MOVING AGAINST THE GRID:

The Pursuit of Public Life during Apartheid, South Africa

by

Nicole Bruun-Meyer

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfilment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Architecture

Author's Declaration

I HEREBY DECLARE that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

THE REALITY OF CITIES IS THAT, no matter how designed, controlled, or planned they are, people will do as they like. They will find ways to live and move through them that suit their purposes, even if this means going against a 'designed' system. In the case of South Africa during apartheid, this movement was obstructed by institutionalised segregation and State oppression. Apartheid, which means 'apart' and 'hood' in Afrikaans, was an attempt to inscribe a power structure into the spatial framework of a territory, based on notions of capitalism, race, and hygiene. As a mechanism of social control, it relied heavily on concepts of space and power to achieve the white ideal of racial segregation.

Although the spaces of apartheid may be seen as fixed and concrete, internal contradictions contested their authority. While apartheid legislated, controlled, and monitored the movement of all South Africans, the actions of many of its citizens created counter mechanisms which diminished its effect. Despite the official days of apartheid now being over, the question remains: how do people create and maintain *public life* in the face of an administrative system of control?

The spaces created by the everyday actions of those living under apartheid - the stories, music, dance, and protests that were part of the country's culture of subversion and resistance - were, for years, the site of public life in South Africa.

Acknowledgements

THANK YOU TO MY SUPERVISOR, Donald McKay, for his guidance, encouragement, and wisdom, which greatly enriched this thesis. To my committee, Ryszard Sliwka and Dereck Revington, your knowledge and insights were invaluable to this process and my own academic growth. I would also like to thank Shirley Blumberg, my external examiner, for her insightful and heartfelt feedback during my defence.

To my family and contacts in South Africa, thank you for your stories, resources, and help during my research trip and thereafter. Your hospitality and kindness made it all the more pleasurable.

A special thank you to my friends and colleagues for their on-going support, inspiring words, humour, and distractions when needed. I owe my sanity to all of you.

Most of all, thank you to my parents, for this thesis would never have surfaced, were it not for you. Your unwavering encouragement, feedback, and love have made this all possible and I am forever indebted.

Dedication

To the people of South Africa, your strength inspires,
and to my parents, for everything.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

I must start with a confession.

I am a stranger in South Africa, someone who, while on the one hand feeling a deep connection to its sounds and smells, has always been on the periphery, never fully understanding its nuances or subtle dynamics. Although I was born in Canada, our yearly trip at Christmas time was a defining aspect of my childhood. At that age, it was always exciting to go so far away over the school holidays, not only because of its physical distance, but because the world into which I was thrown for those two weeks gave me a brief glimpse into an unknown heritage. It is only later, of course, that I realise this. Somehow these early experiences had seeped into my consciousness and cemented the bond I felt to that foreign soil.

Where there is power, there is resistance.[1]

Michel Foucault

1   Foucault, Michel. *Good Reads*. Accessed February 15, 2013. http://www. goodreads.com/author/quotes/1260.Michel_Foucault.

My mom recently reminded me of the time we drove by John Vorster Square in Johannesburg, when I was a child. She pointed out the infamous building and explained its history, as a site of detention, torture and the occasional death of political prisoners. My cousins, who were in the car with us, were shocked that my mother would expose me to this information at such a young age. Although they were about ten years older than me, my aunt and uncle had never spoken of such things. Hearing this now made me think of people as possible strangers in their own country. Who knows how people deal with living in such realities. How does someone, living in South Africa during apartheid, live a fulfilled life knowing what is going on around them? How do they come to terms with their participation in that system?

The face of the city, freckled with mine-dumps, smiled sleepily at the dawn. A curtain of light rose out of the Indian Ocean, spread over Zululand and unfolded in a vast spectrum over the East Rand sky. The sunlight glinted on the wings of an aluminium albatross circling slowly in a wide arc above Jan Smuts Airport. Smoke curled from the mouths of the awakening rectory chimneys of the East, West and South Reef. The trains from Buluwayo and Cape Town crawled like centipedes through the rising mists. The dew streamed from the electric pylons, their fine steel web spun over the cold streets and warm parks. The heavily studded, stoutly buckled, belt of the Reef lay stretched out fifty miles long across the navel of the earth.

White painted, grey-walled skyscrapers reared upwards in the City itself, looking down upon the red and green roofed suburbs and straining to behold the distant shanty towns, location townships and compounds with their human stables, drab-grey monotony of housing schemed, iron lean-tos, rusted pondokkies, sewery streets, garbage, dumping fields, police stations and pass offices.

Apart from the early morning trams and buses, market vans, police patrols, cartage lorries, milkmen, street sweepers, the tired watchmen around their cold braziers, and the homeless ones who prowled the streets with ashen faces, the cities and suburbs of the Reef still slumbered. Their hour of waking had not yet come. But the location world was already awake. It had done with sleeping. For the earth itself there had been no rest at all. Two hundred thousand hammers still beat against its weary skin – the ceaseless drumming, the tumbril of the miners whose rhythm altered only with disaster or the changing of the shifts.[1]

Cosmo Pieterse
"The Nightmare of our History"

---

1   Pieterse, Cosmo and George Hallett. *Present Lives Future Becoming.* (Surrey: Hickey Press Limited, 1974.) 25.

Introduction

All utopias are depressing because they leave no room for chance, for difference, for the "miscellaneous." Everything has been set in order and order reigns. Behind every utopia there is always some great taxonomic design: a place for each thing and each thing in its place.[1]

Georges Perec
Think/Classify

Aᴘᴀʀᴛʜᴇɪᴅ ɪɴ Sᴏᴜᴛʜ Aꜰʀɪᴄᴀ ᴡᴀꜱ ꜱᴇᴛ up by the National Party government as a way to achieve a utopian lifestyle. They believed this could be done through the control of space, culture, and people. Through legislation, establishing programmed zones, restrictions on land ownership, and policies of separate development, they created a system of inequality rooted in a deep history of colonialism and a dominant-dependent relationship between races.

While the spaces of apartheid may have been seen as fixed and concrete, internal contradictions contested their authority. As Martin Murray explains,

like all sociospatial ordering systems designed to normatively shape the human condition, [apartheid] was unable to sustain itself indefinitely, collapsing under the accumulated weight of its own internal contradictions.[2]

---

1   "Georges Perec and Classification". *Library Thing*. Accessed March 16, 2013. http://www.librarything.com/blogs/thingology/2006/10/georges-perec-and-classification/

2   Murray, Martin J. *City of Extremes : The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg.* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.), xii.

Since apartheid regulated all aspects of life in South Africa, everything from dance to music to literature became political, as people's actions and use of space moved against the ordered system. Despite this, as Michel Foucault claims,

> no matter how terrifying a given system may be, there always remain the possibilities of resistance, disobedience, and oppositional groupings.[3]

The 'pursuit of public life' can be considered in two ways: first, as the freedom to live and act in ones own way in public, and secondly, as "public service or a term of public service by an appointed or elected official."[4] In the case of South Africa, the struggle was the pursuit of both of these fundamental human rights. As David Harvey says, in summarizing Henri Lefebvre,

> the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.[5]

As human beings we have an inherent desire to create and adapt our immediate surroundings to better serve our needs. Cities and communities change because people appropriate and use space differently over time and maintain public life. Against the odds, South African's created public space in a variety of ways, some virtually, through the use of networks of information, and others physically, through temporary events. These actions reshaped the spaces of apartheid and offered an alternative South African reality, either by linking previously unrelated locations or exposing new thresholds. These networks and events present a new understanding of space, beyond the apartheid world of maps, calculations, and classifications.

3　　Foucault, Michel. "Space, Knowledge & Power," in *Power (The Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984)*, James D. Faubion, ed. (New York: New Press, 2001.), 354.
4　　"Public Life definition". *The Free Dictionary*. Accessed February 28, 2013. http://www.thefreedictionary.com/public+life
5　　Harvey, David. "The Right to the City." *New Left Review* no. 53 (2008), 23.

While apartheid may have removed many forms of public space and freedom of movement, it actually produced alternative forms of space, created by the everyday actions of those living under apartheid - the stories, music, dance, and protest that were part of the country's culture of subversion and resistance - were, for years, the site of public life in South Africa.

Fig. 1. *Sign warns that permits are needed to enter [black] location* (Photographer: Ernest Cole).

OPPRESSION   LIBERATION

1948: Apartheid becomes legislation ·············

1950: The *Group Areas Act* becomes legislation, the ························· 1950: May Day, first general strike under apartheid
ANC and Communist Party are banned

············· 1957: Alexandra Bus Boycott

1959: Black population divided into Homelands ·············
1960: The Sharpeville Massacre ·············
············· 1961: ANC forms its military wing

1963: Raid on Liliesleaf Farm, Rivonia Trial begins ·············
1964: Mandela and other ANC leaders ························· 1964: UN introduces International Sanctions against SA
sentenced to life in prison   ············· mid 1960s: Black Consciousness Movement
                                                               (BCM) started in South Africa

············· *1975: My parents leave South Africa*
1976: Hundreds killed during Soweto Uprising ························· 1976: The Soweto Uprising student protest
1977: Steve Biko (BCM) tortured, dies in detention ·············
············· *1978: I am born in Canada*

1982: ANC Headquarters in London bombed under ·············
order by SA government

1985-90: South African government declares State ·············
of Emergency, increased arrests, bannings, curfews,
censorship and violence
············· 1987: National Union of Mineworkers holds
                      longest strike in SA history (3 weeks)

············· 1990: ANC unbanned, Mandela released from prison

············· 1994: ANC win the first democratic election,
                      Mandela becomes president
············· 1996: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission
                      begins hearings

