. In this way, the rebuilding of District Six is part of a larger South African story, in which the ending of apartheid and mutating form and political agenda of the local state have not brought about agreement between the state and its constituencies. Other authors have addressed the persistence of struggle in democratic South Africa as it relates to social movements, including so-called 'service delivery protests' (Hart 2013; Robins 2008). I will build upon this literature, demonstrating that post-apartheid struggle is not only about the provision of resources - such as housing in the case of District Six - but also very much about agency. The efforts to rebuild District Six have been struggles over the *meaning* of rebuilding in a post-apartheid context: for some factions, the important questions have been who gets to control the process, and for whom. For others, such as the state but also other institutions and even some removed residents, it has been much more a question of land and its use in the city. These opposing views are salient to space making throughout Cape Town and South Africa, but are especially *visible* in District Six. They are questions that concern race and identity, about differing types of participation in the production of space, and of the right to the city. They address what Vanessa Watson calls 'conflicting rationalities' (2003), in which different parties operate from completely different world-views. These questions, and the place of architecture as an articulation of claim making, will be the subject of this chapter.

The chapter is structured as a chronological journey through the history of the rebuilding of District Six. It is divided into different phases, each characterized by a unique set of social issues and spatial practices. The chapter begins with a pre-history, Section 3.1, which foregrounds the rebuilding process by giving a brief overview of the area's history and destruction. The section will demonstrate why, historically, District Six is so significant within Cape Town and South Africa as a site of difference and struggle, and how the conflicts over the

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<sup>79</sup> The construction completed in 2004 was Phase 1 of a Pilot Project, for which a second phase was completed in 2012. The lengthy, complicated history that ties together these phases and subsequent development will be discussed in depth later in the chapter.

meaning of District Six began long before the late and post-apartheid contestations over rebuilding.

The rebuilding story begins in earnest in the mid-1980s with one of the earliest public proposals - and subsequent contestation - to rebuild District Six. Section 3.2 will examine the imaginaries formed during the latter days of apartheid, which concerned how Cape Town should be (re)made in ways that anticipated an end to apartheid. These were claims that differed in the ways they drew together space and identity, varying not so much in the physical form that architecture and urban design should take, but how the practices of architecture and urban design should be operationalized in relation to the political economy of the city. These positions reveal the differing ways in which identity, difference and race are treated, particularly the ways in which they are alternately silenced and elevated in relation to other political, economic and disciplinary concerns.

Section 3.3 focuses upon the 1990s, when oppositional strategies shifted from resistance to articulation; when those removed from District Six began to materially express their vision of District Six and Cape Town. It is in this period that through two unfolding processes – the foundation of the District Six Museum and the application for restitution under the 1994 Land Claims Act – that memory work, political action, and the production of space become even visibly intertwined.

The final section, 3.4, examines the design and construction of the District Six Pilot Project - the block of homes completed in 2004. While the project was completed in a short time, between 2002 and 2004, its history stretches back further, to at least the latter 1990s, when architect Lucien Le Grange, a member of the HODS, was approached by both the committee and city government to consider strategies for rebuilding District Six. This section of the chapter will focus upon how claims concerning identity and the right to the city get articulated with architectural practices. In the section I will discuss how memory work becomes a politicized architectural design strategy, and how efforts to build the future in a post-apartheid context are means of linking the past to the imaginaries of the future.

Together, these sections argue that the contestations regarding *how* to rebuild District Six are continuations of class and race-based struggles that have long marked Cape Town's history. This will be seen in the culminating moment - the District Six Pilot Project - which as a work of architecture involves much more than re-building District Six and returning its inhabitants. Rather, its production reveals positions and strategies that speak to the city and city-making overall. These alternatively disturb and reinforce hegemonic methods of producing space in Cape Town, producing a dynamic, shifting terrain of struggles for power through space. The production of the space of the District Six Pilot Project exceeds the boundaries of District Six, at a scalar level and in regards to the claims it makes about the city. The Pilot Project is significant for what it reveals about the political economy of architectural production in Cape Town,

particularly in the center of the city, in times of democratic transition. This chapter uses architecture as the site of inquiry in order to investigate how different positions get articulated and negotiated in the project of building a city in reflection of diverse and often conflicting ambitions for the fledgling South African democratic order. The story of rebuilding District Six will map out a conceptual place for architecture within political struggle, exploring how architectural concerns, related to the production of built form at the scale of the city and the individual building, takes on and meaningfully articulates race, class, memory and power.

### 3.1 (Creative) Destruction

*The land lies like a scar on the landscape, symbolising the horrors of Group Areas and apartheid.*

-- Marco Bezzoli, *Texture and Memory: The Urbanism of District Six*

On February 11, 1966, the neighborhood of District Six was declared a ‘white’ area, under the dictates of the Group Areas Act (GAA). The Act, initially passed in 1950 and amended incrementally throughout apartheid, mapped artificial, imposed racial classifications onto urban space. Every bit of urban land - down to the centimeter - was designated for a single racial group. And of course, the most desirable land, such as that in the center of the city, was designated as ‘white’. The Group Areas Act proved to be one of the most effective tools of apartheid, as it made spatial and social heterogeneity in South African cities almost impossible.<sup>80</sup> Within Cape Town, District Six was far from the only area affected by the Group Areas Act. It has, however, been produced - materially and through the work of memory and imagination - as one of the most visible sites of the destructive work of the GAA. While the memory of removals in areas such as Mowbray<sup>81</sup>, Protea Village, Claremont and Newlands may have faded for Cape Town as a collective (but certainly not for those affected by removals)(Besteman 2008), District Six has remained a symbol of the work apartheid did upon the spatial landscape of the city.

At the time of the GAA declaration, the District measured about 130 hectares (Mammon 2011, 158), with a population of approximately 30,000 persons (Pistorius 2002). It was a predominantly residential neighborhood, which included many schools, religious and community facilities, and small businesses. Soon after the 1966 declaration, bulldozers began to raze District Six. By the time destruction was complete in 1982, between 50,000 and 60,000 people had been

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<sup>80</sup> Jennifer Robinson does argue, however, for the importance of imagining South African cities beyond the prohibitions of boundaries and exclusion (1998).

<sup>81</sup> John Western’s iconic study of colored identity and forced removals in Cape Town, *Outcast Cape Town*, focused upon Mowbray, not District Six (1981).

removed, most to newly-constructed residential dormitory suburbs on the Cape Flats. The only structures that remained were some schools and religious institutions (Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4 After Destruction. The only structures left standing in District Six were churches and mosques, as seen in the center of the image. From Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 183.



Figure 3.5 Demolition. District Six was bulldozed, building-by-building and street-by-street to produce the city in the image of apartheid governmentality. From Hallett 2007, 107.

The perseverance of the story of District Six's destruction is in part attributable to the events that followed the 1966 GAA designation. Other areas of the city were also inhabited by a racialized mix of people and declared white, and the state also forcibly removed those residents to dormitory townships on the city's periphery. What distinguishes District Six was a

combination of factors: firstly, the scale of these relocations was unprecedented in the city, as the entire neighborhood's population was removed. Second, and arguably even more powerful was that beginning in 1968 and continuing through 1982, the state slowly demolished almost the entirety of District Six, clearing the land to make way for an entirely new image of the divided and orderly city (Figure 3.5). Various planning schemes for redeveloping District Six were drawn up, both before and following the 1966 designation, but none were ever successfully implemented (Barnett 1991). Instead, District Six for the most part stood bare, with tall grasses overtaking bulldozed streets and building foundations, standing as a silent reminder of what apartheid had wrought.

The third reason District Six is so important is the memory work undertaken by a group of activists and former residents. This work is the subject of much of this chapter; in the remainder of this section I will discuss what was destroyed when District Six's residents were removed and its built fabric demolished.

### *Difference and Different District Sixes*

Despite the abbreviated description above, it is not so easy to partition District Six's history into period(s) of construction and destruction. Removal and construction were always integrated. District Six was never singular or fixed. It *is* an area defined by flux and fluidity, in its demographics and the legislation by which it is regulated. In both its composition and historiography, District Six has always been a site of difference.

The District was named as the Sixth Municipal District of Cape Town in 1867, and originally populated by a mixture of freed slaves, immigrants, artisans, merchants and laborers. It is located to the immediate north of the docks at Table Bay, bordered on its eastern edge by the city's central business district, and to the west by Woodstock and Salt River - areas which both had heavy concentrations of clothing factories and other sorts of light industry.<sup>82</sup> This location provided many nearby employment opportunities, especially for the city's laboring population. Like the Bo-Kaap, which sits on the opposite side of the city center, the initial construction of District Six was the indirect result of the emancipation of slaves under British colonial rule in 1834. Former slave owners were paid reparations by the British state, for their loss of property; they often turned around and used the money to construct rental housing on the city's periphery, which they conveniently - and ironically - often rented to their former slaves.

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<sup>82</sup> Beginning in the 1980s, Cape Town's manufacturing industries experienced a significant downturn, leaving many of the factories abandoned. In recent years the area has been revitalized as a host of artisans have established workshops in the area. Gentrification has quickly followed the establishment of these creative ventures, illustrating Richard Florida's 'creative class' theory of urban development (2003).

Because its location was so convenient to jobs and land and marine entry into the city, District Six became known as the first port of call for a host of different immigrants to the Cape Colony. When European immigration to Cape Town intensified in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, particularly by Eastern European Jews, many called District Six their first home in the city (Bezzoli 1997, 20; Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 258). Africans migrating to the city from the Eastern Cape or further afield in Southern Africa also often took initial residence in District Six (Saunders 1980). District Six was a site of racialized and ethnic diversity, particularly noteworthy for its mixture and relatively peaceful coexistence of multiple religions. The only partial category of homogeneity that could be applied to District Six, particularly from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century forward, was class. While the District, in its earliest days, was home to an economically diverse population, development patterns in Cape Town enticed the well off to eventually leave for more desirable corners of the city. Such urban dispersal was a product of Cape Town's mid-nineteenth century expansion in directions and urban patterns different from its initial colonial growth. The 1860s' construction of tramlines out along the Atlantic Seaboard to Sea Point and Camps Bay, and south along the lower slopes of Table Mountain enabled the development of new suburbs, many built on subdivisions of the farms that provided the produce that sustained the initial Cape colonial settlement (Bickford-Smith 1990, 36–37). In District Six, wealthier residents who could afford to tended to move out to these leafy suburbs, leaving behind a relatively working class population (Bezzoli 1997, 20).

Over the years, District Six became known for its diversity and its vibrancy. Such terms, however, meant different things to different people. For those who remember District Six in a positive light, it was 'pulsating' and 'unorthodox', filled with songs and laughter, a mixture of races and religions (Rive 1990, 111). Such a framing was built around events such as the 'Coon Carnival', one of Cape Town's most iconic cultural events, in which brightly uniformed bands paraded through the center of the city, from District Six to the Bo-Kaap on January 2 every year, to commemorate the single day of the year in which slaves were released from duty (Figure 3.6). There was the Eoan Group, which from its institutional home in District Six mounted full-scale operas, ballets, choral concerts and arts festivals that traveled the nation. Characters such as Zoot September, the Jungle Boys, and the Butterfly populated the District: colorful, vivacious figures, brought to life by former District Six-er Richard Rive in his novel-in-tribute *Buckingham Palace* (1986). Writing after District's Six demolition was complete, *Buckingham Palace* projects a memory of a District in which the daily challenges of keeping decay and poverty at bay brought out the best, worst, and most creative in its residents. In the more academic and activist collection, *The Struggle for District Six*, Rive captures the sorts of images of District Six often projected by former residents:

District Six had a mind and soul of its own. It had a homogeneity that created a sense of belonging. It became more than a geographically defined area. It developed a separate and unique attitude. It cultivated a sharp, urban inclusivity, the type which cockneys have in the East End of London and black Americans in Harlem.

It was both urban and urbane. It developed a verbal dexterity of its own. It cultivated a macabre and biting sense of humour to laugh to keep from crying. The graffiti at the entrance to this slum proclaimed: "You are now entering fairyland". It viewed with suspicion and disdain the middle-class values of Walmer Estate and Wittebome. Within its boundaries, it practiced no form of religious or colour discrimination. There was no observable apartheid since the District was one, big apartheid. It practiced no class discrimination since almost everyone there was working class. It insulated itself against the outside world which was always threatening it. It was nervously aware of the white world which intruded in the form of slum landlords, pious social workers and arrogant policemen. It wore a blank mask in the presence of hostile officialdom but dropped all posturing and became itself again once the interlopers had left. (1990, 112)



Figure 3.6 Coon Carnival. Every year marching band troops traveled through the streets of District Six and across the city to the Bo-Kaap, to celebrate the freeing of slaves. From Breytenbach 1997, 26.

Images such as those created by Rive and fellow author Alex la Guma, whose critically acclaimed novel *A Walk in the Night* (1968) also famously brought the soul of District Six to life on the written page, are often simultaneously gritty and nostalgic. There is the oft-photographed piece of graffiti mentioned above by Rive that captures this volatile, fragile composite. The declaration, “You are now in Fairyland” (Figure 3.7), is simultaneously ironic and sentimental. It evokes the mixture of hardships and pleasures of living in the neighborhood, proudly acknowledging that many on the outside viewed the area as a slum. The frequency with which the ‘tag’ was photographed and the images reproduced and circulated, transformed personal, private experiences into an early form of branding. District Six was not only a material place. Even before its Group Areas Act-induced destruction, it was produced as an imaginary - but one that was multivalent, open to a multitude of interpretations.

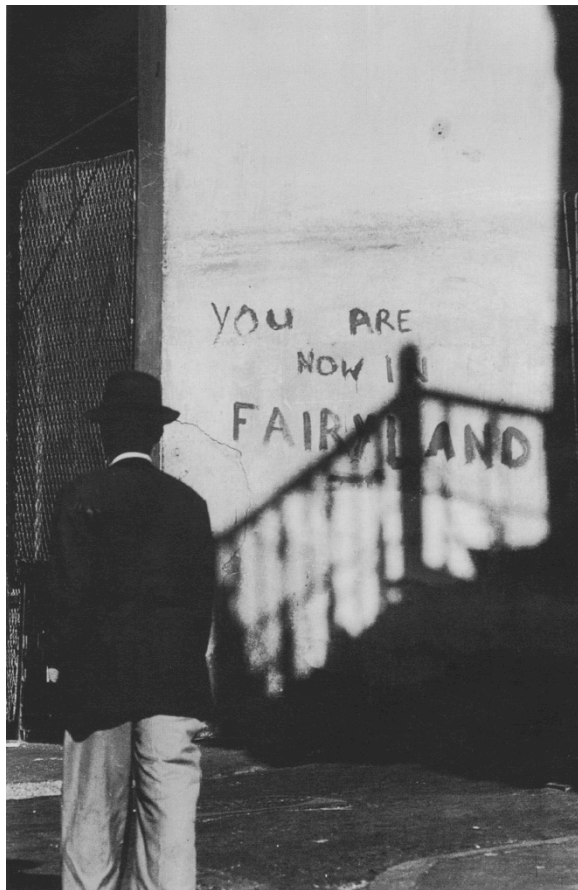


Figure 3.7 “You are Now in Fairyland.” The graffiti captures both the sentiment fondness for District Six by its residents as well as ironically acknowledges that for many, the area was just the opposite of a ‘fairyland’. From Breytenbach 1997, 10.

The detracting images of District Six reflect particular political readings of the area, as well as its architectural and social history. Vivian Bickford-Smith explains succinctly what District Six became, over the course of a century:

a predominantly working class and petty-bourgeois area; became overcrowded and with deficient housing and lack of facilities, woefully neglected by the Cape Town Municipality. It was largely because of the latter that District Six could become stereotyped by most white bourgeois Capetonians as a slum. This stereotype was of course used by the Nationalist Government as a justification for the removal of the District's people and the destruction of its buildings. (1990, 35)

In its earlier decades, District Six was constructed quickly and inexpensively, on streets that often lacked water, drainage, or sewers (Bezzoli 1997, 18). Poverty was intense in District Six, especially amongst those of “darker pigmentation”, to a great deal because many of the jobs available - such as those on the docks and railways - were seasonal and casual, depriving many District Sixers of regular, reliable income (Bickford-Smith 1990, 38). As a result of this structural poverty, which Bickford-Smith states was consciously left unaddressed by the Town Council, overcrowding was common, beginning already in the nineteenth century (Bezzoli 1997, 20). Many buildings, especially residences, lacked infrastructure such as indoor plumbing - and sometimes even outhouses. Built by absentee landlords, with no motivation to upkeep their properties because of Cape Town’s continual housing shortage, many of the structures in District Six fell into disrepair (Figure 3.8). Socially, District Six was plagued by petty - or more serious - crime. Rival gangs roamed the streets. Street brawls were considered commonplace (D. Hart 1990; Rive 1990).



Figure 3.8 Disrepair in District Six. Neglected streets and buildings contributed to the impression of District Six as a slum. From Breytenbach 1997, 6.

However, while this District represented a slum for some, others read the exact same social and built fabric in a more positive light. For many late twentieth century architects and urbanists, District Six was noteworthy for its density and urban composition. It was organized along a

regularized street grid, with a sort of hierarchy celebrated by urban designers. Arcaded double-story buildings lined commercial streets, with row houses on the secondary residential streets, and corner shops scattered throughout (Figure 3.9). It was a system, expressed in predominantly vertically-proportioned Victorian architecture, that urbane architects celebrate. This is particularly seen in contrast to the suburban, sprawling manner in which Cape Town was developed in the twentieth century, particularly under apartheid. Even the gangs were read as exceptional, as arbiters of social regulations in an area so Other to the city's normalizing police force. As Rive states: "[b]eing imprisoned in Roeland Street jail carried no social stigma. One was merely in trouble." (1990, 111) Even Bickford-Smith, in his article laying out the structural political-economic forces in Cape Town that produced the poverty experienced by many District Six residents, argued that despite the poverty, District Six was 'vibrant' and 'cosmopolitan' (1990, 43).

District Six, prior to the 1966 GAA declaration, was a cacophony: its boisterous sights and sounds laid open to a variety of interpretations. The difference in how it was read worked to set District Six apart: to create binaries of 'District Sixers' and 'outsiders', to view it as a special place, alternatively utopia and distopia. Such markers of difference would continue to imprint District Six, from its moments of destruction through the contested efforts to rebuild and remake.



Figure 3.9 Hanover Street. The dense urban fabric of District Six has come to be celebrated by architects. From Hallett 2007, 27.

*Erasure: Producing by Removing*

Just as District Six was multivalent - simultaneously slum and paradise - it was also continuously remade by interventions from the local and national government. The first wave of regulation and removals hit District Six in 1901, when bubonic plague broke out in the city. Using the disease as a pretext for segregation, the District's African residents were removed, joining most all of the rest of the city's Africans in the new 'location' in Uitvlugt.<sup>83</sup> Although the outbreak eventually passed, most of the people removed from District Six were never allowed to return. Their dispossession - of their place in the city as well as property - was the first iteration of a sanitized District Six. As will be seen later in this chapter, not only were Africans removed, the apartheid government effectively scrubbed the District's history clean of their presence. This would help bolster a discourse in which District Six was represented as less heterogeneous than its reality, thereby validating later single-race reconstruction schemes.



Figure 3.10 *The Beautiful Cape*. Tourist literature throughout the twentieth century relied upon a picturesque imagery of Cape Town. From Vergunst 2001, 34.

District Six was again revisited with imposed spatial and demographic manipulations with the 1927 passage of the Cape Province's Township Ordinance. While the Ordinance did not in itself produce any planning schemes, it did create a Township Board, tasked as the controlling authority for considering proposed subdivisions to property. This centralizing move did more than just consolidate control of planning in the city; it spoke to an aesthetic desire to wipe clean the city of 'disorderly' spaces (Coetzer 2013, 87). Areas such as District Six were especially targeted by these moves that linked beauty, spatial and social order, and the accumulation of

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<sup>83</sup> A much more in-depth discussion of this removal and the construction of Uitvlugt is given in Chapter Two.

capital. According to Coetzer, fostering tourism was at the heart of the projects of removal that eventually came to mark District Six. The ‘agents of Empire’ “were intent on situating where and how people lived according to the vision and vista of tourism and visual aesthetics.” (Coetzer 2013, 95) The orderliness of the cleansed and beautified city was not simply an end in itself. It was a productive city, which would attract tourists and their related development capital. This will prove to be a continuing project, through today. Cape Town has had a long history of transacting in tourist dollars (Figure 3.10) and spatial developments conducted through both construction and demolition are pushed forward in the name of urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989).

In 1934 the Slums Act was passed, giving the state the force necessary to begin to realize images of the sanitized city. The first site affected in District Six was Wells Square. It “epitomised all that was worst about District Six slums from the perspective of ‘respectable’ observers - and even some of its neighbors” (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 147). Images of the Square, published in *Architect, Builder & Engineer*, were given captions such as ‘The Picannnies’ Playground’ and ‘Somebody’s Washing’, connoting the infectiousness of ‘disease’ emanating out from the area (as District Sixers took in laundry from ‘respectable’ quarters of the city) (Coetzer 2013, 119–120). In place of Wells Square were constructed the Bloemhof Flats, in the renamed Canterbury Square. The new flats were examples of modernist architecture, borrowing from the latest European developments, particularly Ernst May’s Frankfurt Siedlungen (Van Graan 2011, 85–86) (Figure 3.11). Wells Square symbolized one of the approaches used by the Cape Town City Council in its repertoire of building order. While Africans were relegated to Garden-City like planned townships on the city’s periphery such as Langa, in “District Six, modernism’s ‘clean knife’ would be used to cut

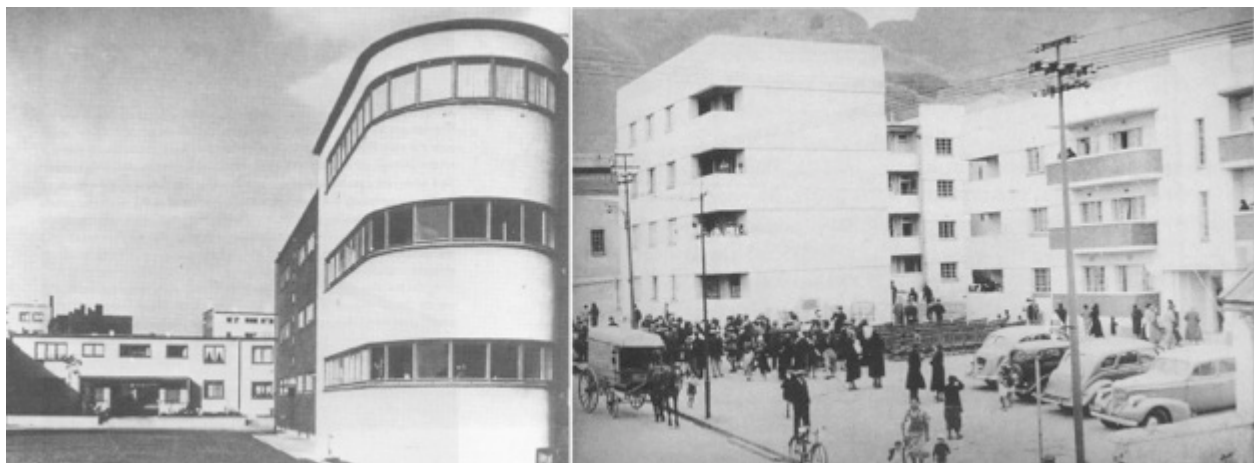


Figure 3.11 Romerstadt Siedlung (1927-1929) on the left, built in Frankfurt as part of Ernst May’s program as head of the city’s housing and city planning department, illustrates how projects such as the Bloemhof Flats, on the right, borrowed the formal language of the European modern movement. Left Image from Heynen, 57; Right Image from Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 147.

out the decay and to replace the existing living pattern with a ‘modern’ vision of urban housing, that laid open and visible the threatening alleys and spaces that potentially fomented revolution.” (Van Graan 2011, 85) Spaces such as Canterbury Square synthesized ideals of visual and political order. They used the architectural language being contemporaneously developed in Europe to give form to the sorts of political interventions dreamt up by Baron Haussmann in nineteenth century Paris. Just as Haussmann carved new boulevards through the city in order to ensure the barricades of 1848 would never again be possible to construct (Harvey 2006), projects such as Canterbury Square sought to cut away Cape Town’s potential sites of resistance and revolution.

The construction of the Bloemhof Flats was completed shortly before World War II broke out in 1939. Relatively soon after the war ended, the (Afrikaaner) Nationalist Party won the 1948 national election. This ushered in a radical intensification of segregation and urban cleansing, which resulted in such acts as District Six’s ‘destruction’. Yet, the eventual clearing of District Six had been on the drawing boards, in various forms, long before the official start of apartheid. The different schemes to transform District Six represented two primary strands of thinking and concerns. The first of these is reflected in the redevelopment of Wells Square to Canterbury Square. This reflected an approach of targeting urban decay from the inside out, working in an incremental manner to remake the city’s most troublesome sites. Naomi Barnett’s analysis of the 1940 ‘City of Cape Town – Provisional Town Planning Scheme of that portion of the municipality extending from Bakoven to Woodstock/Trafalgar Park’ represents that as a larger scale iteration of the slum-clearance impulse. She argues that in the euphemistically named plan, the City Engineer sought to address the “unhealthy slum conditions, overcrowding, dilapidated structures, extremely bad layout, all of which could only be effectively remedied by relieving the congestion of buildings and reducing the population.” (Barnett 1991, 2–3).

The whole-scale clearing of District Six belongs to what I am identifying as a second strand: a related, but distinct urban planning impulse, that revealed intersections and tensions between high modernist planning, of the sort described by James Scott (1998), the City Beautiful Movement, business interests and growing Afrikaner nationalism (Botha 2013). The plans reflecting this thinking, which had been circulating since at least the 1930s, subjected District Six to imaginations for not simply tackling urban decay, but remaking the city as a whole. One of the clearest examples of this was the rhetoric surrounding the construction of the Duncan Docks and Foreshore - a massive urban reclamation project. Leslie Witz’ summary of a telling piece of the Foreshore planning demonstrates how District Six was inculcated in the sweeping rethinking of Cape Town:

Although it was claimed that this [creation of a grand entrance into the city] would mean "construction" rather than "destruction", the plan to create a new road system -

which had already been envisaged as early as 1940 - and to 'modernise' the city by eliminating 'slum areas', meant that a number of properties in District Six, the area which housed a large proportion of the "waves of impoverished workers" who had moved into the city, would have to give way to the Grand Boulevard. (1998, 201)

As suggested in the title of this subsection, I am arguing that District Six was 'produced' through its erasure. In this I mean that District Six has served as both a physical, material place, built and unbuilt during different time periods, and as an imaginary. The claim by its proponents that the Foreshore Plan would 'construct' rather than 'destruct' the city bears witness to my argument, though perhaps as an inversion of its authors' intents. I believe that District Six was 'constructed' discursively as a slum, and as a replaceable area, with residents easily displaced in order to realize modernization. District Six became the physical place it was, when the bulldozers finished their work in 1982, through destruction, and that 'empty' land has since served as a powerful reminder of apartheid.

Much of the history of the destruction of District Six argues that the decision to declare District Six as racially 'white' took place as a protracted struggle between the national and local government. The Cape Town Council, in these stories, is portrayed as liberal - in the sense of both 'progressive' and classically liberal - and as such fought the declaration, both in the interests of landlords who would see rental property destroyed and moral citizens fighting discrimination (Coombes 2003, 117). There is evidence of the Town Council's reluctance to participate in the implementation of the Group Areas Act - refusing to provide the Group Areas Board with racialized zoning plans (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 159), and belatedly attempting to upgrade the area, to stave off destruction (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen, and Worden 1999, 186). Yet, a host of histories, including Barnett's of the 1940 'Planned Destruction of District Six' (1991), Botha's of the Foreshore planning (2013), and Coetzer's of 'Imperial Cape Town' (2013) demonstrate instead that the local state and civic leaders were intimately involved in planning for District Six's destruction, whether as a consequence of development or an end in itself. These institutions and individuals spent the first half of the nineteenth century attempting to create a Cape Town in their aesthetic image: as a photogenic, consumable representation of white civility and order (Coetzer 2013, 92). Such an image was marred by a 'slum' at the edge of the central business district, in sight of the 'Gateway to South Africa'.

As fate would have it, the 1940 scheme never was developed. Such unveiled code for slum clearance created a furor of public response, prompting the Town Council to shelve the plan, indefinitely. And while the Foreshore was built, most of District Six escape its surgical knife of

modernist cleansing.<sup>84</sup> It was left to the Group Areas Act to propel forward the demolition of the area (Figure 3.12).



Figure 3.12 Empty District Six. After its demolition, District Six was left as a hillside of wild grasslands, punctuated by the occasional remaining street, extending down to the central city's docks and freeways. From Bennett, Julius, and Soudien 2008, 9.

### 3.2 Juxtaposing Frictions: The Intersections of Apartheid's Twilight and the Dawn of a Reborn District Six

*In 1986 BP (SA) (Pty) Ltd. Publicly announced that it was prepared to invest a large amount of finance to initiate the re-development of District Six, provided it could be developed as a racially open area. The purpose of the proposal was to contribute to the removal of the Group Areas Act and to the development of appropriate approaches to the reconstruction of South African cities. Its purpose, therefore, went beyond the immediate context of District Six.*

-- British Petroleum South Africa (1987)

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<sup>84</sup> The major area within District Six affected by the Foreshore scheme was that cleared away for the construction of the elevated freeway entrance into the city - the Eastern Boulevard, recently renamed Nelson Mandela Boulevard.

With District Six demolished under the direction of the Group Areas Act, the story of (re)building begins with this moment in 1986: the South African division of British Petroleum (BPSA) announced that despite international calls for multinational corporations such as it to boycott South Africa,<sup>85</sup> it was not going to pull out of South Africa. Rather, as a gesture indicating the corporation's opposition to apartheid, it would take responsibility for initiating the rebuilding of District Six, as a 'Coloured' area in the city. The gesture was intended one of good will for the city of Cape Town. District Six would be rebuilt. British Petroleum would take on the Afrikaner National Party and apartheid policy by pushing through a Coloured neighborhood in the center of the otherwise-designated White city center.

Yet, some of the former residents of District Six did not read the gesture in the same, generous manner. Rather, in response to BPSA's proposal, a broad, loose coalition of groups and individuals, already mobilized in struggle against District Six's recent destruction at the hand of bulldozers, came together in opposition. While BPSA saw their proposal as a gift to the former residents of District Six, this particular coalition of former residents rather saw the gesture as a re-assertion of hegemony, which would reproduce the disempowerment of the removed residents (Jeppie and Soudien 1990). What was for BPSA a means of positively contributing to the space and politics of Cape Town in compensation for continuing their lucrative dealings in South Africa (British Petroleum South Africa 1987), and for the architects and planners hired by BPSA as an opportunity to articulate alternatives to the car-driven, sprawling apartheid city (Dewar and Uytendogaardt 1991), for some former residents was a threat to their right to participate in the production of the space of District Six (Jeppie and Soudien 1990). Just as the previous section described how District Six prior to the 1966 GAA declaration was multivalent, the schemes for how to address that destruction were also open to multiple visions, for the space and the city. Specifically, the struggles that will be represented in this section and continue throughout the chapter are between normative and affective politics, between the right to realize capital accumulation and the right to participate in the making of the city. The space separating these positions express differing articulations of visions of the city, and protests for the voices of city's dispossessed to be heard. It is a story of the clash between normative capitalist and planning practices, against the assertion of the right to difference (Mouffe 1992; Young 1986). Yet, as I will show, the faction lines that were drawn did not neatly map onto beliefs about architecture and planning. Instead, I will illustrate that the possibility of rebuilding District Six brought out a whole separate set of ambitions, for redressing apartheid spatiality.

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<sup>85</sup> Such calls were made as the international community's opposition to apartheid grew. Sanctions by foreign powers, especially the United States and Britain, were never imposed, but many large corporations did cease operating in South Africa, which some speculate hurt South Africa's economy sufficiently to be one of the factors that led to Nelson Mandela's 1990 release from prison.

The coexistence of these differing projects and perspectives represent the continuity of struggles that marked the late apartheid years and first decades of democracy. However, they are particularly poignant at this moment in Cape Town. In the late days of apartheid, the system's very foundation - the legislation through which it was implemented - was increasingly being disturbed. Similar to the story of the hostel upgrading discussed in Chapter Two, this destabilization provided a small but critical opening. This opening was used by BPSA, the built environment professionals it employed, *and* the opposition to suggest how District Six could be rebuilt in ways that differed from those conceived through apartheid. Each party's work, even though operating from different paradigms, together initiated a public conversation that aligned apartheid's twilight with the dawn of a new District Six - even if both events were (many) years away.

### *Not an Empty Land*

It was 1982 when the government-funded bulldozers completed their work tearing down buildings, paving roads, and generally erasing the physical imprint of District Six. Yet, of this 130 hectares of land, by mid 1990s only 40 hectares remained available to develop for former residents. Of the other 90 hectares, some were developed in small-scale ways, such as the market-rate houses built near the top of District Six by the Ministry of Public Works for colored cabinet ministers, or the block of homes built adjacent to what would become the District Six Pilot Project. One key aspect of the backdrop to the clashes between BPSA and the opponents to its plan was the quiet, piecemeal building that took place in District Six immediately following its 'destruction'. Between 1982 - or even going back to 1966 - and this moment in 1986, District Six did not remain fallow, untouched land. Rather, there were a series of interventions and constructions planned - and some realized - for District Six. One of the most commonly circulated myths about District Six is that it was never rebuilt. This is true in the sense that the Nationalist Party's vision for a remade, whitened District Six that integrated seamlessly with the modern development of the Foreshore was never been realized, and much of District Six remains - even today, at the time of writing - as grass-covered land. Yet, it was not preserved as an empty land - just as few 'empty' landscapes ever are (Coetzee 1988).

By far the largest property owner and most powerful shaper of space in District Six after its GAA destruction was the Cape Technikon - a 'whites-only'<sup>86</sup> public technical university. The university has bought a large portion of District Six from the state for only one Rand, and in the mid-1980s built themselves a new campus in what had been the commercial 'heart' of District Six. Many considered this "a symbolic gesture by the apartheid government against the

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<sup>86</sup> In 2005, the Cape Technikon joined with the Peninsular Technikon, which had likewise served only coloured people, to make a multi-campus Cape Peninsular University of Technology.

community. This grossly antagonistic move was the final insult to the people who were forcibly removed from their homes and whose neighbourhood was obliterated by the state.” (Bezzoli 1997, 7) The campus was architecturally ‘other’ to the urban fabric of the ‘destroyed’ District Six, which had been defined by its street grid (Bezzoli 1997, 45) and dense, fine-grain predominantly Victorian building stock, which acted as ‘walls’ to the street to create outdoor rooms (L. Le Grange 2003, 17). In contrast, the Technikon campus was built of large, post-modernist buildings, organized in irregular manner that figuratively turned its back on the surrounding street grid, or what remained of it (Figure 3.13). The construction of the Technikon campus set the stage for other plans, most never realized, of re-imagining District Six in ways spatially and socially distinct from what it had been, no matter if that image was of a slum or ‘fairyland’. It also, quite materially, has served as a device for hindering the re-creation of the former urban fabric of District Six, in ways that will remain powerful today. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, it has served as an anchor for continuing to assert certain imaginations of what the city should be, that privileges exchange value and land use over social justice and the right of return.

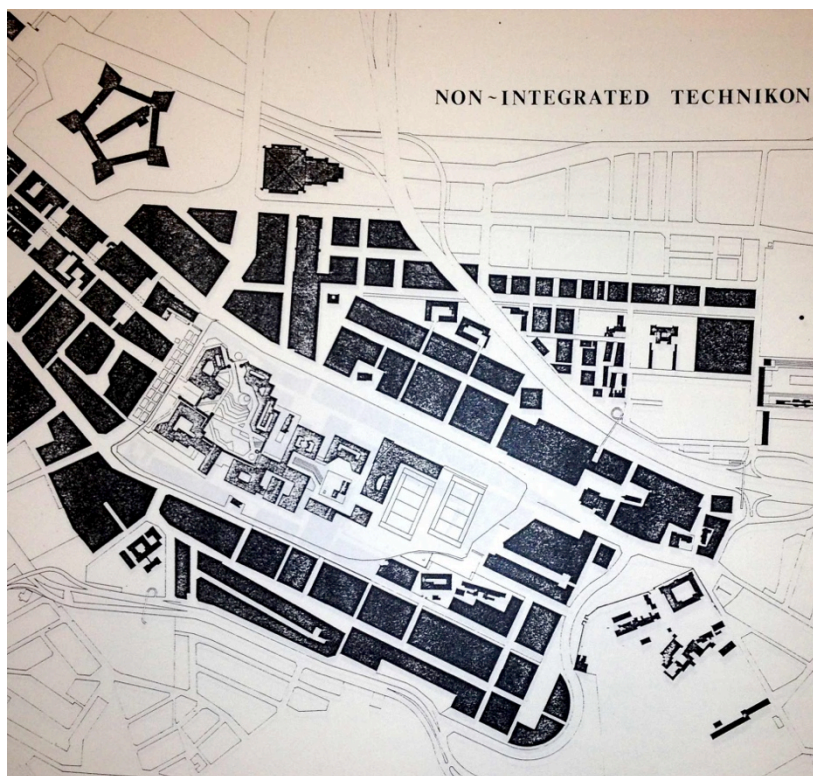


Figure 3.13 Technikon Plan. As the plan illustrates, the Technikon (shown in grey in the center) consists of large, somewhat irregularly-shaped buildings, whose arrangement operates along a completely different logic from the grid of the surrounding neighborhood. From Uytenbogaardt, Rozendal & Dewar 1989.

### *Putting Normative Planning into Practice*

As much as the construction of the Technikon campus laid a major roadblock in the possibility of re-creating District Six, it was the BPSA proposal which galvanized the actions that concern this chapter. In order to understand the struggles for re-building District Six, which concerned not only District Six but also attitudes and paradigms concerned with imagining the post-apartheid city, it is necessary to unpack the thinking that informed the plans commissioned by BPSA. When BPSA made its declaration to initiate the rebuilding of District Six, it proceeded by commissioning American city planner David Crane to investigate the feasibility of a redevelopment process (British Petroleum South Africa 1987, 2). Crane had led the Urban Design program at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1960s, had been the Planning Administrator for the Boston Redevelopment Agency, and operated a private practice (Crane 1964). In the latter years of his career, he had developed a portfolio of consultations with cities and developers in planning future development, making his set of expertise particularly attractive to BPSA for the purpose of District Six. These set of expertise, in addition to Crane's connections to South African architectural and planning circles, likely landed him the job. What I am interested in is not the figure of Crane himself, but rather how the connections between Crane and South Africa, that took place intellectually and through particular actors, bring into view the city-making strategies employed in the BPSA initiative.

As discussed in Chapter One, Crane's relationship to South Africa begins with the figure of Roelof Uytendogaardt. In the early 1960s, Uytendogaardt, who was to become one of Cape Town's preeminent architects and urban planners, traveled to the University of Pennsylvania, where he studied urban design with David Crane – and architecture with Louis Kahn. Uytendogaardt additionally went on to work in Crane's Boston office before returning to South Africa. When Uytendogaardt returned, he brought with him Crane's 'capital web' concept. Through his teaching at the University of Cape Town, particularly to planning and urban design students, the capital web eventually became the dominant framework taught to multiple generations of future professionals (Southworth 2010, p.104).

Uytendogaardt and David Dewar formed the core of the City Planning Department at the University of Cape Town, beginning in the 1960s. The position they developed in regards to South African cities can be seen in the seminal text, *South African Cities: A Manifesto for Change* (Dewar and Uytendogaardt 1991). I have already discussed this text in Chapter One; however it is so central to District Six that it is worth revisiting the most relevant points. In the text, they re-present the 'capital web' as the belief in making 'partial plans', directed by 'minimal and humanist intentions' (Southworth 2003). The book argues against the sprawling, suburban, car-dominated planning that characterized South African cities, including Cape Town. While the text does argue against the city planning strategies that dominated during apartheid, it is not a political argument, and it overtly avoids addressing issues of racial dominance and oppression.

Setting aside for the moment the problem of trying to divorce politics from space, particularly in the context of apartheid, this was in essence a normative planning position. South African architectural academic Lindsay Bremner characterizes Dewar and Uytenbogaardt's manifest as 'spatial thinking'. For Bremner, 'spatial thinking' refers to conceiving of architecture in ways that transcend "politics, economics, technology or specific social conditions." She argues that "this abstract concept of *good citiness*," exists "outside of time, socio-technical conditions, power relations or agency," (Bremner 2010, 23).

The type of thinking reflected by the capital web concept is crucially important to this stage of the rebuilding of District Six. Crane came to consult for BPSA because he was recommended by Uytenbogaardt and Dewar. The pair had been the professionals initially approached to realize the redevelopment of District Six, and as will be discussed below, were eventually responsible for the designs for the first demonstration units of the BPSA plan. Both Crane's general planning approach and Uytenbogaardt and Dewar's designs reflected the thinking of the capital web. Crane, as the primary author of the proposal that BPSA eventually put forward to the government, argues that the scheme should focus on developing a design process rather than a plan. He argues that a 'process', as opposed to a 'plan' allows for negotiation between all the contradictory factors requiring attention in the development of District Six (BPSA 1987, 7). He particularly expresses concern for the conflict between the desire and responsibility to return former residents, and the financial difficulty of doing so. The challenge reflects a scarcity of land - because of the post-destruction land-grab discussed in the previous section, as well as a large number of former residents that should be eligible for return. It also speaks to a scarcity of financial resources, which reflects the impoverishment of many of the former residents, and their inability to contribute much to their new housing (BPSA 1987, 5-6). The latter concern reveals the unsaid reality behind BPSA's position as the developer of District Six: that ultimately the development must respond to market forces, and that the land is understood through its *exchange* value as much, if not more, than its *use* value. The recommendation to develop a process, which Crane calls the 'Seed Plan', also followed with the capital city critique of completed urban plans, which he believes produce 'sterile' environments, prevent the creative input of informants, and financially dilute returns. These are critiques that refer to normalized, universal concerns, rather than being grounded in the particularity of District Six.

The specific spatial recommendations Crane makes include the overall approach of a high density, predominantly residential development, with a height limit of four stories. He recommends that Hanover Street, which had been the main commercial street in District Six, be redeveloped as a 'Ramblas' - a tree-lined open space linking District Six to the city center, and this arrangement should be complimented by a network of smaller open spaces: 'courts' that link residential areas. As we shall see, these specific spatial recommendations are not the aspects of the plan that comes under critique. However, it is important to note is that these proposals, and the resultant realized works of architecture, reflected the concern for 'good citiness'. It was a position predicated upon universal beliefs in city planning and urban design.

As will be demonstrated below, while other actors interested in seeing District Six rebuilt may have agreed with some of the spatial aspects of Crane's recommendations, they interpreted BPSA's intentions from the perspective of a rather different world-view. Their objections to the BPSA proposal brought about a period of contestation that continues today. 'Good citizenship' was far from a hegemonic strategy.

### *Alternative Claims: The Right to Participate in the Making of the City*

When BPSA announced its intent to develop District Six, the response was not completely celebratory. For one, the national government was not necessarily supportive, since BPSA's plan was predicated upon returning a mixture of races to the District Six that the state had declared as 'white'. (Soudien 1990, 172) The opposition, however, that I am concerned with in this chapter came from the opposite side of the political spectrum: from a grassroots coalition of removed District Six residents. This assemblage of community organizations, each with different interests, came together for the express purpose of opposing the BPSA plan. They chose a very telling name for their collective: the 'Hands Off District Six Campaign' (HODS). Their basis of opposition was fairly straightforward, as seen in the statement below from a 1988 conference organized to mobilize broad-based support for the campaign against the BPSA proposal. In this statement, the HODS Committee stated their goal was to,

mobilize public support against the attempts of a multinational and a local company to redevelop District Six without consulting the people themselves. At the heart of the campaign was, and remains, the demand that the people of District Six, having once before been the victims of callous bureaucratic and politically-inspired diktats, make their own decisions about the fate of the area. (Jeppie and Soudien 1990, 12)

The second sentence in the above statement reveals two, co-constituent grounds of contention: the first of which relates to process, and the second to the significance of District Six in the history of apartheid. The HODS claimed – and continues to claim in the institutional forms that the coalition has morphed into – that the rebuilding of District Six needs to be thought of not only as a product, but even more importantly a process. In name only this appears a similar approach to Crane's 'Seed Plan'. However, while Crane called for public participation as an informant in a developer driven plan, the HODS were calling for an entirely different paradigm. What was critical for the HODS was that the former residents take back the power and agency to exercise control over the entire rebuilding process. In their view, part of the crimes of apartheid related to forced removals was the stripping of citizens' control over their own space and fate, in even the most intimate ways. From the perspective of the HODS, the declaration of BPSA's intents was a galvanizing moment, that enabled a host of concerns to come together around a general concern that "in essence the old rules of domination [were] being rewritten."

(Jeppie and Soudien 1990, 14) They recognized that even if redeveloping District Six served as one of a set of opening moves in the eventual disassembly of apartheid, it would usher in a post-apartheid continuation of oppression, which would simply take on new guises. They opposed “schemes which, in the first instance, perpetuated a practice of imposing solutions on the community of District Six.” Their concern was not necessarily the spatial form the BPSA scheme took, but that it was “a well-defined blueprint conceived without community consultation. In that respect, while the plan was premised on non-profit and non-racial lines, it fundamentally infringed the principle of democratic consultation, and on that basis had to be resisted.” (Soudien 1990, 174)

This rather oblique phrase, ‘democratic consultation’, contains the HODS primary contention that the rebuilding of District Six was about much more than the construction of homes *for* removed residents. For the HODS, the rebuilding of District Six was something that needed to be undertaken *by* those removed. It was an argument that framed rebuilding as a process for which the victims of apartheid would be active participants, with meaningful agency. They claimed that a valid process would be one which they controlled, and not merely served as token informants. District Six must be rebuilt *by*, rather than *for* the ‘former District Sixers’.

In addition to arguing that the process of rebuilding is as important as the final product, the HODS argument contains an implicit suggestion regarding the exceptionality of District Six, in its destruction and the anticipation of its rebuilding. For the members of the HODS, the possibility of developing a process for rebuilding that is structured upon ‘democratic consultation’ was essential if South Africa was to overcome and surpass the injustices of apartheid. A rebuilding process such as that proposed by BPSA would short-circuit the possibility of overcoming apartheid. As stated above, to rebuild and even to return removed residents in ways such as BPSA proposed would be a perpetuation of the ‘old rules of domination’. Therefore, not only was the establishment of a process controlled by removed residents essential to the future of District Six, for the HODS it stood in for the possibility of a new, democratic dispensation for South Africa as a whole. In his review of the book *The Struggle for District Six* (Jeppie and Soudien 1990), which was compiled to simultaneously record and further the arguments made in the 1988 Hands off District Six conference, Christopher Saunders points out how much the HODS opposition relied upon the memory of District Six as unique. He states that the book’s contributors present a District Six that was “alternative to the ‘racially ordered and legislated society’ to be found elsewhere in the city and in the country generally. That is why the District was destroyed, it is claimed, and why it should now be remembered, as a place of symbolic significance for a new, reconciled South Africa.” (Saunders 1991, 9) As Saunders notes, HODS articulated a vision in which the rebuilding of District Six, by removed District Six residents, would serve as a model for a post-apartheid South Africa. He points out that the editors of *The Struggle for District Six*, who were also founding members of the HODS, “find in the history of the District what they hope a future South Africa will look like.” (Saunders 1991, 9)

This exceptionality worked in two ways. It firstly claimed that District Six *prior* to removals, in its spatial and social heterogeneity, should serve as a model for post-apartheid South Africa. The *Struggle for District Six* collection did not include any writings by architects or planners, but in later publications by the HODS and its off-shoots, architects such as Lucien le Grange echo this sentiment. In the edited volume *City.Site.Museum: Reviewing Memory Practices at the District Six Museum*<sup>87</sup> (Bennett, Julius, and Soudien 2008), le Grange lists a series of ‘qualities’ of the ‘former District Six’ that should be ‘considered’ and “adapted to present day requirements”: these included “building scale, land use mix, transitional spaces and the street as public space” (2008, 9). Second, the HODS claimed that the method for rebuilding District Six should, in procedure and form, act as a model for developing the post-apartheid city. The democratic dispensation called for by the HODS was seen as a goal applicable to not only District Six, but also South Africa in its entirety.

In his critical review, Saunders clearly expresses sympathy with the concern for the injustice of the GAA and destruction of District Six. However, he also points out the lapses in historical clarity made in the book, and suggests that these reflect a tendency to romanticize District Six’s history. In my reading, the book and the HODS’ construction of a narrative of continuous struggle was part of the HODS’ strategy of pursuing an *affective* politics. It was therefore the emotive nature of the HODS’ work, in addition to their goal of building agency, which distinguished their approach from that taken up by Crane, Dewar and Uytendogaardt. The affective politics and the concern for agency come together in the HODS’ work through a particular articulation of race, class and memory. In the following section, I will discuss how the work completed for BPSA and the opposition expressed by HODS both saw the production of space through very different lenses - ones colored through race, class and memory.

### *Conflicting Visions: Articulating Space, Race, Class and Memory*

At this relatively early stage in the process of attempting to rebuild District Six, in the late 1980s, there were two spheres of action, both of which drew together positions regarding space, race and class to produce visions for what the city should be, at the moment that would turn out to be apartheid’s twilight. One realm was the proposals and their material realizations for rebuilding District Six, as put forward by BPSA, the Technikon and other private and state interests. The second realm was more discursive, though equally spatial, and took the form of oppositional visions, as mounted by HODS. In this section, I will discuss in further depth the actual outputs of each sphere, and how they contributed materially and discursively to forwarding differing visions of the city Cape Town should become.

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<sup>87</sup> The collection was edited by Crain Soudien, who edited *The Struggle for District Six*, and by curators at the District Six Museum, which will be discussed later in the chapter as an offshoot of the HODS.

It would be far too simplistic - and inaccurate - to lump together all the work done in the realm of design proposals. The construction of the Technikon and sorted small-scale developments that included housing for cabinet members and police offices did not share the political or spatial values of the work done by BPSA. As I stated earlier, the Technikon articulated the apartheid state's opposition to District Six's density and diversity, through the insertion of a whites-only institution, arranged in a distinctly suburban campus typology. This, along with the piecemeal single-family residential developments and selling off of land to private developers, were interventions intended to erase the hybridity that had marked District Six. They sought to replace the urban 'slum' with car-driven developments that would 'modernize' and cleanse the city - spatially and racially. Although HODS linked BPSA's corporate profit-driven motives to the apartheid state, the plan that Crane, Dewar and Uytenbogaardt developed was spatially, and racially - though to a lesser extent - quite distinct from the state's vision. Rather, theirs was an intervention in what they saw as the detrimental effects of modernist - which closely aligned to apartheid - planning. Although this thinking was far too normative and inattentive to racialized spatial injustice for the HODS, it cannot be equated to the interventions that the state either initiated or supported. Instead, what takes place is a convergence of alliances, in which BPSA partnership with Crane, Dewar and Uytenbogaardt signals a meeting of capitalist (BPSA) interests with the ambition to develop the city in ways opposed to the techno-rationalism of apartheid. While BPSA did not propose alternative *methods* of development that sufficiently address the concerns of the HODS, the urban model they advocated also did not align with that supported by the apartheid state.

The structure of the BPSA planning and design team was that David Crane advised on the feasibility of redeveloping District Six, while the actual urban design and architectural realizations were undertaken by Uytenbogaardt and Dewar. BPSA tasked the pair with conducting community consultation and beginning preliminary design of the area. This they completed as a firm that they formed under the special 'Headstart'<sup>88</sup> Trust that was convened for the purpose of redeveloping District Six.<sup>89</sup> The work undertaken by Headstart can in essence be divided into two types: comprehensive planning and urban design work at the scale of the entirety of District Six, and smaller scale, architectural design of individual housing projects. In regards to my concerns regarding the conflicting visions represented in the proposals for District Six, the significance of Headstart's work was that it responded less to any client demands articulated by BPSA, and more to Dewar and Uytenbogaardt's beliefs regarding city-making. Dewar expressed this position to me when explaining why they chose to get involved with the project, despite BPSA's suspect intentions as a multi-national corporation: "we thought it was an extraordinary possibility, at that time, because the whole thing was so politicized. And you get

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<sup>88</sup> For linguistic ease, I will from this point forward use 'Headstart' to refer to the proposals put forward by Dewar and Uytenbogaardt and their associates.

<sup>89</sup> Headstart continued to remain involved in possible redevelopments into the 1990s, even after BPSA eventually withdrew its offer to back redevelopment.

moments in history when you can make a difference, and that moment passes and you've lost it.” (Dewar 2012) The statement verifies the arguments I made, via Lindsey Bremner, in the earlier section, that for Dewar and Uytenbogaardt, planning and design were not political acts. Dewar saw - and sees still today - his involvement as transcending politics. Working for BPSA was an opportunity not because of his support for the corporation nor even in regards to rectifying the injustices specifically perpetrated in District Six, but because it offered the possibility of intervening at a large scale on a significant portion of the city. It would provide the opportunity to materially realize the ideas represented in *South African Cities: A Manifesto for Change*<sup>90</sup>, to create an ‘integrated’ and ‘compact’ city, with a continuous network of public transportation, supported by strategically located urban public spaces and high-density housing (Dewar and Uytenbogaardt 1991, 80–831).

In proceeding with developing designs for District Six, Dewar and Uytenbogaardt tackled what they saw as two primary challenges. The first was to make sure that there was a District Six to rebuild. This meant to ensure that there would remain ‘vacant’ land to redevelop, and

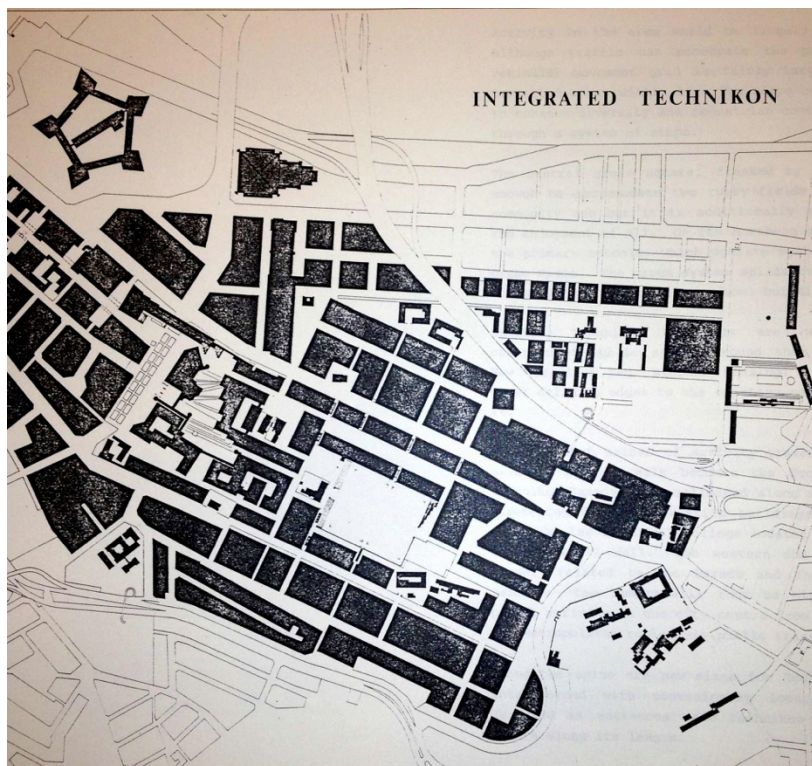


Figure 3.14 Integrated Technikon Proposal. Headstart’s proposal for revisions to the Technikon campus planning sought to consolidate the campus, adding new buildings in ways which would re-integrate the campus with the surrounding neighborhood. From Uytenbogaardt, Rozendal & Dewar 1989.

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<sup>90</sup> Although the book was not yet published when Dewar and Uytenbogaardt went to work for BPSA, its content can be understood to have already been fermenting in their minds.

therefore halt the redevelopment of District Six by state and private interests. The greatest threat to this project - and largest landholder in District Six - was the Technikon. In order to prevent the institution from building up any more of District Six, Headstart developed plans that suggested how the Technikon it could expand its facilities in consolidating, rather than expansive ways. Their proposal was that the Technikon campus, despite its sprawling typology, could be integrated into a redeveloped, dense, compact District Six (Bezzoli 1997, 32) (Dewar 2012) (Figure 3.14). The plan involved trading land holdings, allowing Headstart to exercise control over the design of Technikon student dormitories, and the sharing of space between the Technikon and public institutions, such as schools, that would serve the redeveloped District Six. Their vision for the Technikon would “change it from a loose, sprawling suburban campus (which on its edges destroys the city) to a highly imagable urban campus which both benefits the surrounding area and which in turn benefits from it.” (Uytenbogaardt, Rozendal & Dewar 1989, 2)

The second challenge was the framing of the project, overall. As Dewar stated, “this idea of beginning to think about what District Six could become - it’s going to kind of fail if the only emphasis is on District Six; it must be seen as an inner city regeneration kind of project.” (Dewar 2012) It is in this statement that the lines of opposition between Dewar and Uytenbogaardt and the HODS can be most clearly seen. For Dewar - and assumably Uytenbogaardt - the redevelopment of District Six was significant as an act of urban design. It was an opportunity to rethink the city as a whole. It was this thinking in entirety, even if executed in small spaces and gestures, that was so important to Dewar. It spoke about a value system that prioritized space-



Figure 3.15 Headstart Plan for District Six. The plan focused upon creating a Ramblas-like walkway from the center of the city to link up with major and minor public spaces. From Uytenbogaardt, Rozendal & Dewar 1989.

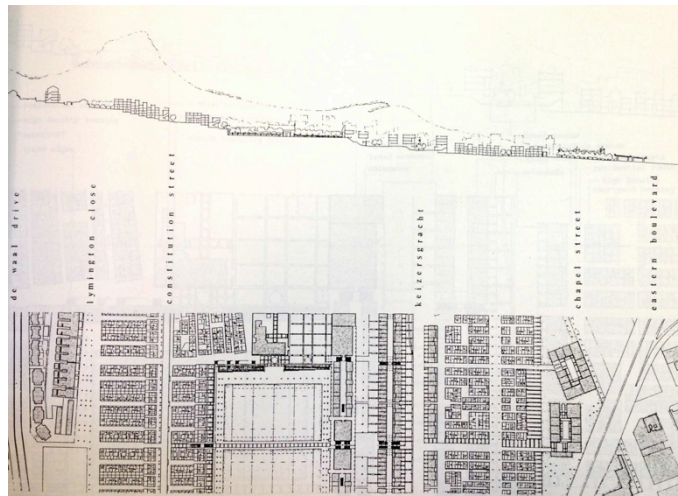


Figure 3.16 Headstart Plan for District Six, Section. At the more detailed level, the plan recreated pre-destruction era District Six’ dense grid of small-scale, mostly terraced housing. From Uytenbogaardt, Rozendal & Dewar 1989.

making over situated histories of injustice. While le Grange also argued that the principles he advanced in his later urban design framework for District Six are “also about the reparation of the historic centre of Cape Town”, there is an attention to addressing the wrongs of apartheid that distinguishes his - and HODS - work from that of Dewar and Uytendogaardt. Edgar Pieterse confirms Dewar’s prioritization of ‘good citiness’ over situated compensation in his study of Ndabeni claimants, in which Dewar recommended the City reject a land restitution claim by former residents of Ndabeni because their proposal did not meet his high-density, anti-sprawl vision for the city (Pieterse 2006).

In the case of District Six, what Dewar and Uytendogaardt were proposing conflicted with demands of the HODS in regards to race, class, and the role of memory. The spatial expression of their proposals, when looked at purely in terms of form, was not at issue. Their proposal for District Six, as seen in Figure 3.15-16, seeks to rebuild District Six as a predominantly residential development, with some mixed-use, in the north-western corner and along major thoroughfares. The building fabric is shown to be fine-grained, suggesting row houses reminiscent of the neighborhood prior to its GAA destruction. As will be shown later in the chapter, this does not differ substantially from the designs made by Lucien le Grange on the behalf of the removed residents. The one piece of the project that did get constructed, Springfield Terrace, Figure 3.17, was vertically oriented and dense, and as such garnered much praise from the architectural press as an innovative housing form, especially for its context (*Architecture SA* 1993). The design did not quite copy the historic terraced row-house typology. Instead, the project stacked flats in a walk-up arrangement, and the site plan inverts the block form that was typical for the ‘old’ District Six - and which le Grange employed in Phase 1 of the Pilot Project (Figure 3.18). While those points of re-interpretation may have influenced the insular relationship that the project now has with its urban context, it is clear that the HODS’ contention lay not with the urban design and architectural plans.



Figure 3.17 Springfield Terrace. The project by Headstart consisted of stacked flats organized around stoop-like front staircases, which met the ground at pedestrian-scaled courtyards that accommodated a small amount of parking. From *Architecture SA* Nov./Dec. 1993.

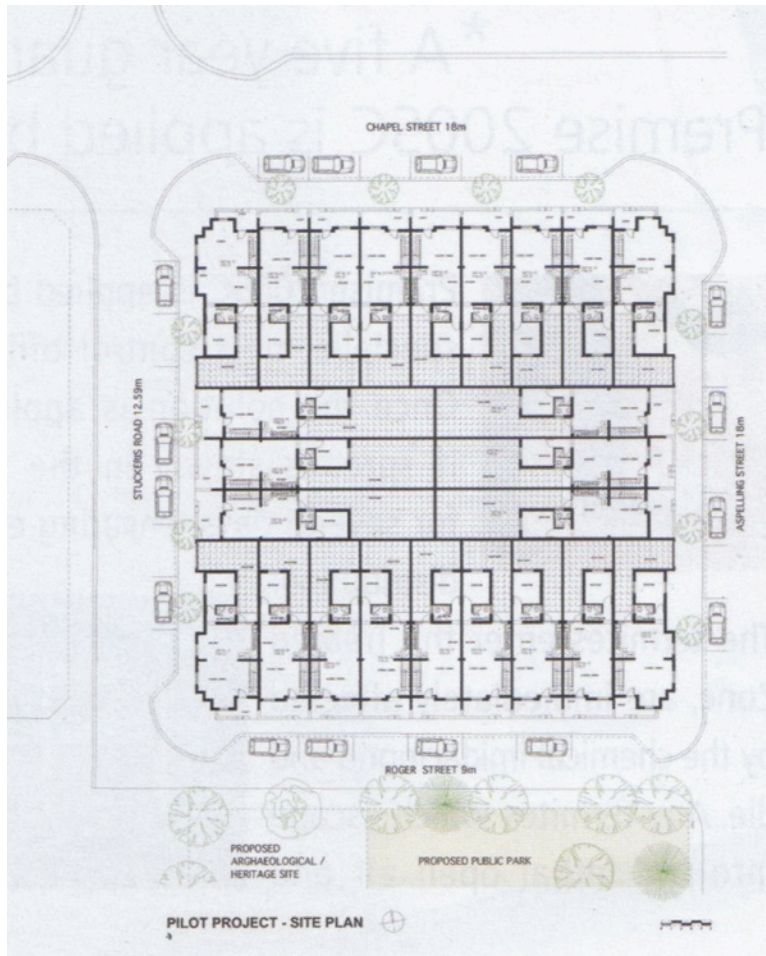


Figure 3.18 District Six Pilot Project Site Plan. Lucien le Grange’s design for the Pilot Project is an inversion of the Springfield Terrace scheme, filling a city block with individual row houses that each face onto the street. Despite being an inversion, the project has a similar scale and attention to social interaction. From *Digest of South African Architecture* 2004/2005.

Rather, the sources of opposition appear in the text of the proposals made for BPSA. These can be seen quite clearly in the documents prepared by David Crane, as these discuss the large-scale viability of a BPSA-led redevelopment project. As Crane indicates, as do many newspaper articles from the time, the BPSA proposal was that District Six would be developed as a “open, ‘non-racial’ area.” (Crane 1985) This innocuous, vague sounding language actually had a very concrete definition, which should come as no surprise in the context of apartheid.<sup>91</sup> One of the key aspects of the BPSA proposal was to change the racial declaration of District Six from White to ‘Open’. The term ‘open’ originated in a proposed piece of national legislation, ironically entitled the Free Settlements Area Act, which was proposed as a substitute for the hated Group Areas Act. The legislation, enacted in 1989, demarcated four areas in South Africa as open to

<sup>91</sup> Njabulo Ndebele argues that one of the failures of apartheid was that it was a system not grounded in moral beliefs, but rather in incredibly convoluted legal maneuvers and language (1998).

inhabitation by members of all races; District Six, or Zonnebloem as it had been renamed by the apartheid state after its 1966 GAA ‘white’ declaration, was one of the four areas (Saff 1990, 6). While the government argued that the Free Settlements Area Act (FSAA) was a move towards the eventual dismantling of the Group Areas Act, many critiqued it for not going anywhere near far enough, or fast enough. The BPSA plan, however, went along with the FSAA, using its language and from as far back as 1985, operating upon the assumption that it would eventually become law.

For the HODS, the agreement to impose this racial classification, and the ways in which it articulated with class-based concerns, contributed towards their opposition to the BPSA proposal. One of the key claims that the HODS makes is that District Six was never a ‘coloured’ community, but rather a multiracial neighborhood. This multiplicity is central to the claim-making work of the HODS, and all the projects they engaged in the future.<sup>92</sup> For the HODS, their project neither begins nor ends with returning residents to District Six; it is a project of articulating Cape Town as a multiracial city, in distinct opposition to the city represented by the apartheid state (Soudien 2012). HODS saw the BPSA proposal as “so pricey that only the so-called affluent coloured community will be able to participate” (Soudien 1990, 174). This particular concern links race to class as exclusionary devices that drew together District Six’s past with an aspirational future. In both temporal states, District Six was seen as racially heterogenous, but predominantly homogeneous in its ‘working-class’ status. This was a position that recognized that there was some socio-economic mixing in District Six, but that the interests that needed to be served by HODS and other civic organizations were those of the least affluent. This response reflected in part the historical reality, discussed earlier, that by the late nineteenth century most of the upper middle class and wealthier had left District Six. It also, however, reveals the Marxist, class-based perspective employed by many HODS members. They drew upon the scholarship that analyzed apartheid through a lens of capital accumulation, and which located race as an expression of class. In this way, HODS critiqued both BPSA’s status as a multinational corporation involved in capital accumulation and its capacity to produce dispossession, and the likelihood that their scheme for District Six would accommodate only a small percent of working-class former District Sixers. They saw the scheme and BPSA’s role in it as a device for perpetuating beyond apartheid, a racialized and class-based system of inequalities.

As will be seen in the following section, questions concerning legal status - in various forms - continued to play a critical role in the struggles to see District Six rebuilt. While Saunter’s critique that the exceptionality of District Six was overdrawn in much of the writing of *The Struggle for District Six* is accurate, the tensions and debates over how to rebuild District Six do poignantly speak to the instability that characterized apartheid’s latter days in Cape Town. The

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<sup>92</sup> The perpetuation of this claim can be seen, for example, through the opposition to the unearthing of the remains found at Prestwich Street, as discussed in City.Site. Museum (Bennett, Julius, and Soudien 2008).

state's vicious crack down on organized opposition, marked by its declaration of a State of Emergency in 1985 ("The State of Emergency Is Declared in Thirty-Six Magisterial Districts" 2014), went hand-in-hand with the lifting of the Pass Laws and passage of the Free Settlements Area Act. The HODS' insistence that these types of partial legislation were insufficient and unacceptable alternatives to whole-scale dismantling of apartheid and its associated political economy relations, were of the sort that played out in public debates in Cape Town about how the city would position itself in regards to apartheid's imminent end. The rebuilding of District Six was of interest to a host of actors in the city - former District Sixers, local government, civic leaders, businessmen and developers - who all saw it in relation to larger questions of what the city would become as the political order of the nation was on the brink of change.

### **3.3 Of Land and Memory: Articulating the Localized Post-Apartheid**

On August 29, 1989, the Cape Town City Council voted to withdraw its participation in the Headstart Corporation,<sup>93</sup> if the (re)development of District Six took place under the auspices of the Free Settlements Area Act (Dennehy 1989). The vote, which narrowly passed, reflected the Council's ambivalence towards ratifying the national government's plan to institute 'Open Areas', and took place after finding out that BPSA, as the initiators of the redevelopment, was "prepared to accept Free Settlement Area status for the area." (*The Argus* 1989) BPSA issued a statement immediately after the vote, declaring that the Free Settlements Area legislation was unacceptable, but in the months that followed quietly withdrew its participation in the proposal to redevelop District Six.<sup>94</sup> The Council's decision to reject the FSAA seemed an initial victory for HODS, who had launched an intensive campaign against the FSAA. A representative of an HODS associated organization, the Open City Initiative, declared that the "Free Settlement Areas Act is yet another piece of racial legislation in disguise and is full of pitfalls." They declared that the legislation would retain power in the hands of the centralized national government, and open opportunities for even more intensive 'crackdowns' on "so-called Group Areas offenders." (*The Argus* 1989) That the city government would not play a part in ratifying the legislation created a potential opening for the HODS' vision of a post-Group Areas, heterogenous Cape Town.

The Council's rejection of the Open Area created a vacuum in the momentum that began with BPSA's offer to redevelop District Six. In its place, the City Council took on a more active

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<sup>93</sup> By this point, Headstart was an independent Section 21 Corporations, funded by a consortium of local corporate interests, that employed the design services of Dewar, Uytendogaardt and Rozendal (Norbert Rozendal was Roelof Uytendogaardt's professional partner in his architectural practice). Headstart was related to the BPSA initiative, but was not directly an affiliate of BPSA.

<sup>94</sup> Dave Dewar explained to me that the BPSA chairman who had initiated the corporations' proposal to develop District Six moved on to a different position soon after, and his successor did not have the same enthusiasm for the project (Dewar 2012).

role in structuring a process through which the area could be built again, and former residents returned. As the local city government was negotiating its role as caretaker of the remains of District Six, two parallel processes, which would ultimately be very influential in the rebuilding of District Six, were coming into being. The first of these was the beginning of organizing what would eventually become the District Six Museum. The second process was part of the package of democratic legislation passed very soon after the 1994 democratic elections: the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. These two processes operated in very different realms - one cultural, and one legal. One process was concerned with memory work and representing difference and multivalency, and made connections between heritage, tourism, identity and restitution. The second process was also concerned with memory and righting the wrongs of apartheid, but through a bureaucratic framework concerned with the state's role in redistributing land, particularly private property. Together, the two processes would prove to be integral to the process of remaking District Six, although in very different ways: the District Six Museum would help to articulate one vision, which aligned with the affective politics of the HODS, of what District Six had been and could be in the future. At the same time, the Land Restitution Act would lay the groundwork for the particular way in which it would be possible for removed District Six residents to return. Both processes linked space, memory and the political-economy of the transition from apartheid to democracy, not only for District Six, but for the city as a larger conceptual and material landscape.

While neither process relates directly to the architectural design of new construction in District Six, both would prove to be essential informants in the process of realizing the Pilot Project - which will be the subject of the chapter's final section. The histories told in this section will illustrate how concerns for memory and land were intertwined aspects of the post-apartheid aspirations of those removed from District Six. The contestations at stake also reveal the complications and contradictions that are manifest in the post-apartheid. This section illustrates how the ambitions of residents affected by apartheid came into conflict with the early democratic government. These conflicts reveal the limitations to land restitution as it was conceived and carried out in its earliest legislative forms, and illustrates the difficulty of resolving urban land questions. Architecture and land questions are typically not seen together; this section sets the stage for understanding how closely interlinked they actually often are.

### *Making Memory Material*

The cultural, discursive project that is the District Six Museum is in many ways a product of the HODS campaign and its opposition to the BPSA proposal. One of the outcomes of the 1988 Hands Off District Six conference was the formation of a task team to begin work on a museum to 'preserve the memory of District Six' (Soudien 2008, 114). The members of the task team were HODS activists who were particularly interested in cultural production, such as artist Peggy

Delport and architect Lucien le Grange. Initially, the project consisted of a number of itinerant exhibitions, which both publicized memories of District Six as well as fundraised for a permanent museum. This mobile, mutating status reflected the museum's lack of a devoted space, but also a conscious attitude. The members of the museum's foundation were suspicious of traditional museum infrastructure, especially as it had taken form in South Africa, and saw their project as counter-cultural: more concerned with mobilization than commemoration (Rassool 2008, 71). However, in 1991, an exhibit of photographs of District Six was held at the Methodist Church on Buitenkant Street (Figure 3.19). The church sits at the inner city edge of what had been District Six, and had a long history of serving and advocating for the victims of forced removals (Coombes 2003). The exhibition led to a lengthier relationship with the church, and eventually the District Six Museum Foundation was granted use of the church building as its permanent home. In December 1993, the Museum as a building - in addition to as a conceptual, imaginative project - opened in its doors.



Figure 3.19 Methodist Church. The church, converted into the District Six Museum, is located on busy Buitenkant Street, just outside the former edges of District Six.

The District Six Museum's significance lies in its intellectual project and the discourses it has helped produce. It also significant as an institutional actor engaged in struggles concerning how to rebuild District Six. Together, the Museum's intellectual project and role as representative of District Six's memories have been deployed by the Museum's staff and trustees to articulate and further a project of claiming the importance of memory in the production of post-apartheid Cape Town. If the politics pursued by the HODS Campaign were politics of affect, as I have claimed, the District Six Museum's work provided an institutional framework and intellectual project that grounded and reproduced such politics. Specifically, the Museum has done so by strategically deploying 'memories' of District Six - and generally of forced removals in Cape Town - as a device through which to construct citizenship.

As an intellectual project, the District Six Museum is noteworthy for its dedication to an ‘unbounded’ concept of its subject. By unbounded, I am referring to Doreen Massey’s argument that ‘place’ should be conceived not through boundaries, but rather through connections (1994). The organizers of the District Six Museum practiced this conscious disregard of boundaries by representing the history of District Six as part of a spatially broader and temporally longer history of racialized removals and dispossessions. This can be seen from the Museum’s earliest public programs, produced before making its home in the Methodist Church, through to its exhibits today. During the ‘District Six Commemoration Week’, in November 1992, the program included a documentary film festival that brought together histories of forced removals from across the city: it spatially and temporarily linked the 1901 removals to Ndabeni, the 1977 demolition of the Modderdam Squatter Camp (“Apartheid Influx Controls” 2008) and the forced removals from District Six. This was in addition to cultural events organized by groups not directly associated with District Six, such as the Ntsikaya-ya-Afrika Cultural Project from the University of the Western Cape, and a presentation concerning the squatter crisis that unfolded over many years at Crossroads (Cole 1987). The Museum has produced temporary and permanent installations devoted to recovering the memories of removals across Cape Town, from Tramway Road in Sea Point to Harfield Village to Protea Village in the now-exclusive suburb of Bishopscourt. Such inclusions positioned the Museum as part of a circuit of academic, cultural and political projects concerned with disturbing the hegemony of apartheid. In its mission statement, the Museum Foundation states its intent is “to ensure that the historical memory of forced population removals in South Africa endures. Central to its mission is the documentation and imaginative reconstruction of the labouring life and material culture of the District Six community.” The manifesto goes on to state that “the Museum of District Six seeks to illuminate a socially rich world, purposely destroyed by apartheid’s social engineering. We intend to document and record the history of working-class people and their contribution to the broader history of Cape Town.” This statement draws upon the concern for the ‘working class’ articulated by HODS in their opposition to the BPSA proposal, and transforms it into a cultural project of strategic memory work.

As an institution committed to a ‘connected’ conception of District Six and Cape Town, the Museum has become locally and internationally recognized for its critical and creative memory work (Coombes 2003, 118–119). Its position is post-structuralist one, in the sense that history is subjective, and produced by its participants (Jenkins 1995). The Museum is situated - and honored - as part of an international network of “Historic Site Museums of Conscience,” alongside museums such as the Tenement Museum in New York City (Coombes 2003, 119). The histories that are represented in the Museum are produced from the ground up, through the voices and stories of District Six’s many removed residents. One of the most literal and well-known expressions of this approach is the Museum’s ‘Streets’ exhibit. When one enters the Museum, one of the first ‘exhibits’ one sees is on a street by street map of District Six, that occupies the entire floor of the Museum’s double height nave space (Figure 3.20). The map is a living exhibit (Bennett, Julius, and Soudien 2008): when former residents of District Six come to



Figure 3.20 'Streets' Exhibit. The map, just inside the Museum entrance, sets the tone of the 'living exhibits' that the Museum seeks to curate. From Bennett, Julius, and Soudien 2008, 69.

the Museum, they are invited to mark their former home on the map, and tell their story. Visitors walk across the map, absorbing through their bodies the personalized, past inhabitation of the area as well as its erasure. Simultaneously, the exhibit has the potential to constantly change, through the intervention of the very human subjects of the Museum. This approach is typical of the Museum's stated commitments to 'reflexivity' and to meaningfully juxtapose and transgress genres, as it intertwines knowledge production with cultural expression (Rassool 2008, 72).

The ground-up approach to memory work, as well as the connections the Museum makes to other sites of removal and marginalization, are located within a framework of a self-declared 'community museum'. The category is a slippery one, as the term 'community' often invokes uncritical nostalgia, as well as carries much baggage in the context of museum studies and apartheid (Rassool 2006; Rassool 2008, 72). Yet, the link to community is consciously made by

the Museum, as a way of positioning itself as a political agent that connects its discursive project with a strategic role in the political-economy of District Six and Cape Town.