Fig. 2.   Map of Africa with South Africa indicated.
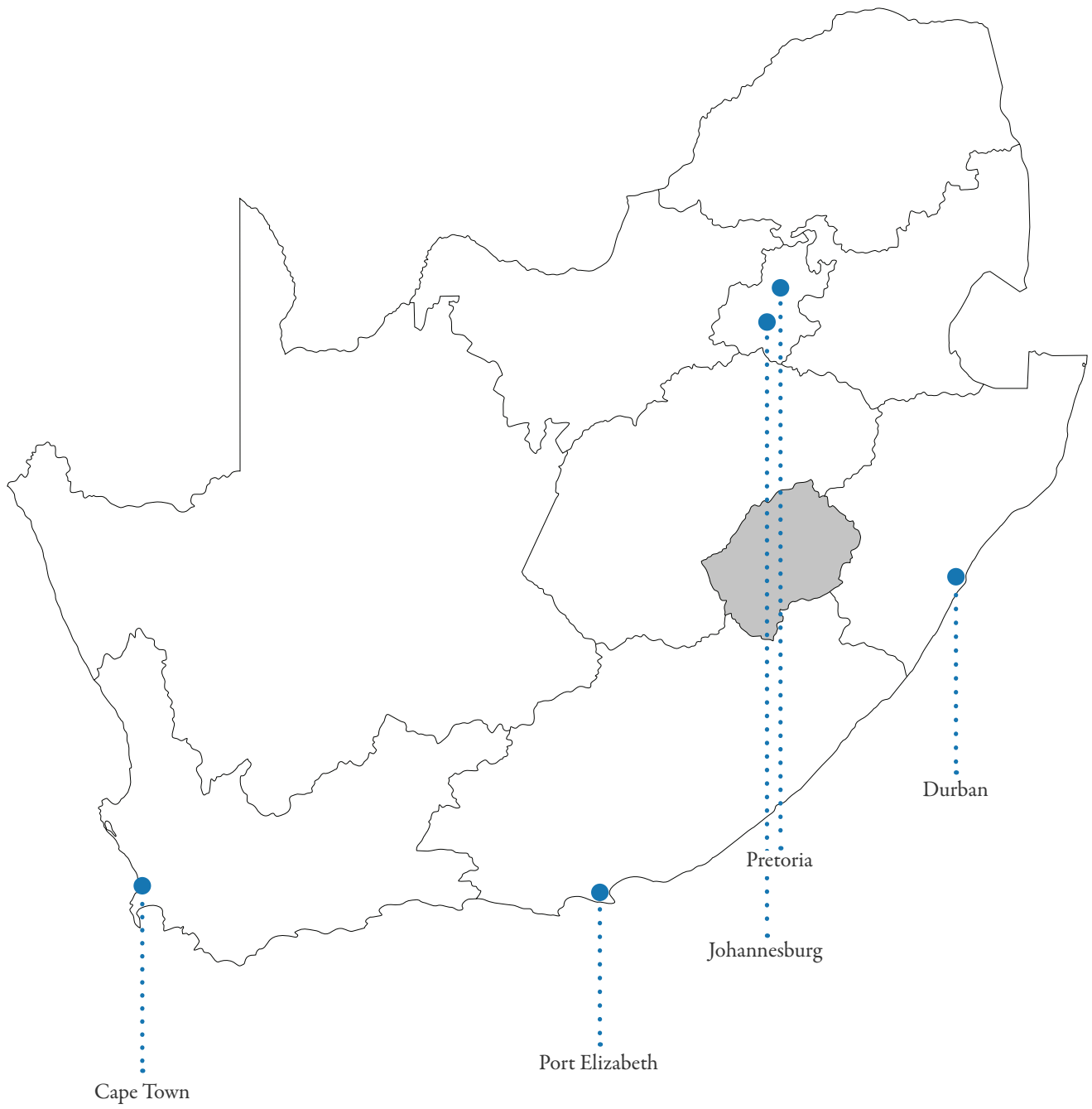
Fig. 3.   Map of major South African cities.

Although being in South Africa offered me the sensory experiences necessary to feel a connection to a place, it was a place of dependence, security systems and enclosures. While my parents provided me with as much of a well-rounded view of South Africa as they could, my time there was mostly filled with the isolation of the white suburbs, lying by the enclosed pool or the occasional visit to the Johannesburg Art Gallery. Oddly enough, it was through events and experiences in Toronto that I was exposed to the cultural richness and history of the country. Many a dinner or party was held at our house in honour of a visiting performance group, academic or activist, including Constitutional Court Judge Albie Sachs and singer Dolly Rathebe. For a while our house became a social haven, as many South Africans in exile were told to 'look up the Bruun-Meyers' when they arrived in Toronto, and I have memories of African freedom songs and late night discussions on the South African political situation pre-1994, things I do not remember experiencing during my yearly visits. I was getting both sides of the story, just worlds away. But what I experienced of South Africa in Canada was more than many would in the actual context. Maybe many were therefore strangers in their own country, not exposed to all sides of what it had to offer.

Part One:
Apartheid Space

South Africans inhabit this landscape of beauty and violence, of nature and politics. It is a landscape both innocent and knowing; as we breathe pleasurably in the fresh air of the bushveld, we temporarily suspend our knowledge of the landscape's darker secrets, of the racial division of the land and the claiming of it by different people over time.[1]

Jennifer Beningfield

---

1   Beningfield, Jennifer. *The Frightened Land: land landscape and politics in South Africa in the twentieth century*. (London: Routledge, 2006), 2.
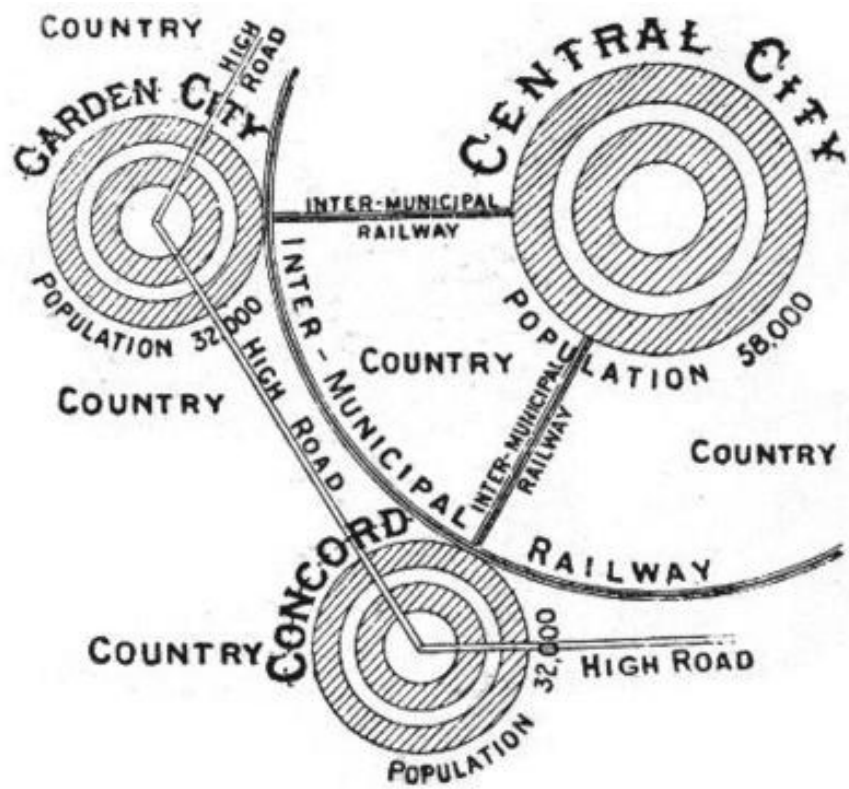
Fig. 4.   Diagram of the Ebenezer Howard's Garden City plan.

As a colonial territory, South Africa's culture was defined by the relationship between the dominant White man and the dependent Black worker. It became a society based on its great natural resources and the industries which exploited them. Like all cities, the spatial framework of urban areas in South Africa was inherently linked to the social foundations of its society. Although political, economic, and cultural forces establish and mediate the connections between different groups in an urban environment, they also become the basis for spatial planning. Invariably, while a city mirrors the social order of the society, its spatial framework also preserves this structure. Professor R. J. Davies, of the Department of Geography at University of Cape Town, presents the spatial structure of the *Segregation City* and the *Apartheid City* in diagram form, showing the development of legislated segregation on the physical manifestation of South Africa's urban spaces (fig. 5 and 9).

The characteristics of the apartheid city were already embedded in the South African system, in the form of the Segregation City, long before its official start in 1948, with the election of the National party majority. This notion of a city referenced Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Movement (fig. 4, opposite), where space was planned to create self-contained communities with designated zones for residences, agriculture, and industry, all surrounded by nature. Introduced at the end of the 19th century, the plans were conceptually based on a concentric pattern, with the garden city linking people more closely to nature. They also allowed for natural expansion by bringing communities together, creating satellites for more centrally located cities.

SEGREGATION CITY

WHITE C.B.D. ■   INDIAN C.B.D. ☐   C.B.D. FRAME ▨ INDUSTRIAL ▧
RESIDENTIAL AREAS

White ☐   Economic Status : H - High, M - Middle, L - Low
Indian and/or Coloured   ▨   Economic status not differentiated
African ▨   Barracks
Compounds   ● A1 - Municipal Township A2 - Informal housing

Zones of racial mixing - MIXING   Domestic servant quarters not shown

Fig. 5.   Diagram of the spatial organisation of the Segregation City by Professor R.J. Davies ("The Spatial Formation of the South African City." *GeoJournal Supplementary*, Issue 2, 1981: 59-72, p.64)

The structure of the early South African cities included a White Central Business District (CBD) core with a smaller, peripheral Indian or Chinese CBD, as can be seen in the diagram of the Segregation City (fig. 5, opposite). The industrial zones of the city were located within White ownership but were considered a mixed employment area. The isolated residential areas were strategically placed, based on desired environmental locations and access to the CBD and industry, with areas for mixing between them, which signified racial diffusion. The circular plan allowed for both the expansion of communities, as populations increased, as well as for residential groups to 'leap frog' an area designated for Black housing. The plan located Non-White residences in relation to their social value for the dominant White group. In most cases, Indian and Chinese residential neighbourhoods were centrally located in older areas of the city, due to their involvement in trade within the city. Blacks were found adjacent to the industrial zones, in both official townships or hostels and barracks attached to White-owned industry because they were used primarily for hard labour. In addition, all Non-White racial groups were found in small settlements on the edge of the city, in the form of townships, and informal or privately developed housing.[1] Those Africans who found themselves in urban areas held no political or land rights, and urban family life was highly discouraged in favour of a single male migrant workforce.

The spatial structure of the Segregation City can be seen in the development of Johannesburg - the epitome of apartheid space - from a gold mining camp to a modern city (fig. 6, following page). Johannesburg operated under various forms of segregation - mostly under the guise of health and safety concerns - ever since early 1900, with the discovery of gold and the founding of the city four years earlier. The city's original core lay in a valley between two ridges, with the railway and gold reef dividing it in two. These barriers naturally led to divisions within the city, as Whites claimed the northern higher ground, upwind from the mining industry. Thirteen kilometers in length, running East-West, the city contained small waterways, the largest creating a marshland to the West of town. This was where the *Kaffir* (Black) and *Coolie* (Indian) locations were found, areas of crowded and unsanitary mixed race housing. On March 18th 1904, a plague broke out in the Coolie location. The infected area was isolated and a temporary clinic created east of the city, to deal with those infected. The houses

---

1   Davies, Prof . R.J. "The Spatial Formation of the South African City." *GeoJournal Supplementary*, Issue 2, 1981: 59-72, p. 64.

Rich and very rich
white residents

Open

Parktown Ridge

Parktown

9

8

7

6

Witwatersrand Watershed

Western Areas

Poor white Afrikaners
and Black, Indian and
Coloured people

Middle class and
comfortable working
class whites: mainly
English speaking

1

Randjeslaagte

2

3

4

5

CBD

City and
Suburban

Ferrierasdorp

Marshalltown

Mining Land

Open

Cosmopolitan
working class
Southern Suburbs

Open

N

0   1   2 kms

Sandton City

CBD
Gold Reef
Soweto Township

1 Vrededorp
2 "Malay Location"
3 "Kaffir Location"
4 "Coolie Location"
5 Brickfields
6 Newclare
7 "Western Native" Townships
8 Martindale
9 Sophiatown

Fig. 6.   Diagram of Johannesburg as a segregated city, before official apartheid in 1948, from *The United Nations University* (redrawn by author).

were evacuated, rubbish burnt, and rodents exterminated. All those living in this area were moved into temporary facilities 20 kilometers South of the city centre (fig. 7, following page), and the old Coolie location was burned to the ground. The outbreak of the plague gave the government the opportunity to strictly enforce the racial separation embodied in the Segregation City.

This created an intrinsic link between hygiene, race, and space. With this justification, the South African administration used a therapeutic model to create social control and segregated spaces. The future spatial practices of the apartheid system could be seen in the layout of the emergency hospital set up in response to the plague.

The 200 m x 300 m space was divided into two rooms, half for those with the plague and half for those suspected of carrying it. Each of these rooms was subdivided into sectors for Whites, Blacks, and Asians, and further divided by gender. The secondary effect of this ordered and segregated system was that it allowed the Rand Plague Committee to produce records of the current Johannesburg population. The mixed-race slum of the city was destroyed, and in its absence, a salubrious city was created, with an ordered and identifiable spatial landscape. The development of Johannesburg as a city reflects these early spatial and racial divisions. When the National Party finally came into full power in 1948, the last remnants of mixed life in South Africa were erased, despite the fact that most of the city in 1933 was already designated for Whites, and that by 1938 most of the Black population had been removed to the South Western Township (Soweto) (fig. 8, following spread). As explained by Lindsay Bremner, a South African architect, professor, and Director of Architectural Research at University of Westminster,

> Black people were reduced to being temporary, labouring sojourners in a white world. Their presence was a constant reminder that a creolised, heterogeneous world was only an administrative slip away.[2]

The spatial layout of the Apartheid City, which legislated and enforced the social and spatial organisation of the Segregation City, came as a reaction to the perceived tensions arising over illegal residential areas. The housing shortage for Blacks was brought on by increased urban migration, growing industrialisation, and diminished materials and funding after WWII. In response, Non-Whites were illegally moving onto

---

2 Bremner, Lindsay. *Writing the City into being: Essays on Johannesburg, 1998-2008.* (Johannesburg: Fourthwall Books, 2010.), 176.
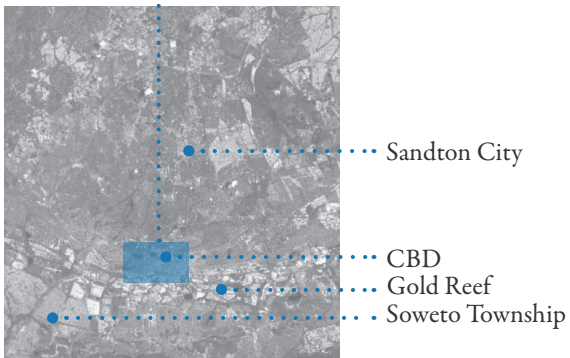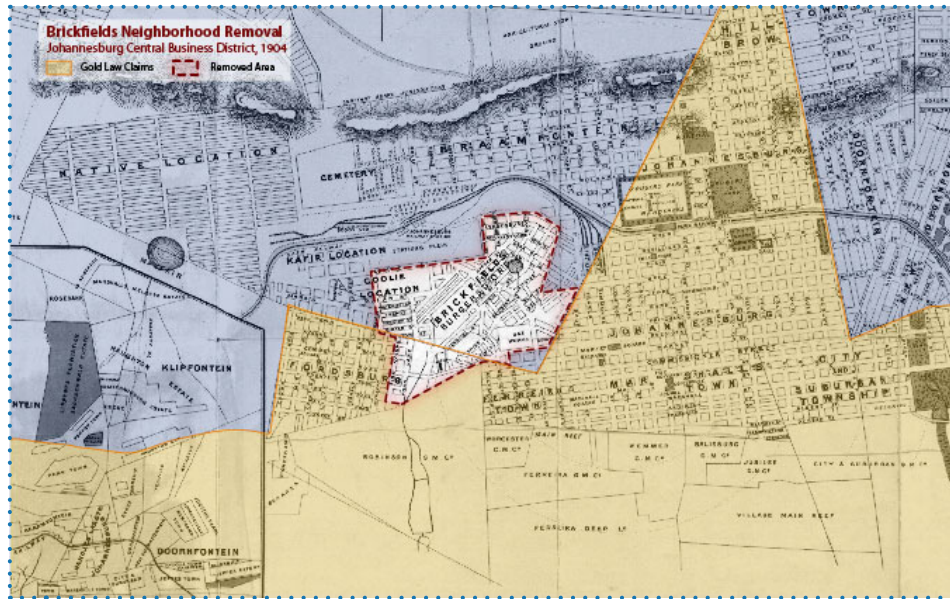
Fig. 7.   Plan of the Coolie area of Johannesburg removed after the plague in
1904, from Soweto: A Spatial History.
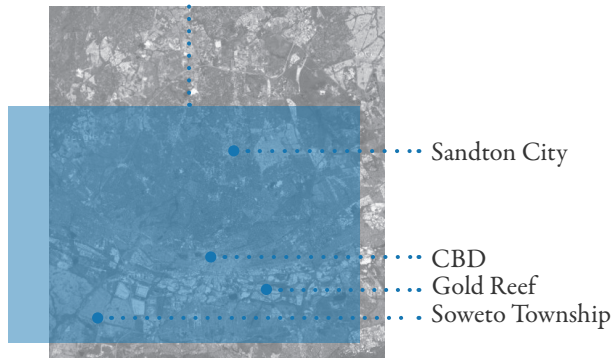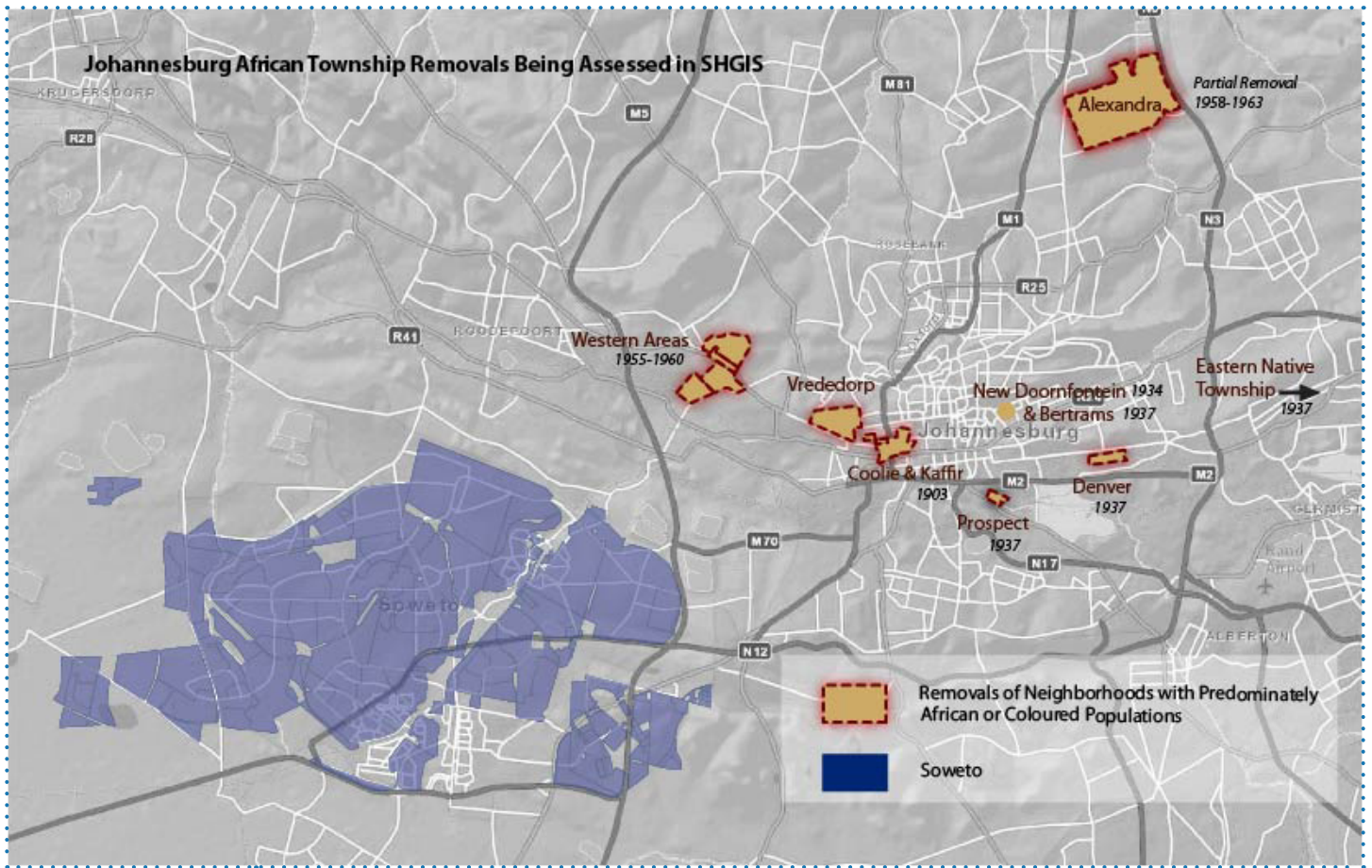
Fig. 8.   African township removals in Johannesburg between 1903 and
1963 from Soweto: A Spatial History.