The museum insists on utilizing this concept as an organizational device, in asserting a particular politics of governance and institutional orientations, and in expressing a particular commitment to social mobilization and to constructing and defending independent spaces of articulation and contestation in the public domain. (Rassool 2006, 311)

For the Museum, its 'community' status distances it from hegemonic cultural projects, and reproduces a memory of District Six's historic status as exceptional within the imperial and apartheid city. This can be read through both administrative and curatorial acts. Operationally, the Museum rejected a suggestion from the federal Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology that the Museum 'remodel its mission' as "coloured museum"; that rejection arguably led the Museum's exclusion from the 'flagship' network of Iziko Museums - and the funding that went along with it (Rassool 2006, 293). In 2003, when the remains of approximately 3,000 of the "underclass of colonial Cape Town" were discovered at the construction site of a luxury condominium on Prestwich Street in the gentrifying Green Point neighborhood (Shepherd and Ernsden 2007, 216), the Museum became very involved in the heated public debate concerning how to handle the remains. The Museum became a voice for the diverse history of those buried at Prestwich Street, a project that reiterated the claim that Cape Town's historical residents were far from homogenous (Weeder 2008). This claim worked alongside those that argued that the remains needed to be commemorated as such, and not exhumed for the sake of scientific study.

The role the Museum adopted, of acting as a voice for Cape Town's marginalized people, has linked the commemorative act of representing their history and the contemporary project of arguing for their agency in the city of the future. This can be understood as the governmentality of memory, in which citizenship - in the post-apartheid city and nation - is constantly being constructed and repositioned through the production of memory discourse. In this sense, the Museum acts as more than simply a space that collects and represents memories; it does so for a strategic purpose of contributing towards understandings of what citizenship in Cape Town - and by extension South Africa - means after apartheid. As an actor *and* a space involved in the remaking of District Six, which I will discuss more below - it is significant for doing so through the work of cultural production. There have been recent proliferations of "socially-engaged" art practices of late; Claire Bishop labels this surge a "social turn" (2012). The District Six Museum sits in a specific place within the landscape of 'community' art practices (Kester 2011), in that its primary goal arguably is one of producing embodied, affective knowledge, over artistic expression. Annie Coombes compares one exhibit in the Museum, Roderick Sauls' *Rod's Room* (2000), to Rachel Whiteread's well-known, post-Thatcher-era *House* (1993), as two pieces that strive to produce embodied memory. Taking note of the repurposing of the detritus of apartheid

governmentality into objects such as a quilt and bible, Coombes argues that Rod's Room is a "poignant plea for the quotidian in a context where everything conspired against it." (2003, 139) The exhibits' role in the Museum is also political, in that it is intended to produce an affective response on the part of the viewer, which feeds into the political consciousness that the Museum seeks to engender.

The Museum's role in the rebuilding of District Six demonstrates that the Museum, as an institution, has sought to not only represent memories, but also produce instrumentalizing memory discourses that affect notions of citizenship in Cape Town. For one, the Museum has served as an institutional home for the HODS-led campaign to see District Six rebuilt in a way that embodies the social diversity that it once had, and in a manner that serves as a project of return. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the Museum served as the spatial 'host' for the divisive debates concerning Land Claims and the ceremonies in which land was eventually 'returned' to former residents. While the Museum eventually formally separated from the District Six Beneficiary Trust<sup>95</sup>, it has continued to act as a partner organization, with an agenda of return that often overlaps that of the Trust. The District Six Museum has served as a critical space through which the affective politics deployed by HODS and associated groups have been used to counter apartheid order and its associated narratives, and attempt to ensure that such narratives do not again emerge as hegemonic after apartheid.

This work done by the Museum was a critical component in the struggle engaged by the HODS campaign, and its successors - which will be discussed in the following section. It has served as the institutional keeper of certain, often celebratory, memories of District Six, which both contribute to the eventual design of the Pilot Project, and have been used to contribute to a politics of memory. Such politics are a crucial component of the post-apartheid, particularly for all Capetonians that suffered forced removals or other methods of marginalizations. As will be seen in the remainder of the chapter, these politics have been crucial to resisting the development-oriented practices which have constantly come up against the vision of District Six based upon return by those removed, under apartheid and earlier.

### *Legislating Return*

As the District Six Museum articulated a politics of memory, which was intended in part to inform the process of rebuilding District Six, the legal right to return - or not - was being played out in parallel through dual arms of the state. At the local level, the City Council took on a more

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<sup>95</sup> The Trust, which will be the subject of the following Section, can be seen in some ways as the next stage of the HODS campaign.

proactive role than they had through most of apartheid, stepping in after the BPSA proposal dissolved to act as the trustee of the process of return. At the national level, the process and possibility of returning former District Sixers was shaped by the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994. Through both mechanisms, which by 1996 tightly overlapped, questions over who got to return, and in what form were hotly contested. All concerned parties shared a goal of 'return' for those displaced under apartheid, but only in its most vague and abstract terms. The different understandings of what return meant and how it should be realized are key fracture lines along which the post-apartheid becomes a contradictory condition. This section will briefly discuss the history of the particular articulations made by the parties involved, as the possibility of rebuilding and returning District Six came closer to fruition. The claims and negotiations made through these legal maneuvers play an important role in the build up to the construction of the Pilot Project. Firstly, the results of the negotiations shaped the strategies employed in developing the Pilot Project: they determined what was possible and the political backdrop to the tactics used in realizing the Pilot Project. Second, they reveal the complex network of actors and interests involved in developing Cape Town as a post-apartheid city. Cape Town has struggled, as a city, to overcome the legacy of apartheid, particularly in its divisions and spatio-social structures of inequality. The political and legal battles over how to rebuild District Six provide an insightful lens into the city's larger struggles for overcoming apartheid. They reveal that just as District Six was emblematic of apartheid's programs of exclusion and separation, it remains a poignant symbol of the debates concerning how to move forward after apartheid.

Following the City Council's vote to abstain from joining Headstart, the state moved in to find alternative vehicles for directing a process of rebuilding District Six. The local state's newfound interest was partly a product of the momentum produced through the BPSA proposal (thereby demonstrating the continued impact and significance of the proposal) and partly reflected the concerns of the newly appointed Administrator of the Cape, Kobus Meiring. In early 1990, Meiring assembled many of the various and divergent state, civic and private organizations with interests in District Six to a collective meeting to discuss its future as part of a 'post-group areas' Cape Town; this he saw as a symbol of the inevitable post-apartheid nation (*The Argus* 1990). This meeting resulted in the formation of a 'District Six Steering Committee' and an announcement calling for all property holders in District Six to voluntarily participate in a moratorium on new building or even planning, while the state studied how to best proceed with holistically rebuilding District Six. The Technikon was specifically asked to cease its expansion further out into District Six and redirect any new construction towards the center of Cape Town. The logic of the 'voluntary directive' closely followed that proposed by Headstart in its scheme for protecting land in District Six for potential development for removed residents. Although members of the Steering Committee complained of 'inertia' in its progress, by 1994 the Steering Committee had evolved into a 'District Six Community Land Trust' that had negotiated control

of over 33 hectares of land, which it was tasked to hold in trust for “future *community* development.” (Municipal Reporter 1994, emphasis added)

Despite - or in reflection of - the unified backing of the national and local government and business community, the Community Land Trust (CLT) was a controversial body. At stake was the entire notion of District Six being redeveloped by a trust that for the most part consisted of members of business leaders and local government officials, even if they encompassed the city’s political spectrum. For me the controversy is important for what it says about the opposing visions of the city being put forward, and even more importantly for the ways in which the CLT and its various opponents put forward claims and programs that *linked* the spatial and the political. For the City, particularly for its technical staff, the configurations of the Steering Committee and CLT were useful vehicles for realizing a rebuilding of District Six as an appropriately dense, diverse, inner city neighborhood. In its early stages, this was most legible through a 1991 schematic plan that was ‘leaked’ to the public. Clive Keegan, the chair of the District Six Steering Committee, described and defended the plan as a potential model for inner-city redevelopment on a national scale. The plan included multi-story housing for mixed-income groups, some yet-to-be-determined portion of which would serve “low-income groups”, allowing them to return to living close to work (Sawyer 1991).

From the political right, both the plans drawn up by the Steering Committee and later the composition of the CLT were suspect, in connected ways. David Buckingham, chairman of the Zonnebloem Ratepayers Association - which represented the homeowners who had moved into District Six following its clearance by the government - repeatedly made public statements opposing both the CLT and its intentions. He first expressed a concern for “four-story, high density blocks of flats” when the 1991 plans were ‘leaked’ (Staff Reporter 1991). This spatial, architectural vision was in contrast to the single-family houses and cottages that he believed should populate District Six. Yet, it was not a supposedly neutral spatial vision that Buckingham - who clearly represented some of the more conservative voices in Cape Town - articulated. He made very clear the connections he was drawing between high-density urban fabric, race, and politics. This became particularly legible in 1994, when the members of the CLT were announced: at that time Buckingham voiced opposition to the inclusion of a single ANC representative on the committee on the grounds that the ANC would “slap up blocks of flats” (Dennehy 1994a). For him and those he represented, the African National Congress - which was predominantly black - was the political vehicle for high density housing. Single family homes, and particularly the language of ‘cottages’ evokes an anti-urban, pastoral, village-like landscape. As discussed by Coetzer in his analysis of ‘imperial’ (early twentieth century) Cape Town, such language and imagery were deployed to produce a ‘white city’ (2013). As Buckingham illustrates, this spatially articulated image continued to be circulated and sought out in the 1990s. It particularly served as a counterpoint to the political transformations that were coming to fruition in the nation and the city.

The second key aspect of Buckingham's critique was the concern that high-density development would devolve into a 'slum'. City planner Peter de Tolly, who would serve as a key actor from the City in the process of negotiating how to rebuild District Six, spoke to that concern when he stated that the redeveloped District Six would not be "just another housing estate." (Sawyer 1991) Buckingham's concerns clearly harkened back to an early twentieth century rhetoric, which resulted in such developments such as the clearing of Wells Square and construction of the Bloemhof Flats. They also spoke to the contemporary reality across Cape Town, in the dormitory townships on the Cape Flats. As de Tolly's statement inferred, distinguishing the envisioned District Six from "just another housing estate" was an indirect means of distancing the plan from 'township' spaces<sup>96</sup>. As discussed in Chapter Two, for most Capetonians, high-density housing was associated with poverty and spaces which were 'outside' - meaning socially Other and spatially peripheral - of the ordered city. This in part reflected the reality that high-density housing forms were unique in a city which had otherwise been developed in suburban forms. Throughout the twentieth century and across the city, suburban residential patterns had become standard. Unlike in contexts such as European cities, even the low scale of four story housing which was being proposed was relatively unrecognized as an *urbane*, desirable form. Rather, high density was equated with slums.

The Steering Committee's plan sought to shift development patterns in Cape Town. De Tolly's statement sought to distance the conceived rebuilt District Six from the few spaces of density in Cape Town, which were in single-race dormitory townships. Keegan, de Tolly and their associates envisioned a city that harkened back to the density and fine-grain fabric of colonial Cape Town, but which was distinct from the twentieth century city of juxtaposed suburbs and slums. In part this vision is significant for the ways in which it mirrors the urbanity envisioned by Dewar and Uytendogaardt. It idealizes low-rise, high density, mixed income development, in which the automobile is secondary - at best - in priority. Also, like Dewar and Uytendogaardt's work for BPSA and Headstart, the Steering Committee's plan envisions a mixed-income District Six, that reflects more of an idealized notion of inner-city urbanity than a site of redress for removed District Six residents. The Steering Committee and CLT certainly imagined some of those removed being able to return, but restitution itself was not the *modus operandi* of their vision for District Six. Rather, their project was to (re)create an urban, residential core at the edge of the central city.

By 1996, the Community Land Trust had come under fire from more politically progressive voices. Firstly, as the CLT's formation was being finalized in 1994, the Housing Ministry, which was responsible for nominating its members, sought to populate it with "members of the business community" (Dennehy 1994b). As can be understood from the earlier discussions of the class-based concerns articulated by members of HODS, such a make up of the CLT would be seen as a

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<sup>96</sup> In Chapter Four I will discuss the use of the term 'township', arguing that it stands for more than a spatial typology.

perpetuation of the capitalist forms of power which HODS fundamentally opposed. The alliance between the CLT and business, rather than with former District Six residents, was an affront to the project of restitution that HODS and the District Six Museum sought to see operationalized. However, the galvanizing event that spawned an intense period of contestation between the CLT and voices of the dispossessed took place in 1996. In June of that year, the CLT submitted an application to the Land Claims Court that would override individual claims for land restitution, instead placing them under an umbrella group claim for ‘holistic’ redevelopment. The claim, and the court case that ensued was incredibly heated and complicated; I will summarize it for the purpose of establishing the broad landscape of the different ways ‘land restitution’ was envisioned, as well as how the conflict led to the later development of the Pilot Project<sup>97</sup>.

While it is often overly simplistic to argue that there are only two sides to an argument, and to understand urban processes in stark, binary terms, in the case of the Land Claims Court, there were two primary sets of actors in contest with each other. On the one side was the Community Land Trust; on the other was the coalition of organizations that eventually took the form of the District Six Beneficiary Trust. The controversial application that the CLT submitted was an appeal to a portion (Section 34) of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, which enabled any body of government to apply to withhold restitution from “any claimant or prospective claimants”. The CLT’s Section 34 application sought to centralize the redevelopment process *entirely*, so that it could completely control *what* was rebuilt and for *whom*. Rather than allowing those removed from District Six to make claims for restitution, which was a fundamental right protected under the new South African Constitution, the CLT would rebuild District Six and select - from amongst removed residents - residents for the newly constructed housing. For the CLT, which was primarily an arm of the City with the blessing of the business community, the Section 34 Application provided a means toward developing an ‘inclusive’ and ‘participatory’ process, for the purpose of realizing an ‘integrated development’ of working class housing. As Beyers explains Section 34, it functioned as “essentially a clause whereby a welfarist logic of top-down developmentalism overrides an egalitarian logic of restoring individual rights.” (2005, 114) In even stronger language, Anwah Nagia, one of the founders of HODS and the eventual chair of the District Six Beneficiary Trust, was quoted at the time of the CLT’s application as stating that “Section 34 of the Restitution of Land Rights Act has no moral basis.” (*The Argus* 1996) For some former residents of District Six, the possibility that the City would block their right to make claims seemed as if they would be “robbed of their land a second time.” (*The Argus* 1996)

The Section 34 Application clearly prioritizes “developmentalism” over restitution. This position compliments the normative analysis I have applied to the work of a host of individuals and organizations discussed so far in this chapter: BPSA, Headstart, Dewar and Uytendogaardt,

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<sup>97</sup> For a much more involved account of the Land Claims Application and ensuing process, see Chris Beyers’ thesis (2005).

and the District Six Steering Committee. It was both this position, and the way in which it would prevent claims that was opposed by the removed District Sixers. By 1996, HODS was no longer operational as a body, but its very vocal spokesperson, Anwah Nagia, had become chair of the District Six Civic Association. Together with the District Six Ex-Residents and Traders Association, a District Six Land Restitution Front had formed to oppose the Section 34 Application. The group opposed the application along two conceptual lines: the first was that the restoration of land to former District Six residents was non-negotiable. The concept of a resident, as defined under the Restitution Front was particularly significant: it was non-racial, and in particular included Africans, many of whom had been removed prior to the 1966 Group Areas Act declaration. Additionally, 'resident' was used so to include tenants, and not absentee landlords. This was a mobilization of an understanding of restitution as a right of return, not compensation for property loss. The second point of contention was the CLT as an indirect arm of the City government and in essence a technology of governmentality. The Restitution Front understood the CLT as "largely constituted by apartheid-era administrators who had found that a liberal interpretation of central government directives was conducive to establishing local distributive regimes that perpetuated the status quo." (Beyers 2010, 148) The Section 34 Application was a means of maintaining the exclusionary forms of spatial production that had shaped District Six - and Cape Town - throughout the colonial, imperial and apartheid eras.

In 1997, at a public meeting in the District Six Museum convened by the Land Claims Court, the two parties came to an agreement, and the CLT's withdrew its Section 34 Application. The subsequent agreement reached, after a complicated series of negotiations, was that individuals - including tenants - would be allowed to make claims under the Restitution of Land Rights Act. In order to address the fact that only a limited portion of District Six land remained available for development - a fact that is premised upon the implicit agreement that land developed after 1966 such as the Technikon would not be demolished<sup>98</sup> - a process was structured by which a beneficiary trust would act as the vehicle that collated and represented, but did not override all the individual restitution claims. In 1998, at public meetings again held at the District Six Museum, the trust's constitution was drafted, and on September 13 1998 the CLT, the City government and the newfound District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust (Trust) signed a 'Record of Understanding'. This was in essence a 'peace treaty' laying aside the disagreements over how to redevelop. While the peace was short lived and debates ensued for the next two years over how to process restitution claims, on November 26, 2000, at a lavish public ceremony, President Thabo Mbeki officially handed over all the remaining publically-held land to the Trust. While the Trust developed a strategy for how to develop the land - an exercise

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<sup>98</sup> This is arguably an obvious point, but is exactly the sort of (creative) destruction that was employed under apartheid. The fact that it was never an option reflects the negotiated manner of settlement that characterized the transition from apartheid to democracy.

that was architectural as well as developmental<sup>99</sup> - the City would hold the land 'in trust' until a development framework was agreed upon by all parties.

Ostensibly, at this point in late 2000, the Trust had emerged victorious: it had won the Land Claims Court case, former 'District Sixers' had been allowed to make claims for restitution, and the Trust could claim a position as not only the "legitimate political voice of the District Six 'community', but the democratic voice of the (urban) post-apartheid landscape" (Beyers 2005, 112). Yet, as always is the case, it was not such a clear-cut situation. While the governing members of the Trust have grassroots activism roots back to HODS and beyond, the organization has never spoken for the entirety of those removed from District Six. The disruptions in the Trust's hegemony have continued to plague its authority and its ability to control the process of redevelopment, as will be seen in the next section. Additionally, the process of developing District Six, even under the auspices of the Trust, would continue to be plagued by one of the key flaws in the Land Restitution legislation. In its conceptualization and articulation in the Constitution, Land Restitution was arguably never fully conceived as applying to urban conditions (Nagia 1999). This is seen in how it does not define the rights granted to tenants, nor the role of local government in land restitution. This has meant that urban land restitution was not integrated into "local spatial planning and development processes". (Beyers 2010, 145) In other words, the Restitution of Land Act, in its material realization, has proven to be ill-equipped to negotiate the conflict between use-value and exchange-value that plagues urban land restitution. This has especially been problematic for the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust because of the contestations between its affective, restitution-based politics, and the normative development objectives of the City. The latter have continued to be articulated in the era since 1994, primarily when the National Party - which had been the party of apartheid - maintained control of Cape Town from 1994 to 1996, and again in the periods in which the Democratic Alliance (DA) has controlled the City, which were from 2000 to 2002 and from 2006 through today. The Trust has been forced to repeatedly, under different administrations, re-articulate its claim for return, as an essential *legal* right. Lastly, this has remained for many a right rather than a fact, as the development by the Trust has been slow-going, and the small fact that the City holds the land in trust for the beneficiaries has at times not been more than an inconsequential detail.

What this section has shown is that from the last days of apartheid until construction actually began on the Pilot Project, District Six was subject to conflicting visions that played through both legal maneuvers and the sort of cultural work taken on at the District Six Museum. While the District Six 'land' may have been barely touched during the time period addressed in this

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<sup>99</sup> Developmental in this context refers to land development.

section, District Six as a space was quite actively being produced. The next, and final section of this chapter will take up the development of District Six from this point, in late 2000, through the completion of Phase 1 of the Pilot Project. It will focus upon the architectural terrain, tracing how the spatial arguments first articulated by Dewar and Uytendogaardt (in regards to District Six) were selectively integrated with precedents and informants that built upon affinities for certain modernist aesthetics and the politics of memory articulated by the District Six Museum. That section will bring together the spatial with the political, tracing how the legal and discursive wrangling explored thus far imprinted the process of remaking District Six, expressly for the purpose of returning removed residents.

### **3.4 Building Return: Pilot Project Phase 1**

From 1985 to 2000, the only actual ‘plans’, per the definition above, that were produced for District Six were those produced by the City’s planners and the team led by Dewar and Uytendogaardt. While the opposition to those plans, and in essence to normative approaches to rebuilding District Six discursively were absolutely spatialized, no ‘plans’ were produced as acts of resistance. However, in 2003, Lucien le Grange completed architectural designs for the first phase of a Pilot Project for the Beneficiary Trust, and in 2004, the first residents moved into those units. This section of the chapter is therefore concerned with the Pilot Project<sup>100</sup>, as a work of architecture *and* as a method of political action by the Beneficiary Trust.

This section brings together two of the key themes that concern this dissertation: the contesting contents of the post-apartheid condition, and the multiplicity of modernisms articulated in Cape Town. The construction of the Pilot Project is one of the first moment in which the resistive, affective politics deployed by the configuration that includes the HODS campaign, District Six Museum and Trust have been intertwined with an architectural effort. I will argue that the memory work, particularly as produced through the Museum, was a key terrain negotiated in the design of the Pilot Project. Memory of District Six before demolition served as the device through which the Pilot Project stood in opposition to the modernism of apartheid. As I will show, however, the ways in which the Pilot Project diverged from the Headstart and other plans also relate to memory, but in more nuanced and complicated ways.

After the years of protracted effort for the removed residents of District Six to gain the right to return, it would be natural to expect that the realization of the Pilot Project was the beginning of a project of return. However, the particular way in which the project was realized demonstrated that rather than the process of return being resolved, in actuality the struggle

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<sup>100</sup> The piece that was completed in 2004, that concerns this chapter, is Phase 1 of the Pilot Project. However, the project will be referred to simply as the Pilot Project from this point forward.

continued. The process of return worked through a legal framework and field of political positions that gave new shape to what was in essence a continuation of the struggles plaguing District Six since before its GAA demolition. The Pilot Project is, however, more than a mere moment in a long history of struggle. From a political perspective, it is important for the way in which it materializes a set of claims. In this way, the District Six Museum and the Pilot Project can be seen together, as symbols and vehicles that simultaneously realize certain goals - return, remembering - as well as stand as symbols of those goals, and therefore themselves work as discursive subjects.

There are two parts of the story of the Pilot Project that concern this chapter. The first is how it, as a work of architecture, reflects an architectural strategy of 'deploying memory'. This strategy will be discussed through a careful study of the Heritage Impact assessment, as well as located with the architect's own professional history and his position within the struggles for District Six. Second, the Pilot Project needs to be read as a political intervention. The history leading up to its construction and inhabitation by residents is a key, but not culminating, moment in the lineage of struggles discussed thus far in the chapter.

### *Guerrilla Development: The Negotiated Realization of the Beginnings of Return*

After the November 26, 2000 'Homecoming Ceremony', the Trust ambitiously announced that the first of the removed District Sixers would have homes to return to by February 2001. This date, only two months away, would mark the 35<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Group Areas Act declaration. For anyone familiar with land development and construction processes - not to mention the practice of architecture - the date was pure fantasy.

Instead of residents arriving 'home' to District Six in February, 2001, in August, 2002 city planner Peter de Tolly - whom we 'met' in the previous section - received a phone call from Anwah Nagia, the chairman of the Trust. At this time, no residents yet been able to 'return', and little - if any - progress had been made on laying the foundations, institutionally and materially, for returning those who been granted restitution in 2000. The actual settlement of restitution claims was still being resolved, and the bureaucratic frameworks necessary for constructing homes for 'returning' District Six residents were still being worked out. In light of such frustrated progress, Nagia requested de Tolly's assistance in realizing "the immediate construction of five homes", simply to show to the public that development was proceeding (de Tolly 2005). Nagia's request was both meager and bold: five homes was a pittance in relation to the thousands of people eligible for return, but it was at the same time very ambitious to request the City to work outside of its established parameters of both restitution and general property development to allow the construction of those few homes.

The abbreviated but important background to Nagia's request was that between November 2000 and August 2002, the process of putting into place all the agreements and institutional infrastructure necessary for proceeding with development was incredibly protracted and delayed. The reasons for the delay fall into two categories: institutional challenges and political resistance. The latter refers to the fact that immediately following the November 26 homecoming ceremony, on December 5, 2000, the ANC (which had been in control of the City since winning the 1996 municipal elections) lost municipal elections to the new coalition of the DA and NNP (the reborn iteration of the National Party). The DA/NNP took a great deal of time to formally support and provide the configuration of resources necessary for the restitution and development process. In light of recent developments in Cape Town, that have taken place since the DA re-consolidated control over the City in 2009, it can be read that the intransigence begun in December 2000 was not coincidental, but actually reflected a reluctance to support the Trust and its project of developing District Six in the image of 'return'. Whether strategic or incidental, the shift in political regime in the City resulted in a massive slow-down and complete inability to meet the target dates that had been set during the lead-up to the 'handing over' of District Six to the former residents. These delays mostly were caused by the DA/NNP not ratifying a set of committees tasked with overseeing the design of a development process. Without the committees in place, no progress could be made on working towards devising a development framework. Such a framework was - and is - essential as it would include the following attributes: devise a method for including all the eligible claimants<sup>101</sup>, develop a plan for the development to be financially feasible, and include urban and architectural plans for how to actually, spatially, rebuild District Six. Therefore, without the committees in place or the development framework resolved, progressing with development at a large, coherent scale for all of District Six was quite impossible.

In addition to the political arm of the City's reluctance, progress was hampered by the state making slower-than-expected progress of validating all the restitution claims being made. While targets had been set to have all claims resolved by early 2002, the claims for tenants was only resolved one year later, and the ownership claims had not yet been resolved yet by 2005.<sup>102</sup> The lack of resolution of the claims meant that there was no formal agreement of who would participate, in what capacity, in the development. Additionally, it left open the possibility for disruption of the process, which as will be discussed at the very end of this chapter, has been capitalized upon by those parties opposed to the Trust's vision of 'return'.

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<sup>101</sup> Of particular issue was how former land-owners would be included in the restitution process. Some in the City, including de Tolly, felt that the issue of owners must be thoroughly worked out before development began, as unresolved issues could come back to threaten the legitimacy of the development.

<sup>102</sup> The 2005 date reflects when Peter de Tolly wrote the Yach report, which is the source for this evidence (de Tolly 2005).

In light of this fractured landscape of political and bureaucratic delay, de Tolly agreed to oblige Nagia. It was a fine line that de Tolly's assistance bridged, deploying technical staff to engineer and implement infrastructure, but without requiring the Trust (as the developer of these first homes) to obtain the official permissions typically required for new development. Over the course of the next eighteen months, the City staff closely collaborated with the Trust, and particularly architect Lucien le Grange - whose work will be discussed in depth in the following section - to select a site, provide it with the necessary services and coordinate development. The site that was chosen, a city block in the northern sector of District Six, near the elevated Eastern Boulevard (now renamed Nelson Mandela) Freeway, was both pragmatic and symbolic. It was a functional choice as it was relatively easy to access for underground services such as water, sewage and electricity, and powerful in its visuality, as it could be seen from a heavily used freeway. Despite the reluctance of the DA-led local government to further the process of return, the state did contribute to the construction of the new homes. The City provided the water, sewage, electrical and other necessary infrastructure, and together with the national Department of Land Affairs provided some of the necessary funding (*Digest of South African Architecture* 2004). For its part, the Trust provided the remaining funding,<sup>103</sup> the architectural design, and it selected the recipients of the homes.

Over the next months, the number of homes to be built in this initial 'guerilla' act grew from five to twenty-four, and the completed Phase 1 of the Pilot Project occupied a complete city-block. The qualifier of 'guerilla' was stated to me by le Grange, to describe the semi-illegal or informal status of the project. The term refers to the liminal legal status the project had in the eyes of the state, but also speaks to the politics of 'building return'. It addresses the fact that after the Trust was successful in having the City withdraw its Section 34 Application, and even after District Six was 'returned' to its former residents (in the November 2000 'homecoming' ceremony), the act of orchestrating return somehow remained an act of resistance, rather than one of simply exercising a right. Like the Hostels Upgrades, talked about in the next chapter, building Phase 1 served as a symbolic political act. For Nagia and the Trust, it served in part to placate his constituency, which was very frustrated that progress had been so slow. By 2002, when he approached de Tolly, it had been 36 years since District Six had been incorporated into the apartheid processes of city making, and eight years since apartheid had ended. Former residents were incredibly frustrated that District Six remained a windswept hillside, punctuated by the Technikon campus and occasional religious institution.

In one sense, the delay in rebuilding can be attributed to the resistive work of the HODS campaign and the District Six Civic Association. Together, the two organizations fought to stave off developments orchestrated first by BPSA and then the City. Both these campaigns, in addition to the work of the District Six Museum, have been concerted in articulating a demand

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<sup>103</sup> This funding was provided through individual donors and the claimants that received the homes.

for restitution and ‘return’ before ‘rebuilding’. The Trust’s reproduction of this project can be seen in its ‘branding’ as well as the political strategies it has adopted. As seen in Figure 3.21, rebuilding has been accompanied by narrating, with the tag “No matter where we are, we are here” evoking the sense of District Six as ephemeral and ‘unbounded’, and the rebuilding as a project that involves much more than simply construction. The tag makes the claim that District Six is a ‘place’ that lives on imaginatively, exceeding the logistics of construction. However, despite the powerful emotive nature of the tag, the fact that the Trust’s efforts have over the years worked to slow down the process of rebuilding has earned it distrust, particularly from some former District Six residents. As I will discuss in the conclusion of the chapter, this seems to be coming back to haunt the Trust.



Figure 3.21 ‘No matter where we are, we are here’. The tag permeates the Beneficiary Trusts’ literature, including on the billboard announcing the latest phase of the Pilot Project. Photo by author, 2012.

### *Articulating Memory and Modernism: Designing through the Heritage Impact Assessment*

In the late 1990s, when it became clear that District Six would be redeveloped on behalf of those removed under apartheid, the Cape Town city government commissioned architect Lucien le Grange to conduct a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) for District Six. Le Grange had served as one of the founding trustees of the District Six Museum, and had a long, personal history with District Six. This moment, however, was when he officially became involved, in a professional architectural capacity, in the process of rebuilding District Six. An HIA is a legal document governed under the national National Heritage Resources Act, which assesses the potential impact of development of an area where ‘heritage resources’ may be affected (“About SAHRA” 2014). The HIA that le Grange produced, however, served far greater purposes than assessing the potential impact of development in District Six. Rather, the HIA became a tool for design, in which the social history and act of remembering District Six were given an architectural language.

In this section, I will discuss how the major architectural findings included in the HIA were translated into the design of the Pilot Project, in ways that link the political history thus far

discussed in the chapter with architectural production. I will argue that the Pilot Project was an articulation of memory and modernism, which reflected the coming together of le Grange's personal politics with his design approach. In this reading, I will argue that the Pilot Project serves as an assembly, or more exactly an articulation, of three factors: le Grange's political and professional attention to historical preservation (a term I am using in a broad way and will define below), expertise in and affinity for modernism, and belief in the role of housing as a social project. These factors worked alongside all the constraints and informants - such as site conditions and budget - that shape any work of architecture.

One important note, that deserves to be addressed outside of a footnote, is the framing of architectural authorship. Contemporary architectural historiography critically points out that much of traditional architectural history is the writing of the grand myth of the heroic, singular architect (Crysler 2003). I have written this dissertation in recognition of the limits of such narratives, and have sought to illuminate the multiplicity of authorship of architecture, and contextualize the production of architecture beyond the confines of the architectural studio. Yet, the Pilot Project poses a challenge to the critical historiography project. The architect of record for the project was Lucien le Grange, with a small staff of associates (*Digest of South African Architecture* 2004). According to records as well as testimony from those working in his office, the design of the Pilot Project was predominantly a work of singular authorship. This is understandable and believable, from the perspective that the Pilot Project was a relatively small project, executed quickly under atypical circumstances. It also was an incredibly personal project; it was as le Grange described to me "my life's work." Therefore, while all works of architecture are instances of collaboration, in this section I will address le Grange as *the* architect, and will approach the architectural design from the perspective of his personal authorship. This is perhaps an oversimplification, but I believe that locating the architectural design of the Pilot Project within the larger story of the rebuilding of District Six does not require an in depth inquiry into the different voices and hands contributing within le Grange's architectural office. Instead, the important story to tell is of the intertwining of design factors, and of locating the architectural design within the larger history of contesting imaginations of the post-apartheid city.

The City's choice to commission le Grange for the HIA was logical for his professional expertise as well as personal involvement with District Six. He had participated in grassroots activism concerning District Six since the mid 1980s, when he was part of a team that filmed the destruction of the last buildings. In his capacity as an architectural academic and trustee of the District Six Museum, le Grange had been writing about District Six social and architectural heritage since long before receiving the HIA commission. Additionally, as an academic, he had been part of an unofficial association of colleagues that specialized in historical preservation studies of sites across the Western Cape. It was this work, much of which he conducted with

Derek and Vivian Japha, that particularly rendered him the ideal candidate to conduct the District Six HIA. His historic studies looked at Moravian Mission Stations across the Western Cape (L. Le Grange 1991), the Woodstock/Salt River neighborhoods in Cape Town (L. Le Grange, Branch, and City Planner's Department 1993), and a historical survey of 'working class' housing in nineteenth and twentieth century Cape Town (L. Le Grange 1985). In my reading, this work, which addresses a range of architectural typologies, fits within a paradigm of architectural scholarship that sought to give attention to the 'everyday spaces' that reflected social histories in the Western Cape.

These studies, and le Grange's educational background, are characterized by dual concerns for built form and class relations. The historical preservation research was 'formalist' in the sense that it paid close attention to architectural elements and details. However, these projects also attended to social histories, as was especially seen in the study of working class housing. That paper in particular sets the stage for the HIA, as he contextualized his review of housing patterns that was essentially a morphological study within the city's history of labor relations. He uses the social history to argue that property owners intentionally created a perpetual housing shortage in the city. This paper, in addition to the others listed above show that for le Grange, 'preservation' is a social project as much as a formalist one. As such, these research studies can be seen to reflect le Grange's personal politics, which were concerned with apartheid as an iteration of class struggle. The intertwining of politics and architecture go back to le Grange's university education, which he remembers as setting the stage for his dualistic academic and professional career. He speaks of an education which took place equally in the architectural studio and outside; in the studio he was exposed to Beaux Arts-like pedagogy and modernism. Outside the classroom he and fellow students and professors informally but intensively studied politics, sociology and art, and took part in cultural projects that acted as 'fronts' for political interventions<sup>104</sup>.

The HIA can then be understood as representative of le Grange's personal and professional positioning, in that it located close attention to morphology and architectural details within a subtext of social criticism. The issue that was addressed from the outset was the Group Areas Act destruction of District Six. While HIAs are typically required to assess the potential harm of new development to historically significant areas, the District Six HIA states in the first paragraphs that "the idea of considering the impact of new development on a largely blighted landscape" as not merely difficult, but 'ironic', and even 'perverse'. In light of this fact, the HIA was framed not as a tool of 'assessment', but rather as a "design informant for the imminent redevelopment of District Six." (L. Le Grange 2003, 5)

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<sup>104</sup> Bickford-Smith et al discuss these sorts of interventions, particularly those that sought to educate disadvantaged high school and university students (1999, p.).

There are two powerful implications to that statement. The first is that the HIA is irrevocably positioned as a commentary on the destruction of District Six. As a document it refuses to sanitize this history and neutrally assess the historic built fabric of District Six. In this way, the HIA serves as not only a catalogue of the architectural history of District Six, but additionally a contextualizing document, that ties built environment history into the social history of segregation, displacement, and destruction. By creating a coherent recording of the urban and architectural attributes of District Six before its demolition, le Grange is able to argue for understanding the historic place as a coherent landscape, which begs out for re-creation. Second, when declaring that the HIA should serve as a design informant, a very strong statement is made regarding *how* District Six should be remade, architecturally. Le Grange, as principle author of the HIA, is declaring that memory should serve as the key informant in designing the redevelopment of District Six.



Figure 3.22 Iain Low's scheme for District Six. The scheme imagined new types of urban spaces that could support contemporary iterations of the integrative activities that characterized the area. Courtesy of Iain Low.

The latter point is an incredibly important part of the Pilot Project. It was not a foregone conclusion that District Six should be designed in ways that formally reflect its historic fabric, that 'remember' District Six. Many student schemes have looked at how to redevelop District Six; an exemplary one for illustrating alternative ways of conceptualizing the rebuilding of District Six is Iain Low's, a Professor of Architecture at the University of Cape Town, Master's Thesis at the University of Pennsylvania. His scheme, seen in Figure 3.22, suggests a radical re-

imagining of District Six, in which a new spatial morphology is used to invigorate the ‘lively’ character that the District historically had. Low’s scheme shares the social goals articulated by le Grange, as architectural interlocutor of the Beneficiary Trust: returning former District Six residents; creating a dense, pedestrian-friendly environment; and nurturing community interaction. Yet, Low’s example demonstrates that such goals can take a very different shape, spatially, if memory is not the primary formal informant.



Figure 3.23 District Six Pilot Project, 2004. The project, seen immediately after completion, before residents began to inhabit the project, shows its affinity for the formal language of architects such as Alvaro Siza. From Bennett, Julius, and Soudien 2008, 14–15.

In contrast, the scheme that le Grange produced, using the HIA as his design informant, is one that in his own words acts as a contemporary interpretation of the historic District Six. He has repeatedly stated that he does not believe in slavishly mimicking pre-demolition District Six, critiquing such an approach as ‘Disneyfication’. Instead, his design interpreted the HIA informants through the formal language of modernism. That le Grange would turn to modernism was reflective of his design sensibilities and his academic expertise. Le Grange had served as a member of the UCT Architecture Department decades, and for many years had taught the second year of the core History/Theory of Architecture course, which covered twentieth century architecture. In the course he framed modernism as taking shape through two movements: Orthodox Modernism and the ‘Other Tradition’ - a concept defined by Colin St. John Wilson (1995). The tension between the two movements is evidenced in his own work. When asked about the precedents he drew upon in his architecture generally, le Grange spoke about architects considered the ‘masters’ of modernism (Banham 1975). He discussed being inspired and excited by the “Corbusian, Wrightian, Alto tradition”. He especially spoke of the work of Alvaro Siza, which he went to visit in Porta. One can clearly see the Portuguese architect’s influence on le Grange in the Pilot Project: the stark white houses, crisply rendered in the Cape Town light, with

brightly painted doors and insets serving as the only colored punctuation to the plastic forms of the continuous mould of houses and stoops (Figure 3.23). Such architecture can be seen as sharing many attributes with Siza's work. For example, the Avelino Duarte House, seen in Figure 3.24, similarly shows simple, sculptural forms, rendered purely in white with punched openings and shaded insets.

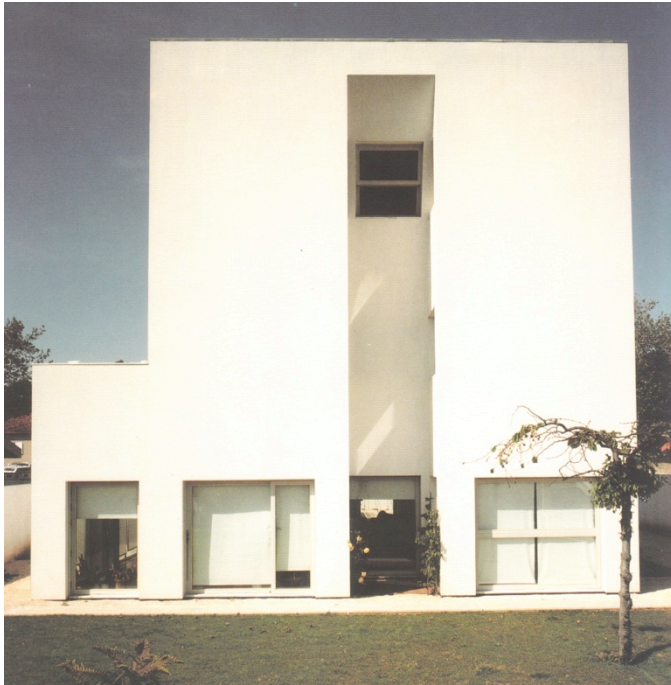


Figure 3.24 Avelino Duarte House. Álvaro Siza's design is a simple, plastic rectangle in white plaster, punctuated only by deeply shaded insets. From Dubois 1998, 28.

The architecture that le Grange produced can be read as a modernist abstraction of the historic District Six terrace house. The Pilot Project is designed as a coherent, perimeter block design, of single-family row houses. Each house has a narrow front to the street, with a stoop - one of the traditional features found on the Victorian terrace housing of District Six - at its front. The houses have a distinctively vertical proportionality, and step along the sides of the block where the slope is steep. The front plane of the houses along each block is continuous, with vertical fins serving to differentiate houses, and corner houses pushing forward to break up the massing. Stoops are minimally expressed, with a partial height wall creating an edge to the street. These architectural elements are clearly drawn from those historic features that le Grange identifies in the HIA. Such features include the 'elaboration of corners', which the Pilot Project realizes by extending corner units beyond the common building lines (see Figure 3.25). Others are the use of parapet roofs, terracing buildings along hillsides, and the articulation of building edges and transitional spaces. Described above, the inclusion of a stoop for each house is one the clearest articulations of a 'remembering architecture', in which the rows of stoops that previously

characterized street edges in District Six are formally abstracted in the Pilot Project (see Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.25 Pilot Project Corners. Corner units are set forward from the building line, as seen above in plan and photograph, in reference to the historic ‘elaboration of corners’ which was noted in the HIA. Left from *Digest of South African Architecture* 2004/2005. Right Photograph by author, 2012.

The third component in the Pilot Project’s assemblage is the architectural expression of the belief in ‘social housing’. I am using the term in quotations because social housing has a specific definition, in South Africa and Europe<sup>105</sup>, which refers to what in the US is often called affordable housing. I would argue, however, that the term exceeds a singularly economic reference. ‘Social’ refers to a social compact, of the state providing for those of lesser financial means. For the Pilot Project, the ideal of social housing was expressed, intellectually, as the belief that the project needed to provide ‘dignified’ housing. While such a term is difficult to qualify,<sup>106</sup> for the purpose here it can be understood through the local South African referent of ‘RDP’ housing. As discussed in Chapter One, RDP was the national Reconstruction and Development Plan: the package of economic policies adopted by the ANC as it first took power in 1994. Although RDP was replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution plan (GEAR) in 1996, one of the most visible components of RDP, the construction of new homes, was continued on in an unchanging manner even after 1996.

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<sup>105</sup> The term is not used very commonly in the US; instead the terms low-income or affordable housing are used.

<sup>106</sup> The concept of dignity, which repeatedly shows up in all the projects discussed in this dissertation, will be discussed in depth in Chapter Four.

The RDP housing model, the 'one plot, one house' typology produced an almost repeat of the monotonous, sprawling townships of apartheid 51/9 house (Figure 3.26), except that ironically the houses were smaller and less well built than the 51/9. It was in response to this that both architect Lucien le Grange and Crain Soudien - one of the intellectual interlocutors of the HODS/Beneficiary Trust/Museum configuration - stated that one of the most exemplary aspects of the Pilot Project was that it was 'not RDP'. This statement refers to quality of the house and to the urban environment the project produced.



Figure 3.26. 51/9 Houses above, RDP Houses below. The houses typically constructed under the Reconstruction and Development Plan closely resemble in both building form and sight layout the ubiquitous 51/9 houses built during apartheid. From Crankshaw and Parnell 1998, 438.

Instead of the typical RDP house, the housing precedent employed by le Grange was the postwar housing projects in Europe: the “fantastic social housing projects done in heyday of early orthodox modernism, which are still of value” (L. Le Grange 2012). These modernist examples, such as the *Seidlung*’s developed in German cities such as Frankfurt, Stuttgart, and Berlin, can be seen architecturally in the Pilot Project. While most of those projects were on a larger scale than the Pilot Project and deployed different urban design typologies (generally less concerned with creating city-blocks), the size, architectural standards and language of the individual units can be understood as drawing on such models. And while the completed homes of the Pilot Project are not at all comparable with the shocking low standards employed in other South African state-subsidized homes (See Levenson 2014), the finished homes do reflect the same constrained budgets. Interiors were only marginally provided with fittings, and residents complain of leaks. Socially the unit designs reflect the historic condition of restitution: in recognition of the fact that many of the claimants are now elderly, each unit includes a ground floor bedroom and bathroom to minimize use of stairs. However, I found in my visits to the Pilot Project that in some cases families rent out that ground floor bedroom to boarders, as a way of generating income. These units reflect both the aspirations and the limits of ‘social housing’ in the post-apartheid context. It is a situation in which architects and activists dream of models that represent and manifest progress towards social equality, at the same time as the financial resources available cannot match such imaginations.

In the end, the Pilot Project spoke to such a tension between limits and aspirations, in the terrains of architecture and politics, for both the Trust and Lucian le Grange. Twenty-four houses were built, and on February 11, 2004, Nelson Mandela handed the keys to the first ‘returned’ residents of District Six. Conspicuously, the Trust selected a family from Langa, one of Cape Town’s black townships, to be the first recipient of a house in the Pilot Project. This was an intentionally symbolic gesture, made to state that “this was not a coloured return.” (Soudien 2012) In this way, the project originally set out by the HODS campaign and carried through by the District Six Museum and Civic Association was seen through, albeit at a minuscule scale. A tiny portion of District Six was rebuilt in the idealized image of the post-apartheid city. It was a racially and ethnically diverse, dense, ‘working-class’ set of homes, built in the center of the city. Families forced out of District Six over three decades earlier were not simply given homes; they were ‘returned’, through a process directed - if not outright controlled - by the original ‘victims’ of removal. The homes that were built for them architecturally represented memories of the District Six they had been forced to leave behind, arguing that the space that had been District Six should not merely be developed, but should be re-created.

## **Coda**

After the first phase of the Pilot Project was completed, work was begun on planning and designing a second phase. In 2010, forty-four homes were completed, and in 2013, the remainder

of the one hundred homes of Phase 2 handed over (“The Next 100 Houses” 2010). This second phase was of a slightly different plan and typology, which combined a block of walk-up flats and wider single family units that accommodated off-street parking.<sup>107</sup> (Figure 3.27) And in 2006, Lucian le Grange and planner Nisa Mammon began work on a development framework that addressed the entirety of District Six. In May 2012, the City of Cape Town accepted the Development Framework, which included a business plan for how the development would be funded. Additionally, on June 20, 2013, the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform re-opened the land claims process, accepting claims by former residents who had not filed by the original 1998 deadlines (that applied to all Land Claims sites, nationally, not only District Six) (Nicholson 2013). It seemed as if return to District Six, at a sizable scale, was on the brink.



Figure 3.27 Pilot Project Phase 2. The second round of houses are similar to Phase 1 in architectural language, particularly color and materials, but have wider profiles. The wider units incorporate off-street parking, such as the garages seen between the green and pink inset entryways. Photo by author, 2012.

Yet, in 2014, the entire process seemed to be thrown into reverse. At the beginning of the year, the national and provincial governments went into agreement with claimants who approached them from outside of the Beneficiary Trust. Together, these bodies have supposedly agreed to disregard the Development Framework, and instead fast-track houses for claimants and to develop the remaining land for profit (S. Le Grange 2014). Since that time, the Technikon (now CPUT) has begun construction on new student dormitories on land originally set aside for claimants, and furor has erupted (Jackman 2014).

This latest development serves as a continuation of the contestational politics that have marked District Six since the beginning of the twentieth century. It is clear that neither the Beneficiary Trust nor the District Six Museum have been able to project their call for a memory-

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<sup>107</sup> The integration of parking has been one of the more heavily discussed aspects of how to update the historic District Six fabric. Historically very few of the residents would have owned cars, while today, especially because of Cape Town’s sprawling metropolitan space planning, most all ‘returning’ families would have cars.

led re-development process as the dominant paradigm in Cape Town. While the Museum is well respected in international intellectual circles, and the Trust has been successful at different moments, their work has not yet led to either the legal framework that guarantees the realization of their vision, or acceptance by the most politically powerful actors in government. The 2014 developments follow on the heels of the 2013 public controversy over ‘The Fringe’ district. Between 2009 and 2013 the Cape Town Partnership (CPT), a private-public entity headed by former city manager Andrew Boraine, began promoting a rebranding campaign for the eastern edge of the Central Business District. Calling the zone ‘The Fringe’, what in essence is the western side of District Six was reimagined as a creative hub, or ‘design and innovation district’ (“The Fringe” 2014). In May 2013 a public meeting was held at the District Six Homecoming Centre, an outpost of the District Six Museum, that was telling titled “District Six on the Fringe: The absence of memory in design-led urban regeneration.” The CPT has since admitted, in not so many words, that its campaign was insensitive to the “very politics of belonging, inclusion and marginalization that imbues the very ground designated for urban renewal” (Jethro 2014). Yet, the moment speaks to disjunctures between those that wish to brand the city and place it on a world stage<sup>108</sup>, and those that prioritize social justice over urban entrepreneurialism. At heart, these two positions represent the poles that have battled over how to spatially produce the city throughout the time period discussed in this chapter.

What is significant about these continuing waves of contestation, as seen through the lens of the attempts to rebuild District Six, is how the work of architects and planners has gotten inculcated in the disputes. A simplified reading could frame the conflicts as interests based in capital accumulation opposed to those concerned with equity in regards to race and class. The architectural side of the chapter material, however, shows the limits to this reading. It demonstrates that ideas about what makes a good city can be used to serve both types of interests. Whether Dewar and Uytenbogaardt’s work for BPSA and Headstart, the City’s planning office under Peter de Tolly, the HIA produced by le Grange or a myriad of other documents, the spatial visions for District Six were surprisingly similar. All envisioned District Six as ‘returning’ to its status as a dense, urbane, mixed income neighborhood. All sought redress to what I have been calling the techno-rationalism of modernist apartheid planning. What is interesting, is in the case of District Six, the imagination of an ‘after modernism’ has crucially involved a return to a past, to a ‘before’.

The similarities between approaches, formally, does not suggest that architecture was inconsequential in the debates over how to remake District Six. Rather, it illustrates that there is more to architecture than typologies (Argan 1996). There are the politics behind choices made; there are the wide-range of precedents drawn upon as designs are produced. What this chapter has illustrated is the interplay between the intellectual history - or *techne* (Foucault 1984, 255–

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<sup>108</sup> The Fringe was part of Cape Town’s successful bid for the 2014 World Design Capital.

256) - of architectural imaginations and interventions into District Six, and the politicized debates over how the space of District Six should be produced. The continuation of conflict over how and for whom to rebuild District Six gives particular insight into the fault lines that run through the post-apartheid condition. It illustrates the ways in which urban land development plays a key role in those conflicts. It also illustrates that architectural thought does not simply align with political position. The varied political content of approaches to space and the city shifts allegiances, producing a yet unresolved approach to redressing one of the most egregious sites of apartheid in Cape Town.

## Chapter 4. Alternatives to Neglect: Designing Aspiration at the Philippi Public Transit Interchange



Figure 4.1 Philippi Public Transit Interchange. From Deckler, Graupner, and Rasmuss 2006, 78.

In November 1999, architect and urban designer Suzanne du Toit<sup>109</sup> was contracted to analyze and design a new forecourt for the Philippi train station. The Philippi station is one of the busiest in Cape Town, and the massive crowds that pass through it daily supported a host of informal trading and transportation practices. Yet, the space surrounding the station lacked even paving, not to mention any amenities. In response to this condition, the project that du Toit produced, in partnership with architect Jacqui Perrin, was a modest formalization of the spatial practices already taking place on site, that integrated infrastructure for the informal traders and taxis with landscape features and basic amenities such as ablution facilities (Figure 4.1). For all of its modesty, however, the project represents a significant constellation of emerging practices and institutions. These poignantly speak to how the state and professional institutions have participated in intervening in some of the city's marginalized spaces - spaces for which apartheid's end did not bring about an easy path to improvement. The project illustrates how modernism has come to serve as the architectural method and language of choice for architects

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<sup>109</sup> Subsequent to this project, du Toit married and now uses the last name 'Hall'. However, I will refer to her by du Toit, since that is the name associated with the project.

that are quite seriously grappling with all of the complexities and contradictions of the post-apartheid. The project illustrates how the post-apartheid serves as a condition of continued anticipation, in which the ambitions associated with seeing apartheid end are tempered by the challenge to realize meaningful change. As this chapter will show, this modernism is developed through both the architectural methods employed and the formal language developed, demonstrating the interconnectivity between architectural performances and products.

Philippi's significance is as a township on the inner periphery of the Cape Town metropolitan area. Until the 1980s, Philippi was home to a mixture of farmland and industrial activities. Beginning in the mid 1980s, residential development for 'Africans' began to populate the area (Adlard 2015). The range of housing typologies that came to be developed in Philippi, and the broad set of urban conditions faced in Philippi make it an emblem of Cape Town's contemporary spatiality. While the Hostels Upgrades illustrates dislocations, and District Six clearances, the method of apartheid spatiality that Philippi illustrates is *neglect*. In particular, it brings to light the conditions faced in periphery spaces, intentionally produced through neglect, in the period immediately after apartheid ended. Philippi is distinctive in Cape Town because unlike other areas, intentionally developed by the state during apartheid as townships, Philippi is not dominated by a single type of housing. It is neither a single-race dormitory suburb such as Manenburg and Lavender Hill, nor a 'new town' single-race township such as Mitchells Plain or Belhar. Instead Philippi typologically includes both informal settlements and the rows of "matchbox" (Crankshaw and Parnell 1998, 439) houses, and their often-accompanying backyard shacks, all which together continue to dominate the 'township' landscape. This mixture of housing types is representative of a broader set of conditions, in which neither the state nor civil society have historically or in the contemporary period produced a vision for ordering Philippi as a coherent whole. Instead, it is a place of fluidity, piecemeal development and fragmented practices. It represents both the challenges and the possibilities of the post-apartheid (Brown-Luthango 2015). Philippi's significance lies in providing an illuminating lens into the varying technologies of perpetual marginalization experienced by African Capetonians, and efforts to resist such strategies.

The Philippi Public Transit Interchange was designed as a spatialized intervention into this landscape. The project is noteworthy on its own, for the methods the architects developed for addressing the social and spatial ills that they sought to overcome. However, the project is addressed in this dissertation as not only a singular event, but also for its role as one of the first sites developed in the Dignified Places Programme<sup>110</sup> (DPP) initiative. The DPP was begun in 1999, in the then-emerging Urban Design Branch of the City of Cape Town. The program was conceived as a method of intervening in the apartheid environment by "managing the spatial structure of the city in a manner that achieves greater human dignity, equity, integration,

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<sup>110</sup> The initiative had a series of different names over its history, but this is the one that will be used in this chapter.

sustainability and place, also recognising resource constraints.” (Urban Design Branch 2003) The program’s method was to develop “high-quality public space” in sites across Cape Town, with greatest attention being paid to those spaces most harmed by apartheid; this translated to those in the city’s African and coloured townships, most often on the city’s periphery. The DPP was the first program established in Cape Town, by the state, that sought to intervene in the apartheid-produced landscape through urban design. In this way, urban design was located alongside housing programs (including the Hostels Upgrading), school building programs (see Low 2010), and large scale planning frameworks (see Watson 2002), as modes for spatially intervening in the apartheid-produced city. A key subject of this chapter is the significance of the turn to public space as a terrain of action.

In addition to addressing novel sites of action, the Philippi Interchange and DPP are noteworthy for being interventions originated by the state, rather than as acts of resistance against the state. The two sites discussed in the previous chapters were instances of architectural attempts to transform the city by working with grassroots, resistance organizations, such the Hostel Dwellers’ Association and the District Six Beneficiary Trust. The ending of apartheid brought about the possibility for architects to continue developing architectural methods and languages that critiqued and sought to intervene in the apartheid landscape - as they had in the Hostels and District Six cases - but from an ‘internal’ position. The idea of an ‘internal’ position refers to working, literally, for the state, but even more generally to enacting change from within the institutions that are most powerful in the production of space. One of the arguments of this chapter is that looking at urban struggle, in Cape Town after apartheid ended, necessitates looking beyond the perspective of grassroots organizations. The chapter shifts the discussion to sites of power, or to ‘intervention from above’. In this way, the chapter speaks to the transition from apartheid to democracy. As the District Six chapter illustrated, the newly democratic state is neither hegemonic nor immune to criticism or resistive practices. One of the critical questions concerning ‘the post-apartheid’ concerns what happens when the demands for representation by the nation’s majority are realized, and how a resistive politics is integrated into a system of democratic rule. In light of this central question, this chapter will examine critical spatial intervention into the apartheid landscape as a technology of governmentality, rather than resistance.

The chapter focuses on three sets of issues, which address the work of the state and built environment professionals, and unpack representational strategies and design practices. First, I will ask what is at stake with the shift of spatial intervention from the grassroots to the state. I look at what I am calling the governmentality of design, asking how the City of Cape Town and its professional consultants were able to translate design - normally a creative discipline - into a tool of democratic rule. In order to explore this topic, I turn to two aspects of the particular methods employed by the professionals and bureaucrats involved in this case. The first concerns typology - the deployment of urban design as a way of re-imagining the apartheid landscape. I probe the terms by which urban design is understood and the benefits such types of interventions

were thought to bring to the apartheid landscape. I question terms that were embedded within the DPP, terms such as ‘dignified’ and ‘high-quality’, asking what set of assumptions and aspirations accompanied the use of this language. Next, I examine the use of participatory design practices, in the DPP as a whole, and particularly in the design of the Philippi Interchange. I examine how a belief in ‘giving voice’ grew out of the post-apartheid context, and how it speaks to the asymmetries of privilege that characterized the relationships between built environment professionals and building users. Finally, the third issue addressed in this chapter is the architectural language developed by Du Toit and Perrin. I will argue that one of the reasons this project, though relatively small and modest, has garnered so much attention<sup>111</sup> is because it both institutionally and aesthetically has come to represent the architectural design ‘of redress’ in the years following the ending of apartheid. Building upon the architectural design approaches first articulated in a project such as the Hostels Upgrades, the Philippi Interchange develops an architectural language which seeks to mediate a scarcity of resources - as faced by its users, as well as for its design and maintenance - with high-design aspirations, in ways that have come to represent the democratic ‘transformation’ in the city. The methods employed and formal language produced in the design of the Philippi Interchange is especially expressive of the modernism of the aspirations of the post-apartheid.

The chapter begins by looking at Philippi as a whole, to understand how the township reveals one of Cape Town’s (many) stories of transition from apartheid to democracy. I will discuss how ‘townships’ are understood, generally, as analytic concepts, as well as grounded, empirical places. I will also focus on Philippi’s particularities: its history of constant dislocations and relocations, and formalizations and informality. The second part of the chapter will address the turn to public space that is illustrated by the history of the DPP. I will look at the unfolding of events and lineage of built environment practices that led to the formation of the program, with a concentration on the language used by participants in the DPP. Third, the chapter will turn to the specific iterations of the DPP, namely the Philippi Public Transit Interchange (PPTI). This section will focus upon the process of designing the Interchange, namely the use of participatory design practices. I will examine, in a broad sense, what is at stake for both the architectural profession and citizens in such modes of design. Lastly, the fourth section of the chapter will look at the architectural form of the PPTI. Using themes of scarcity and affect, I will discuss how the formal language developed by du Toit and Perrin at the PPTI stands in for a broader trend in Cape Town architecture. This emerging architecture represents social and formal conditions at play, in the early years of Cape Town’s transition from apartheid to democracy.

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<sup>111</sup> It has been included in numerous monographs and journal collections (Barac et al. 2007; Deckler, Graupner, and Rasmuss 2006; Low 2004; *Digest of South African Architecture* 2002), and in 2012 was being studied to be included in another monograph.

#### 4.1 Locating Intervention: Philippi

In the collection *Desire Lines* (N. Murray, Shepherd, and Hall 2007), Noeleen Murray provides a revisionist taxonomy of South African architectural modernism. One of the modes she identifies is what she calls “township/freedom” modernism, which she identifies as “the interplay between the resistive space and the township and the space of freedom.”(N. Murray 2007, 60–61) Reading ‘township’ as such an assemblage illuminates the multivalency of townships and their significance in South African post-apartheid experiences. I see Murray’s reading as a juxtaposition of the township, as a type of urban space, alongside the types of political practices that have often been performed in townships - and that use the township as their subject. Her categorization implicitly points out how the township has come to stand in as one of *the* spaces of anti-apartheid struggle: the urban leitmotif of apartheid, which separated out those with non-white skin and removed them to the urban periphery. ‘Township’ has come to mean those dislocations and the resultant, reactive resistance to the larger processes of marginalization they represented. In its multivalency, the resistive practices taking place in and concerning townships represent the freedom achieved at the end of apartheid. However, tropes such as freedom and resistance also refer to the everyday life in marginalized spaces - of which townships are only one type - both during and after apartheid. As such, these tropes exceed the significant but limited binary of during/after apartheid. Instead, ‘township/freedom modernism’ points to the ways of being in South African urban spaces that are represented by the idea of ‘the township’. As an ‘interplay’, township modernity brings insight into the everyday struggles to live in South African cities - and rural areas - in the literal ‘township’ and beyond.

I begin this chapter with Murray’s taxonomy because it destabilizes fixed conceptualizations of ‘township’, and in doing so points out how the trope of ‘township’ stands in for much of the post-apartheid urban experience. This section, therefore, is here to provide a lens into the post-apartheid condition, and particularly into the challenge faced by residents and built environment professionals to address the spatiality of that condition. Murray’s analysis helps do so, firstly, by demonstrating that townships are more than simply spatial typologies. Murray states that in the interplay of township, spaces of resistance and spaces of freedom, “slippages” are revealed concerning different perceptions of what ‘township space’ means. She notes that for the spatial disciplines - notably architects and planners - the ‘township’ often is understood as a typology. While the typological framing rightly draws attention to the making of township spaces as a mode of modernist apartheid governing, it is a form of analysis that tends to hover at the realm of the stable and material. Instead, she suggests to decouple ‘townships’ from their spatial form, to understand them as complex and alive - as *lived* places, and not simply static artifacts. In other words, townships exceed, spatially and socially, their condition as environments produced under apartheid. Townships need to be understood as multivalent, dynamic spaces, open to a range of experiences, interpretations, opportunities and prohibitions. Second, by pointing to township/freedom modernism as a trope, Murray is pointing to how it speaks beyond the places typologically categorized as ‘townships’. By questioning what is signified by the term ‘township’, Murray suggests that modes of being in the city, meaning living *and* building, can be

better understood by looking through the trope of the township. It is exactly this recognition of the significance of the building of township spaces that brings this chapter to Philippi and the Public Transit Interchange.

Philippi represents the fluidity and change that have constantly taken place in peripheral South African urban spaces, particularly as apartheid's prohibiting legislation began to be dismantled. What began as a low-density aggregation of farms and industrial operations has slowly been transformed into a constantly shifting array of increasingly dense housing forms and commercial enterprises. In Philippi's iteration of these dynamic practices, the informal and formal come crashing together, constantly rewriting each other. As part of these spatial processes, Philippi additionally brings into view the challenges faced by marginalized residents of South African cities. Notably, studying Philippi brings to light how these challenges have continued - and arguably have been reproduced - in the years after apartheid's end. Therefore, this section of the chapter will focus upon what is at stake when architectural intervention is situated in a dynamic 'township' space such as Philippi.

The section begins with a generalized history of Philippi, looking at the iterations of spatial development of the area through the frame of 'neglect' (Robinson 1996). These spatial practices and their related social histories set the stage for the conditions addressed in the PPTI. To unpack what is at stake in the contemporary moment, when the PPTI was initiated and constructed, I am focusing on one portion of Philippi: the informal settlement of Kosovo. I will use Kosovo to unpack the challenges to realizing upgrading and transformation in such neglected corners of the city. Next, I will look at the Philippi Station area, to trace how its arc of upgrading and neglect are part of larger post-apartheid urban governance practices, namely in which addressing the everyday needs of township residents is situated alongside efforts to give Cape Town visibility on the world stage.

One of the primary projects of this section is to take on Murray's challenge, and see the township as more than an apartheid-produced spatial typology. I will do so by unpacking Philippi as a historically grounded locus of connections and practices in which architectural intervention is seen alongside social practices and struggles. Even more importantly, the project of this section is to set the stage for the subsequent set of interventions, namely the production of the Public Transit Interchange, understanding how its architectural development holds different meanings for the different actors involved.

### *Origins of Neglect | Township Modernism*

To understand the spatial history of Philippi, it is necessary to go back to the days of apartheid - and earlier. The indigenous Khoi first traversed the land that is now Philippi, as well

as the much of the remainder of the Cape Flats, as part of their annual migrations around the Cape area. Because the Flats are so windswept and the soil too poor to serve as suitable grazing land, the Khoi never settled there. Instead they passed across the area, as they moved their herds between the higher elevations on Table Mountain and across to the Hottentot Holland Mountains to the east (Adlard 2015; Worden, Van Heyningen, and Bickford-Smith 1998, 21–25). The earliest permanent settlement in what is now Philippi was part of a practice common across the Cape Colony in the nineteenth century: the establishment of mission stations (Comaroff 1997). Philippi's settlement dates to 1833, when a small chapel constructed on the sand dunes established the Klipfontein Mission Station. This first act of settlement set the stage for racialized juxtapositions and friction on the Cape Flats: it is speculated that the first residents/founders of the station were freed slaves, yet the adjacent Klipfontein farm belonged to a white farmer, Wynand Smit. From 1865 onwards the Wesleyan Methodist Church administered the mission station land as the base for its mission in the area. As the mission station grew in population, the Church's ownership of the land was repeatedly contested in court by the area residents, thus setting into motion a history of land contestation that continues today (Adlard 2015).

For the next century, Philippi was primarily an area of agriculture and industry. In the latter quarter of the nineteenth century German immigrants, many recently released from indentured servitude in the Swartland region of the Western Cape, established farms on the Cape Flats dunes. These settlers remained on the land until the 1980s, when black South Africans began to construct informal settlements in the area. The German descendants subsequently left, although the church buildings they constructed remain and are still used today by the current residents. These agricultural activities were joined by industrial production in the first half of the twentieth century. In 1938 the Swiss cement company Holcern bought the rights to all of the limestone deposits indigenous to the soil in the Cape Flats. They constructed a cement factory in the area to process the deposits - exactly the elements of the local soil that made farming and grazing so challenging. The cement factory continued operation until 1982, when the City of Cape Town appropriated the land to construct the new township of Mitchell's Plain.

The construction of Mitchell's Plain was a significant moment for Philippi, for it set into motion a practice of dislocation that continues to characterize development in Philippi today. In the 1970s the apartheid government began to plan Mitchell's Plain as a new township for coloured people. Mitchell's Plain's planning and design reflected efforts to improve on the previous decades of apartheid-planned townships: homes were to be owned instead of rented, and designed through a competition that drew participation from some of Cape Town's most notable architectural firms. The designs produced rejected the rows of matchbox houses planned by the apartheid government in the 1950s, instead creating townhouses and 'courthouses' that met requests for privacy and security, addressed the local climate - notably the wind - and increased typical township densities (van der Spuy 1978). Yet, for all the claims that can be made for the improved spatial qualities of Mitchell's Plain, it was nonetheless a key element in

the apartheid government's program of dividing Cape Town, moving black and coloured people from mixed areas closer to the city center into single-race townships on the Cape Flats.

Mitchell's Plain was one of the townships particularly designed to house the residents being forcibly removed from District Six. Located immediately to the south of Philippi, Mitchell's Plain's construction contributed to the constriction of land available in Philippi. Additionally, and perhaps even more significantly, the destruction of the farmlands in the area that was to become Mitchell's Plain created a body of evicted black laborers, who logically sought new accommodation in neighboring Philippi. Such spatial constriction was augmented by the construction of the Cape Town International Airport, originally named D.F. Malan, across the N2 highway from Philippi in 1954: the airport's continual expansion ever since has also worked to dislocate informal settlements, whose residents also tend to seek new housing in Philippi. Additionally, new road construction, reflecting the general pattern of increasing development on the Cape Flats, has also confined and internally divided Philippi.

The most significant set of moments, however, that came to define Philippi took place at Crossroads. In Chapter One I briefly discussed how the violence that took place in Crossroads served as a galvanizing moment for Cape Town's built environment professionals. Looking to the Crossroads clashes also provides a way begin to understand the chaotic manner of land development and the accompanying displacements that have characterized Philippi since the late 1980s. Crossroads, located at the literal intersection of three major thoroughfares<sup>112</sup>, was first settled in February 1975 when black squatters of Brown's Farm - in the center of Philippi - were told to leave, and move to 'the Crossroads'. While the state envisioned Crossroads as a 'transit camp', a temporary location in the process of removing 'natives' from the Western Cape, the residents saw this new home as more permanent (Cole 1987, 11-12). These conflicting visions led to a long series of conflicts between the residents and the state, producing an array of both violent clashes and housing interventions. The most notable of the clashes took place in 1986, when the *witdoeke* set fire to much of 'Old Crossroads', resulting in the displacement of over 70,000 people (Cole 1987, 1). The *witdoeke* and other instances of resistance are particularly important instances of anti-apartheid action<sup>113</sup>, rendering Crossroads a symbol of "resistance to removal." (Cole 1987, 9) However, for the purpose of spatially understanding Philippi, I am focusing on the history of housing interventions related to Crossroads. This (abbreviated) history illustrates the continual process of partial solutions to a situation that reflects both housing shortage and the state's racialized desire to control its citizenry.

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<sup>112</sup> These were Lansdowne Road and Klipfontein Road, both of which connect the Cape Flats with the city's predominantly white 'Southern Suburbs'; and Mahobe Drive.

<sup>113</sup> The history of clashes in Crossroads is both complex and significant, for its history of resistance and collusion. What is particularly of note is the gendered component of resistance, as women took a vanguard role in the struggles to claim Crossroads and a place in the city. (Cole 1987)

The first intervention constructed was ‘New Crossroads’, built by the government in 1981, in the northern section of Philippi. Only Phase 1 was ever built, because in 1983 the state decided to construct Khayelitsha (Adlard 2015). Located even further south and west from the center of Cape Town, Khayelitsha was a planned black township, located at the furthest periphery of Cape Town at the southern edge of the Cape Flats. The government intended to relocate all of Crossroads’ residents to Khayelitsha. Understandably, residents were reluctant to relocate. Instead, many ‘invaded’ the land intended for the latter phases of New Crossroads, creating the informal settlement KTC. Additionally, new residents arrived looking for space in Crossroads, thus creating satellite informal settlements surrounding Crossroads. Beginning in 1987 the state leased the right to build formal housing along the edges of Crossroads. The homes constructed were intended for Crossroads residents, but were generally unaffordable for these marginalized families, and thus occupied instead by people from outside the area (Adlard 2015). This created a pattern in which informal settlements grew and expanded, while new formal housing brought newcomers to the area. This pattern was not localized around Crossroads; rather, it characterized development across Philippi. The tension inherent in this dynamic was intensified by the interplay of tribal politics, in which successions of individuals claimed - and usurped - control over informal settlements, often through violent measures. Such practices were often sanctioned by the apartheid state, as seen in the *witdoeke*.

What this complex interplay of settlement construction - both formal and informal - and political actions produced was a situation of continual flux. While no space or place is ever static or homogenous, Philippi’s iteration of flux was extreme when compared to more ‘planned’ townships, such as Mitchell’s Plain or Khayelitsha. The fact that Philippi was spatially developed in an ad-hoc manner, as opposed to through a coherent plan, gives insight to a number of conditions that have come to characterize Philippi. First, there is the state’s use of ‘ad-hoc’ means of planning and housing provision. This is a very different sort of ad-hoc planning than that advocated by architect Julian Cooke<sup>114</sup>. This method of governance through neglect registers not as abandonment by the state, but rather as intentional marginalization through the willful withholding of resources. This can also be understood as governing through the intentional production of scarcity - of services, of housing, and of resources in general (Tomer 2014). Second, this process also produced a situation in which the frequent and un-coordinated construction of new housing projects often resulted in the dislocation of squatters who had been occupying the new building sites. Sometimes some of these residents were re-housed in the formal housing, but typically most were forced to find new accommodation, resulting in the construction of new shacks, or entirely new informal settlements. Alongside these new moments of construction came the spatial remapping of social networks, as often extended families were separated when those most senior were given formal housing and the youngest households pushed out (Goven 2010, 149).

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<sup>114</sup> See section 2.3 of Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

These conditions illustrate exactly the status of ‘township modernism’ identified by Noeleen Murray (2010). To practice architecture in such conditions, which is exactly the subject of this chapter, means to stake out a position and mode of operation in regards to the state of flux and the multivalency of experiences. Hannah le Roux, an architectural academic at the University of Witwatersrand, addresses exactly this, observing that exemplary instances of architectural practice have “recognised the formal, physical and embodied space of their users in a way that was unprecedented in apartheid architecture.” (le Roux 2012, 144) She goes on to state that “part of the challenge of contemporary social architecture is for its designers to become readers, rather than authors of social space, who can recognize the flows and nodes of communities.” (2012, 145) While in later sections of this chapter I will discuss some of the language le Roux is employing - social, community - she is pointing out that it is exactly the sorts of dynamic conditions that characterize Philippi that must be addressed by architects. She is implicitly agreeing with Murray that successful architecture is that which frames ‘township’ as more than the space laid out by apartheid planners. This is exactly the case in Philippi, where planning in the coherent, totalizing, modernist sense, never occurred. The apartheid state produced Philippi in much more dynamic ways, yet ones that are just as important to recognize and understand.

### *Challenges to Realizing Intervention: The Case of Kosovo*

In order to understand Philippi and the challenges to addressing its dynamic conditions, it is useful to focus upon Kosovo. Kosovo is an informal settlement that sits just on the opposite side of the train tracks from the Philippi Public Transit Interchange (Figure 4.2). In 2009,<sup>115</sup> approximately 6000 households resided on 26.5 hectares, making Kosovo the largest and densest informal settlement in Philippi. Kosovo is home to a host of conditions that render life precarious. Its residents have an incredibly high rate of HIV/Aids infection - upwards of thirty percent of the residents are thought to be HIV positive (Arup and ARG Design 2008, 26). They additionally experience substantial poverty, hunger, crime, abuse of women and children, and widespread unemployment. Such conditions are compounded by the physical environment, which is characterized by the high water table, wind-driven winter rains, and high summer temperatures that plague most of the Cape Flats; these result in high risk of both floods and fires. (Goven 2010) The resulting spatial environment is densely populated by makeshift shacks, and is completely lacking in infrastructure such as sanitation, electricity and roads, and resources such as schools, clinics, services and open space.

It is in this context of poor physical environment and ‘fragile social fabric’ that Kosovo was the subject of a multi-year upgrading plan by the architectural and urban design firm ARG. The

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<sup>115</sup> The latest year for which population figures were available.

life history of ARG's proposal (see Goven 2010), represents both the type of architectural thinking that goes into addressing the most marginalized urban spaces in South Africa, and the institutional challenges to enacting such upgrades. It is worthwhile, therefore to look briefly at Kosovo and the upgrading plans in order to better understand globally what was at stake in Philippi, and in the sort of interventions represented by the Philippi Public Transit Interchange.



Figure 4.1 Kosovo Aerial View. Kosovo, irregularly shaped and outlined in the center, shows a dense unplanned fabric, particularly seen in contrast to adjacent settlements. From Goven 2010, 152.

Kosovo is also a fitting site for thinking about Philippi as a space of flux and neglect, because it has for a long time served as the final resting point for those persons decamped from other areas (Goven 2013). Kosovo offers an examination of the possibility of intervention in Philippi through the site in which many of those that have experienced such dislocations have finally - for now - come to land. Kosovo is also fitting, for it illuminates some of the most desperate and drastic conditions that have come to characterize life in informal settlements in cities such as Cape Town, particularly in the initial years after apartheid's end.

It is also fitting to look at Philippi through the work of Gita Goven - the principal at ARG responsible for the Kosovo proposal. Goven has served as an architectural interlocutor for the area since the mid 1990s, and has worked on a host of sites and plans. Her first work in the area was with ACG Architects, a firm that she helped found in the early 1990s. ACG is known in Cape Town as one of the firms formed on the eve of apartheid's end, which has actively participated in putting forward a democratically-minded architectural vision for the city after



Figure 4.3 Philippi Station Pedestrian Bridge. The lightweight metal trading spaces contrast the robust concrete frame of the bridge. Photograph by author, 2012.

apartheid (Perrin 2012). In 1996 ACG began work on planning a major expansion of the Philippi train station. At the time, the station consisted of a small platform that was only marginally capable of supporting the large population that used the station every day. As part of their work upgrading the station, ACG designed a bridge over the train tracks. The bridge was designed to accomplish multiple ends: it connected the two sides of Philippi divided by the train tracks, thereby providing access and stitching together divided neighborhoods. Second, it was also designed to include access down to an enlarged platform, as part of the scheme to improve circulation to and within the station.<sup>116</sup> The third, and arguably most creative and dynamic aspect of the bridge were a series of very small trading spaces, clipped on the bridge at different moments (Figure 4.3). These bays are small enough to be affordable by emerging entrepreneurs, but designed so that a more successful commercial venture can rent out multiple, adjacent bays.

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<sup>116</sup> This piece has not yet been built, although in 2013 rumors were circulating that the railway authority had approached ACG to revisit the plans and bring the project back to life.

The bays provide dual function for the area: they provide space for informal traders to work from, which is a very valuable function in an area of high unemployment. Second, they enliven the bridge, generating constant activity and therefore making the bridge much safer for its users in the Jane Jacobs' sense of 'eyes on the street' (1969).