Diagram showing the spatial organisation of the Apartheid City. Labels within the diagram: WH, WM, WM, WL, WL, CT, IT, I or C P, A1, BANTUSTAN, RAILWAY, ROAD, ROAD, BUFFER ZONE, BUFFER ZONE, PHYSICAL BARRIER

Legend:

White CBD · Indian CBD · CBD frame · Industrial

RESIDENTIAL AREAS

W White Group Area · African Group Area · Indian or Coloured Group Area

I Indian · C Coloured · T Township · P Privately developed

· Hostel · A1 Municipal Township

Socio-economic status (White Group Areas): H High · M Middle · L Low
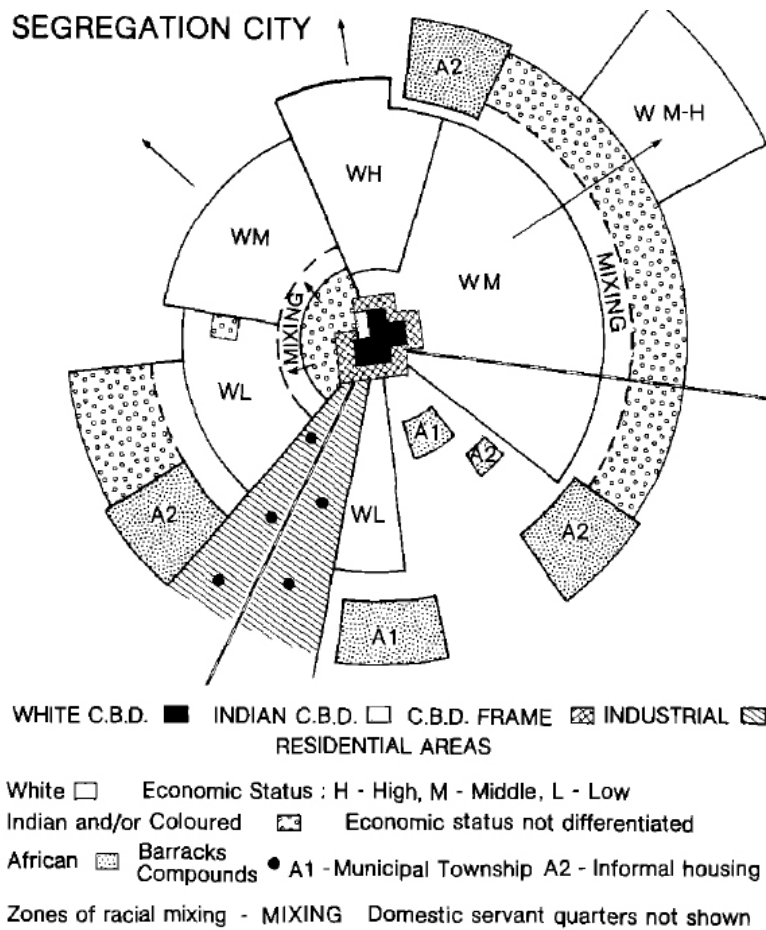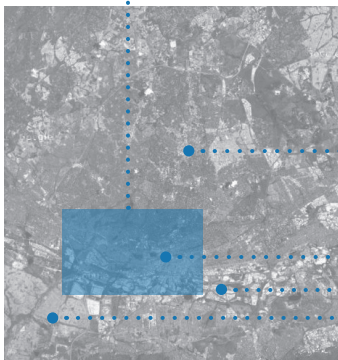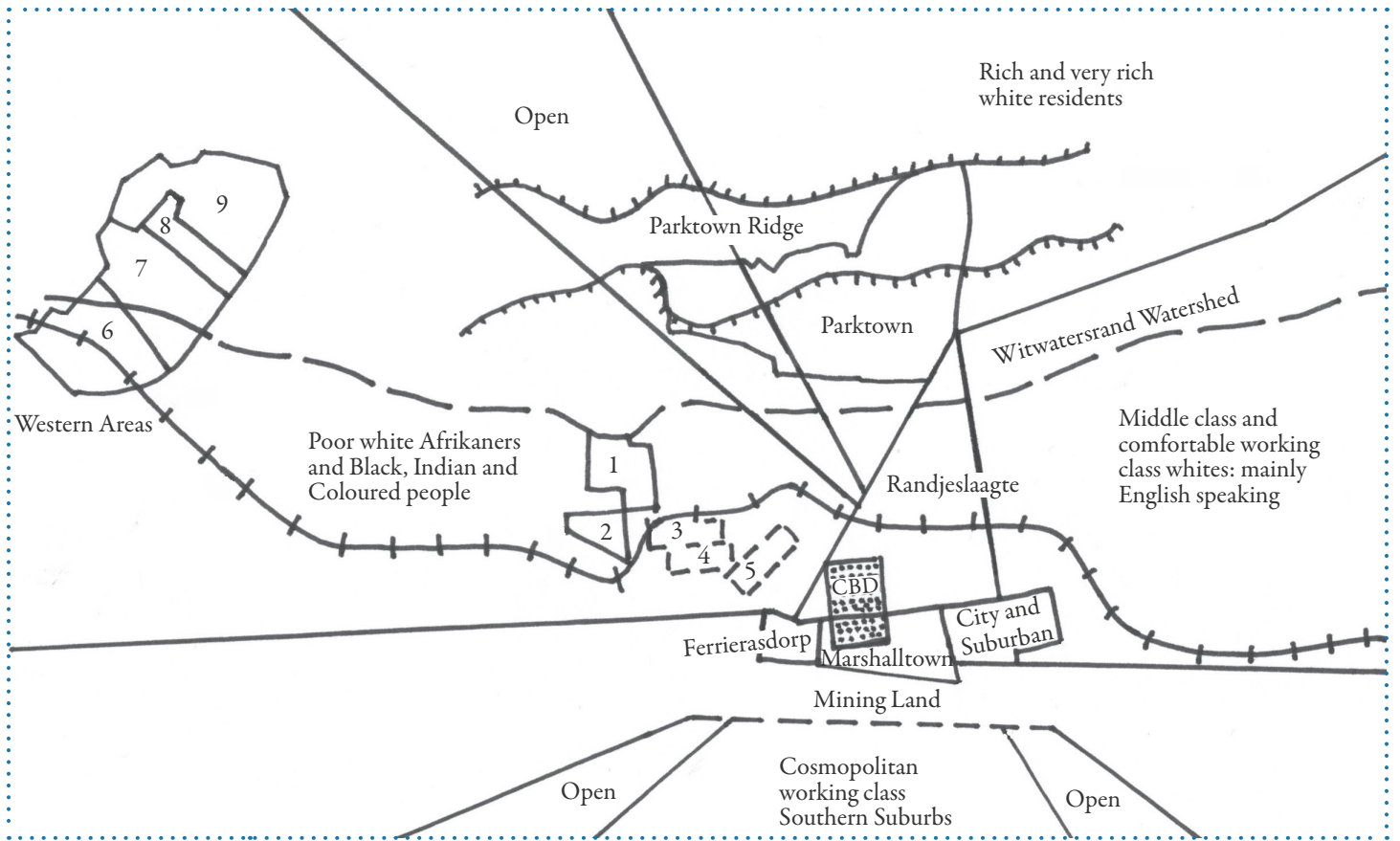
Domestic servants quarters not shown

Fig. 9.   Diagram of the spatial organisation of the Apartheid City by Professor R.J. Davies ("The Spatial Formation of the South African City." *GeoJournal Supplementary*, Issue 2, 1981: 59-72, p.69)
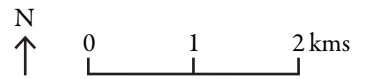
public and private land on the periphery of the urban centre. As cities became more and more populated, the lines between racial zones became increasingly blurred. The National Party viewed this racial mixing as conflict or as a detriment, believing that contact between races was detrimental to society and the only way to alleviate this friction was to decrease the amount of interaction. Through the *Group Areas Act of 1950*, which brought together the main spatial planning themes of apartheid, racial mixing was not simply discouraged, but legally prohibited. This Act legitimised a spatial and racial hierarchy that reflected the power structure of the country. Apartheid used zoning to define and control the way in which people could congregate and it manipulated space, borders, and territories to induce inequality in education, economics, and health.