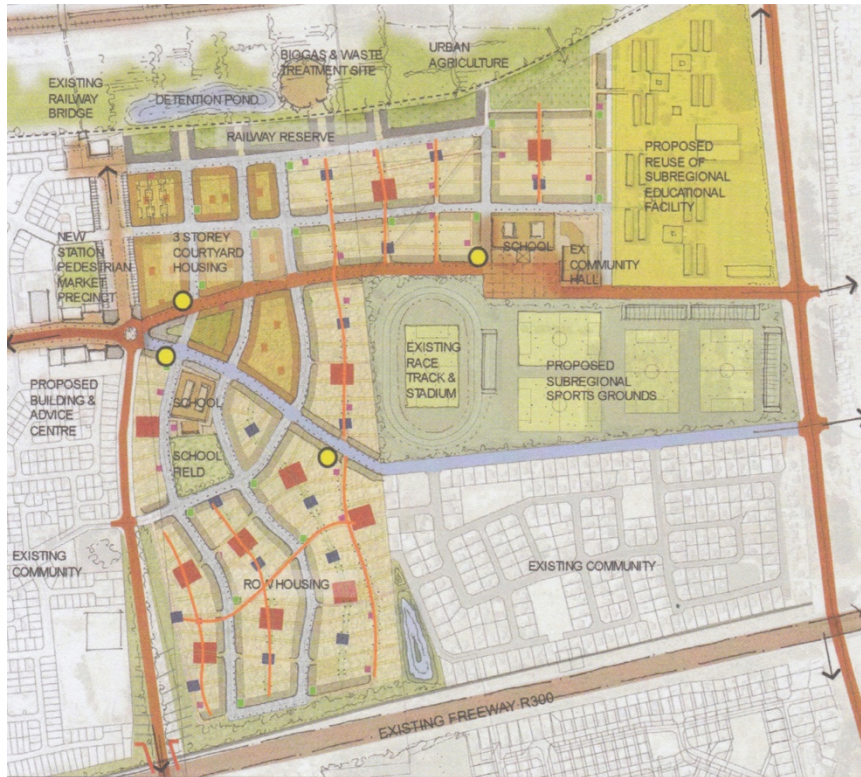


Figure 4.4 Kosovo Urban Design, by ARG. The urban design framework transforms Kosovo's informal fabric, seen in Figure 4.2, into a set of formal housing courtyards. From Goven 2010, 154.

Goven was commissioned to continue working in Philippi after the May 2004 announcement that South Africa would host the 2010 World Cup. At that time a host of planning and architectural projects were conceived as compliments to the new stadiums that would be built for the games. Some of the new projects would provide needed infrastructure for the World Cup; others were envisioned to make cities such as Cape Town more visually palatable and attractive to the tourists that would come for the games. Plans for Kosovo worked through both categories, as the state contemplated constructing a 'Bus Drivers Village' as a means of 'kick-starting' larger scale upgrading in Kosovo. Goven was commissioned to look at the general upgrading of Kosovo, for which she (and ARG) produced an urban design framework. The framework proposes to build high-density row housing and three-story courtyard housing throughout Kosovo, with a school and amenities in the center of the area (Figure 4.4). The housing proposed was quite modest and small, which allowed the designers to achieve a density sufficient to house all of the current residents in Kosovo. This was very important to Goven and

her design team, as they identified one of Philippi's historic problems to be the iterations of decampment that typically accompanied processes of upgrading, as the newly built formal housing was both too expensive and insufficient in numbers to serve all the 'informal' residents of the area prior to upgrading. The framework bears many of the traits of urban design championed by self-proclaimed humanists such as Dave Dewar and Roelof Uytenbogaardt, or local to the UC Berkeley context, Alan Jacobs. Pedestrian movement is prioritized, buildings are organized around courtyards or facing onto streets, street widths are minimized as much as possible and always include space for sidewalks and street trees. Responding to local environmental conditions, sanitation and ablution facilities are also accounted for in the framework, as are a skills training center. Additionally, the framework proposed the construction of sanitary treatment facilities on the adjacent railway reserve site, as a means of providing jobs and necessary municipal-scale infrastructure.

The framework can be read as an idealistic response to a well-grounded understanding of the challenges faced in Kosovo. While Kosovo as a space of social relations - a term used in the broadest possible sense - is the basis for the urban design framework, the design produced treats the space of Kosovo as a tabula rasa. This is reasonable: it is currently inhabited exclusively by shacks, constructed of remainder materials such as corrugated sheeting and bits of wood that residents either gather or inexpensively purchase on the informal market. While some architects have attempted experiments that utilize these structures, most that attempt to do so simply produce new houses that use some of the same materials, particularly corrugated metal, in order to visually appear contextual (see Mpahlwa 2010 for example). What happens as a result, in most all upgrading cases, including the framework for Kosovo, is the clearing of informal dwellings and construction for a new housing vision. What distinguishes ARG's Kosovo proposal from more typical upgrading cases, particularly those that replace informal settlements with rows of 'RDP' houses is the innovative aspect of the architectural vision it offers. In addition to the high density, pedestrian-oriented aspects, the framework aggressively incorporates sustainability-minded features such as trees and roof gardens and innovative water treatment that are important for addressing climate change and local environmental conditions. Well aware that such measures are often abandoned by the realities of limited budgets, even in the case of market-rate housing developments, Goven and ARG framed their approach around the argument that environmental and social sustainability go hand-in-hand. They use the extreme degradation of Kosovo to demonstrate that development in - and of - 'townships' must begin to address sustainability as a necessity, rather than luxury. (Goven 2010)

The local government initially supported the ambitious framework, which set out address housing shortage, infrastructure inadequacies and climatic challenges. As part of the strategic planning going on in the run up to the 2010 World Cup, Kosovo had been 'prioritized' by the Western Cape Provincial Government as a site of action. However, in 2009 national and provincial elections were held, and control of the Western Cape shifted from the ANC to DA. In

the process of the new provincial government evaluating its priorities, Kosovo was “de-prioritized”. The urban design framework has yet to be carried out (Goven 2013).

The failure to - as of yet - realize any upgrading in Kosovo demonstrates some of the challenges that are inherent in ‘township modernism’. What such marginalized spaces are faced with is an acute array of difficulties, and conflicts that arise over how - or not - to address them. Looking at the case of Philippi, the Western Cape Province, even after DA take-over, designated Philippi as one of the province’s ‘under-developed communities’, to which it is devoting some resources, initially in the form of commissioning planning frameworks (See Arup and ARG Design 2008). This designation is given to those places “which have to deal with the challenges of moral decay, uncoordinated service delivery programmes, a range of socio-economic challenges such as crime, drugs, violence, joblessness, poverty, slow economic development, and unemployment.” (Arup and ARG Design 2008, 12) On top of such social challenges are Philippi’s spatial make-up, which consists of a patchwork - or ‘mosaic’ as Goven describes it - of housing typologies, many overlaid with backyard shacks or encroaching informal settlements. The state’s inability to address this challenging context in a holistic manner, or in other words to meaningfully improve daily life in townships, has led to the massive proliferation of ‘service delivery protests’. As Gillian Hart states, “these municipal rebellions have become an entrenched feature of everyday life in the heavily segregated black townships and shack settlements of post-apartheid South Africa.” (2013, 3) In my own ethnographic experiences, many of my visits to the Philippi Public Transit Interchange over the years have been were marked by passing smoldering tires and other material remains of recent protests, as I drove from the leafy, privileged southern suburbs where I lived and worked into Philippi. The stark contrasts I encountered on my journeys are just those experienced by the built environment professionals such as Goven and those that will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter; they begin to point to the complexities of what ‘township/freedom modernism’ may be, as a form of architectural expressions. However, it is important to remember that what marks ‘township modernism’ is primarily the experiences of residents, and secondarily the potentially jarring nature of encounters between marginalized residents and privileged professionals. Both topics will be the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

#### **4.2 Thinking Public Space: Normalizing Democracy**

Until the late 1990s, the City of Cape Town’s municipal government did not have an urban design division. In light of apartheid’s spatial program, this is hardly surprising. One of the virtues of public space is how it serves as a platform for social interaction, which implies exactly the sort of integrative activities that the apartheid government sought to prohibit whenever possible (Bremner 2010, 253). The neglect of public space began to be addressed in 1997, when the city began to hire urban designers - notably Barbara Southworth, who will be one of the subjects of this section - and commissioned the Municipal Spatial Development Framework.

These institutional events are significant not in themselves so much as for the processes they illuminate. First, the fact that the local state adopted ‘design’ as a tool for governing and bringing about transformation is a compelling historical moment, that needs to be unpacked. Second, *how* design was deployed provides insight into the larger post-apartheid condition, particularly when attention is paid to how the state frames citizens and the city, and the role of design disciplines in such work. I will argue that these practices speak to post-apartheid urges to claim a role for the state in providing redress of apartheid, but do so in ways that limit the scope to the spatial realm. I will also illustrate that the efforts to provide redress have had a tendency to get linked up with projects that reflect ‘world city’ ambitions for Cape Town. While the two impetus – to provide redress to the people and spaces most harmed by apartheid, and for ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ (Harvey 1989) – might be typically contradictory, in the early democratic years they found common sites of action and expression.

The spatial agenda of the early democratic government and its professional colleagues is an important site to examine, in relation to the larger transition from apartheid to democracy. Much has been made in the South African urbanism literature of the role of planners - and hints at architects as well - in perpetuating spatialized inequalities after the end of apartheid (Bremner 2010; Harrison, Todes, and Watson 2008; Murray 2008). In Cape Town, some of the earliest literature regarding the post-apartheid city came through attention to the proliferation of spaces of exclusion, notably ‘golf estates’ and shopping malls. Rafael Marks and Marco Bezzoli produced a heavily circulated article that drew attention to post-apartheid privileging of the free-market as a producer of space:

Just as the 'Apartheid city' developed through a combination of racist ideologies and Modernist functionalism, so our new urban spaces are shaped through the articulation of local conditions with global economic and cultural forces. Released from the grip of state control, our cities are now at the mercy of that most nebulous of conceits--the free market. Not so much freedom of the city, as freedom to profit. (Marks and Bezzoli 2001, 27)

They focused upon Century City - the “postmodern phoenix rising from a vast tract of alien vegetation.” It is a massive development outside of the the center of Cape Town that “is a city in itself. Combining retail, leisure, offices, residential and ecological components under one proverbial roof, Century City represents the ultimate commodification of urban space and services. There are no low cost housing projects here, nor public schools or libraries, only those aspects of urban life that can be conveniently repackaged, reprocessed and reimaged.” (2001, 27) Steven Robins (2002) also wrote a significant piece which compliments Marks and Bezzoli’s, drawing on Mike Davis’ ‘fortress city’ concept (1990) and Teresa Caldeira’s *City of Walls* (2000) to further iterate the new technologies of urban bifurcation being applied in the wake of

apartheid's demise. For Robins, the proliferation of secured spaces, which rely on private security companies and high-tech systems to make their privileged residents *feel* safe, are paralleled by the increasing poverty experienced in other parts of the city, particularly former African and Coloured townships. He argues that the two trends are intertwined and reinforcing, and both effects of the democratic government's embrace of neoliberal economic and governing policies.

Both of these works were produced relatively early in the regards to the era after the 1994 ending of apartheid. A more recent set of contributions to this literature pushes the analysis further, critically pointing to the role of design professionals in perpetuating spatialized inequality. Looking specifically to developments in Johannesburg, both Martin Murray and Lindsay Bremner speak of how the planning and architectural professions' privileging of aesthetics and visibility have worked to further marginalize those already disadvantaged under apartheid. As Bremner states, "whole new urban and architectural typologies and technologies are reinstalling social exclusion, reinvesting in parallel, separate and secluded lives, and inventing aggressive ways of keeping strangers at bay." (2010, 257) She identifies that much of this spatial production works through the realm of the 'spectacular', producing environments intended for consumption rather than inhabitation. This has happened in Johannesburg's versions of Century City, namely Melrose Arch - a mall-like leisure center - and Montecasino, a hyper-themed casino complex. Bremner adds, however, that this "even" occurs in Johannesburg's central business district, where "only partially useful to new capital as rentable space, its building facades have been put to use as revenue-producing, mega mediascapes that insert products and ways of life into culture and aspiration." (2010, 88) Martin Murray even more directly places blame for new articulations of exclusion with built environment professionals. He states that "as urban planners, city officials, large-scale property owners viscerally understood, spatial disorder threatened to undermine the future prospects of post apartheid Johannesburg as a cosmopolitan world-class city... They responded by imagining how Johannesburg should *look* and how they should rebuild and govern it." (2008 emphasis added) This linking of aesthetics to consumption and governmentality is clearly not new; I discussed in the previous chapter how District Six has been subject to waves of interventions that have sought to remake the city for the sake of visual appeal. Murray points out how such practices continue *after* apartheid, in ways that capitalize (literally) upon architects' and planners' predisposition towards creating visual order.

In light of such critiques, it is useful to examine the post-apartheid government's attention to those spaces that were the subject of intentional neglect and marginalization under apartheid. The act of doing so, which is the project of this section, is not to bolster the image of the state's - or design professionals' - work, but to understand how design has been conceptualized and deployed as a tool of governing in an era of democratic rule. In this section I will ask this question by looking at public space, and the institutional mechanisms deployed in Cape Town that promoted the development of public space in the city's neglected corners. I will examine the circulations of knowledge that led to the embrace of public space, and exactly how public space

and its design were understood and developed. I will focus on the formation of the Dignified Places Programme as a tool of redress, and ask how it was that the program framed its objectives, and particularly the verbal and architectural language the program deployed. Lastly, I will look at how the Philippi Station came to be an area of interest, demonstrating how this history illustrates the frictions and juxtapositions between differing types of state intervention, namely those concerned with ‘promoting’ Cape Town on ‘a world stage’ and those concerned with realizing spatial redress.

### *A Public Space Strategy*

As has been discussed earlier, David Dewar, in partnership with Roelof Uytendogaardt, has been one of the most influential thinkers about the problems associated with the South African city as it was produced under apartheid. His position may be normative in regards to race, and relatively unconcerned with addressing localized histories of inequality. However, his analytical work is also representative and illustrative of the critiques of ‘apartheid’ modernism that have been central to the projects discussed in this dissertation. After apartheid’s end, and after the ANC won the first municipal-level democratic elections (in 1996), Dewar was given the opportunity to translate his spatial agenda into city policy. In 1997 the City commissioned to Dewar to produce the Municipal Spatial Development Framework (Muni SDF)<sup>117</sup>. The Muni SDF is self-described as attempting “to set out a logical argument for managing the spatial structure of the city in a manner that achieves greater human dignity, equity, integration, sustainability and place, also recognising resource constraints.” (Urban Design Branch 2003) Like the David Crane’s capital web concept, which was very influential on Dewar via Uytendogaardt, the Muni SDF advocates for a balance of public and private investment, and addressing the city’s needs by privileging strategic points of intervention rather than developing a totalizing plan (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999).

The ‘core concept’ driving the Muni SDF is the “remaking the city over time to achieve greater equity and integration.” It argues for achieving this by “allowing people much more equitable access to the benefits of the city, broadly defined as the natural resource base and the urban resource base.” With this in mind, the document promotes the production of “elements that make up the city’s public investment structure. These elements are green space, movement, *public space and places*, social facilities, economic infrastructure, publicly assisted housing, utility services and emergency services.” (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999, 20 emphasis added) In other words, the Muni SDF is arguing that in order to achieve ‘equitable

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<sup>117</sup> This is not the same document as the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework, the MSDF, which was the subject of Vanessa Watson’s *Change and Continuity in Spatial Planning* (2002).

access' to the city's resources, transportation and interchange points need to serve as the primary, strategic sites of intervention.

'Interchange' points refer quite literally to transportation exchange; they are places where "modes of transport are integrated and where changes of direction are possible." The privileging of interchange points becomes a significant practice in the shaping of the city after apartheid: in Cape Town interchange stations were built across the city, from its center to peripheries. When South African architectural journals and monographs reviewed the most significant new works of architecture in the 'post-apartheid' city, interchange stations were always featured.<sup>118</sup> The Muni SDF is therefore critical, as a text and piece of evidence that illustrates *how* and *why* interchange points came to be the focus of attention. The *why* question is answered by the fact that transportation and movement are in themselves viewed (by the Muni SDF authors) as the basic technologies that enable realizing access to the city's resources. This argument frames 'access' rather literally, as the actual ability to get to the sites in which resources are located. Interchange points - or rather, stations, as they were for the most part realized - were seen as the essential first step in encouraging a more equitable city. If the city's residents could more easily move around the city - which interchange points facilitated - the resources the city has to offer were that much more accessible.<sup>119</sup>

This is an interesting argument, which neglects how 'access' is also determined by other sorts of resources - such as time, money, and agency. This limited use of the term 'access' reinforces the notion of 'spatial thinking', discussed in the previous chapter, that Lindsay Bremner used in her critical discussion of Dewar and Uytebogaardt's work (2010). When the Muni SDF states that one of the greatest challenges to the ways in which Cape Town's growth patterns have not served the majority of its residents is to "make existing opportunities more accessible to the majority" it is referring to making them *spatially* accessible, not figuratively so (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999, 20). This logic is completely in-line with how Dewar explained to me his way of viewing his role in addressing apartheid. He stated that it was "useless taking the government on politically – we will take them on professionally." To this he added "that's what we know about - space. Nobody can challenge us on that." He believed that by critiquing the spatiality of the apartheid regime, he and his associates were both politically 'safe' and were operating from a position of authority, rather than one of political subversion: they were *the* spatial experts. What is important to note is that Dewar maintained this position, of privileging the spatial as a terrain of both action and thought, after apartheid ended.

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<sup>118</sup> For example, see the Metro Mall and Faraday Market in Johannesburg, which are discussed by Bremner (2010, 255) and have been published in the *Digest of South African Architecture* (Low 2004).

<sup>119</sup> It must be noted that the opening pages of the Muni SDF do state that the creation of 'easy access' through transit, and the production of new centers must be accompanied by "an effective system of governance and administration, and a system for managing the development of vacant and open land." (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999, v)

It is impossible to know whether or not ‘spatial thinking’ had always been his preferred mode of operating, and he justified it through the apartheid regime, or if over the course of apartheid it simply became ingrained within his thinking, so much that he never considered expanding his understanding of the city when it became more politically feasible to integrate the ‘spatial’ with other modes of practice. However, what can be known are the implications for spatial practices in Cape Town when one of the key authorities in the city advocated purely spatial interventions. The effects of the lineage of practices that follow on from Dewar are to be seen, in a small snippet, in the history of the DPP and PPTI.

Figure 4: The process of development of centres

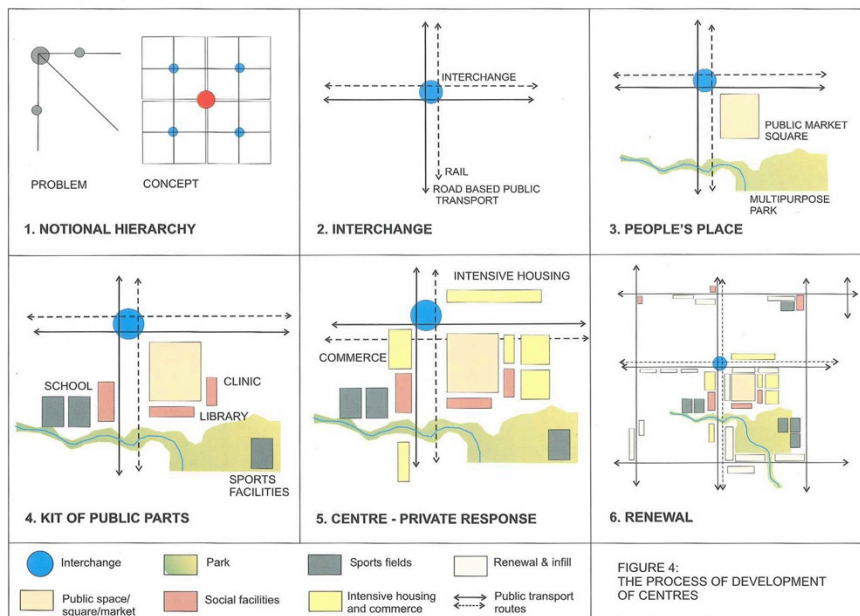


Figure 4.5 Muni SDF ‘Process of Developing Centres’. ‘Interchanges’ are the second step in developing new urban centres. From Municipal Spatial Development Framework 1999, Figure 4.

The second significant aspect of the Muni SDF’s privileging of interchange points is that it recommends that the first ‘piece’ of every node that should be designed is a public space/square/market. Looking at Figure 4.5, “The Process of Development of Centres”, it is clear that the Muni SDF is suggesting a sort of ‘kit of parts’ approach to design interventions. The process represented in this diagram suggests that a public space is both the foremost structuring device for an ‘interchange’, and that it is from the public space that other activities and spaces - first public resources such as schools, clinics, libraries, and later housing and commerce - will follow. The document states the belief that,

Achieving high-quality public space lies at the heart of any positive approach to settlement-making and urban management. Urban public spaces - streets, squares, promenades, as well as the green space discussed in sub-section 4.3 - are the primary meeting places of people in urban settlements. Functionally, they act as 'urban living

rooms' and as seams of connectivity and should be viewed as the primary form of social infrastructure in settlements. (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework 1999*, 51)

This view is particularly applied to low-income households, where interior, private domestic space is limited, so that “public space effectively acts as an extension of the dwelling unit.” In this way, public space is seen to both address poverty and provide a forum for social connection - which was noticeably missing under apartheid. The Muni SDF therefore logically ties together interchange points and public spaces. By capitalizing on the density of people moving through public transit, the framework encourages use of both interchanges and markets, thereby enlivening public space.

This attention to public space was not unique to the Muni SDF. In 1994, mere months after South Africa's first democratic election, Lucien le Grange published an article entitled: “Cape Town - Reconstructing Public Space” in which he argues that in the early days of democracy, it is possible to construct public space that is suitably representative and productive of democratic political ideals. (1994) Le Grange argues that while it is essential that the city get more dense and spatially consolidated, rather than continue to expand outwards, simply intensifying the provision of housing or commerce will be unsuccessful without including public space. For le Grange, public space is an essential component of ‘political space’ (1994, 23) His article illustrates the consolidation of urban thinking taking place in Cape Town at the time: although he was not at all directly involved in the Muni SDF, he called on the city to develop an overall spatial framework and to do so in a way which built upon David Crane's Capital Web concept.

In addition to locating public spaces adjacent to - or as core features of - interchange points, the Muni SDF advocates for an overall privileging of public space in Cape Town: “A public places programme should be put in place which receives as much status and prioritisation as 'hard services' and social facilities.” (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework 1999*, 53). According to Barbara Southworth, the focus on public space as a mode of intervention stemmed in part from frustration with transportation and housing practices that dominated at that time, both of which were working from models that dominated during apartheid. The transportation planners were “very concerned with traffic flows and private vehicles and not concerned with public transport or other forms of access.” (Southworth 2013) And as discussed in Chapter One, housing policy under the Reconstruction and Development Programme was primarily working through a regressive, suburban, one house/one plot model that directly followed the township model under apartheid. For planners and urban designers such as Dewar, public space was the logical place to assert their contribution to the remaking of the apartheid city. Working through public space provided the opportunity to address the larger order of the urban landscape. As the Muni SDF states, “The quality of the urban public spatial environment is poor almost everywhere. This is the case even though many people spend considerable time in these spaces because of overcrowding in their individual dwellings. Spaces are not contained or enclosed.

Buildings are essentially isolated events in space.” (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999, 8) ( See Figure 4.6 for the images that accompanied these critiques of the apartheid landscape.) As the MuniSDF states, the city they (its authors) envision “is a city where people have pride in their neighbourhoods, mainly because the public spaces- the streets, squares and parks- are pleasant and dignified.” (*Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999, 12)



Figure 4.6 The images that illustrate the Muni SDF’s conception of poor public space. From *Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999, 10.

The city envisioned by the Muni SDF was one of equity, wherein spatial features such as housing and public space are seen as working alongside effective governance and administration, land management and address of social issues and needs, such as education and public health. Most of these components are commonly found in planning documents. Where I believe the Muni SDF stands out is in the prioritization of public space, as an expression of and vehicle for urban improvement. In this document, which as the next section will show has become the intellectual foundation of the City of Cape Town’s Urban Design Department, public space and urban design are framed as some of the most effective spheres of operation for a city that is attempting to shift from apartheid to democracy. As I will discuss, the emphasis upon public space addresses not only a spatial typology, but also reflects a prioritization of the visual and aesthetic qualities of outdoor spaces. Public space, in the sense advocated by the Muni SDF, is intended to be publicly owned and controlled, free to move through, and encourages exactly the sort of social integration and freedom denied under apartheid. It is also meant to be visually rich and attractive. In the next section, I will illustrate one instance in which this vision was materially realized, and what it means to prioritize public space’s visual qualities, in a post-apartheid context.

## *Creating an Institutional Home for Urban Design*

The work that Muni SDF did, as an official document, was conceptual and discursive: it directed the state's attention to public space, arguing for its relevance as a mode of space planning and addressing the ills of the apartheid city. In its earliest instance, the material project of actually deploying its thinking came in the form of the Dignified Places Programme.

To understand how the DPP came into being, it is useful to begin by looking at the actors and institutional relationships at play during its formative years.<sup>120</sup> The story in essence begins in 1997 - the year when Dewar began his work on the Muni SDF and Barbara Southworth was hired by the City of Cape Town. Southworth was at the time a relatively young urban designer, with an impressive pedigree. She had just won first place in the high profile NAI<sup>121</sup> Housing Generator competition. She had been trained in architecture, city planning and urban design; the latter degree she earned at the University of Cape Town, under the close tutelage of Dewar. This moment demonstrates that even prior to the promotion of public space put forward by the Muni SDF, the local Cape Town state recognized the value of urban design. The City was already in the process of developing a metropolitan spatial development framework - the MSDF. This however, was a planning document, which utilized the disciplinary knowledge and practices of the planning profession. Both Southworth's hiring and Dewar's commission reflect a different sort of thinking, which turns to design rather than policy to address urban problems. Southworth capitalized on the situation, deploying her position to bring to life what would become the DPP.

I was already very familiar with the DPP when I went to interview Southworth: I had visited many of its sites and read all the articles and reports published about it that I could find, as well as completed other related pieces of research. One of the questions which only she could answer, however, was how in an era of tight budgets, were she and her team were able to convince the City to spend on building public spaces. This was a time of the shift from RDP to GEAR<sup>122</sup>, when the state's limited capacity to realize the transformations the ANC had articulated in its years as a struggle organization were even more constrained, as policy shifted from redistribution to promoting investment. The state was struggling to enact Nelson Mandela's promise of one million new homes within five years; how would it also find funds to spend on public space? Was there really a sea-change in state spending priorities? No, Southworth informed me. Rather, the DPP came to life as a bit of guerrilla governing - 'glomming on' to bits and pieces of budgetary allocations from 'this department and that' (See also Southworth 2010, 103). It was a sort of governing that was not necessarily resistive to official policy, but rather quietly, discreetly worked to shift policy through implementing small-scale change. Such mode of governing

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<sup>120</sup> The impetus for using this sort of approach works from Bruno Latour's actor-network theory (2005).

<sup>121</sup> Netherlands Architecture Institute.

<sup>122</sup> This is a famous shift in national government policy, from the more welfare, redistributive based RDP to the neoliberally-minded GEAR, begun in 1997. See the discussion of this shift in Chapter One.

demonstrates that even at the site of the state, transformation sometimes happens not as the result of official policy, but through the circumspect acts of individuals. This helps to disturb the idea of the monolithic state, instead painting a picture of the state as an assemblage of individuals, articulating individual positions that align with official policy in differing ways (Roy 2010).

Such a way of working enabled an intervention that began quietly and modestly, ‘glomming’ not only onto other budgets but also to other interventions. It was a strategic tactic, but also reflective of the ideals of the Capital Web-type thinking: urban intervention through small, carefully located actions rather than large-scale, totalizing planning. In this way, the life of the DPP was one of fragments: the city was addressed in fragments - one space here, another over here, and so on. As already stated, the institutional support, namely its budget, for the DPP was incredibly fragmentary. The selection of sites, or rather, the conceptualization of the Programme’s sites was also fragmentary: while the DPP addressed the map produced by the Muni SDF (see Figure 4.7), it selected and developed sites as they became available and feasible for development. The choice of the first sites developed in the program generally capitalized on upgrading programs already taking place through other institutional initiatives. For example, the Philippi Public Transit Interchange worked from the station upgrades being developed by the railway authority. The DPP was in essence a sort of urban acupuncture, undertaken whenever possible.

As such, it was a significant moment for both Cape Town and its participants. Over the course of nine years, seventy projects were designed and implemented as part of the DPP. In 2003 Southworth won the prestigious Ralph Erskine award for her leadership in the initiative. As Jacqui Perrin, one of the architects of the Philippi Public Transit Interchange described to me, through the course of implementing projects such as the PPTI, city officials became aware of public space - in positive ways - as they had never been before. As a result, the incorporation of basic urban design features such as sidewalks became normalized in City projects (2012).

And as a high profile project, it was also subject to criticism and challenges. The guerrilla method of budgetary allocation was only partially successful: sufficient funds were never budgeted for maintenance of DPP sites and as a result many of the public spaces quickly fell into decay. Because of difficulty of coordinating management for some of the sites, there were a few instances in which spaces and facilities were built but heavily delayed in making them available for residents to use. In arguably the most egregious case, the Nyanga Bath House, designed by architect Piet Louw, ‘vandals’ completely disassembled the fenced-off building, assumedly to reuse the materials for personal, private uses. (Perrin 2012). And for some architects, the designs produced by the DPP, many of which were self-described as working through a ‘kit of parts’ methodology, were overly ‘Eurocentric’ and not responsive to the ‘African’ context. (Southworth 2010, 105; Smuts 2012) The last statement is, for me, particularly important, not so much for the African/European binary, as for opening dialogue on what was at stake with the DPP as an ‘institutionalization’ of ‘design as intervention’.

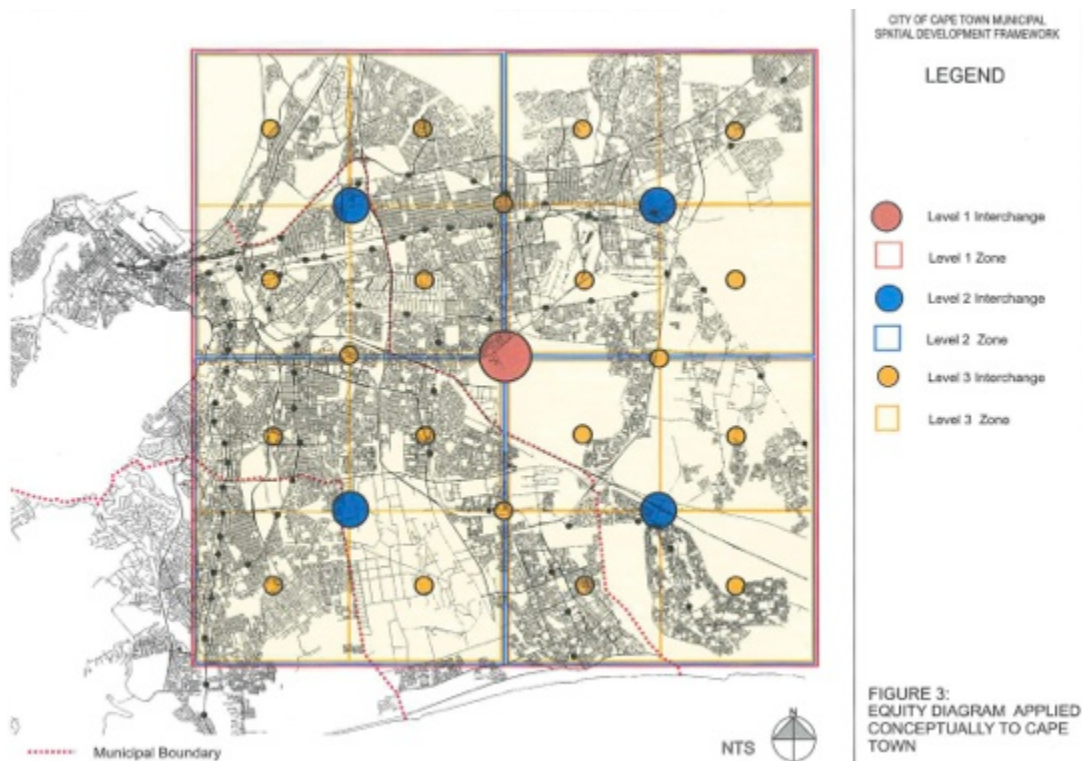


Figure 4.7 Equity Diagram of Cape Town. This map, which is a key part of the Muni SDF, argues for a distribution of urban nodes and interchanges across Cape Town. The map is frequently reproduced and was a major influence upon the DPP. From *Municipal Spatial Development Framework* 1999, 25.

### *Intervening through Design*

The question of ‘African’ versus ‘Eurocentric’ is an important one for South African architects and architectural scholars to begin to unpack, particularly in the post-apartheid period when (supposedly) there are intellectual openings and frameworks for critically thinking through culture and identity.<sup>123</sup> However, for the sake of the DPP, what is most relevant is how thinking about the design of the DPP interventions directs attention to the epistemological foundations of the program. In official documents, the DPP’s intents and interventions were framed as such:

The Cape Town SDF proposed two ongoing and overlapping public space and places programmes, intended to reclaim the city for people “point-by-point”:

<sup>123</sup> Jonathan Noble has thoroughly tackled - or at least opened up dialogue concerning - this issue in his book *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White Skin, Black Masks* (2011).

- A city-wide system of liveable public spaces and market squares, associated with the public transportation interchanges identified in the framework. These may accommodate markets, and be the focus of a cluster of social facilities.
  - A people's places programme - a "productive investment" programme of making special places (public ways, public promenades and terraces). This programme should improve existing places and upgrade key public routes and spaces.
- (Urban Design Branch 2003)

This framework suggests that public space is intended to work in two ways: first, as a critical component of transportation interchanges, which as discussed above, were identified in the Muni SDF as crucial sites for improving 'access' to the city. Second, public space is considered, on its own to be a generator of 'reclaiming the city for people'. It is this second claim that is important to unpack. Of particular concern to me is how the authors of the DPP are framing the 'lack' of public space in the Cape Town, and how it will be addressed, and particularly why and how 'dignity' is seen as a critical component of this system of spatial redress.

The DPP's approach to using design builds upon a significant history of the South African state governing through space making (Robinson 1996). By 'urban public space', the authors of the DPP (and Muni SDF) appear concerned with the residual spaces apartheid neglected - the spaces between buildings, between buildings and roadways. They are addressing not only the neglect of these spaces, but their lack: the lack of recreation spaces such as parks and playgrounds, the lack of space and infrastructure for informal trading activities, and the imposition of activities such as ablution in what should be public space. Figure 4.8, which comes from a chapter about the DPP in a collected volume, illustrates exactly this 'lack'.



Figure 4.8. Images of neglect. Like Figure 4.6, these images were chosen by the leaders of the DPP to represent the types of spaces the program sought to intervene in. From Southworth 2010, 102.

As the identification of this ‘lack’ indicates, the DPP was premised upon a critique of the modernism of apartheid-led design. It was a concern that addressed both the intentional underdevelopment of public space, and the general modernist spatiality of the apartheid city. One key aspect of concern was how the apartheid state’s architectural programs deployed the ideals of the building in a field, as propagated by Le Corbusier in his unrealized urban plans - *Ville Contemporaine* and *Ville Radieuse* - and in individual buildings such as the iconic *Villa Savoye*. Although for arguably different reasons than the early European modernists, apartheid buildings were conceived as isolated objects - as a means of ‘setting apart’, and thereby fragmenting the urban landscape. For example, township schools were always designed to sit at thirty-degree angles to the adjacent street. This worked to isolate the schools from the surrounding context, and create awkward remaining outdoor spaces, that inhibited outdoor activity. It was the sort of planning that makes sense when viewed from above, for the ‘ordered’ mark it leaves on the landscape. This is exactly the sort of spatial thinking that went into modernist design acts such as the planning of Brasilia (Holston 1989; Scott 1998), with the apartheid city being produced in a spatially similar fashion. Like the Hostels Upgrades and District Six Pilot Project, the DPP sought to re-make the apartheid city. However, rather than tackle a single space or set of connected space, it used the typology of public space to infill and stitch together those elements that had been fragmented.

The potential irony of the program - and arguably of much of post-apartheid governing - is that the DPP maintained the state’s objective of using design as a means of ordering the city - and arguably its inhabitants (Cowen 2003). As discussed earlier, this sort of irony was identified by Parnell and Mabin, when they pointed out the “critical coincidence” of alliances between apartheid and modernist planning. They go on, however, to point out that there was not a singular version of modernism that applied to the twentieth century South African state. They illustrate that within South African political thought, both apartheid *and* the African National Congress (ANC)-led resistance to it were forms of modernisms:

The main counter to apartheid thinking on urban problems and approaches came from equally modernist quarters, but politically deeply oppositional ones. Indeed, the general modernist means – the enlarged state, the powerfully ordered intervention – characterized the ANC alliance’s Freedom Charter every bit as much as they did the schemes of apartheid. For several decades, however, it was the peculiar modernism of apartheid which held sway. (Parnell and Mabin 1995, 60)

Thus, the democratic resistance to apartheid, dating back to the 1950s, was just as much a project of modernity as apartheid itself. And in the DPP, it can be read that the program’s particular understanding and design of public space was, as a form of governing, itself a modernist project.

In order to make this argument, I am drawing on the modernist principle of deploying design - and therefore visual and aesthetic order - as a means of providing social order. One of the

characteristics of this governing-through-design is the ordering of space. Both James C. Scott and Michel de Certeau (1984), amongst others, have drawn attention to the relationship between modernist's ordering design practices and the removed position of 'looking from above'. Scott argues for the "importance of the airplane for modernist thought and planning," (1998, 58) while de Certeau distinguishes between the modernism of top-down (literally) planning, the viewing city from above, and the embodied knowledge of walking the city. I want to argue that practices such as the DPP illustrate the challenges to such binaries. The DPP illustrates that 'ground-up' practices or embodied knowledge may reflect a reliance upon the visual and a desire for visually-pleasing spatial order. Despite the DPP's imbedded criticism of the forms of modernism associated with apartheid, the program also sought to create a city of a certain visual quality and coherence (see Figure 4.9).

What the DPP sought was not necessarily to 'order' society in the sense of controlling it, but rather to use design to bestow 'dignity' - firstly to space, and secondarily, by association, to those users of space. The DPP's aesthetically-minded critique of the apartheid landscape was concerned that it produced residual spaces which were insufficient for supporting human activities and in their visual decay, produced 'degraded' environments (Southworth 2002, 120). It was these sets of concerns that were reflected in the deployment of the term 'dignified'. It is a term I heard throughout my research, not only in reference to the DPP, but to both the District Six Pilot Project and the Hostels Upgrades. 'Dignified' was used to describe the homes that the District Six Beneficiary Trust sought to build for the returning residents. Dignified was how the architects involved in the Hostels Upgrades described the homes they designed for the hostel dwellers. The dictionary definition of 'dignity' is "the quality of being worthy or honourable; worthiness, worth, nobleness, excellence." (Oxford English Dictionary) The DPP's authors framed dignity as almost a right due to urban residents:

The public realm has been neglected and the resulting abandoned spaces between the city's institutions, businesses and residences lack the sense of *dignity* associated with well-performing cities. Norberg-Schulz (1980) has written extensively of people's fundamental need for a sense of place, belonging and orientation. Large parts of Cape Town do not provide for these needs and the Programme sought to question this absence. (Southworth 2002, 121 emphasis added)

Doing so for the program meant to design spaces which did not marginalize or stigmatize the city's poorest residents, but instead provided them with amenities that would facilitate their enjoyment of urban life:

The overarching aim of the Programme is to promote a sense of *dignity* in the public realm, targeting the poorest and most disadvantaged parts of the city, by providing each local area with a place where individual circumstances of poverty are not starkly visible, where people can meet and gather or just sit in a place that is as attractive and

comfortable as any other well-made, positive place in the city. (Southworth 2002, 125 emphasis added)

From the above statement, creating ‘dignified places’ - whether urban spaces or homes - suggests producing a level-playing field, where the spatial amenities afforded to the ‘most disadvantaged’ are equal in quality to those enjoyed in the most privileged quarters of the city. Dignity is used in a way in which it acts as code for reducing - if not outright eliminating - the disparities experienced by urban residents.