Still under the guise of health and safety, and through the policy of the *Group Areas Act*, the apartheid government and town planners created a system of spatial control over a large territorial area. They designed residential communities, separated them by green open areas and gave each a separate transportation infrastructure. As can be seen in Davies' diagram (fig. 9, opposite), while the Segregated City had used tactics of separation, the official apartheid city created an exceedingly structured spatial plan with natural barriers, infrastructure, and open space buffer zones to keep racial groups apart. Although interaction between races was allowed in the zones approved for work, where each community had access, the ideology of racial separation was intensified. Movement between these spaces was highly controlled and it was forbidden for members of one race to cross into the areas designated for another race. The spatial theory of the Apartheid City may have taken a similar form to the Segregated City, but it differed greatly in the proportional divisions allocated to each racial group. Existing cities had to be adapted to meet apartheid requirements, while still recognising current social and spatial patterns. The outcome was of benefit to the White population, who maintained political control and were able to keep jurisdiction over the large White residential centre. They also enjoyed the ability to expand further into desirable land. The eventual layout of the Apartheid City, through the *Group Areas* planning, illustrated the restrictions on land ownership and class discrepancies between different racial groups, with Black occupying much less residential space than the White areas of the city (fig. 10, following page). This was made clear in 1953 with the *Reservation of Separate Amenities*
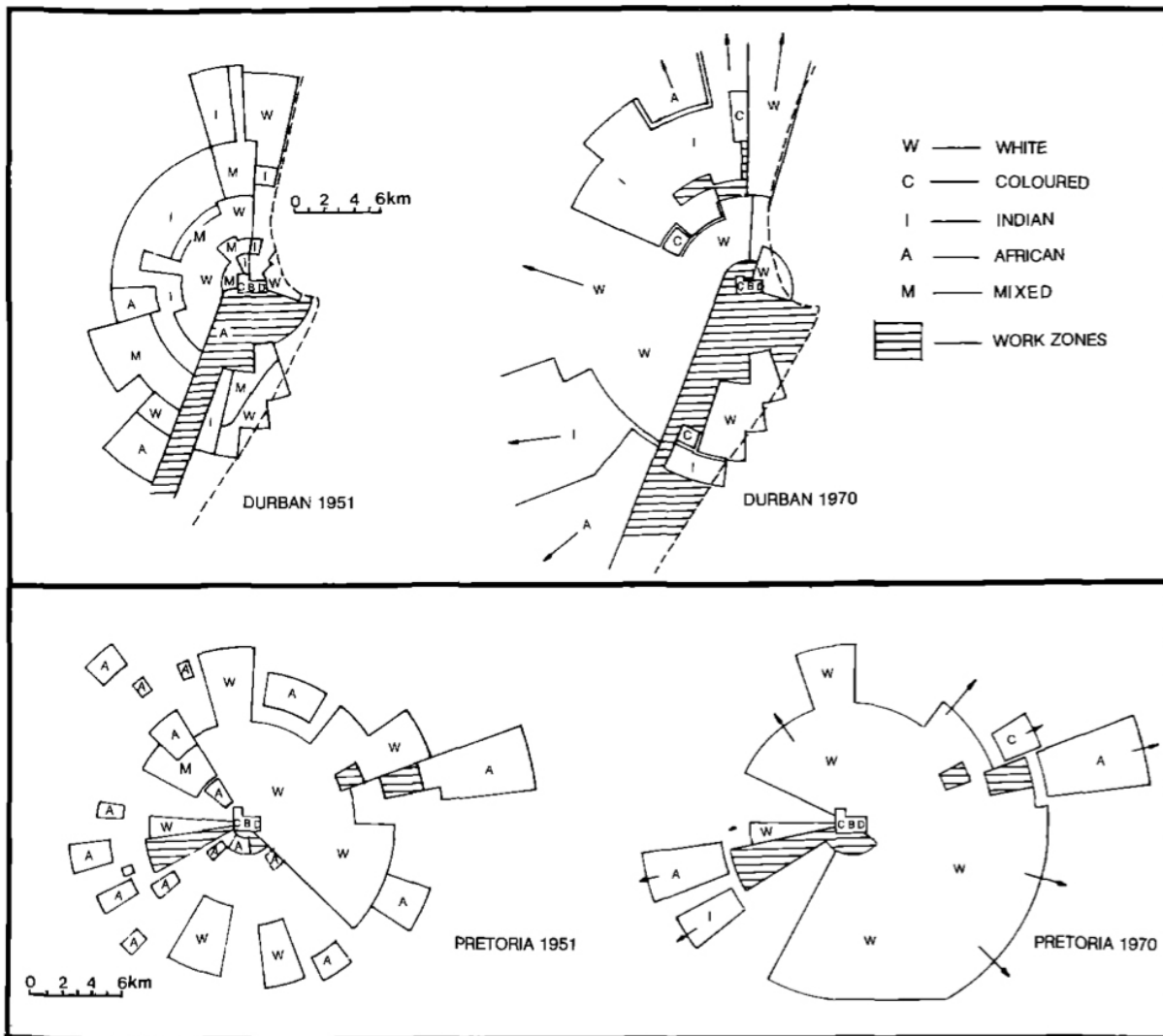
Fig. 10. Diagram of differing allocations of land by race in Durban and Pretoria as Segregation City vs. Apartheid City by Professor R.J. Davies ("The Spatial Formation of the South African City." *GeoJournal Supplementary*, Issue 2, 1981: 59-72, p.70)

Bill, as Mr. C.R. Swart, the Minister of Justice said,

> it was never the intention of Parliament to say...that if you reserve something for one group, equal provision should be made in every respect for the other group. In our country we have civilized people, we have semi-civilized people and we have uncivilized people. The Government of the country gives each section facilities according to the circumstances of each.[3]

While the formation of the apartheid city reflected the socio-spatial inequalities of South Africa's population, it also perpetuated and extended the dominant-dependent relationship created by colonisation.

Although the apartheid city included official segregation, the introduction of the Homeland system was the most extreme attempt at a policy of 'separate development', removing Black areas from the country and consequently erasing the majority of the population from the political discourse. Legislated by Prime Minister Dr. H.F. Verwoerd's government, which came into power in 1958, the plan was justified on the basis that it promoted different cultural and national identities and not a policy of racial discrimination. The homelands, or *bantustans*, which were based on the tribal reserves created during the colonial British rule in the 19th century, acted as independent territories whose citizens were no longer to be South African. Instead, they held temporary work visas and created a migratory workforce for South African industry. Many did not live in their assigned homelands, and were forcibly relocated out of the cities and their homes. In total, ten homelands were created, each for a different racial group, with four becoming independent in the eyes of the South African government, but not, in most cases, recognised internationally. Once a homeland became independent, its residents had their South African citizenship revoked and circumscribed, removing their identities as 'South African'. In the end, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei became independent (fig. 11, following page). While voting was restricted to a person's homeland, the apartheid government still controlled the homelands overall. This was a mechanism for the apartheid administration to manipulate the spatial-political territories of

3   Swart in Christopher, A.J. *The Atlas of Apartheid*. (London: Routledge, 1994.) 4.
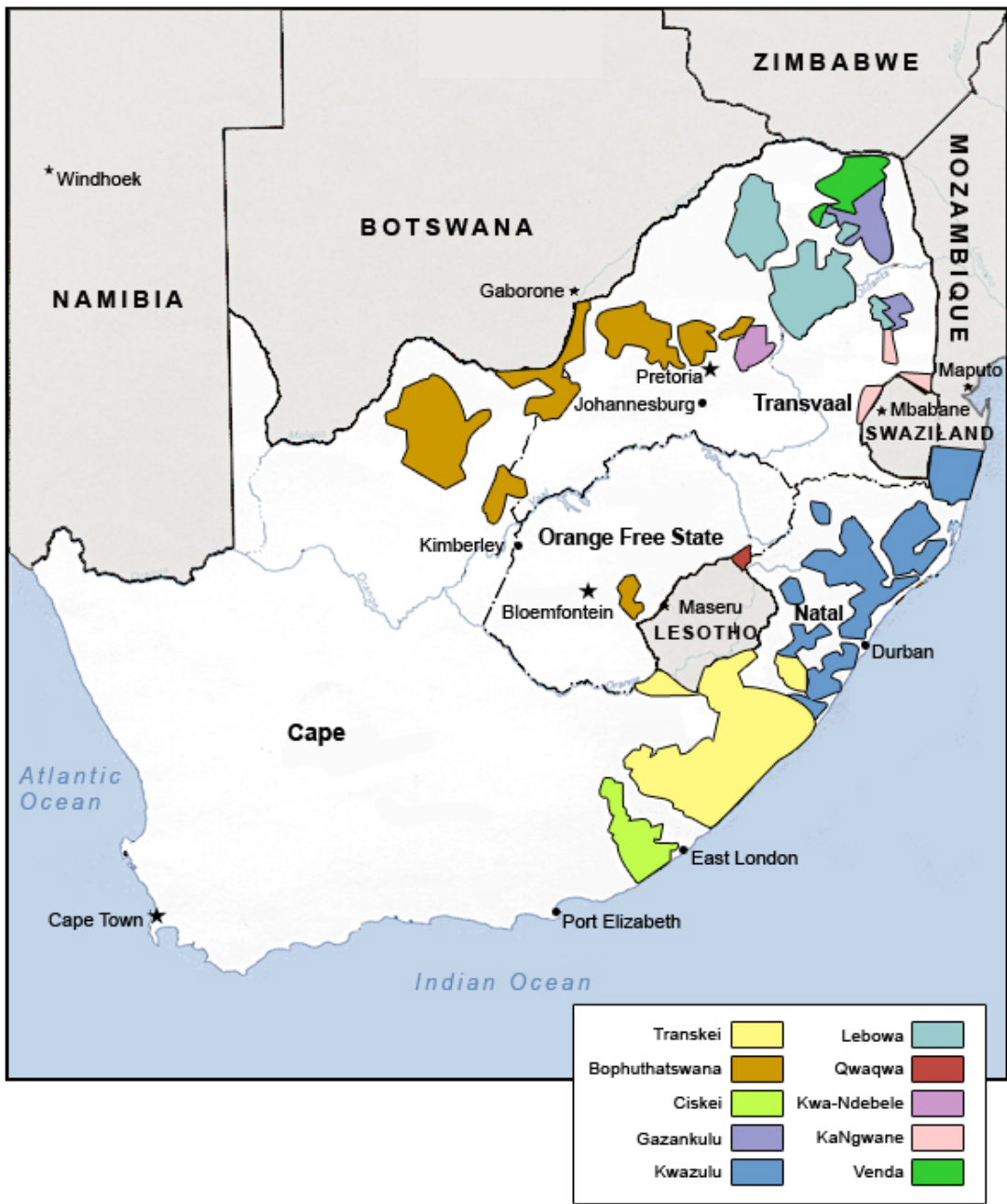
Fig. 11. A map of the African homelands in South Africa. Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1977), Venda (1979) and Ciskei (1981) became independent from South Africa: Overcoming Apartheid, Building Democracy.

the African population, under the guise of 'independence' and 'freedom'. This was not simply segregation, but the removal from the national space of a large group of people entirely.

The wall was not the prevailing instrument of segregation. Unlike the Berlin Wall or the barrier between Israel and the West Bank which lead to completely separate lives, the boundaries created by the apartheid administration were more fluid, permeable, and ill defined. South Africa had what could be considered *conceptual walls* which used other methods, such as legislation, social practices, or spatial planning to separate and restrict lives. Bremner called these "mechanisms for control and humiliation,"[4] and they included fines, restricted land and political rights, and inferior education, all of which helped the apartheid government maintain a state-sanctioned inequality that lasted almost 50 years.

While spatial segregation was imposed through the strategies of *grand* apartheid, with its enforced racial territories and homelands throughout the country, it was also created through the tactics of *urban* and *petty* apartheid. Urban apartheid referred to the segregation of races in residential and business areas of the cities, while petty apartheid describes the everyday practices of separation which aimed for minimal contact between races. These included separate transportation, education, health care, restaurants, recreation, beaches, benches, and building entrances, amongst many other discriminations. Petty apartheid also referred to legislation that forbade mixed race marriages and intercourse, or any other 'immoral' activity between a White and any person of colour. Spaces of regulation included registration offices, hostels, police stations, courtrooms, and domestic quarters, while spatial movement was controlled through passbooks, location permits, or spontaneous fines.

Although it was grand apartheid legislation that reflected the ideologies of the apartheid system, the thousands of laws which constituted petty apartheid revealed the internal contradictions and the absurdity of apartheid as a practice of absolute racial segregation. As loopholes were revealed, or people's movements and actions created unwanted outcomes, new legislation was put in place in order to maintain order. Near the end of apartheid, when the National Party made attempts to modernise it rather then dismantle it, even more petty laws were established and more exceptions made to previous legislation. The end of the *Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act* and

---

4   Bremner, 161.

SSSS

WH

WM

WM

SSSS

ROAD

RAILWAY

BUFFER ZONE

F

WL

OPEN

OPEN

CH CT

IM IH

BUFFER ZONE

CM CH

SSS

BUFFER ZONE

IT

WL

IH

ROAD

PHYSICAL BARRIER

AT

SSSSS

SSS

AH

BANTUSTAN

White CBD   Indian CBD   CBD frame

Industrial   F   Free trade area   Suburban shopping centre

RESIDENTIAL AREAS

W White   **A** African   **I** Indian   **C** Coloured

T Township   • Hostel   Site & service schemes   **SS** Squatting

Socio–economic status: **H** High   **M** Middle   **L** Low

Domestic servant quarters not shown

Fig. 12. Diagram of the modernized apartheid city model by David Simon ("Crisis and Change in South Africa: Implications for the Apartheid City". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1989), 189-206, p. 193) (based on Professor R.J. Davies, "The Spatial Formation of the South African City." *GeoJournal Supplementary*, Issue 2, 1981: 59-72)

the *Immorality Act* meant members of different racial groups could now legally get married. However, this contradicted the still active *Group Areas Act*, so it required one of the couple to change their racial classification (as long as one spouse was not White) in order for them to live in a designated area.

As seen in the diagram of the modernised Apartheid City (fig. 12, opposite), based on Davies' previous diagrams, 'free trade areas' were created in the CBD, which allowed for Non-Whites to conduct trade within the urban core. However, as much of the business and retail industry had moved to the suburbs, this was mostly a superficial change to apartheid laws. Most of these small legislative changes were considered cosmetic and only really benefited a few people, primarily the Black middle class and White industry. For the majority of the Non-White population these changes had little effect on their daily lives. In reality, these amendments were not much of a threat to the lifestyles of the White population, except for being seen by the old guard as an ideological shift.[5]

Although no physical wall separated racial groups, the native locations, prisons, and worker hostels demarcated spaces that reflected the institution of the apartheid system. However, after the Soweto Uprising in 1976, the wall became a predominant device in White residential neighbourhoods, increasingly used to separate inside from outside; oneself from the unknown. Due primarily to increasing violence, the White population abandoned the central urban cores and moved to gated communities or houses with high levels of security. White neighbourhood community groups began to close off roads in order to increase their sense of privacy and ownership, leading to more visually demarcated spaces of racial inequality (fig. 13, following page). Large parts of the city became inaccessible, without permission, forming the 'ideal' White space of apartheid. Due to initial apartheid city planning, this movement of racial groups had the effect of intensifying the spatial divide, as groups became increasingly segregated geographically and socially. As businesses relocated their offices out of the CBD towards the suburbs, secondary urban hubs were created, which marketed themselves to an increasingly isolated White population. The primary example is Sandton, in the northern area of Johannesburg. After the 1990s,

---

5   Simon, David. "Crisis and Change in South Africa: Implications for the Apartheid City". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (New Series, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1989).) 195.
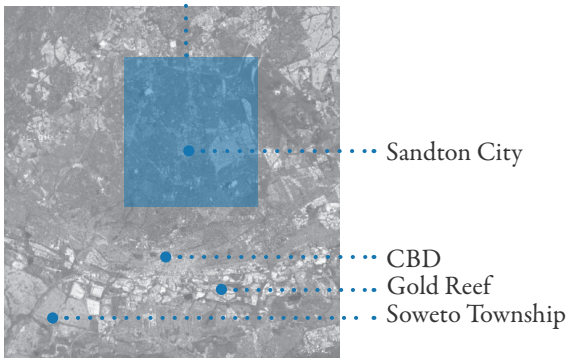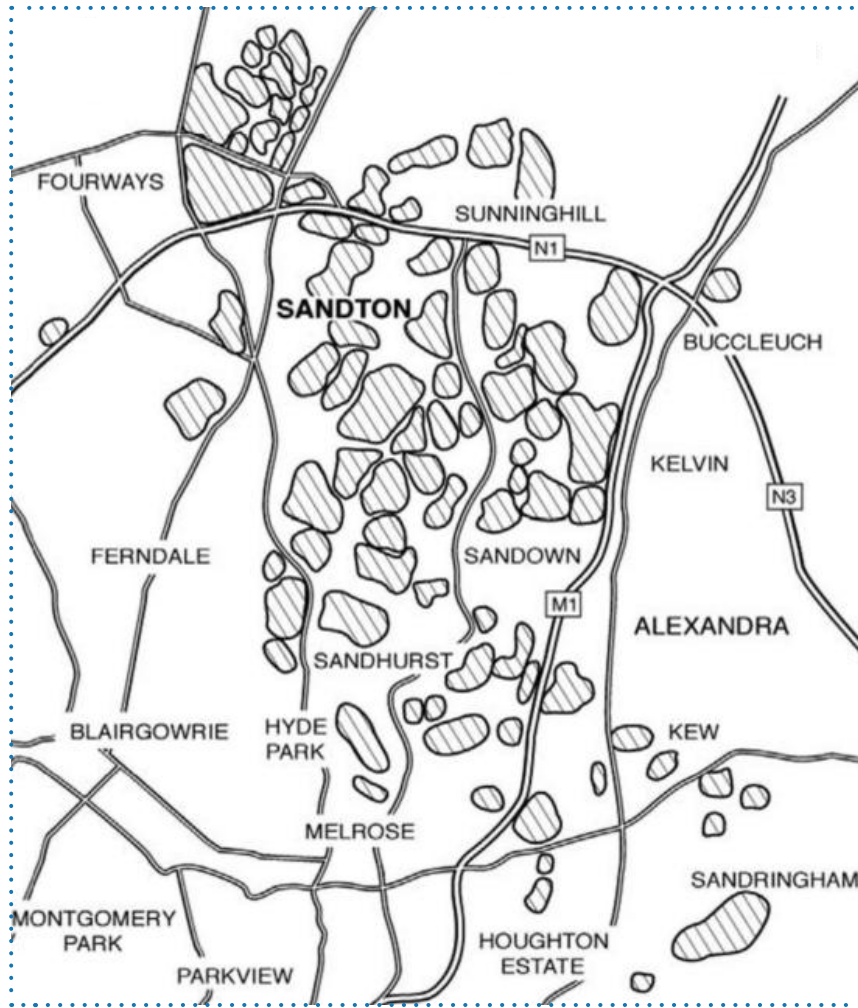
Fig. 13.   Areas of the city that become off limits due to road closures in Johannesburg's Northern suburbs, 2000 by Teresa Dirsuweit, "Between Ontological Security and the Right Difference : Road Closures, Communitarianism and Urban Ethics in Johannesburg, South Africa", *Autrepart* 2 (No. 42, 2007: 53-71.) 57.

with the high crime rate in central Johannesburg, many corporate headquarters moved to Sandton, transforming it into the new financial centre of the city and country. It is still one of the wealthiest areas of Johannesburg, located only a few kilometres from Alexandra, once one of the country's poorest townships.