Why then is ‘dignity’ used, rather than some reference to equality? I argue that for the authors of the DPP and those involved in the District Six Pilot Project and Hostels Upgrades, ‘dignity’ has been deployed as a site of redress. As such, the term reflects a way of thinking implicitly connected to the rights-based thinking of the South African Constitution. Section 10 of the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2 of the Constitution) declares that “everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected.” Like many of the other rights declared in the Constitution, dignity’s address suggests that its denial was representative and productive of the many injustices that characterized the apartheid system. The DPP has sought to articulate a spatial dimension to this right. Dignity is in some ways a fitting term to apply to a spatial program, in that it is not quantifiable, but rather has qualitative associations. The use of the term dignity signifies the DPP is part of state package of practices that seek to address the wrongs of apartheid.

There are other intriguing aspects of the DPP, as an illustrative example of state-led design interventions. Two that are particularly relevant to this dissertation will be discussed by looking at the Philippi Public Transit Interchange. These are the design processes and design language that dominated the works of the DPP. However, before unpacking those, it is useful to think about why and how the PPTI came to life - as a project and as part of the DPP.

### *Riding the World Class Wave: Philippi Station and the Olympic Bid*

When Suzanne Du Toit was approached by Barbara Southworth to make proposals for the urban design of the area in front of the Philippi Station, the DPP was in its infancy. The first site developed by the DPP - the Philippi Community Hall - was just down the road from the station and was underway at the time of Du Toit’s initial commission. The zone of Emms Drive from Lansdowne Road to the station in Philippi had been identified by the authors of the DPP as a zone of action (see Figure 4.9). This was a decision that built upon a constellation of conditions: first of all, Intersite, the railway agency, was already investing in the Philippi Station. Strategically, this meant that there would be funds to capitalize and draw upon. Second, the Muni SDF had identified that particular strip in Philippi as a zone of action. Third, with three sites in

close proximity to each other, the efforts of the DPP would be concentrated, and therefore potentially more visible and effective as the sought-after success of each site would possibly spread to the other sites. Design intervention was imagined as contagion, attempting to capitalize on pathological processes.

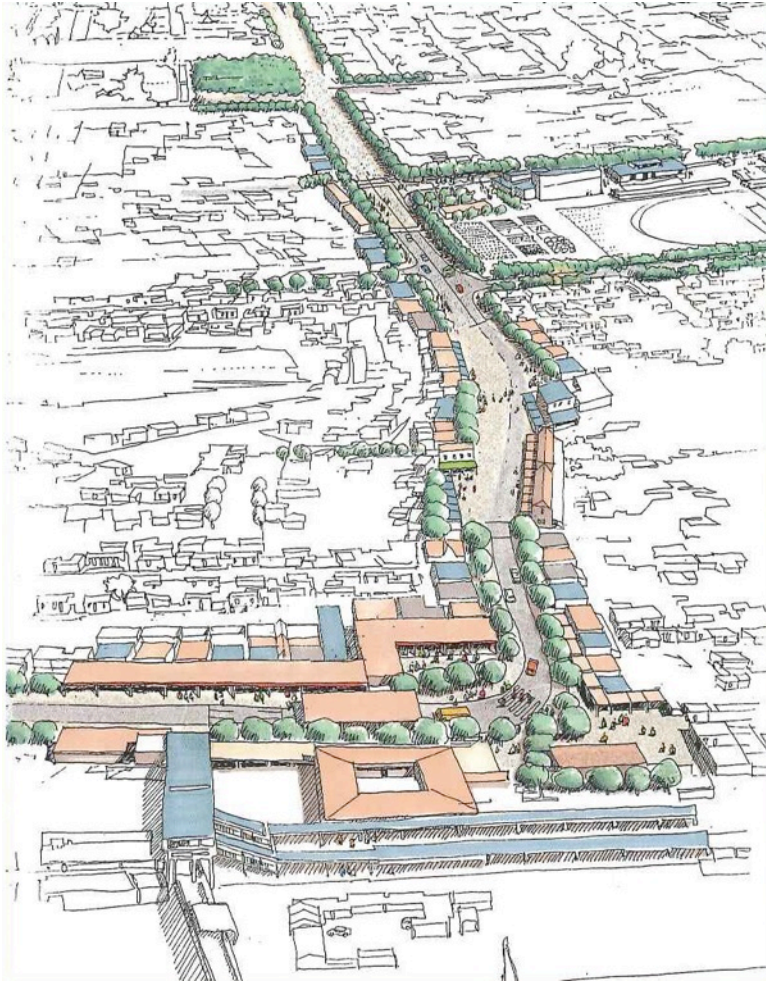


Figure 4.9 Emms Drive zone of Philippi. The street as imagined after completion of public space improvements. From Boshoff 1999.

There was, however, one more factor at play in the choice to develop a public space adjacent to the Philippi Station. This was the bid that Cape Town assembled to host the 2004 Olympics. The Cape Town Olympic Bid can be understood as a significant moment for spatial production, particularly state-driven development, in Cape Town.<sup>124</sup> The city submitted its Olympic bid in

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<sup>124</sup> As I do not know of any research projects that particularly focus on the Olympic Bid as a significant moment for Cape Town, it is a topic that should be pursued as a follow up to this dissertation.

January 1996 (“Olympic Games: 11 Cities Bid to Stage 2004 Games” 2015), less than two years after the nation’s first democratic elections. The bid was structured around the premise that the games would be held at facilities located across the city, rather than be concentrated at a single site, assumedly in the city’s center.<sup>125</sup> Many of the proposed facilities would be situated in peripheral, marginalized spaces, in order to serve the surrounding context long after the Olympic Games had ended. It was a strategy that sought to leverage the investments made by the City to host the Games, capitalizing on them as tools for ‘upliftment’. In order to demonstrate to the Olympic Committee that Cape Town was capable of fulfilling this expansive and distributed vision of facilities, a set of facilities were designed and constructed as part of the bid. These included the Hartleyvale Hockey Stadium at the edge of the Observatory neighborhood, which was designed by ACG Architects (discussed in the section 4.1) and is used extensively still today; the Bellville Velodrome; the Philippi Sports Centre by Jo Noero Architects; and the Mewway Sports Hall in Khayelitsha, by Lucien le Grange Architects and Mike Smuts Architects.

The significant amount of effort that went into producing these projects indicates that the local Olympic Bid Committee was a major actor in the production of sporting infrastructure in Cape Town. I would argue that the Committee’s work and scope of concern even went beyond the parameters of sports facilities. The Committee proved to be a major force in some of the earliest efforts to reimagine space in Cape Town in the years immediately after apartheid. It is in this role, as a state institution tasked with ‘kick-starting’ large-scale urban interventions, that the work of the Committee is relevant to the Philippi Station area. The Bid Committee was involved in numerous spatial studies and projects around the Philippi area: the Wetton-Lansdowne Corridor Area (McGaffin 2015), the Philippi Station Area, and what was to become the Stock Road Station precinct (Adlard 2015). At the Philippi Station, the Olympic Committee’s intervention was registered when in February 1996, the engineering firm Ninham Shand was hired by the City of Cape Town to ‘investigate’ a bus/minibus taxi facility at the Philippi Station, as “part of the Cape Town Olympics 2004 cost estimating exercise”. While the ‘taxi rank’ did not immediately get completed, Ninham Shand remained the City’s primary consulting engineers at the Philippi Station area. It was in this capacity that Du Toit and Perrin eventually came to be contracted to Ninham Shand, to complete the design work for the area in front of the station that had been part of the original 1996 contract. Thus it was that the Philippi Public Transit

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<sup>125</sup> The World Cup also was ‘bid’ upon through a similar approach. However, once South Africa won the World Cup, Cape Town was forced to abandon its plan to host the semi-final games at the Athlone Stadium, located in the formerly-coloured township of the same name. Instead FiFA convinced the city to demolish an old stadium and build a new one in its place in Greenpoint, which is wealthy, predominantly white area, adjacent to the city centre, tourist attractions such as the V&A Waterfront and the exclusive Atlantic seaboard beaches and suburbs. While the Athlone stadium is relatively central to many of the city’s formerly black and coloured townships, Greenpoint is remote for the majority of the city’s residents.

Interchange, in addition to being a pilot site of the Dignified Places Programme, was also a legacy of the 2004 Olympic Bid.

The significance of this relationship is that it brings together seemingly disparate urges, which when seen together render the landscape of public space making in Cape Town a bit more epistemically complex. The first of these urges is that of bidding on major international events such as the Olympics. This practice is typically understood as one that seeks to promote a city, to place it on a world stage. For Donald MacDonald, Cape Town's participation in such practices can be understood as 'world city syndrome'. Another term is urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey 1989). The City of Cape Town has a sustained history of engaging in such practices. Although the 2004 Olympic Bid was unsuccessful - Cape Town was the second runner up, with Athens winning the bid - Cape Town and South Africa have since been more successful. In 2004 South Africa won its bid to host the 2010 World Cup. In 2011 Cape Town won its bid to serve as the 'World Design Capital 2014'. The latter bid in many ways can be seen alongside the 2004 Olympic Bid, as both were framed in ways that recognized and capitalized upon the inequalities that mark Cape Town, spatially and socially, and both proposed to intervene in such inequality through their tenure as host/capital. The question that arises is how the DPP fits within such a calculus.

To answer this question situates the interventions envisioned by the spatial professionals at the City of Cape Town alongside those productive of exclusion as discussed by Marks, Bezzoli, Bremner and Murray. My project is not to evaluate the DPP, nor do I wish to claim that it serves as an indirect tool of exclusion. Rather, I am interested in the overlaps and conjunctions between practices of urban entrepreneurialism, which do often (re)produce spatial inequality, and projects that claim to be addressing urban poverty. Both the DPP and the sort of projects discussed by Martin Murray worked from a concern for visual order. However, while Murray's concern is with those practices which seek to sanitize the city in ways that displace the poor, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the DPP's interventions consciously sought to not displace the poor, but rather provide infrastructure and amenities to the city's most marginalized. However, what is important to note is that in many instances, the DPP's interventions were only possible through engagement with more entrepreneurial programs, such as the Olympic Bid. These two seemingly unrelated intervention programs were in fact drawn together, even if tangentially. When seen in this manner, they paint a picture of Cape Town, in the early days of democracy, of interventions that bring together the ideals of the 'world class city' with those of poverty action, with visual order and the production of spatial amenities as some of the key terrains of spatial action.

### 4.3 Reinscribing Architecture: Legitimation through Participation

One of the key methods through which the professional participants in the DPP sought to ensure that the project remained one of ‘upliftment’ rather than displacement was by engaging with those affected by their design interventions. One of the primary ways in which this was undertaken was by employing participatory design practices. Such practices, in the context of practicing architecture in South Africa, are quite significant, to the architectural profession and its ethical and political position.

The Philippi Public Transit Interchange is a key site for examining the DPP’s embrace of participatory design, and for what is at stake in this mode of architectural practice. Amongst public space interventions in Cape Town, particularly other sites of the Dignified Places Programme, local built environment professionals often characterize the PPTI as one of the most successful. While this characterization is quantitatively measured through its relatively high traffic, demonstrating that people use the site, many credit its success to the participatory design process that the architects employed. In this section, I will examine closely those methods, and the histories of participatory design upon which these were built. My concern, in the section and globally, is not participatory design *per se*, but what the turn to participatory design, as understood through the PPTI, signifies for architectural practice.

The argument that I will make in this section is that the normalizing of participatory design in the South African context has served a dual purpose. In part it connects architects and clients, in ways that speak to authorship and critique the concept that the professional involved in a project holds a rarified, expertise status. As I will discuss, this has commonly been a feature of twentieth century turns to participatory design, globally. In the South African context, there is an additional component, which will be the central concern of this section: that the turn to participatory practices has served as a vehicle for architects to claim *political* legitimacy in a democratic era, in light of the historically collaborative relationship between the architectural profession and the apartheid state. I believe that the turn to participatory practices, which has been challenging to meaningfully implement, reveals the anxieties as well as the aspirations of the post-apartheid. It demonstrates the coupling of hopes for transformation to the limitations of most architectural ‘service’.

A subtext to this dissertation thus far has been the ways in which the majority of the architects that practiced under apartheid were co-opted by the state. Their participation in promoting apartheid may or may not have reflected their political position. As evidenced from archives of personal letters, many of those responsible for ‘building’ apartheid<sup>126</sup> did so less because of political and ethical agreement with apartheid, than with the professional

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<sup>126</sup> This phrase is borrowed from Coetzer (2013).

opportunities afforded by working with the apartheid state. This reflects a dual condition: first, as discussed above, modernism came into fashion in South Africa as roughly the same time as apartheid. Although this chronology is in actuality a complicated set of shifts in mode of practice, the fact remains that there was a synergistic relationship between modernist design practices and the apartheid state, and that architects that chose to work for the state were able to do so in ways that were intellectually and epistemically agreeable. Second, for professionals there were few alternatives: the apartheid state served as one of the primary producers of space. This condition reflected the state's governing modality, in which it served as an 'enlarged' apparatus, centralizing much of the production of infrastructure and the whole of the built environment (Parnell and Mabin 1995). Much of the work of architects during apartheid involved designing those new spaces of apartheid governmentality (Posel 1998).

This historical relationship interests me, in the context of this section, not so much in regards to the government's co-option of architects who otherwise expressed liberal political opinions. Rather, I am intrigued by the modes of architectural practice that developed under apartheid, particularly the relationship between the architect and the user. A key feature of architecture as practiced during apartheid was that it operated from an elevated position; this was an architecture produced 'from above'. This reflects the fact that it was a profession predominantly intended to serve the nation's elite, meaning its ruling white minority. The framing of architecture 'from above' refers also to its design methods: architecture under apartheid was authoritarian in its operation. Designs were produced with minimal input, with the architect serving as the rarified expert. There were certainly instances in which the targets of design were African or coloured or poor - or likely a combination. However, even if the intended recipients of design were the poor or the non-white majority (which often were the same groups), the designs were produced without input from the users. Instead, architecture – and by extent architects – were a tool of power, a device through which to produce the spatiality of separation and control. As part of this system, the architect's expertise was produced without challenge, in character with the authoritarian nature of apartheid rule in South Africa.

In light of this historical condition, this section will focus on the shift, beginning in the 1980s, to participatory design. It will begin with a discussion of the history of participatory design practices in Cape Town. This discussion will look at the shift experienced by participatory design, from being an exceptional practice to one normalized. In order to better understand what such normalization entailed, I will focus on the PPTI as an example of participatory design. Third, I will investigate the language that has come to surround participatory design practices, at least in Cape Town. I will focus on the term 'community' in particular, asking what the term and its use signify. Finally, I will discuss in depth what it means for architects, as a profession, to have embraced participatory design as a move away from 'architecture from above'. In this way, this section will work to frame the methods of architectural practice that have come to be associated with the shift from apartheid to democracy.

I will argue that architectural resistance of apartheid involved critiquing methods of production that were associated with apartheid, as well as the built forms produced under apartheid.

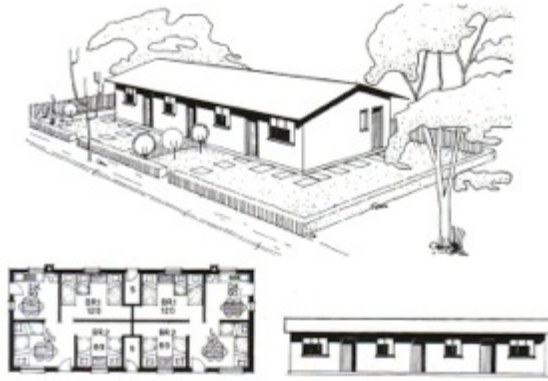


Figure 4.10 The 51/8 house. One of the 51/9, which was eventually ubiquitously built across South Africa, these houses represent the apartheid mode of designing for ‘natives’. From Japha 1998, 434.



Figure 4.11 Witbank Plan, 1950. As one of the state’s first model townships, Witbank provides the urban design context form houses such as the 51/8 and 51/9. From Japha 1998, 436.

### *Histories of Participation: From Exceptionality to Normality*

When in the introduction above I claimed that under apartheid architecture was practiced ‘from above’, one of the practices I was referring to was the long tradition of South African architects designing spaces for the black majority. The history of such practices has served as the foil to the rise of participatory design practices that began in the 1980s. For this reason, it is important to briefly discuss the methods employed by architects designing for the black majority and within that, the relationship between the architects and users.

As I have discussed in previous chapters, South African architects have typically been white, and as such have been ‘other’ to those for whom they design. These conditions of difference are particularly noteworthy to the context in which the first model ‘Native’ townships were designed. There were housing experiments carried out in apartheid’s earliest days, by architects working for the newly established NBRI, which gave architects the space and funding to explore housing solutions for ‘Natives’. The research project and resulting townships that were built served the purposes of both architects and the state: architects were afforded the opportunity they had been seeking since the 1930s to address their concern for housing shortages for black South Africans, particularly in urban areas, while serving the apartheid government’s racialized agenda of separation. What was produced were designs for individual dwelling units and entire townships, notable the 51/9 house (Figure 4.10) and the model township (Figure 4.11) (Japha 1998).

For both scales, the designs were produced based upon knowledge circulated from afar rather than through developing grounded understanding of the needs of future residents. While the concerns expressed in these housing experiments were the welfare of black South Africans, the techno-rational modernist housing experiments conducted in Europe inspired the knowledge the architects deployed. The design of houses such as the 51/9 can be related most closely to experiments such as the Frankfurt kitchen, as both were concerned with the minimum space and amenities necessary to support human life. Similarly, the model township can be understood as a synthesis of *existensminimum* goals and urban design models such as the Garden City. Together, these spatial forms set the blueprint for the apartheid city: rows of tiny, anonymous houses (Figure 3.26), arranged in forms that sought to contain and constrain ‘Native’ populations, isolating them from the otherwise ‘white’ city.

When architects began to resist their place in the apartheid schema, as the producers of apartheid spatiality, they addressed both the form of the apartheid city and the method by which it was produced. The work done for the NBRI typifies the nature of engagement between the majority population and architects during apartheid. While the architects carried out design experiments that ostensibly concerned the poor living standards faced by poor, black South Africans, they did so without consultation with the future residents of the houses and townships. The users were framed as abstract figures - faceless, anonymous. Their lives were treated as scientific problems, rather than individuated experiences. It was exactly this sort of relationship between architect and user that the earliest pioneers of participatory design sought to transform.

The shift to a more politically progressive mode of architectural practice was in some ways not as radical a departure as it may seem. For many of the architects that worked for apartheid state, the ways in which their design practices served the state’s racialized governmentality did not necessarily reflect architects’ personal politics. While some architects may not have recognized how their work for the state perpetuated its reprehensible racial policies,<sup>127</sup> by the late 1970s there was a growing body of architects in Cape Town that sought to find ways to practice architecture in ways more reflective of their political position. Arguably, the design methods they employed provided one of the early means of distinguishing ways of practicing in opposition to apartheid from those that served it. The adoption of participatory design practices did not begin as a widespread program. Rather, a few architects began to shape their professional practices as ones that worked with – in addition to for – local ‘communities’ – a term I will discuss later, which most often referred to constituencies of color – black or mixed race or from India – and typically little means.

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<sup>127</sup> I am particularly referring to Leonard Thornton-White, who had been the first head of the UCT Architecture School. He spoke at length in personal communication about his discomfort with apartheid, yet was one of the architects of the Foreshore, which served as one of the most incisive urban renewal projects in Cape Town.

In Cape Town one of the most prominent and early devotees of participatory design is Carin Smuts. Smuts began her career in the early 1980s, with a first project designed for domestic workers in Cradock, a town in the rural Eastern Cape. It was a project that she was directed towards by Julian Cooke, whom she had studied architecture under at the University of Cape Town, and who I discussed in depth in Chapter Two in regards to his central role in the Hostels Upgrades. Since that first project, Smuts has built a practice that is devoted to working closely with the groups for whom she designs, who are often located in some of the most marginal spaces around Cape Town. It is a practice based upon the ethics of consultation, requiring design solutions to be vetted by their future users. Smuts strongly believes that those users are more legitimate arbiters of good design than architects. Hers is a politics of practice that pits situated knowledge against professionalism, which she often translates as privileging that which is ‘African’ versus ‘Eurocentric’.

Smuts is an important figure in the history of participatory design practices in Cape Town, as she articulates many of the qualities attributed to participatory design by its adherents, and because she practices what is arguably a rarified form of participation. She is a galvanizing figure, unabashed in her criticism of those that she sees not working in a manner she deems adequately attentive to the voices of users. She is particularly concerned with the perpetuation of practices that may address black residents, but inadequately involve those very residents - a concern that can be directed back to the early days of apartheid and the 51/9 and model township. Just as the architects working in the 1940s and 1950s for the NBRI may be accused of producing apartheid spatiality through their prioritization of techno-rationalism, Smuts has expressed - in private interview and through the example provided in her own work - disdain for architects for whom participation is either non-existent or what she deems as superficial.

Despite Smuts’ criticism of her fellow architects, her call for participatory design has resonated in Cape Town. However, what has occurred has been not a linear arc of building a tradition of participation, but rather a coalescence: a host of architects, only loosely associated with each other, have at different moments beginning in the 1980s instituted participatory design into their individual modes of architectural practice. One of the most intensive instances of participatory design I have already discussed at length - the Hostels Upgrades. As I discussed in Chapter Two, the relationship that developed between the architects and hostel dwellers involved with the upgrades exceeded typical professional participation. The two parties ended up as collaborators, rather than as architects and clients. It was a project that could not serve as a replicable model of participation, since it manifested a unique set of conditions and historical events. Smuts, however, also worked with the hostel dwellers, in ways that have provided more of a model that has typified participatory design in Cape Town.

While Julian Cooke and his colleagues at UPRU and Architects Associated worked on ‘upgrading’ the hostels, a host of related social and spatial improvement projects were taking place in the hostels at Langa, Nyanga and Gugulethu. One that Smuts was involved with was the

Central - or meat - Market in Gugulethu. Like the Philippi Public Transit Interchange, there had been informal traders, predominantly women, selling meat from the area of the market since the 1980s. A more permanent market, with needed infrastructure, was designed when the Hostel Dwellers Association was able to raise the funds necessary as part of its larger campaign to improve life in the hostels. Smuts at first devised a complicated arrangement of vendor stalls for the market, but states that the traders 'corrected' her: "When we worked in the hostels, we did a little market and I also came with a little European model and the people just laughed." (Smuts 2012) The space that resulted from her engagement with the traders is a large, corrugated metal roof, covering an L-shaped bar of service spaces - toilets, storage, offices - that protect and anchor a large open space that can be flexibly utilized by traders. As Smuts describes it, it is a building that directly reflects the needs and imagination of the users, with the architect serving as the technical interlocutor.

This mode of engagement between architect and user, in contrast to that seen in the actual upgrading of the hostels, has become closer to the norm in Cape Town since the end of apartheid. While the intensive process seen in upgrading the hostels may have served as an ideal for disturbing apartheid's boundaries, the nature of professional practice made such engagements impractical in most cases. Instead, architects seek to produce designs in partnership with their users, as a way of replacing the historically-established authoritarian practices of consultation. While the du Toit and Perrin, the PPTI architects did not consciously refer to Smuts' model of practice in their work, her work helps us understand the history of the shift to participatory practices in Cape Town.

### *Normalizing Participation: The Design of the Philippi Public Transit Interchange*

The notability of the participatory processes established by Carin Smuts - and to some extent Julian Cooke's firm Architects Associated - comes from its shift from apartheid-era authoritarian modes of architectural practice to ones of 'collaboration'. Whether speaking to Smuts or Cooke or others involved in the Hostels Upgrades, the participants remember these architectural moments as radical re-inventions of architectural procedure. The relationship between architects and users was not that of the removed professional, but rather of peers, working towards a shared goal. While such a process is notable for the ways in which it destabilized hierarchical roles that worked through professionalism, space, race and class, it has not yet developed as the typical way forward for architectural practice in Cape Town after apartheid's end. Yet, participatory design has become normalized and arguably institutionalized. In order to understand how it has become so, the process of designing the Philippi Public Transit Interchange is an illustrative case.

The PPTI serves as such becomes it demonstrates how architects have creatively and critically worked within their traditional roles as professional consultants, in ways which disturb the boundaries of those practices. As I will argue in this section, Du Toit and Perrin's work has not been groundbreaking for architecture. Rather, it illustrates how it was that architects were able to break out of the apartheid, authoritarian mold in ways which left in tact the general nature of professionalism - by which I am referring to their relationship with institutional structures overall. As I will argue, they did so by 'extending' the terrain of architectural practice. Specifically, they did so by working 'dually' - as architects and spatial ethnographers. While the ethnographic methods they employed may not be those taken up by all architects working in a participatory mode, they give an example of one possible terrain for extending architectural action. I believe this extension characterizes *how* architects have brought about a normalization of participatory design.

To illustrate this, it is best to begin with Du Toit and Perrin's introduction to the Philippi site. Ninham Shand, the consulting engineers already working on the Philippi Station area, theoretically paved the way for a participatory process because they had already established relationships with traders on site. However, Du Toit and Perrin did not immediately making use of those connections. Rather, in Perrin's words, they physically and conceptually "slipped' onto site." (Perrin 2012) By this, the architects began to visit the site, coming when they could, at different times of day and the week, and slowly came to understand the site. They began to introduce themselves to the traders operating on site, and taking spatial measure of the station and forecourt area.

There are two aspects of this process that are important. First is the idea of taking measure of the site. Architects, as designers, are typically involved in intervening in a space, rather than understanding. Architectural education does usually teach students to get to know a site and problem before acting, advocating foregrounding design action with in-depth understanding of the context. Du Toit and Perrin were working in this sort of academically idealized manner, in which the first product they produced was a report assembling all the knowledge they developed regarding the Philippi site, in particular, and informal trading more generally. What they were doing was mapping the site - taking note of every trader on site, every informal dwelling located on the site, the movement patterns employed by the many users over the course of each day and week. Over three months, they mapped the entire site spatially and socially, looking at issues ranging from permanence (of traders) to types of goods traded to movement patterns (See Figure 4.13-4.16). They then produced the document "Towards a Spatial Trading Framework for the Philippi Station Transport Interchange (North Terminal)." It organized the bulk of their research and bridged the gap between policy toward informal trading - which was only emerging concurrently - and design intervention, by providing spatially-oriented analysis.

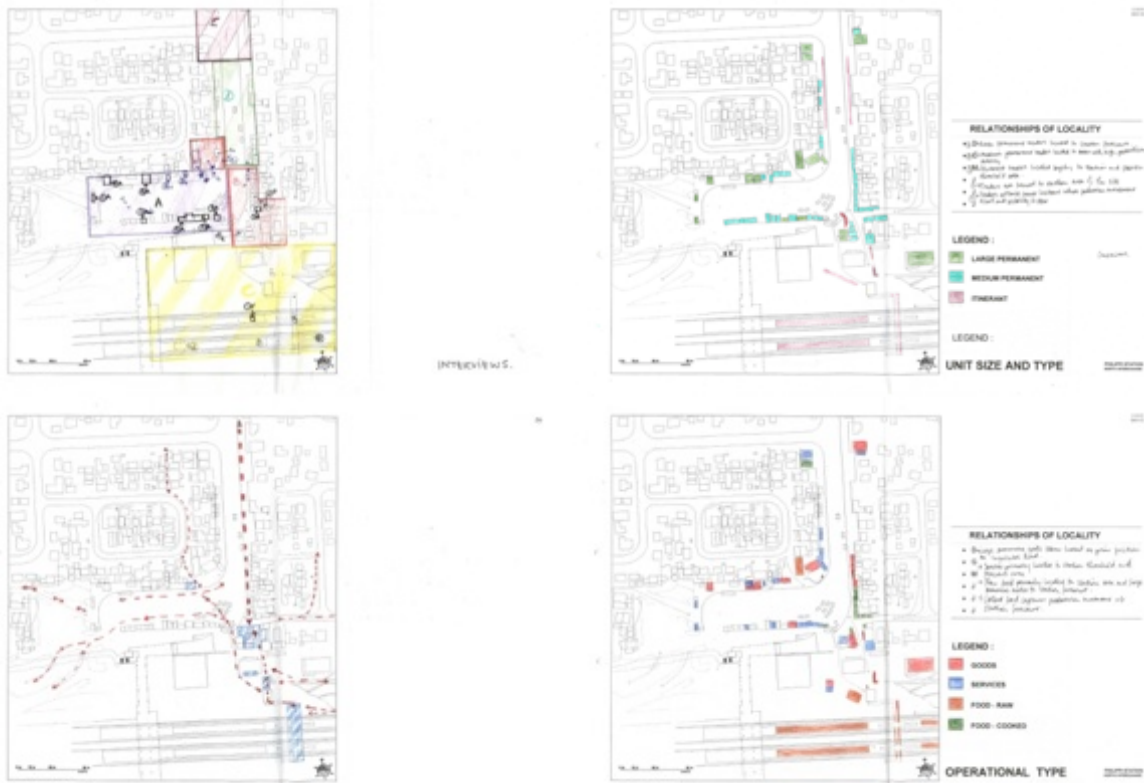


Figure 4.12-4.15 (Clockwise) Mappings recording Du Toit and Perrin’s on-site research. 4.12 records the zones of interviews they conducted; 4.13 the size and permanence of all trading structures on site; 4.14 the types of trading operations being conducted; and 4.15 the movement of people through the site. Courtesy of Du Toit and Perrin, Architects in Association.

The second facet of ‘slipping into the site’ is the informality of the relationship this establishes between architect and users. Such an entry contrasts ones in which the architects are officially introduced to the users of the site, at a formal meeting, which is more typical of participatory practices in Cape Town (Cowen 2003). Their introduction, instead, was gradual as they came to visit the site and “introduced themselves through their presence”, as they describe it. However - and this is important - following the beginning of this period of analysis, Du Toit and Perrin did begin to meet with users of the site in more traditional contexts. They met with representatives of the trading associations and public authorities, and held public meetings with different constituencies. In this second phase of their participatory process Du Toit and Perrin worked in ways more typical of architects, as consulting professionals. This stage is important, historically, for it illustrates what I stated above: that this type of participatory process took hold in Cape Town because - not despite - it did for the most part work within established professional structures. Unlike the path-breaking work undertaken by Smuts and Cooke, Du Toit and Perrin’s brand of participatory practice works within the parameters of traditional

professionalism: working with institutions, engaging users through formal, public meetings, and producing designs. Such practices meant that despite radical political shifts - the ending of apartheid - the meaning and mode of being an architect remained known - for architects as well as the individuals and institutions with whom they worked. This was an important historical fact, as the profession went through a great deal of ‘soul-searching’ in the period surrounding the 1994 ending of apartheid, as it grappled with how to transform itself in response to the new political dispensation. Some architects called for “enquiry into the actions of those individuals and practices who provided the ‘enforcement mechanisms’ through the buildings of the apartheid state.” (Drew 1994) Others drew attention to the desperate spatial needs of South African cities, particularly the housing crisis (De Beer 1994; David Dewar 1993). For architects such as Du Toit and Perrin to have found a middle-ground - a way to address both the city’s needs and the profession’s historic culpability - meant the possibility of moving forward without radically rethinking what architectural professionalism meant.

Thus, in the end, what Du Toit and Perrin produced was a research document, designs for an actual space (the content of which is the subject of this chapter’s final section) and a mode of practice that addressed the profession’s historically authoritarian nature.

### *‘Community’: New Terrains of Design Action*

In speaking to Cape Town architects such as Du Toit, Perrin, Smuts and Goven, one feature repeatedly emerges out of the narratives they have built concerning their practices: the use of the term ‘community’. Over and over again, architects refer to and idealize the users or constituencies with which they work as ‘the community’. It is a term that is used to bestow respect and recognition to users, who often belong to marginalized groups. The use of ‘community’ has become so common to be almost second nature in the South African context. Yet, there are many subtexts running through the use of the term, which tell us much about terrains of difference, privilege and engagement that mark participatory design practices and programs such as the DPP.

At the beginning the critically important collection *Blank: apartheid, architecture and after*, editors Hilton Judin and Ivan Vladislavic compiled a glossary of terms related space and apartheid. The glossary functioned not so much as a traditional dictionary as a form of knowledge, a way of discussing critical concepts and terrains of action. The entry for ‘community’ reads,

Who exactly is the ‘community’ in South Africa? Are there not more complex social arrangements as well as conflicting interest groups that must be accounted for? How are these different groups to make up a community? Why is this ‘community’ always

seen to be black and never white? There was a tradition of constructing ‘community buildings’ in the black areas. These buildings were easy to recognize: they have brightly coloured, curvilinear forms. This style was never pursued in municipal buildings or any other government structures in white areas, where there were, of course, no ‘communities’ to be accommodated. White public buildings were imagined, designed, and built differently, with what must have been other criteria and intentions. (Judin and Vladislavic 1998)

In this entry, Judin and Vladislavic point to a number of critical issues concerning ‘community’. The first is racial: it is striking that community is almost always used to refer to ‘black’ or in some way ‘non-white’ groups. This was true both under apartheid, and after. Notably, while built environment professionals have adopted the term ‘community’ to refer to the users they work with after apartheid, their use of the term arguably perpetuates the implied racial distinctions it produces.

The second intriguing aspect of Judin and Vladislavic’s entry is the architectural language that they associate with designs for ‘communities’. Noeleen Murray echoes this by distinguishing between ‘community’ as used in community museum practices and in ‘community architecture’. For Murray, a community museum such as the District Six Museum or the Llandle Migrant Labour Museum<sup>128</sup> has the potential to reclaim the term community from apartheid parlance. Both the use of the term community and the project of such museums serve as acts of postcolonial appropriation - a type of hybridity (Bhabha 1985). Such a discursive act, however, is for Murray quite distinct from what she identifies as community architecture. Speaking in only thinly-veiled criticism of Carin Smuts, Murray characterizes work such as hers as the practice of an ‘outsider’ bringing in “a series of at best, misguided and at worst patronizing, ideas about African space-making and practices. These are the crudely translated curvilinear forms and bright colors to which Judin and Vladislavic allude.” (N. Murray 2007, 53–54) For Murray, ‘community architecture’ is always at risk of a superficial sort of representation, in which formal languages are applied in order to signify the ‘African’-ness of the users.

In addition to these two lines of critiques, Doreen Massey alerts us to the homogenizing dangers of ‘community’. While the term community has been used by architects and planners in ways that suggest attention to constituencies neglected and discriminated against under apartheid, the term connotes homogenous, essentializing assumptions about who and what ‘communities’ are. As Massey has pointed out, the term ‘community’ is often used in ways which sanitize out the contradictory host of interests and positionalities, and shifting alliances and associations which make up a supposed unified, coherent and bounded ‘community’: “the

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<sup>128</sup> See the discussion of community museums in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

instances of places housing single ‘communities’ in the sense of coherent social groups are probably - and, I would argue, have for long been - quite rare. Moreover, even where they do exist this in no way implies a single sense of place. For people occupy different positions within any community.” (D. B. Massey 1994, 153) To speak of ‘a’ or even ‘the community’ essentializes all of its members into a single form, masking each person’s differentiation the multitude of alliances and concerns embodied in each.



Figure 4.16 Philippi Community Hall Mosaic. The mosaic, completed by neighborhood children and residents, serves an example of one type of ‘community participation’. Photo by author, 2013.



Figure 4.17 Philippi Plaza Trading Frame. The mosaic-decorated concrete frame, intended for attaching trading stalls, remains unused. Photo by author, 2013.

Murray’s connection between a critical unpacking of ‘community’ and participatory design practices is helpful. Her analysis recognizes, albeit implicitly, that for many architects who have adopted participatory design practices, the two concepts – community and participatory design – are discursively coupled as a way of representing oneself as participant in the making of the new democratic nation. ‘Community’ has become the linguistic method of representing oneself in ways that declare a particular politics of architectural practice, with participatory design serving as the accompanying symbolic trope of practice. The two share a reflected desire on the part of architects, who are for the most part a privileged group, to reshape their practices in ways that bestow dignity - in the sense defined by the democratic South African Constitution. Yet, as Murray suggests, both aspects also run the risk of remaining at the level of the superficial. While it can be argued that Du Toit and Perrin’s mapping work produced knowledge in materially important ways, the forms of participation deployed in other projects arguably serve as merely token gestures. For example, down the road from the PPTI was the Philippi Plaza - a related site of the DPP that constructed a forecourt to the recently built Philippi Community Hall and Library. The project’s spatial features consist of a grid of trees planted in order to frame space for social activities, and a post-and-beam frame at the perimeter that was intended for informal traders to inhabit. The architectural character of the space is expressed through colorful mosaic tile work on the steps, benches, and columns of the trading frame (Figure 4.16). The mosaic

work was overseen by local artists and completed by area residents, notably children. Unlike the PPTI, the conceptualization of the project took place without consultation; instead participation took place at the level of production, in ways that sought to engender a particular social spirit. The impact of this is seen in the life history of the project: while the production process was most likely an exciting moment, the completed project is problematic. It has never experienced significant use, and today, fifteen years after completion, the trading frame remains unused (see Figure 4.17).

Together, the cases of the Philippi Plaza and Public Transit Interchange bring to light what has been at stake in the normalization of participatory design. In my reading, the work that participatory design and the use of language such as ‘community’ does is more for the architectural profession than for the spaces and constituencies with which they work. In essence, I believe that the trope of participatory design re-inscribes the legitimacy of the architectural profession. In light of the historical relationship between architecture, structure of power and programs of inequality, participatory design works to discursively reframe the architectural profession. It in essence ‘brands’ architectural institutions and professionals as participants in the new democratic dispensation, rather than as former handmaidens of the apartheid state. This does not discount that some of the participatory practices employed do meaningfully expand or disturb the norms of professional practice. Rather, I argue that the success of participatory design is often beside the point - or that what is critical is how success is measured. The growth and normalization of participatory design speaks more to the role that architects want to play in relation to society as a whole, as opposed to evidence that residents and users more comfortably come to use projects designed and produced collaboratively. Additionally, the ways in which participatory design have been normalized speak to the anxieties that accompany the aspirations of the post-apartheid. As projects such as the Philippi Plaza or other ‘failed’ sites of the DPP illustrate, participation may be limited in its utility if its intended users do not embrace the very existence of a project. This is the risk that accompanies the shift from grassroots to state-led interventions.