Although apartheid ended almost 20 years ago, its effects are still clearly visible in the urban fabric of South African cities. Racial and economic disparity reveal the original areas of segregation, as much of the country's population still live in townships and squatter camps.

As apartheid ordered, segregated, and marginalised people through its legislation, it created a sense of opposition within South Africa's population. At the core of classification is the formation of groups based on commonalities, which, in their sameness are opposed to other groups. This produced a fragmented society, where difference and separateness were linked, so that one reflected the other. Separate spaces meant those groups were different, and difference indicated they should be separate. As Deborah Posel explains,

> The apartheid version of the modern state was one that
> was sufficiently large, powerful, knowledgeable and
> well co-ordinated to keep each race in its proper place
> economically, politically and socially.[6]

It relied on this sense of difference and keeping things apart in order to maintain the status quo. However, as Michel Foucault proclaimed, power inevitably brings resistance. This is a story of that resistance.

---

6   Posel, Deborah. "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth Century South Africa". *African Studies Review* (vol. 44, no. 2 (2001): 87-113.) 99.

In all my post-1994 visits to Cape Town, I have never made it to Robben Island. I'm not sure if it comes down to a lack of time or rather a subconscious resistance to what I know will be an emotional experience. The island was converted to a museum in 1997, and registered as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1999. It now offers tours, with ex-prisoners as guides. The idea that someone who was imprisoned there, living under those awful conditions, would be showing you around what has essentially become a tourist destination, felt awkward to me. Every day, they would relive those moments, becoming sort of commodified in the process.

During my studies in Rome, I read that Mandela's first home after his release from almost three decades in jail, was a replica of the bungalow he occupied at Victor Verster Prison, creating, in a sense, a heterotopic space. He had been moved into the little private cottage with a garden at this low-security prison during the last three years of his incarceration. A strange choice for a man who could have any type of house he wanted, but at the same time, quite revealing. It is clear that this place came to signify something for Mandela, maybe that he had overcome such hardship and that this space was now so strongly linked to the man he had become. Through the appropriation of this symbol, he regained control of his past and his identity, which, after so many years in prison, had been stripped away. This little house would also represent something familiar to him, which as humans we constantly seek. It has made me realise that those tour guides have, in a way, gone through the same process. They have converted the history of Robben Island Prison into their own words and stories, in effect claiming an authority over its spaces.

Part Two:

Resistance

Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.[1]

Margaret Mead

1   "Margaret Mead quote" *Quotations Page*. Accessed November 18, 2012. http://www.quotationspage.com/quote/33522.html.

Space & the Body

An understanding of space has as much to do with the body as it does with walls and thresholds. Whether it is the presence of the body, or its absence, our perceptions and experience of space can shift depending on those around us. Apartheid's aim was to control people's use of space by limiting and regulating their direct interactions with those of another race. This was primarily achieved through racial classification, which allowed the government to divide and designate space based on a hierarchy of each race's perceived value. While skin colour has always held significance greater than a person's racial background, this process of classification attempted to make finite the societal perceptions of class and wealth in South Africa. Apartheid legislation transformed skin colour, and in turn the human body, into a tool of spatial organisation and division. Suddenly, the body itself became the key to one's movements through apartheid space, as it either allowed or negated access to urban space, education, employment, leisure, and other forms of public life.

The mechanisms of apartheid broke down when racial classifications shifted, the presence of the stranger defied segregation, and the body of the Black worker was removed. Recognising these relationships between space and the body exposes an underlying weakness in the apartheid system.

...

Fig. 14.   A passbook (Photographer: David Turnley).

In the decades before and during apartheid, South Africa was defined by skin colour. This became a signifier for many things, such as health, intelligence, and morality. After the general election of 1948, when apartheid became legislation, the population was broken down into four groups, based on race: African, White, Coloured (mixed race), and Indian. Racial classification, like a pseudo-scientific ranking system, allowed the apartheid administration to define striated spaces of movement and access. People and space were divided using these four categories, including living, recreation, education, and work. As Bremner describes,

> The skin was a moving signifier, a wall so to speak, that located one in space, granted or denied access, opened or closed doors, determined where or with whom one might socialise, work, shop or fornicate.[1]

These racial classifications were put into place with the *Population Registration Act of 1950*, which instituted the system of the identification card or passbook (fig. 14, opposite) (*dompas* or 'stupid pass, as it was colloquially known) for all those over eighteen years old. Blacks were required to carry these passes when outside their designated locations, and failure to produce it often meant being arrested. A passbook with an 'African' designation basically rendered one a 'visitor' in his or her own country, officially controlling and limiting movement through space, especially with the *Group Areas Act of 1950*.

However, skin colour could be seen as a moving target, as many South Africans were reclassified (fig. 15, following page). For example, in 1984, 795 people had their races shifted, primarily from Coloured to White, but also two cases of White to Chinese, and one White to Indian.[2] Early on, some Africans with lighter skin colour were able to trick the Race Classification Board and attain a 'Coloured' designation on their passbook. In 1966, at the age of 26, photographer Ernest Cole managed this switch, allowing him to be self-employed in the White areas of town. This was something not permitted a Black person, who, without a White employer, was considered a non-person.[3] In an act of rebellion, Cole simply declined to be 'Black', and set about learning the accent

1   Bremner, 167.
2   de Lange, Margreet. *The Muzzled Muse: Literature and Censorship in South Africa*. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1997), 95.
3   Knape, Gunilla and Struan Robertson, ed. *Ernest Cole Photographer*. (Gottingen: Steidl, 2010.) 29.
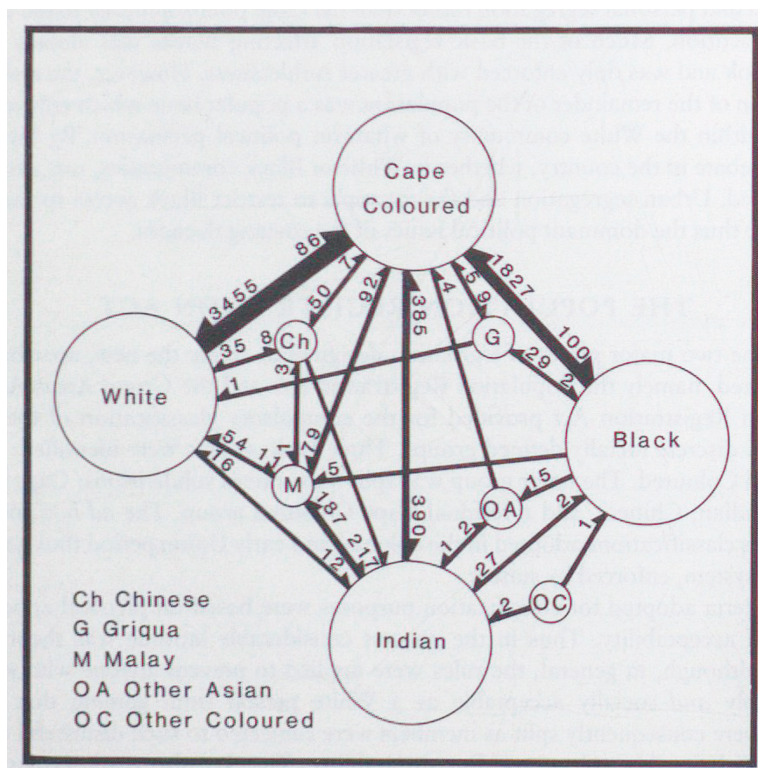
Fig. 15. Diagram of changes in race classification, 1983-1990 from A.J. Christopher (*The Atlas of Apartheid*. London: Routledge, 1994, p. 104).

and nuances from a Coloured friend, transforming himself from Kole (African) to Cole (Coloured). Not only did Cole have to convince the bureau that he not only looked Coloured, but that at least one of his parents was White or mixed race (both were classified as Black). He also had to pass a number of what journalist Ivor Powell called 'pseudo-scientific' experiments, which he describes as,

> the bridge of the nose was examined and calibrated according to Negroid and Caucasian differentials in terms of the presence or absence of cartilage. The shape of the skull was solemnly considered. And in due course you were subjected to the absurd ignominy of the pencil test. The theory here was that the genetic inheritance of Africans gave their hair follicles a particular "frizz" and texture which would hold in place a pencil inserted against the scalp; by contract the gentler curl or straight follicular structure characteristic of genetic pools like the Caucasian would cause it to slip.[4]

Not only did this change in racial classification allow for greater ease of movement within the 'White' areas, Coloured's were allowed passports and did not require travel permits in order to move in and out of South Africa. Their identity books, while not exactly the same, were similar to those of Whites, allowing them much more freedom under the apartheid regime. This shift in individual classification completely changed the world available to Cole. In the end, it was his classification as Coloured that provided him with the passport that allowed him to flee the country when fearing arrest for photographs he had taken.

The meaning of race, skin colour, and identity altered during the apartheid days, depending on the context. This can be seen in the experiences of the Chinese South African population. During apartheid they were classified as Coloured, but after 1994, they were mostly perceived as White, taking from them the economic and labour benefits available to Non-Whites. In 2008, the Chinese Association of South Africa expressed to the government the discrimination they had faced under apartheid, leading to the High Court in South Africa to reclassify Chinese as 'Black'.[5] Bremner summarises this by saying,

> the meaning of skin colour itself shifted constantly. It

---

4   Knape, 39.

5   "South Africa Chinese 'become black'", *BBC News*, accessed November 8, 2012, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7461099.stm.