#### **4.4 Humanism, Scarcity and Aspiration: The Formal Language of the Philippi Public Transit Interchange**

When it came time to design the interchange at the Philippi Station, Du Toit and Perrin worked closely with the analysis they had completed in the initial phase of the project. The design they produced was very much a formalization of the features already in place at the site. Where informal traders had been operating out of makeshift structures and adapted shipping containers, simple shed-like buildings were constructed, in almost the exact locations that traders had occupied. Two structures provided infrastructure for meat sellers, with space for cleaning,



Figure 4.18 Meat sellers' building and cooking area in front. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 4.19 Typical vendor stalls. The tall fascia profile accommodates a loft space. Photo by author, 2013.

cooking and selling (Figure 4.18). Another two structures provided bays for vendors - of any number of types - to rent. The bays were designed so vendors could rent only one, or a series, depending on the scale and success of their operation. Loft spaces accommodated in the sloping shed roof section could be used for storage or even illicit sleeping accommodation (Figure 4.19). One of the buildings included ablution facilities, which were desperately needed and under-provided at the station. Another building provided a ticket booth for long-range buses, which take many of the area's residents to their rural homes in the Eastern Cape (Figure 4.20). And lastly the site included a shelter for a taxi rank and a plaza with benches and trees. Benches were also located in rows in front of the trading stalls, to multitask as both seating and places to display wares (Figure 4.21). Plans of the completed space show marked similarity to sketches of the space prior to upgrading.



Figure 4.20 This building houses ticket booths for long distance buses, to rural 'homelands'. Photo by author, 2012.



Figure 4.21 The large plaza area contains multiple low walls, which can be used as benches. Photo by author, 2012.

The architectural language of this configuration of amenities was one of rugged simplicity. Buildings were designed to take a great deal of abuse - which they have. The design features were limited to the application of brightly colored paint, a few rugged tectonic components such as structural downspouts and *brise-soleil* blocks, spaces for trader's handmade signs, and simple but well-proportioned building profiles. This final section of this chapter is concerned with this language - its origins and the imprint it makes upon architecture in Cape Town in the years following.

As part of this discussion, I will address the specificity of the design of the PPTI and what it stands for, in the Dignified Places Programme and in architectural practices across Cape Town in the years surrounding apartheid's end. Within architectural circles, one of the most discussed - and contested - aspects of the Dignified Place Programme was the formal language it used. Most discussions have concerned one of two subjects: either whether the language deployed was overly 'eurocentric', or how the project represents a concern for functionality - transit and trade - that is prioritized over formal innovation. The discussion in this section addresses how those two concerns come together, in ways that have been relevant across the city. The key argument that will be made in this section is that the architectural language that has developed has been one that negotiates potentially contradictory concerns regarding modernism, maintenance, and cultural heritage by turning to the human body as a key design informant. In making this argument I will use the lens of 'affect' to build upon arguments made by other historian/critics of South African architecture, such as Noeleen Murray and Nicholas Coetzer. I will tie the turn to the human body to historical movements in South African architecture, and explore how such a turn articulates race, gender and class. It is an argument that is in part historical: while modernism in South Africa became normative under humanist guises, the contemporary post-apartheid period is distinct for its acknowledgement of difference as a fundamental fact of post-apartheid society. As I will argue, in the post and late apartheid periods, the turn to the body is both strategic - as a response to scarcity - and political. As a political act, designing for the human body has been a means of recognizing the multitude of races, subjectivities and ways of being<sup>129</sup> in the South African city.

In order to make this argument, I will look at both historical and contextual issues. First, I will examine histories of humanism in modernism in the South African, and particularly Cape Town context. Second, I will look at the material conditions faced by architects and projects such as the PPTI, using the lens of scarcity to articulate the economies of designing for contexts such as Philippi. These two sets of conditions - histories of humanism and scarcity will be shown to come together in Philippi Public Transit Interchange. The section - and chapter - will conclude with a discussion of how the PPTI has come to stand in for certain types of architectural projects and languages that have become central to the 'post-apartheid' city. I will argue that this

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<sup>129</sup> AbdouMaliq Simone points to the multitude of ways people interact in and inhabit South African cities (1998; 2004b) (2004a).

language and approach to designing was taken up across Cape Town. The insertion - and assertion - of this language in Cape Town arguably developed an architectural lexicon, which distinguished those spaces designed for the growing elite class from those for the poor and middle class. What resulted was an architectural language of aspiration. As will be discussed, such aspirations are critically marked by including an address of reality. The PPTI will be shown to be representative an architectural language that spoke to the spatial and social context of what Murray has called 'township/freedom modernism', in ways that address both the hopes and the struggles faced by freedom.

### *Humanist Histories: Perpetuating Modernism 'After' Apartheid*

In order to understand the lineage from which the design of the PPTI emerges, it is necessary to look back, to the histories of humanist modernism in Cape Town. It is a story that stretches beyond Cape Town - further north in South Africa and all the way to Scandinavia. In this section I will tell the story in abbreviated form, focusing on the aspects most relevant to the later architectural developments seen in Philippi.

To assign a single moment as the origin of architectural modernism in South Africa is to take a rather limited conceptualization of modernism. As Chipkin illustrates, Johannesburg's architectural history is one of continuous engagements with modernity, particularly in the forms industrial capitalism has taken: "Johannesburg was the progeny of the nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution, no less than Manchester in the first quarter of the century or Chicago in the last." (1993, 5) His unpacking of the entanglements between Johannesburg's built form and social relations reveals a history of modernism that has global parallels, in which nineteenth century innovations in capital accumulation were often accompanied by innovative land development strategies but conservative architectural languages. He and other scholars indicate that it was only in the 1920s that architectural languages began to shift into what we now identify as modernism (Herwitz 1998). Gus Gerneke locates modernism's origins in 1921, when G.E. Pearse was appointed the first Chair of Architecture at the University of Witwatersrand. Herwitz argues that South Africa's condition as a peripheral colony inherently shaped the way in which modernism developed, declaring that "the achievement of modernism at the margins always takes place in the shadow of ongoing dependency on the colonial centre or its neo-colonial successor" (Herwitz 1998, 406). This is not to state that such modernism is derivative of that produced at the 'center' but rather always works through the manufactured asymmetry constructed between metropole and colony. In the case of South Africa, as Gerneke argues, Pearse's arrival from England is momentous, as he was heavily responsible for introducing to the South African architectural community the work of early architectural modernists - and for situating their work in ways that it would be locally circulated by a cohort of enthusiastic students. (1998, 208) These students reproduced and spread modernism throughout the Transvaal and further afield, through

commissions from willing clients and the revision and publication of architectural journals. This was a modernism rendered visible through a selection of houses dotting suburban neighborhoods, and defended in the architectural press. This generation of students and architects embraced the language of the 'Purists' (Herbert 1975) or International Style, as exemplified in Le Corbusier's work and as packaged by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson (1997). The arguably most iconic work of this period, the House Stern by Martienssen-Fassler-Cooke (1934-1935), bears marked similarity to Le Corbusier's villas, with its flat roof, horizontal windows, piloti and smooth white stucco skin, and dynamic spatial flow (Figure 4.22) (Herbert 1975, 122-130).



Figure 4.22 House Stern. The house illustrates the affinities with 'International Style' architecture, with its taught white skin, plastic forms, flat roof and horizontal windows and openings. From Herwitz 1998, 404.

However, after an initial surge, the South African architectural avant-garde came under pressure. After a decade of 'new architecture', the movement's most vocal local proponents began to critique '1930s modernism'. The attack was home grown, mounted by some of the leading modernist architectural figures in South Africa. Julian Cooke identifies the turn away as beginning with a 1942 letter by Roy Kantorowich, published in the South African Architectural Record, which attacked the urban ideas of both Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright. Such ideological critiques were substantiated by the technical failures of the 1930s International Style buildings produced in Johannesburg and Pretoria. Flat roofs and surface mounted windows leaked, plastered walls cracked, and solariums and un-shaded ribbon windows 'baked' in the intense sun. South African modernism's own progenitors came to see the International Style impractical and foreign to the South African landscape and building culture. (Cooke 1998, 232)

The significance of this rejection is the subsequent shift in modernist language. What replaced an International Style-dominated approach was a softer, localized, *humanized* modernism. There are two important aspects to this 'Second-Wave' mode: its relationship with

context - which was expressed in multiple ways - and its relationship with its user. In both their written critiques and in the work they produced, South African architects privileged indigenous technological skills, locally tested and durable materials, and weatherproof capacity (Cooke 1998, 232–235) (Peters 1998). This was an approach to architecture concerned with the ‘local’ in regards to both what was possible to produce and as a generator of formal expression. The latter aspect meant both being responsive to the local climate and engendering a relationship with the landscape. Both can be seen in the ‘farmhouse’ Hellmut Stauch designed for himself outside Pretoria (Figure 4.23). The broad overhangs protected the building from both the harsh sun and intense rainstorms experienced in the area. The house was connected to the site visually through the use of local stone on the interior and exterior, and experientially through sliding doors that blurred the boundary between interior and out.



Figure 4.23 Farmhouse Stauch, by Hellmut Stauch, 1943. The ‘farmhouse’ reveals deep eaves and rustic stonework that visually and experientially tie the house to the locale. From Peters 1998.

As the last point above indicates, this shift away from the International Style was also an expression of concern for the human body. As the protagonists of this movement - Kantorowich, Norman Hanson, John Fassler - turned away from Le Corbusier, they began to promote Scandinavian architecture, particularly celebrating its ‘human’ and ‘approachable’ qualities (Cooke 1998, 240–241). Again the Farmhouse Stauch illustrates the ideals being promoted, with its overhanging eaves providing a sense of shelter that took precedence over the pure geometric formal expression seen in House Stern (Figure 4.22). Drawing such protection down to the human scale, as accomplished by the mono-pitch roof that became so ubiquitous in South African modernism (Cooke 1998, 242), provided psychological shelter as well as protection from sun and rain. Stauch expressed these concerns on the interior of his houses as well, varying ceiling height according to function, with low ceilinged, intimate dining rooms, even lower ceilinged hearth areas, and raised ceilings at the covered exterior (Peters 1998, 178).

As Cooke notes, the shift of allegiance, from ‘the Purists’ to Scandinavian architects held implicit political values, particularly in the celebration of ‘durability’:

The focus [on durability] implied the rejection of modernist aims of mobility, transience, immateriality, antimumentality, and all that they meant in social terms. The pursuit of durability was not value free (as suggested in the notion of ‘starting from first principles’). It shows up a subscription to a whole range of intentions: permanence, monumentality, tradition, convention, classicism, which describes a new, unprogressive worldview far removed from most versions of modernism. (Cooke 1998, 244)

It is an argument that bears out in light of the fact that this second wave modernism in Johannesburg and Pretoria became the language of the apartheid state, after the late 1940s. Yet, for Scandinavian architects such as Alvar Aalto, the turn towards humanism was very much a post-war project, of restoring “dignity to a world scarred by extraordinary inhumanity.” (Reed 1998, 95) The South African turn to a modernism with humanist concerns, just before apartheid’s dawning, brings to light a tension that I will show, below, continues on through the present moment. It is a tension that concerns the relationship between architectural concern for the human *body* version human *subjectivity*.



Figure 4.24 Uytenbogaardt House, Kommetjie, 1992. The upper part of the house is glazed to open to views of the ocean beyond. From Vio 2006.

To understand how these developments in Johannesburg and Pretoria were imprinted upon Cape Town’s history of modernism, it is most useful to look at the architectural work of Roelof Uytenbogaardt (much of which was done in partnership with Norbert Rozendal).<sup>130</sup> I have already discussed at length Uytenbogaardt’s urban criticism and its important influence on his colleagues and students. As part of this discussion I have pointed out how his urbanist writings,

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<sup>130</sup> There is a long history of modernism in Cape Town, which precedes Uytenbogaardt’s professional arrival in the city in the early 1960s. Andre Van Graan’s thesis offers perhaps the most complete picture of early modernism in Cape Town (2011).

done in collaboration with David Dewar, claim a humanist position (Dewar and Uytendogaardt 1991). Significantly, this position was also expressed in his architectural work, and like his urbanism, Uytendogaardt's architecture was also hugely influential in Cape Town.

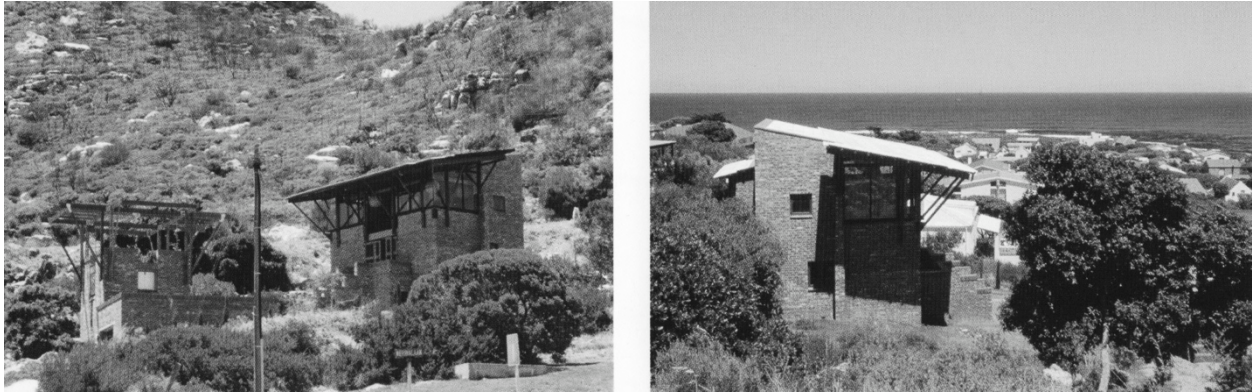


Figure 4.25 Uytendogaardt House, Kommetjie, Exterior. The heavy base roots the house to its site, while the roof parallels the sloping ground plane. From Vio 2006.

Like the work done around Pretoria, the ‘humanism’ of Uytendogaardt’s modernism was expressed in part through a belief in “the inseparability of place and architecture.” (Vio 2006, 22) This belief he translates into a mutual celebration of site and the user, using the architecture to engender a rich, personal experience of place. As described by critics, Uytendogaardt’s most iconic works of architecture are characterized by design responses to the “extraordinary scenic quality of most Cape Town sites” (Marschall and Kearney 2000, 118–119). His work emphasizes ‘place making’ as a strategy and responsibility of the built environment professional (Southworth 2010). Uytendogaardt “fused the romantic traditionalism of Italy” where he studied, with that of the nearby Cape winelands (N. Murray 2007, 55). I read the importance in this romanticism for place lies with how he works with Table Mountain, as both a backdrop to and inspiration for many of his designs. Two of his projects are perhaps the most illustrative of this: his own house in Kommetjie and the Hout Bay Library, both in two of Cape Town’s ruggedly beautiful seaside suburbs. The Kommetjie house was conceived as a Palladian object fused with its site. The upper portion of the house almost completely opens to the surrounding landscape - connecting the iconic fynbos of the slopes of Table Mountain on which it sits to the “horizon of the sea” beyond (Figure 4.24) (Rozendal 1993, 16). The brick base of the house, which contains the bedrooms, roots it to the site while the distinctive mono-pitch roofline serves as a dislocation of the ground plane as well as sheltering device (Figure 4.25). At the Hout Bay Library, the building’s profile is understood as a representation of the surrounding topographic skyline (Figure 4.26). What these two works illustrate is a humanist modernism that, like the second-wave modernism exemplified by Stauch’s work around Pretoria, firstly engenders a human relationship with the site, and second strives to create diverse human experiences.



Figure 4.26 Hout Bay Library, 1986. The sloping sections of the roof and chimney are often read as representations of the surrounding mountain-landscape. From Vio 2006, 33.

I believe that these attributes of Uytendogaardt's architectural work are central to his work being critically acclaimed (Vio 2006, 9). His architecture mediated, in a celebratory manner, the human presence in Cape Town's dramatic topographic landscape. As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the modernism of apartheid urban planning has come to be widely recognized, by architects, as debilitating for the city and its inhabitants. Much of modernist architecture that accompanied such plans has similarly come to be (locally) rejected by architects: this ranges from the ubiquitous 51/9 houses (Figure 4.10) to the administrative towers built in the Foreshore. It is the typology and modality of Uytendogaardt's architecture that enabled it to transcend both the anti-modernist critique and being associated with the modernism of apartheid. He designed in the middle-zone of architectural type and scale: modestly scaled private houses and small institutions - such as the Hout Bay Library and UCT Sports Center (Figure 4.27). The reason this body of work and approach to architecture, and the entire above history of modernism is part of the story of the Philippi Public Transit Interchange is that it points to a particular route through which modernism in South Africa, particularly in Cape Town, has escaped the tinge of apartheid, and become the 'go-to' architectural language of a program such as the Dignified Places Programme. Modernism has lived on, during and 'after' apartheid through these architects' sensitivity to site and the human body. The latter has been through either producing an architecture responsive to human scale or that has sought to heighten human experience. Uytendogaardt's iteration of humanist modernism managed to selectively reject the aspects of apartheid modernism that had come to scar the architectural community's collective conscience. Instead, his work suggested a way forward for bringing together architecture and the city - particularly the city of Cape Town. It is these attributes that I believe were picked up and moved even further forward by architects such as Du Toit and Perrin in the Philippi Public Transit Interchange.



Figure 4.27 UCT Sport Centre, 1977. The design epitomizes the brand of modernism Uytendogaardt produced in Cape Town, that was humanistically responsive to the site and human body, while maintaining ‘honest’ and expressive uses of materials and technology. From Vio 2006.

### *Recovering the Subjectivity of Humanist Modernism: The Architectural Mediation of Scarcity*

While legacy of Uytendogaardt can clearly be read in the design of the Philippi Public Transit Interchange, there exists a key distinction between the architecture of the PPTI and that of Uytendogaardt and the Second-Wave architects in Pretoria and Johannesburg. This is the inclusion - as opposed to silencing - of subjectivity in the package of what is considered to be humanistic. What enabled Stauch and Uytendogaardt to address the human body was a universalist, normative consideration for the human experience that did not address the subjectivity of the individual, particularly the racialized histories experienced by the building user (Bremner 2010). This can perhaps best be understood in contrast, by examining how the user - as a body to be sheltered as well as a historical figure - is addressed in the architecture of the PPTI. This section will focus on unpacking the design of the PPTI, using two, interconnected attributes: the ruggedness of the design as an architectural technology of scarcity, and the expression of subjectivity as an iteration of humanist modernism.

Scarcity is a lens that reveals much about the architecture of the PPTI. Goodbun, Till and Iossifova frame scarcity as ‘heuristic device’, “a means of grasping and collecting together a range of responses to the complex contradictions of our socio-ecological condition today, and the possible implications of these responses for architectural and urban design.” (2012, 8) As they point out, scarcity is never neutral, but rather describes a fabricated and naturalized shortage. For the PPTI, and for the Dignified Places Programme in general, one of the key operational terms is the lack of financial resources available for realizing ‘spatial transformation’. Such a lack is a perpetuation of the long histories of neglect which, as discussed earlier in the chapter, served as a

tool of apartheid governing. Scarcity points towards the ways in which the DPP's 'modest' - or rather inadequate - budget allocations reflected the imposed de-prioritization of spatial projects as a particular iteration of post-apartheid provision of social services. In the case of Philippi, the 'complex contradictions' of the 'socio-ecological condition' include the challenges to marshaling the resources and strategies needed to realize transformation in the area.

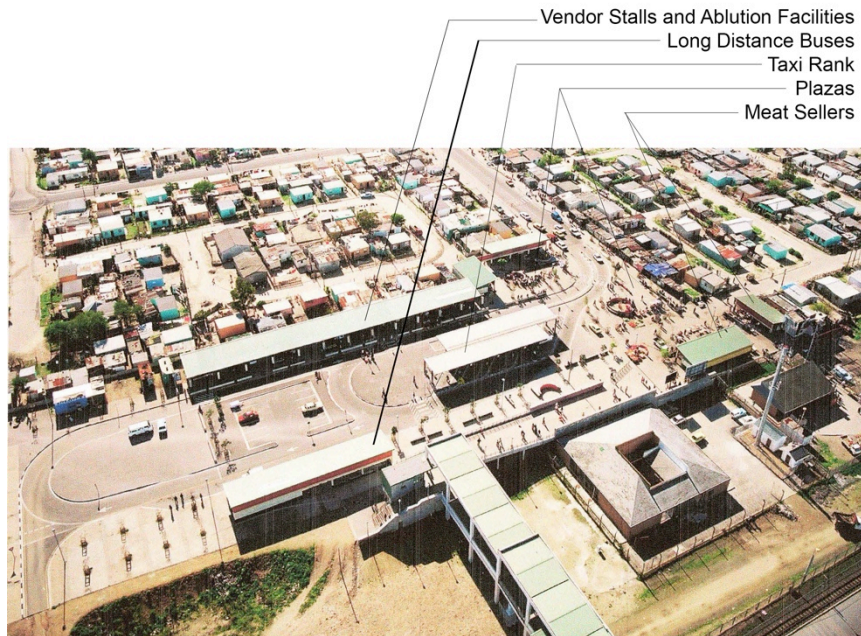


Figure 4.28 Completed Philippi Public Transit Interchange, 2000. Courtesy of Du Toit and Perrin, Architects in Association.

The process and product of designing the PPTI directly reflected these conditions of scarcity, in regards to the lack of financial resources and how their fabrication functioned as a tool for managing the space and its development. In regards to the latter point, of scarcity as a tool of management, it is instructional to look at the process of producing the interchange, particularly the relationship between the architects, engineers and institutional agencies. As is evidenced through the contracts - numerous because they include many revisions and additions of services - and written communications between Du Toit & Perrin, Ninham Shand (the engineers initially contracted to design the Station upgrade, and to whom Du Toit & Perrin were officially subcontracted) and the City of Cape Town, both the design and designers were considered subservient to larger questions of managing development. The initial contract was incredibly modest in regards to design scope, timeline and budget. The history of the contracts illustrates a process and project that incrementally grew in scope, but in a way that was very closely managed by those in position of authority. Such a condition is not unusual in architectural practice.

What makes this project significant is the intersection between Du Toit and Perrin's participatory process and the scarcity that underscored the project's management. As the architects spent more time 'on site' they developed design ambitions for the space that grew in scope. The original scope of the project had been for Ninham Shand to explore the possibility for the construction of a bus and taxi rank at the station. This then expanded to Du Toit offering design *studies* - as opposed to actual designs - for integrating different pedestrian and vehicle transport systems, developing landscaping and basic facilities for the station area - toilets and ticket sales. The final product, seen in Figure 4.28 included actual designs for a plaza, taxi rank, and a set of buildings, the latter which supported and (somewhat) formalized trade. The expansion of scope to a large extent reflects the 'learning' that Du Toit and Perrin did while on site. As told to me in interviews, they together with the DPP staff - notably Barbara Southworth - were the initiators of the expansion of scope (Perrin 2012; Southworth 2013). This was a case of architectural activism, in the sense of professionals critically examining the briefs they are given by a client and agitating for a revision of the conceptualization of the project. It is debatable how much this conceptualization included input and requests from the traders and users of the site, but it seems without doubt to have come from the arena of design rather than administration. This directionality of the expansion of the project, into the form it finally took, was clearly (from the communications documented) managed to an incredibly tight degree. As with most any project, approval for these expansions had to go through official circuits of approval, with a new contract issued for every expansion of the project's participants (when Perrin joined Du Toit), timeline, and extent of deliverables. The language used in the communication indicates a condition of scarcity, in which the possibility for expanding the project is approved, but only within incredibly constrained timelines and fee increases. Not only were funds clearly scarce, as will be discussed below; what is most evident from these documents was that time was scarce: Du Toit and Perrin were required to complete their studies and later designs within an incredibly short time period, with the substantial expansion of scope resulting in only a modest expansion of time. This time compression can be understood as itself a product of scarcity: the Philippi Interchange was one of the pilot sites of the Dignified Places Programme, which as a vulnerable initiative required immediate and visible results to maintain its initial assemblage of funding.

Such managerial expressions of scarcity in turn helped give shape to the design produced. Goodbun, Till and Iossifova discuss scarcity in ways that suggest a metaphor for inequality, pointing towards the fabrication of inadequate resources at a time of abundance (2012, 14). The DPP's budgetary mechanisms illustrate the way in which urban initiatives are part of the ubiquitous condition in democratic South Africa in which social services are heavily under-privileged and under-allocated. While the pressures put upon local municipalities in the post-apartheid era are well documented<sup>131</sup>, the significant here is the role of architecture in such

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<sup>131</sup> See in particular Gillian Hart's grounded analysis of local government (2013).

economies of scarcity. As I will demonstrate, the architecture was both a reflection of scarcity and in turn worked to reproduce the sense of scarcity. This understanding of architecture's role builds on Jonathan Massey's concept of 'mediation' as a framework for architecture's role in society. 'Mediation' reflects the dualistic, dialectic role of both expressing and influencing societal forces. In discussing the 'Gherkin' - the well known London high-rise by Foster + Partners - and its relationship to risk, Massey states that "by seeming to show that design could manage risks posed by climate change, terrorism, and financial globalization, the Gherkin leveraged perceptions of risk to generate profits, promote economic growth, and raise the currency of design expertise. In the process, it changed the social construction and impact of those risks." (2013) I will be arguing that the design of the PPTI had similar type of affects in regards to scarcity.



Figure 4.29 Trading Bay Building. Painted concrete block was the dominant material used at the level inhabited by the body. Photo by author, 2012.

Due to the constrained budgets available for constructing the PPTI, the project's design was forced to work within limited means. This is made visible, architecturally, in the quotidian palette of materials used: brick, concrete block, concrete, corrugated metal sheeting, steel tubing, and wood beams. The simple forms the buildings of the Interchange additionally reinforced the sense of limited means. The choice of materials and simplicity of structures reflects the budgetary limitations in regards to both construction and maintenance: the space hosts thousands

of people every day, and yet the maintenance budgets were quite minimal.<sup>132</sup> Therefore the materials chosen and their assemblage needed to be able to withstand a great deal of abuse. The design both manifested these requirements and communicated a language of ruggedness. At the level of the body, the most prevalent material was concrete, either as blocks or cast columns (Figure 4.29). While the literal ‘hardness’ of the materials was mediated by other architectural measures, as I will discuss below, the ruggedness of the architecture develops a language of scarcity - of the imposed lack of resources available to Philippi. Just as Massey argues that the Gherkin ‘leveraged perceptions of risk’, the rugged materials and assembly techniques of the PPTI function as reinforcing symbol, that visually represents Philippi as a site of scarcity amidst Cape Town’s post-apartheid landscape. As will be discussed in the following section, such scarcity is particularly legible in contrast to other spaces and architectural languages developed at the same time in other parts of Cape Town.



Figure 4.30 Signage. Vendors have claimed the space left for them by the architects to brightly paint identifying graphics for their businesses. Photos by author, 2012-2013.

However, a significant aspect of this architectural language that Du Toit and Perrin developed was the ‘wash’ of more fine-grained detail and tectonics, layered over the more rugged elements. This can be seen in paint, which was arguably the most expressive and decorative material used in the project. It is a material deployed both by the architects and the inhabitants. The architects had the buildings painted in strong colors: a dark red is the primary color used on the face of the buildings, with secondary elements painted blue and a sort of creamy yellow color. These colors work at the urban scale, giving the buildings a sense of scale and identity, in what is otherwise a relatively undifferentiated, low yet dense landscape (See

<sup>132</sup> As minimal as the maintenance is - which on my last visit I saw much paint peeling, the meat sellers area was severely blackened and the area generally needing painting - this site is considered one of the best maintained of the Dignified Places Programme because the railway company takes responsibility for its maintenance and has staff regularly on site.

Figure 4.28). At a more detailed level, the vendors themselves apply ‘paint’, on signs that they make for their store and mount on fascia walls designed exactly for that purpose (Figure 4.30). The signs bring texture to the architecture, working visually to provide scale to buildings that otherwise are relatively plastic. The signs also extend Du Toit and Perrin’s orchestration of the participatory process, as spaces in which users are encouraged to contribute to the architecture. Further fine-grained details also are to be found in some of the material choices and assembly techniques, particularly those at the level of the roof. For example, bricks with holes drilled out are used throughout the project above concrete beams (Figure 4.31). These provided technically necessary ventilation but also a sense of scale and detail to the buildings. The same blocks are also used throughout the upper wall portions of the meat seller sheds, providing even more ventilation as well as visual decoration to unpainted concrete block walls (Figure 4.31).



Figure 4.31 Ventilation Blocks. The blocks installed at the upper portion of the walls of the meat selling buildings are perforated with holes to allow light and ventilation. Photo by author, 2012.

A second detail is the layered assemblage of horizontal and vertical structural members. At times these members sandwich each other, in what has come to be called the ‘Cape column’ after Uytendogaardt’s typical column detail (Figure 4.32). While Uytendogaardt uses the technique as a language of efficiency, Du Toit and Perrin use it to protect the structural columns supporting the roof of the taxi rank - which again expresses the physical violence that the buildings of the site were expected to experience.

These details need to also be understood alongside the forms of the buildings. The buildings are in essence simple sheds. Each takes the form of an extruded section, of a mono-pitch roof that covers a large, usually interior bay and a smaller circulation zone. For the buildings that contain vendor stalls and ablution facilities, the larger bay is the private shop; at the two meat sellers buildings the entire space is open, with the vertical structural elements working to layer

the space. Together, through these buildings forms, the details discussed above and the array of benches across the site, the architecture of the PPTI brings together scarcity and the lineage of humanist modernism with attention to the human as both a body and historical subject. To explain this, I am going to focus on two architectural features: the loft space above the vendors and the benches used throughout the site.



Figure 4.32 The ‘Cape Column’. Uytendogaardt’s trademark detail, in which two vertical members sandwich a horizontal or diagonal one, find echo in the columns of the PPTI taxi rank. Left Photo from Vio 2006; Right Photo by author, 2012.

The building forms, with their mono-pitch roofs and simple shed-like forms clearly share affinities with works such as Uytendogaardt’s Kommetjie house. These forms go back further: as Cooke argues, the mono-pitch first appeared in South Africa in the second-wave modernism in Pretoria and Johannesburg (1998), and has since come to be identified in Cape Town as a local formal type<sup>133</sup>. At the PPTI, the mono-pitch of the roof does a number of things. In firstly provides shelter and scale, in an economic manner (Figure 4.33). It is in this sense both a humanistic device and one that mediates scarcity. It additionally creates a loft space within each vendor stall. The vendors then have the freedom to use this space as they like - perhaps for storage or even as a sleeping loft. Like the quotidian, durable materials used throughout the project, this spatial arrangement similar reflects an acceptance of scarcity: a lacking of basic amenities such as housing. In this way, the roof, along with the overall profile of vendor spaces works to support and normalize the life of informal vendors. This is an important turn, in a history of the apartheid state’s intolerance of informal dwelling and trading. As mentioned

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<sup>133</sup> This observation is made by Nicholas Coetzer, architecture professor at the University of Cape Town, in numerous conversations.

earlier, Du Toit and Perrin’s work, in both analytical and intervention capacities, fit into a project of developing a state policy towards informal trading. In 1989 already the Cape Town City Council asked UPRU to make proposals for the ‘management and administration of the informal sector’. The working paper UPRU produced, which was based on work that they had self-initiated even earlier, illustrated the essential role played by the ‘informal sector’ particularly in providing income possibilities for black South Africans otherwise excluded from the formal economy (D. Dewar and University 1990). The PPTI can be seen as an architectural instrument of supporting such informal activities, with the mono-pitch roof and resultant loft space as devices that work from an understanding of the needs of informal traders.

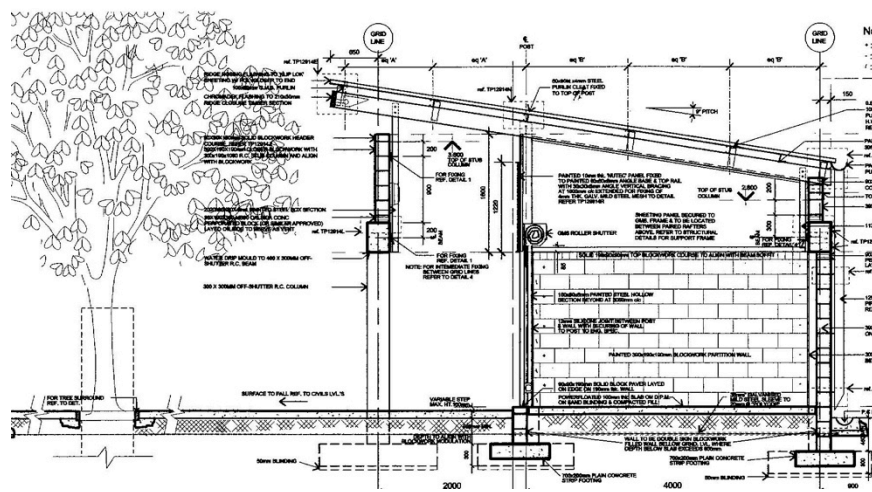


Figure 4.33 Vendor Stall Section Construction Drawing. The roof pitch of the vendor stall buildings draw water away from pedestrians and provide space for a potential loft that vendors can construct on the inside of their shops. Working drawings courtesy Du Toit and Perrin, Architects in Association.

The benches used throughout the site function in a similar manner. Conceived of as multi-use structures, the benches were designed - and are used - for seating as well as displaying wares (Figure 4.34). In the latter function the benches serve as either extensions of adjacent trader bays or as alternative trading spaces. Their daily appropriation by traders adds an additional option of types - and formality - of spatial trading infrastructure. Like the trader signs, Du Toit and Perrin envisioned in advance these acts of articulation by the users of the space. Rather than attempting to control the space, the architectural project was one of creating opportunities for users to “respond to space” and ‘claim ownership’ of the Transit Interchange (*Digest of South African Architecture* 2002, 32). I believe that this was in part, as mentioned above, an extension of the participatory design process, in which rather than asking users to ‘design’ the space before its formal construction, as is typically done, the architects created opportunities for the users to continually remake the space. Such an attitude towards participatory design is similar to what Grant Kester calls a ‘dialogical aesthetic’, or a “opening out to [the architects’] collaborators (2011, 28). It also, in the particular context of Philippi, is ‘mediation’ of the historic marginalization of informal trading, in ways which I believe work to recover the subjectivity of the users. In this work, humanist strategies go beyond attending to the body of the subject; they

address the of users' economic conditions and possible livelihoods. The needs of the user are considered in light of particular, localized histories, which as discussed in the beginning of the chapter have racialized trajectories. As such, the lineage of humanist modernism is built upon and expanded in ways that differ significantly from Dewar and Uytenbogaardt's attempt to universalize what it means to be humanistic.



Figure 4.34 'Low walls'. There are a variety of low walls that function as benches, spatial separations and vending spaces, located across the site. Photos by author, 2012.

### *Making Aspiration (Architecturally) Visible: An Architecture of the Ending of Apartheid*

Just as Philippi is the focus of this chapter for the ways in which it stands in for a host of places across Cape Town, the design of the PPTI similarly encompasses a set of architectural urges seen across the city. It is for this reason that Philippi and the PPTI are important subjects of study, relevant to understanding architecture's role in Cape Town's transition from apartheid overall. What I will discuss in this final section is how the articulation of scarcity and humanism come together in ways that are legible in not only the PPTI, but also in works of architecture across Cape Town. In essence, this is an argument that claims that the framework of making 'aspiration' visible provides a method for examining a good deal of the architecture produced in Cape Town during this period of transition. As I will discuss, this attribute is not so much a categorization as a lens, which can be applied to a variety of works of architecture. It is an architectural language that speaks to the aspirations of the post-apartheid era, and works to make those aspirations visible. Thus, in this section I will use some of the key design elements of the PPTI to discuss what it means to architecturally speak to - and express - the ambitions, anxieties and limitations that are included within the aspirations that have accompanied apartheid's ending.

First, however, it is necessary to discuss terminology. I am using the language of aspiration because I believe it speaks to multitude of experiences of the ending of apartheid. With the

demise of apartheid and institution of democracy bringing so little material change for so many South Africans, particularly black South Africans, 'aspiration' provides language that speaks to the goals and promises that have yet to be attained. I pose 'aspiration' as an alternative framing to democracy: democracy suggests a mode of governing more than experience, and implies a condition radically opposed to apartheid and therefore as something realized. While many of the spaces and institutions discussed in this chapter - DPP, Urban Design Branch, PPTI - would have never been possible under apartheid, paying attention to architecture in regards to democracy would be quite different to aspiration. Aspiration is a term that is broad enough to include both architects and the users of space, in ways that draws the groups together. It is a term that responds to the very slow progress being made towards achieving economic equality, and the related struggles to achieve equal access to resources - which includes education, transportation, and services such as electricity and water. The idea of making aspiration architecturally visible concerns attempts through architectural languages to mediate programs and spaces that either offer services - such as transit or healthcare or childcare - or in other ways destabilize the social, economic, and spatial order of the city under apartheid.

There are other terms used in architectural media to try to capture the differing modes of space-making as understood in the context of the transition from apartheid. In the monograph *Contemporary South African Architecture in a Landscape of Transition*, Deckler, Graupner and Rasmuss develop a categorization of architecture that attempts to speak to both architectural practices and the complex nature of the transition. The categories are: memory and democracy, city spaces, centres of learning, building for business, and living in the landscape. The authors shape most categories around 'program', which they define in a broad way. This enables most of the categories to include projects for both institutions and individuals of wealth and power, as well as those that serve the state or marginalized residents. For example, 'centres of learning' includes primary schools in townships as well as new buildings on the campuses of elite universities, some with historic ties to the apartheid regime. Notably, the PPTI is included in the 'city spaces' section, along with three other transport interchanges, a social housing project and a network of service centres and pay points. The category of 'city spaces' is an interesting framing, which looks beyond program to the broader category of the role of architecture in the production of the city. Another categorization can be seen in the *Digest of South African Architecture*, which is arguably the most critical of the South African architectural journals. It organizes its annual review according to the more streamlined categorization: 'public', 'public/private', and 'private' architecture. The third categorization/terminology that is applicable is Murray's township/freedom category of modernism. As discussed earlier, for Murray this category serves as a way of understanding a modality of practice - by architects - that negotiates the contradictions of freedom and resistance that are inherently represented at the site of the township (2007).

There are not simple overlaps between these three categories or my concern with the architectural practices of 'making aspiration visible'. Yet, putting them together, a set of urges

begins to emerge, that are both architectural and societal. There is the site - ‘city spaces’ or townships - and the program. The categories of public versus private speak to funding and ownership structures. There are additionally the political experiences and the set of concerns that accompany each project. However, the concept of making aspiration visible is less an attempt at categorization and more a concern for the urges that accompany many of the projects that would fit into the above categories. My concern is the work that these projects, such as the PPTI do, in regards to the city as a whole. I want to argue that they represent many of the ambitions, anxieties and limitations that have characterized the ending of apartheid. Projects such as the PPTI are architectural representations of the aspirations of the architects, as political citizens themselves, as well as their expression of what they understand as their client/users’ aspirations. These are urges that are visible in the PPTI and, significantly, in projects across Cape Town. My claim is not that the PPTI stands at the head of this lineage, but rather that concurrently an architectural language was developing in Cape Town on that projects that may otherwise be classified as ‘public’ or ‘city space’ or of ‘township/freedom modernism’ that worked, in part, to render visible the aspirations of both their users and architects.

To explain, I will begin with some of the elements that made up the PPTI. One of the most illustrative elements is what the organizer of the Dignified Places Programme called a ‘kit of parts’. Based upon the design of the PPTI and other pilot projects, the DPP drew together some of what were seen as the most coherent and successful aspects of each project into a so-called ‘kit-of-parts’, that each subsequent DPP project was supposed to include. This kit’s elements included:

- The colonnade as a “public front” lending formality and permanence to entry level businesses edging the spaces
- Simple surfacing / paving
- Strategic and high quality planting
- Use of low walls and seating as robust and low maintenance space defining elements

Each of these ‘parts’ can be clearly read in the PPTI: the colonnade served as the layer of circulation at the outermost edge of each building (See Figure 4.29). The low walls and seating were already discussed in the previous section as multivalent objects that provided trading space as well as seating. They additionally provided a system for ordering the plaza spaces in the project, as suggested in the ‘kit’ (See Figure 4.34). The paving was an important component of the project, as even simple surfacing strongly juxtaposed the dirt surfaces of much of the surrounding area.<sup>134</sup> When translated into a ‘kit’, these elements were aggregated to produce a

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<sup>134</sup> Julian Cooke, one of the architects of the Hostels Upgrades, bemoans the City of Cape Town’s lack of investment in solid surfacing and even minimal landscaping at the Hostels.

level of consistency amongst the DPP projects in a way that allowed differing interpretations and uses of each ‘part’ (Urban Design Branch 2003). For some critics of the program, these elements, particularly the colonnade, signified an imposition of Eurocentric design values on African residents of the city (Southworth 2010, 105). While this critique raises important questions concerning cultural identity and the transmission of values, my concern is less about whether or not this characterization is accurate, but more about the kit as part of the production of a localized architectural language, and what is at stake in this language.

For one, the kit, through the success of the DPP in completing a large number of projects, became a prevalent feature of Cape Town’s architectural landscape. Beyond the scale of the application of this language, what is important to unpack is what this language communicated. Firstly, the kit of parts is arguably a quite abstracted and normalized conceptualization of the role of architecture in ‘place making’ - which is one of the central spatial principles applied in the DPP. A ‘kit-of-parts’ strategy in general, and particularly in terms of the parts employed by the DPP, works from the sort of “spatial thinking” that Bremner attributes to Dewar and Uytendogaardt’s work (Bremner 2010, 23). By doing so, it expresses an attitude towards architecture and the city that upholds the belief in minimal materials doing a variety of types of work. This communicates in part an acceptance of scarcity. In part this acceptance is a complicit working within the system, discussed in the previous section, in which few resources are available for both constructing and maintaining the types of programs and spaces included in the above categorizations such as ‘city spaces’ or ‘townships’. It is one thing when a single project such as the PPTI expresses such scarcity; the space and architecture of the city become rather impacted when a large body of work expresses such a political position.

A second reading of the reliance upon minimal materials is a strategy of disappearance, made by Coetzer, who has labeled such architecture as ‘armature’. Coetzer argues, using the PPTI in particular, that for a host of architects practicing at the ending of apartheid, their designs reveal a belief that architecture should be quite neutral and even silent, minimally there: “For the past 20 years culturally significant architecture in South Africa, I would like to argue, has been trying to make itself disappear – to become, in all possible ways, the armature supporting the ‘fleshy’ humanity so hollowed-out and enervated by apartheid.” (Coetzer 2012) This both points to the humanism I have discussed and reveals anxieties from the profession regarding the role of architecture in the city and nation following apartheid’s end. ‘Armature’ can be read as the articulations in architectural form of issues I have discussed earlier, regarding the anxieties architects have felt regarding their historic role in ‘building apartheid’ and the representations of the profession they have more recently sought to project. One example of this is efforts to legitimate the profession through adopting participatory design methods; a second is the concept of the ‘enabling encounter’ that I argue applies to the relationship between architects and hostel dwellers involved with the Hostels Upgrades.

Beyond the minimalist nature of this architectural language is the attempt to architecturally represent ‘dignity’ - or to at least formally realize ‘upgrade’. As stated earlier in this chapter, the authors of the DPP describe their project as one of “providing each local area with a place where individual circumstances of poverty are not starkly visible, where people can meet and gather or just sit in a place that is as attractive and comfortable as any other well-made, positive place in the city.” (Southworth 2002, 125) As this statement indicates, connected to dignity are both a set of experiences and a representation of the self. In terms of experience, the DPP sought to provide spaces and facilities previously inaccessible to the poor - and those other than the minority white population. This intention makes clear the logic behind the emphasis upon benches and seating. This can be understood as a recognition of leisure and social engagement as a right, akin to the idea of the right to the city as valuing the city as a site of use, instead of exchange. As a representational language, the DPP framed the kit of parts as a means of obscuring poverty, by providing an architecture that would be consistent across the city - and therefore in some ways obfuscating sites of difference across the city. This can be seen in the similarities in architectural language between the PPTI and the Claremont Transit Interchange, the latter located in one of the city’s wealthier suburbs that had been the site of forced removals when declared ‘white’ under the Group Areas Act. Such architectural commonality across the city attempts to make visible the aspiration of erasing the inequalities produced through apartheid.

## Conclusion and Connections

The Philippi Public Transit Interchange, as a work of architecture, worked to render visible the aspirations of the ending of apartheid. Such aspirations reveal anxieties, as related to the relevance of architecture and political position of the architectural profession; limitations, seen in the complicity with scarcity; and ambitions, which for example include visually obscuring inequalities. Its architectural language can be found to have been produced across Cape Town in the years surrounding apartheid’s end; open most any issue of a local architectural journal or a monograph such as *Contemporary South African Architecture in a Landscape of Transition* and the attributes of this language are easily visible. There is a simplicity of materials and ruggedness, both of which reflect the scarcity available for construction and maintenance, as well as acknowledgement of the heavy use that will be meted out over a building’s lifetime. There is, as Coetzer argues, a sense of armature: that architecture’s role is not to draw attention to itself but to support the social realm.

This can be seen quite clearly in the ‘platforms’ built by University of Cape Town students in informal settlements every year (Figure 4.35). These are small public spaces, which consist of literally a platform, perhaps with a water spigot and an integrated bench or similar multipurpose device. These structures, which are within the realm of what students can design and build in one semester, are intended to provide the backdrop for spaces of sociability. There are intentionally left undefined, in the belief that the users will assign them identities through their inhabitation.



Figure 4.35 Khayelitsha Platform. Designed and constructed by University of Cape Town students, in 2012-2013, the platform uses a few features to accomplish a number of things: it negotiates a slope between rows of shacks where there is otherwise not a path, provides a water point, provides seating on the low walls, and clears out a space for gathering and activities. Photograph by author, 2013.

While the platforms offer examples of architectural aspirations of the post-apartheid at their most minimal, they tap into an architectural approach and language that pervades Cape Town – and likely other South African cities. It is a modernism that is spare and tectonically expressive, in ways that speak of limited means. It is often quite colorful, in ways that suggest both exuberance and the fact that paint and dye are rather inexpensive architectural features. It is a modernism that is robust rather than delicate, and that anticipates heavy use and abuse. This architectural language sits alongside others that have come to dominate architectural practices in Cape Town since the ending of apartheid. It particularly contrasts the more delicate, precious architecture used in Cape Town’s spaces of consumption. This contrast is particularly noticeable in the City Bowl area, which includes the central business district and historically white neighborhoods, and has been the subject of significant foreign investment and tourism since apartheid’s ending. The new hotels, condominiums and single-family homes juxtapose the architectural language developed at the Philippi Public Transit Interchange. They bring to light the different sets of aspirations included within the post-apartheid project. This variety helps to illustrate that the architectural project of ‘making aspiration visible’ speaks to a continued political-economic-cultural program, in which the ambitions of the post-apartheid have yet to be realized for many, and in which aspiration does not yet reflect reality.

## Chapter 5. Conclusion: ‘Afters’

At a 2014 urban humanities conference, the question was posed, “where are architects and architecture in urban stories?”<sup>135</sup> Rich stories of urban experience have emerged in recent decades, but architects and the making of works of architecture are often missing or relegated to peripheral roles. This dissertation has addressed that challenge, by mapping architectural practices onto interventions into the spatialized legacy of apartheid. I have traced architectural imaginaries - and the material outcomes they have resulted in - and the ways in which architects have worked with different constituencies, negotiating to realize those imaginations.

To illustrate what has emerged from doing so, about Cape Town and about architecture, it is worthwhile to return to the two most central focuses of the dissertation: the content of the ‘post-apartheid’ and the modernism of ‘after’. The two concepts have served as the analytical focus of the dissertation: they are the conceptual sites I have chosen to unpack, to uncover how different actors conceive of what the ‘after’ apartheid is and should be, and how modernism has served as a vehicle for expressing these positions and ambitions. Together, they address what has been at stake in this dissertation, which has been a project of finding productive ways of tracing how the making of architecture has served as a site of efforts to redress the legacy of apartheid in Cape Town. I see both the post-apartheid and its modernist expressions as slippery, ambiguous assemblages, that reflect progressive values as well as contradictions and urges that have the potential to reproduce inequality. I have sought not to tell an idealistic story about apartheid’s ending, but a story about how ideals get articulated with all the messiness that characterizes both the post-apartheid and architectural practices. Both the themes of the ‘post-apartheid’ and ‘after modernism’ address the ‘after’ as a temporal condition and a set of values, which carry through to the ways the city gets made and architecture gets practiced. They reveal what has specifically been at stake in this lengthy period of apartheid’s ending in Cape Town and at the site of architecture. There is, however, not a single, encompassing statement about what has been at stake. Rather, it has been a story of how ambitions get formed and tempered by different realities. Additionally, it is an illustration of how the particular method of architectural history that I have employed, which attends to architecture as a process that brings together a range of different types of practice, and provides insight into such a tempering story. This has been a method that has traced how the making of architecture has worked as a constellation of practices, which address the legacy of apartheid and the city as a place, an imagination, and a social structure. The processes of making architecture turns attention to the individuals and institutions involved, and how their practices and performances constitute the articulation of new types of (post-apartheid) citizenship. What I have illustrated in these processes as they played out in Cape

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<sup>135</sup> The question was posed by Mariet Westermann, vice-president of the Mellon Foundation at the May 2, 2014 conference at the Radcliffe Institute to discuss urban humanities initiatives (Crawford 2014).

Town is that modernism was deployed, as a way of operating and an approach to form-making, as something which was both reflective and productive of these articulations of the post-apartheid.

## **5.1 Ambitions of the Post-Apartheid**

One of the key questions that I have asked throughout the dissertation has been ‘what is the ‘post-apartheid’ for each set of actors?’, whether individuals or institutions. The premise I began with was that each brings their own set of values, concerns and ambitions to the post-apartheid. As I stated in the Introduction, the post-apartheid is not simply the period ‘after’ apartheid; it is a set of practices related to experiences of apartheid and its unmaking. To understand what the post-apartheid has been, for different actors, I have examined how apartheid’s spatiality has been addressed, the concerns raised by the different actors involved in each of the three sites, and how architecture has been understood as a site and method of redress.

### *Post-apartheid as Redress*

One of the foremost urban stories told in this dissertation is how architects, working together with different arrangements of users and clients, have tried to address the spatiality of apartheid. One of the key ways in which the post-apartheid can be understood is through examining the ways in which apartheid spatiality has been addressed. These reveal exactly what each actor considers to be the problems of apartheid - which varies across actors - and the methods they believe best achieve redress.

I have framed apartheid spatiality through three categories and used one site to demonstrate each - the Hostels for dislocation, District Six for clearances, and Philippi and the Dignified Places Programme for neglect. However, while these illustrate how apartheid imprinted Cape Town, it is also crucial to understand that the sites and practices do not map onto each other in only a singular, linear manner. A key outcome of this dissertation is the recognition that each site - and by extension sites across the city - serves as palimpsests of different combinations of the three. Together, the addresses of these categories of apartheid spatiality illustrate the values and efforts involved in imagining a post-apartheid city.

Neglect particularly serves as a rich illustration of how the categories of apartheid spatiality are relevant to each site. Neglect was arguably the most ubiquitous of the methods of apartheid spatiality practiced across the townships of the Cape Flats, and beyond into the center of the city.

As an example, the Hostels reflected a situation in which not only were black<sup>136</sup> people forced to live in townships at the city's periphery, but additionally their living conditions were intentional products of neglect. In fact, the work of upgrading the hostels addressed the neglect of the built environment as a key component of the legacy of dislocations. The hostels particularly illustrate how neglect and dislocation, as methods, worked through and reinforced each other. The hostels and accompanying labor laws, which in the Western Cape included national influx controls augmented by the Colour Labour Preference laws, were manifestations of racialized and gendered regulations. These regulations set out the terms of dislocation. First, they prohibited entry into the city for most black South Africans. Secondly, through spaces such as the Migrant Labour Hostels, they dictated the few places available for those that were allowed to reside in the city, and the social conditions under which they must reside - which was as single men (and occasionally as single women). Beyond such regulations, however, the social and spatial quality of life in the hostels was a product of neglect. The space and amenities afforded each resident was minimal, at best, and very poorly maintained. The arrangement of buildings both enabled social control by the state - as an element related to dislocation - and discouraged social interactions. Thus, in re-imagining the hostels as spaces of permanent, family residence, the architects and hostel dwellers addressed both dislocation and neglect.

What is significant is how the architectural address brought together dislocation and neglect. Dislocation was the moving of people, treating them as bodies, and notably as diseased and criminal bodies, to be removed. Dislocation was addressed by making claims of permanence, by illustrating how the site of dislocation could be remade as a site of normalized domesticity. Significantly, the remaking, which took place through the architectural production of the Hostels Upgrades, also addressed the neglect that marked the apartheid hostels. The upgrades were designed to provide the housing that was well made, that was properly insulated so inhabitants could stay warm and dry through the Cape winters and cool in the summers, and that provided the essential amenities needed for domestic life. While modest, they far exceeded that provided in the original migrant labour hostels. The architects and hostel dwellers recognized that in order to counter the practice of dislocation, of reducing black persons to bodies, they needed to remake the hostels into homes, which would be sites of investment rather than neglect.

Ironically, while this was achieved through the design and construction of the upgraded buildings, neglect of the outdoor environment continues in the post-apartheid era. While touring the Upgrades with Julian Cooke, he frequently bemoaned how the City of Cape Town has failed to allocate the budgets to provide and maintain landscaping. The upgraded buildings, while now arranged in ways that promote social interaction (see Figure 2.9), continue to be surrounded by unpaved, un-landscaped bare dirt and gravel (Figure 5.1). This illustrates the scarcity, which I will discuss below, that continues to mark the administration of space in Cape Town. That the

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<sup>136</sup> Coloured and Indian people were also often dislocated to the periphery, but as the hostels studied were for 'Natives' I did not address other experiences of dislocation.

architects expected landscaping and maintenance, and designed it into the project, reflects their ambitions for an ending of neglect. They anticipated a shift in governance that brought not only an end to dislocation, but also a prioritizing of spaces such as the hostels that had been sites of neglect under apartheid. Instead, the post-apartheid has brought a continuation of neglect - for a variety of reasons, however, few of which overlap those of apartheid.



Figure 5.1 Nyanga Hostels Upgrades. The space immediately surrounding the upgraded hostels shows neglect, with dirt, weeds and trash where landscaping was intended. Photograph by author, 2012.

District Six similarly illustrates the coming together of different modes of apartheid spatiality - and redress. One of the means through which the clearing of District Six was justified was in its representation as a slum - which reflected how it was intentionally produced through neglect. However, unlike the neglect the state practiced at the Hostels, private landlords typically produced neglect in District Six. Rather than being predominantly motivated by race or as a method of governmentality, neglect reflected the fact that landlords had no incentive to maintain properties that were predominantly rented to relatively poor households. The neglect produced in District Six prior to, and as justification for its clearance, was an example of how capital interests intersected with and became articulated through the racial policies of apartheid.

Like the Hostel Upgrades, the process of producing the District Six Pilot Project also begins to tell us much about the terms through which apartheid was opposed. In particular, we see that architectural processes have been put to use to provide redress in ways that illustrate the

interconnection between architecture, policy, and other modes of cultural practice. The District Six Pilot Project was most certainly an architectural product: it was a set of houses, designed to reflect values concerning memory and modernism. Its realization required deploying professional skills to resolve technical challenges, which involved funding, construction and coordination of infrastructure. However, the long history of the struggle to begin to rebuild District Six illustrates that for the Beneficiary Trust, who were the ultimate clients of the Pilot Project, what was also essential was enactment of policies that enabled the Trust, as representative of removed or 'cleared' residents, to control the process of rebuilding and return. Clearance was not only a precondition for the Pilot Project; it also became - and remains as struggles around District Six continue today - a continued site of struggle. The continued centrality of 'clearance' illustrates that for some, but only some actors, the post-apartheid is a project of reconstituting homes *and* political franchise. The ambition of the post-apartheid for the members of the Beneficiary Trust and Lucien le Grange's office was to realize the power to control the process of return. As I will discuss below, the rebuilding of District Six was, for other actors, a different project, with a different understanding of the post-apartheid.

### *Spatial Methods*

The method I have employed to examine these practices of redress has been to approach each architectural subject as a process. I have studied the history of the making of each project, examining how each site was initially produced as an example of apartheid spatiality, and how various actors and interests have come together to reimagine that corner of the city as reflecting the values and ambitions of the post-apartheid.

There are no singular, grand concluding statements to make about the outcomes of such a procedural approach. The entire purpose of this approach is to uncover different strands of action and intent, and to recognize each without forcing homogenizing categories onto them. However, by studying the making of architecture as a constellation of social practices, what emerges are insights concerning the differing values expressed and the types of citizenship formed. In essence, these are the differing strands of the 'post-apartheid'.

It is clear that all of the actors I study oppose apartheid in some way. They are distinct from each other in the analytical frameworks through which they form their opposition, and the particular constellation of values and beliefs that for them constitutes the 'post-apartheid'. The particular insight that this dissertation offers is mapping those values onto approaches to making architecture. What is particularly insightful is the difference in ways that the architecture and space-making are understood to serve as methods of redress - and what sets of concerns they can productively address.

One of the key approaches deployed by actors studied in the dissertation is reading apartheid's ills through space - and likewise addressing apartheid through spatial means. This can be seen quite clearly in the critique developed in Dewar and Uytendogaardt's text *South African Cities: A Manifesto for Change*. As seen in all three sites, this particular imagination has strongly resonated with architects and urban designers in Cape Town, although I believe different aspects of it have held differing levels of meaning. What I mean by this is that the *Manifesto for Change* critique illustrates different sorts of problems with South African cities, and for different actors has suggested differing methods of address. The book laments the dominant space and infrastructure given over to private automobiles, which has led to sprawl and to 'course-grained' and 'non-continuous' urban development (Dave Dewar and Uytendogaardt 1991, 64). The authors characterize Cape Town, as an exemplar of South African cities, as sterile, monotonous and fragmented, with most capital invested in ways that affect and benefit only a small portion of the city. It is a critique that points to the role of modernist planning in producing such an environment, pitting the humanist concerns that Dewar and Uytendogaardt self-profess over those that I argue in the Introduction relate to techno-rationalist strands of modernism.

As I have illustrated, each of the architects and urban designers involved in the sites studied see the problems of Cape Town through some assemblage of these terms. In the Hostels Upgrade, one of the central architectural moves made was to 'invert' the apartheid-planned hostel complexes. This involved reversing the orientation of the buildings to face streets and to infill the vast spaces between buildings, creating intimate, outdoor rooms. The scale of space was shifted from that of the military tank to that of the pedestrian, leaving space for the occasional car. The design followed along with Dewar and Uytendogaardt's humanist script, prioritizing social interaction over state-imposed order. In District Six, I argued that the architects and planners for the somewhat opposing camps did not actually differ greatly in how they thought District Six should be spatially redeveloped. The vision put forth by Dewar and Uytendogaardt for rebuilding District Six and the plans they developed for Springfield Terrace were rather similar at the urban scale to those put forward by Lucien le Grange for the Beneficiary Trust. Both sought to 'return' District Six to a dense, pedestrian-scaled urban area, which was a clear alternative to the more suburban, single-family scaled development that the apartheid state initially imagined would replace the bulldozed neighborhood. And at the third site, the Dignified Places Programme, the *Manifesto for Change* vision arguably gets most clearly articulated, as the program was a materialization of the spatial development framework Dewar developed for the City of Cape Town. The program managed to nearly exactly lay out iterations of the sort of 'activity systems' that Dewar and Uytendogaardt argued posed a 'way forward' for Cape Town (1991, 79–80).

Where these approaches differ is in how they understand the relationship between the modernist South African city and apartheid, and their vision for the role of the grassroots, the state and private interests in the post-apartheid. For Dewar and Uytendogaardt, in both *Manifesto*

*for Change* and their work for Headstart, the spatial problems of the South African city needed to be divorced from apartheid. As I stated, Dewar claims that this was politically strategic: that by not attacking apartheid, he and his colleagues were able to avoid censure and potential political investigation, and were able to claim a legitimacy that lent their opinions authority, even with the apartheid state. As history demonstrated in District Six, this intellectual separation between the problems of the South African city and apartheid led to Dewar and Uytendogaardt agreeing to work with British Petroleum in redeveloping District Six. The concern the pair deployed in that body of work was purely spatial. They sought to rebuild District Six as a model for dense urbanity, bringing people back to the center of the city and illustrating an alternative to the suburban way in which land was almost singularly developed in the city throughout the twentieth century. They did not dwell upon who would fund and enable this, sidestepping concerns over having British Petroleum as a client. This does not mean that they personally supported apartheid. Rather, their spatial concerns trumped any political ones, in regards to how they practiced as professionals.

For other architects I studied, however, the links between apartheid and the South African city were more significant. This is in some ways most visible through practices that the architects undertook outside of their design of the studied sites. Julian Cooke, for example, narrated to me a personal and professional history of participating in efforts to oppose apartheid. Evidence of this included volunteer work to register first-time black voters, working during apartheid for the traditionally black University of the Western Cape, and his involvement in the 1997 University of Cape Town student ‘uprising’ discussed at the end of Chapter Two. It is clear from these practices that for Cooke, the upgrading of the hostels was as much a project of dismantling the social system that created them as inverting their iteration of modernism. One can argue that for Cooke and most of the architects I studied, this project works from a position of privilege, which seeks social justice for others by one who benefits from apartheid. And this is a particular iteration of the post-apartheid: an ambition that reflects the ideals of liberation, that operates from a position in which the peaceful transition from apartheid to democracy would bring benefit to fellow citizens without causing personal harm or loss. It is a post-apartheid of liberalism, arguably more closely aligned with the ‘Rainbow Nation’ of Archbishop Desmond Tutu than the more radical black consciousness of Steve Biko, that sidesteps many of the questions raised by post-apartheid struggles over how to proceed with the ‘national democratic revolution’ (G. Hart 2007).

For Lucien le Grange, the connections between apartheid and the South African city were understood more through dialectical materialism. It is clear from academic papers he has written (1985; 1994; 1995), from his personal involvement with the Hands off District Six Committee and District Six Museum, and from the perspectives he offered in my interviews with him, that he sees strong links between struggles around race, class and South African urban history. This position was echoed in how he has positioned himself in regards to struggles around District Six. The central point that set the HODS against BP, and later the City of Cape Town, was the role of

the right of return in rebuilding District Six. For the leaders of HODS - and later the District Six Beneficiary Trust - the most essential demand was for the former residents of District Six to control the process of return; as stated above, they sought to provide housing but only through conditions that granted them the political agency that apartheid had denied them. Le Grange, in agreement with this position, used architecture to bring together those values with his spatial critique of apartheid Cape Town. When he told me that the District Six Pilot Project was “his life’s work”, it was because the project brought together his professionalism with his personal politics. For le Grange, although he did not personally experience clearance at District Six, the post-apartheid is a project of waging struggle against pervasive forms of racialized dispossession<sup>137</sup>, in which he designs architectural projects for users whom have historically been marginalized. It is a project in which he understands apartheid’s legacy through its spatiality and the continuation of racialized practices; architecture becomes a site through which he works to pose alternative narratives for the city.

In addition to reading the ‘problem’ of the city differently, perspectives on how to address the legacies of apartheid also differed amongst actors. By invoking Crane’s “Capital Web”, actors such as Dewar, Uytendogaardt, and Barbara Southworth were putting forth a vision of the post-apartheid that argued for limited government intervention, and public-private partnerships. This perspective can be read as prescient, anticipating the ANC-led government’s 1996 shift from the redistributive RDP policies to the somewhat neoliberal GEAR. Just as Dewar argued for the practicality of not attacking apartheid during apartheid, limited government intervention sought a way around the apartheid state - which was taken by BP in District Six. It additionally laid a patchwork for working within the meager funding that the state has provided for housing and urban development, both before and after the 1994 transition. This is an understanding of the post-apartheid that is ambitious in regards to the spatial changes that are desired, but measured in regards to the institutional framework for achieving them. It is not a vision for a grand new order, but rather for an enlightened but limited (state) order.

I believe that Cooke and his colleagues from the Hostels Upgrades and le Grange each have slightly different ambitions for the post-apartheid. The Hostels Upgrades offers a model for new ways for the democratic state to provide housing. It works from the context of apartheid’s legacy, and for the most part operates within the state’s budgetary structure and constraints. Where Cooke sees shortcomings in the Upgrades as they have been built and continue to be built, it is inadequate investment from the state. As discussed above, he bemoans that the City (who owns and manages the hostels, even after upgrading) has never installed or maintained landscaping in the spaces around and between buildings. This is a vision that idealizes a welfare state, that sees the shift to democracy as capable of addressing many of the wrongs of apartheid, if only the state would allocate appropriate resources to the maintenance of the built

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<sup>137</sup> I use the term dispossession intentionally, because le Grange employs a Marxist viewpoint.

environment. Similarly, there is a subtle tension that I read between Barbara Southworth, as the instigator of the Dignified Places Programme, and architects such as du Toit and Perrin, who have designed individual sites of the DPP. Southworth sought to find inventive ways to work with the limited budgets available, in an entrepreneurial fashion that fits within the culture of the (somewhat) neoliberal state. Architects such as du Toit and Perrin, however, I read as more aligned with Cooke, in harboring ambitions for a welfare state. It is a state that has yet to arrive, but one which their work anticipates.

### *Working with - and against and beyond - the State*

Such ambitions for the post-apartheid state, to become a more productive partner and client in efforts to address apartheid's legacy, can be read in a refrain I heard numerous times in my research: 'This is not RDP'. As I discussed in Chapter One, one of the key facets and legacies of the RDP program has been 'RDP houses'. These homes, most commonly produced in matchbox rows of 1-house, 1-plot typology, are both of poor quality and detrimental to the urban landscape. Actors involved with the District Six Pilot Project and the Hostels Upgrades both took pains to declare to me, during interviews, that 'This is not RDP'. In doing so, they are articulating criticisms of RDP houses, setting their projects apart as better built products and urban typologies. They are also making a statement about the role the state has played in addressing apartheid spatiality. Distancing themselves from RDP is a condemnation of what the state has thus far produced. I read this, however, as an ambition for what ideally the state should become. This position, which was expressed in the process of the Hostels Upgrades, drew the most clear lines between the apartheid state and the ambition for how the democratic state should serve as a clear alternative. While 'not RDP' signals disappointment with the democratic state's housing program, it also reveals a belief that the state should do better - and maybe one day will have the structures in place to do so.

Yet, other sites I studied illustrate how the relationship between architects, the state and the grassroots is shifting and complex. The struggles waged over how to rebuild District Six, in particular, show the democratic state and its constituents operating from quite divergent viewpoints. Going back to 1990, the iteration of the grassroots seen in the Hands Off District Six Committee worked in friction, against the state. The leaders of the group saw the state, in the form of City Planners and elected officials as too aligned with capital to be able to acknowledge the fundamental shift in power that they demanded. As Cape Town's municipal government has increasingly come under the control of the DA, the state program has increasingly become one of mediating restitution with a market-based approach to land development. This is a position that exemplifies the extreme neoliberalism of the post-apartheid, but does not go unopposed. As I discussed in the conclusion of Chapter Three, the District Six Museum has reclaimed a public political profile as the representative of opposition to the gentrification of District Six and

perceived hijacking of the process of restitution and rebuilding. Lucien le Grange, as the Beneficiary Trust's architectural interlocutor, has found himself increasingly sidelined from the District Six rebuilding process, illustrating the rifts between the state, architects, and the grassroots.

Thus, as the post-apartheid is inherently concerned with the politics and role of the state, we see not only that the democratic state has instituted policies that have continued the marginalization of some South Africans - which is well known from the contemporary South African literature. We also see that architects in Cape Town have acted in ways that at times enable this, at times directly oppose it, and at times express aspirations for a different set of state politics and policies. Thus the architectural post-apartheid in Cape Town is a space of divergence. While most architects share beliefs regarding the spatial ills produced under apartheid, they differ in regards to which alliances they participate and the methods they believe will best provide redress to apartheid. As I stated in Chapter Two, architects produce not only designs, they produce 'speech acts': performances of their professionalism that articulate political claims and propositions. While architects' reliance on clients and funding renders them subject to the vagaries of capitalism and political power, as Tafuri's argues, the differing constituencies they work with also illustrates alternatives to normative practices and policies. For example, housing policy has the potential to be pushed and shaped<sup>138</sup>, as in the case with the Hostels Upgrades. There the architects initially worked 'beyond' the state, surpassing normative housing models. The hostel dwellers and architects were able to illustrate the innovative models by working initially with foreign donor funds, thus going around limitations imposed by the state. This illustrates how architecture can be productive of the spatial order of the post-apartheid era while also representing differing post-apartheid ambitions.

## 5.2 The Modernism of 'After'

The second, and concluding theme that has run through this dissertation is modernism: namely how architects have addressed and deployed modernist tendencies to express their ambitions for the post-apartheid. I have argued that the architects I have studied addressed the legacies of apartheid by taking part in projects that through their goals and social configurations posed alternative visions to apartheid, and by critiquing the spatial forms produced through apartheid. In these practices, modernism, like the post-apartheid, has served as an ambiguous, shifting category, taking on different meaning depending on the voice and purpose of each actor. Modernism has served as both a subject of criticism and a method of enacting change. It has been identified as an expression of apartheid and of the overly-planned, monotonous landscape

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<sup>138</sup> The ANC government does now have a component of its housing policy that addresses upgraded migrant labour hostels.

of the South Africa. It has also served as an ideal: an architectural form of a social project. I will conclude this chapter and dissertation with laying out the multiple forms modernism has taken in Cape Town, as a way of understanding architecture as an articulation of the post-apartheid.

The contradictory nature of architects' attitudes toward modernism is perhaps most legible in the Hostels Upgrades. Cooke and his associates sought to subvert the high, apartheid modernist planning of the hostel complexes. The architects recognized that the hostels, as a built form, were fashioned into productive components of a political and economic system through the implementation of modernist design principles. However, in working to subvert the architecture and its related social processes of neglect and marginalization, they similarly expressed the idea that architecture can serve as a method of bringing social improvement. The key difference was in the social goals that Cooke, his associates and the hostel dwellers sought to engender versus those produced by the apartheid state and its allied industries. Additionally, as the architects developed an architectural language for the Upgrades, they did so by turning to the modernist precedent of what Frampton calls the period of 'New Objectivity': the robust housing programs and forms developed in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. The social ambitions, scale and typology of these provided the direction for 'inverting' the apartheid-era modernism of the migrant labour hostel complexes. Modernism of one strain and social project was used to subvert a different iteration of modernism.

Similarly, Lucien le Grange's design for the District Six Pilot Project also showed an admiration for social intentions expressed through modernist architectural languages. It was le Grange who directly stated to me that housing, as seen in the precedent of Europe in the 1930s, illustrated architecture's social potential. However, le Grange's work in District Six, in designing the Pilot Project and executing the Heritage Impact Assessment, and his heritage-based academic research reveal that other tangents augment affinities for these particular iterations of modernism. In the case of Le Grange's work, his version for modernism sits alongside a reverence for urban history and morphology, and a reluctance to break free and radically rethink how to spatially organize the city. For him, architecture produced as part of apartheid's ending in Cape Town articulates an idea of 'return' - to idealized urban forms and social mixtures. A significant feature of le Grange's work is that his political sympathy for the plight of District Six's residents reverberates through his architectural practice. This can be seen in *how* he sought to bring return to the residents who were forcibly removed and to the space of District Six itself. The fact that the Pilot Project is a block of row houses reimagined in a language of smooth plaster surfaces, tightly drawn, speaks to a modernist nostalgia for a District Six that was vibrant, ethnically diverse, and spatially dense. The fact that this space expresses the morphology celebrated in *A Manifesto for Change* illustrates why his scheme was similar, at the urban scale, to that of Dewar and Uytendogaardt. It also illustrates that the iteration of modernism that le Grange puts forward, while sharing affinities with the forms produced in the German *siedlung* experiments and with architects such as Alvaro Siza, and sharing a desire to provide housing to those otherwise marginalized, looks both forward and back, temporally. Le Grange is interested

in creating a new order, one in which class struggle is successfully waged and race no longer becomes a segregating feature, but which also celebrates a memory of District Six prior to demolition. It is a modernism that connects to place, as opposed to the universalizing goals of the 'International Style'. Place, however, is understood through memory as well as physical and social features such as topography and social interaction. While this may begin to sound like it fits into another of Frampton's (1992) categories of modernism, Critical Regionalism, what must be remembered is how this modernism is an expression of the long struggles that the District Six Beneficiary Trust fought to gain control over the process of rebuilding District Six. This does not necessarily change how one categorizes the architectural approach that le Grange developed; rather, it adds a dimension. It illustrates that the iteration of modernism deployed in designing the Pilot Project was an expression of political struggle as much as disciplinary-centric ideas about architectural form.

While le Grange's modernism seeks to ground itself through localized spaces and histories, the modernism seen in the Philippi Public Transit Interchange works to claim a central role for architecture's inhabitants. The two approaches share concern for the social aspect of architecture, but carry these concerns out in rather different forms. Le Grange's iteration of modernism emphasized (former and future) residents' memories, histories and right to agency; the PPTI manifests beliefs about including users in the design process and 'affectively' addressing their social and somatic needs through the architectural form. In the PPTI this is seen in the design process, namely the embrace of participatory practices, and in the 'humanist' architectural forms produced. Similar to the Hostels Upgrades, the District Six Pilot Project and even the Headstart proposals for District Six, these serve as a reaction to the techno-rationalist, authoritarian modernism of apartheid. The participatory ambitions of the Dignified Places Programme, which also are a key part of the Hostels Upgrades' design process, illustrate how modernist urges become further articulated with the post-apartheid. They illustrate that the post-apartheid in architecture reflects desires to unmake the profession's historical alignment with authoritarian rule and methods. As I argued in Chapter Four, the participatory urge seeks to inscribe a new identity for the architectural profession: one that acknowledges the agency of users, branding the profession a site of democracy. I argue that the greater significance of the embrace of participatory practices lies in speaking to the profession's ways of working, more than the relationships future users have with architecture. This, however, does not discount the significance of the participatory urge. Rather, it illuminates anxieties within the profession, which become legible through the formal language developed at the Philippi Public Transit Interchange - as well as at the Hostels Upgrades and District Six Pilot Project. It illustrates concerns that the post-apartheid will realize only limited transformations to the lives of the most South Africans. While the profession works to position itself as an institution of inclusivity, there is an understanding that 'participation' will only bring limited change to lives and built environments.

At the PPTI, as well as the Hostels Upgrades, participatory practices are therefore augmented with the application of architectural languages that seek additional ways to support users. In Chapter Four I argue that these can be understood as a ‘humanist modernism’. This is an architectural language that provided features such as benches, lofts and overhangs, which supported the range of activities undertaken by vendors and visitors to the Interchange. These features, and the remainder of the site, are produced through durable, quotidian building materials, overlaid with a ‘wash’ of color and finer-grain detail. I argue that this architectural language serves as a mediation of scarcity. As I illustrate, scarcity, which is related to neglect, is a key feature of the post-apartheid; local municipalities such as the City of Cape Town are allocated very little money to spend on social services and infrastructure such as transit interchanges and public spaces. Scarcity gets addressed at two levels: first at the City, in the Dignified Places Programme’s approach to budgeting and its method of urban ‘acupuncture’. Both of those seek to achieve maximum affect with the most minimal of resources, spreading out its spending thinly across as many sites as possible. Scarcity was also a key input addressed by the architects, who focused their efforts on providing comfort for the human body and supporting as many activities as possible. In this approach, they recognized scarcity in terms of resources available for developing the site and those available for the users - which of course are inter-related conditions. It is a similar approach to that employed in the Hostels Upgrades, and to some extent the District Six Pilot Project. Interestingly, of the three projects, the District Six Pilot Project had relatively the most generous budget. Yet, even this was limited, so the completed houses consist of budgetary features, such as minimal finishes and infrastructure being provided in kitchens and bathrooms. In all three sites what was produced was an architectural language that used a minimum of expense to provide maximum comfort for the residents. The bold colors applied to robust, quotidian construction materials gave all three projects an architectural quality that I argue at the end of Chapter Four is shared with sites across Cape Town. I argue that this architectural language, a ‘humanist’ modernism that responds very much to the scarcity that continues to dictate architectural production at the mercy of public budgets, makes visible the aspiration of the post-apartheid.

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In the rather architecturally modest buildings of the Hostels Upgrades, District Six Pilot Project and Philippi Public Transit Interchange, we see a number of historic and contemporary conditions and concerns coming together. There is a reaction against the spatial order and the authoritarian methods of the ‘high’, techno-rationalist modernism deployed under apartheid. There are beliefs in architecture’s social capacity, in connecting with the memories of how apartheid ripped apart spaces and lives, and acknowledging user’s needs and agency. There is

also a material expression of the limits of the post-apartheid, seen in the rendering of the scarcity which is a key feature of neoliberal governance in democratic South Africa. This is the modernism of 'after' - an after in which apartheid has officially come to an end, bringing political 'freedom' but continued struggles to realize improvement in most lives. 'After' is a qualified, conditional term.

The 'after' of modernism and apartheid traced in this dissertation reflect the particular histories of trying to imagine a post-apartheid in Cape Town. They also speak beyond Cape Town and South Africa, to methods that architects employ in efforts to produce architecture that addresses concerns for racialized and class-based inequality, for realizing new social orders, for addressing the scarcity that is a common feature of the neoliberal landscape. South Africa and Cape Town are important to study, outside of their own context, because they represent extreme iterations of practices taking place across the globe. The practices taken on by the architects in this study speak to global architectural attempts to address histories of racialized, class-based inequality. They represent the struggle to do so in times of late-capitalism, when scarcity seems to be winning battles against aspirations for the interventions of the welfare state. The sites of this dissertation speak to small-scale, iterative examples of architecture as a social or activist project. In doing so, it presents a particular iteration - or iterations - of modernism, that works outside the expanded scope of the welfare state, and that seeks to address the human as subject and participant.

This dissertation illustrates is that to understand these, it is necessary to study not only architectural forms, but also the process of producing them. The dissertation, therefore, makes a claim for methods of architectural history that bring together the study of form and the broad production of form, which involves cultural, political and economic practices. I am arguing that to fully understand interventionist practices - as well as other sorts of architectural practices - requires understanding the problems that architects address and their methods for doing so. Modernism in particular needs to be understood as more than an architectural language, but a way of working, of framing and addressing problems. What this dissertation has offered is not a vision for a city 'after' apartheid, but all that is involved in trying to produce the after. Studying architecture has illustrated how moving towards 'after' is a process: a complex, contradictory one, that requires holding on to ambitions, and as Toloki illustrated in the opening lines of the dissertation, imagination.

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