Fig. 16. *Baby with childminders and dogs in the Alexandra Street Park,
Hillbrow, Johannesburg, 1972* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

meant different things at different times, in different situations, to different people. It was a political construct, through which the multiple subjectivities necessary for the maintenance of apartheid modernity were constructed.[6]

…

The anonymity we feel in urban public spaces allows us to experience the freedom and engagement in activities in which we might normally not take part. For sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel, a defining factor of the stranger is the objectiveness by which he or she relates to people and situations.[7] It is this blasé impartiality that allows us to feel unconstrained in our behaviour while in public spaces. Contrary to the wanderer, who 'comes today and goes tomorrow', the stranger is someone who "comes today and stays tomorrow."[8] However, in a society where the stranger is to be feared, these spaces, which allow for freedom of choice and expression, are much more controlled, or avoided all together. As Simmel describes,

> the stranger is an element of the group itself, not unlike
> the poor and sundry "inner enemies" – an element whose
> membership within the group involves both being outside
> it and confronting it.[9]

The stranger is defined by the ideas of nearness and remoteness, being both physically near to us, but far away in our commonality, creating a sense of relative space between people whose lives exist in isolated adjacency. This has an effect on our spatial and social relationships, as they unsettle and disrupt our sense of space.

Another way to look at the power of the stranger is through anthropologist Mary Douglas' theory on purity and danger. A stranger confronts us and in turn creates a sense of disorder in our environment. She explains:

> Granted that disorder spoils pattern; it also provides
> the materials of pattern. Order implies restriction; from
> all possible materials, a limited selection has been made

---

6   Bremner, 168.

7   Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory : The Multicultural and Classic Readings.* 3rd ed. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004.) 186.

8   Lemert, 185.

9   Lemert, 185.

House plan

0   5m

W.C

Servant's Room

Garage

Bathroom   W.C

Kitchen

Passage

Bedroom

Dining Room

Bedroom   Bedroom

Living Room   Porch

Site plan

0   10m

Garden

Servant's quarters

Garage

House

Driveway   Pathway

Gate   Gate
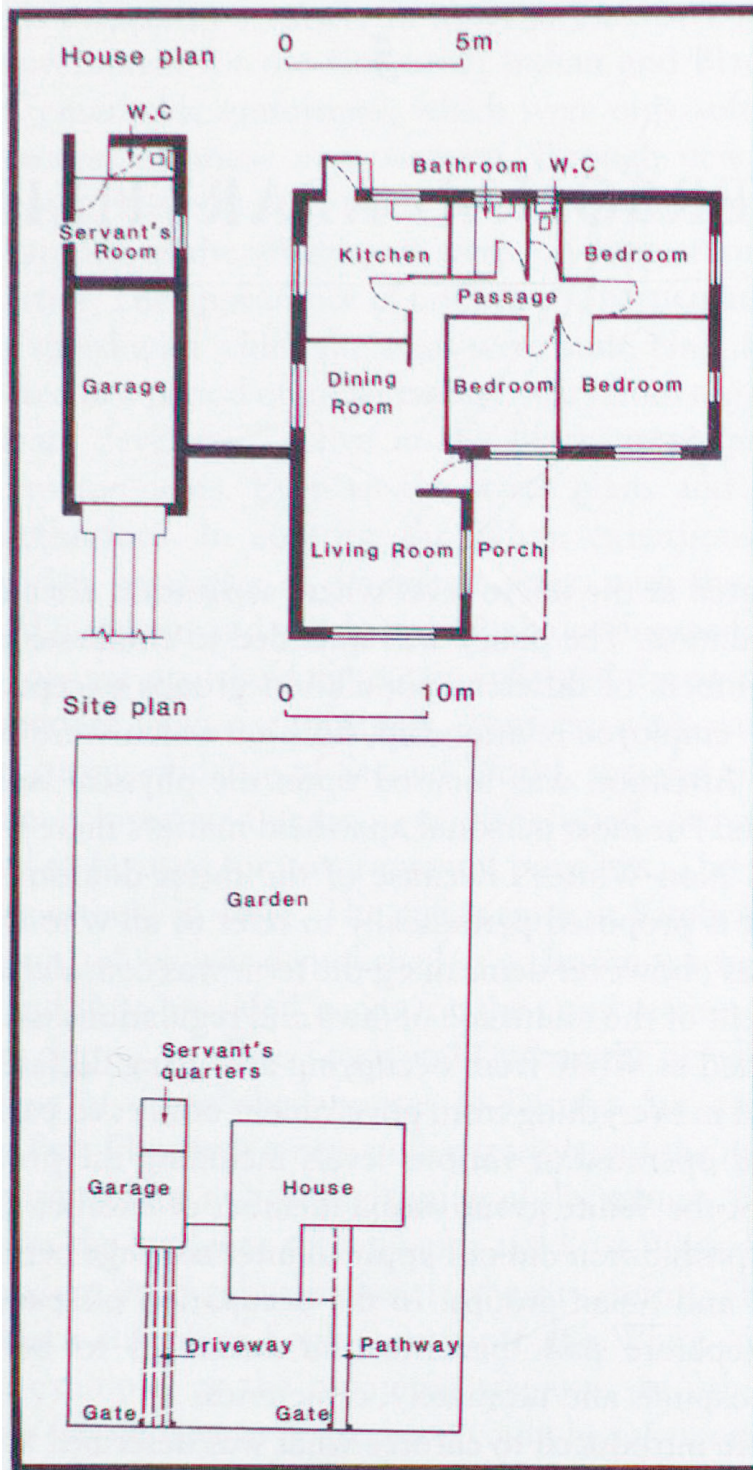
Fig. 17.   Plan of typical house with separate domestic quarters.

46

and from all possible relations a limited set has been
used. So disorder by implication is unlimited, no pattern
has been realised in it, but its potential for patterning is
indefinite. This is why, though we seek to create order, we
do not simply condemn disorder. We recognise that it is
destructive to existing patterns; also that it has potentiality.
It symbolises both danger and power.[10]

Despite the National Party's attempt to create an ordered system, the
apartheid city was never as fixed or closed as it might have seemed. The
city relied on the proximities and dependencies between racial groups,
which created new spatial trajectories and blurred lines across the city.
In South Africa, these relationships are primarily shown by the Black
domestic worker (fig. 16, previous spread), figures that occupy the
periphery of the White worlds, but, while essential to the running of
a successful household, were still under a structure of racial disparity.

 With the *Groups Areas Act of 1950* it became illegal for a Black
worker and the White employer to live under the same roof, which
lead to outbuildings being created, with room for little more than a
bed and a toilet[11] (fig. 17, opposite). The domestic workers - primarily
house-keepers, nannies, and gardeners - inhabited the fringes, "toiling
alone inside White homes, and occasionally meeting on the pavements
outside."[12] They inhabited the interstitial spaces of the city; the
sidewalk, the edge of the highway, and the bus stop became spaces of
connection and looseness.

<div align="center">...</div>

Absence is an act of rebellion. Be it labour, investments, or simply the
decision not to participate, the effect created by this 'void' is a shift in
the power structure of a perceived agreement between two parties.

 These tactics of withholding were used to a great extent during
the apartheid years, as, in many cases, the act of removal was the only
option of protest for many Black South Africans, their physical bodies
being their only negotiating tool. The Black body was an essential
fixture in maintaining the apartheid system, as it relied so heavily
on a continuous workforce. The removal of this element, through

---

10 Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger : An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and
Taboo*. (London: Routledge, 1966.) 117.

11 Nuttall, 48.

12 Nuttall, 48.

Fig. 18. *A flat cleaner going for a walk on his afternoon off, Hillbrow, June 1972* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 19. *Domestic worker on Abel Road, Hillbrow, March 1973* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 20. People walking during the Alexandra Bus Boycott, 1957 (ANC Archives Online).

strikes and stay-aways, was a reminder of the fragile hold the apartheid government had on its current situation.

In 1957, South Africa had the Alexandra Bus Boycott, otherwise known as *Azikwelwa* ('We will not ride'). Boycotting a raise in fee from 4 pennies to 5, it lasted from January of 1957 until June of the same year. What started in Alexandra Township soon spread across the country, with, at its highest point, a staggering 70,000 township residents refusing to ride the bus to work and back. For many this meant a round trip on foot into Johannesburg of twenty miles[13], and had the effect of blurring racial barriers as Blacks walked through designated White areas (fig. 20, opposite). The campaign garnered much attention from the press, and eventually the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, which worried about the consequence to the city's workforce walking those distances, agreed to subsidise the Public Utility Transport Corporation. The act of protest was praised by ANC activists, including Ruth First, who said, "not since the days of the Defiance Campaign had Africans held so strategic a position."[14]

This form of political protest was also common during the late 1980s, coinciding with the country's final State of Emergency before the end of apartheid. Strikes and stay-aways involve the removal of the body from its expected activity, although the body can still be physically present during a strike, such as on a picket line or march. On the other hand, a stay-away, used for its notion of non-violence, removes the body altogether, by advising people to stay at home and avoid the potential for police violence. During 1985 and 1986, South Africa had over 40 stay-aways, and between August 1984 and December 1986, four times the number of work stoppages occurred than in the previous 35 years.[15]

With increased sanctions and international criticism, South Africa's industries were suffering, giving workers some extra negotiating power in their ability to slow down or even stop production. The removal of the body drew sharp attention to the constrictions of apartheid's fixed system.

---

13   Mangena, Isaac. "Bus boycott which forced apartheid u-turn," iafrica.com, November 2, 2007, http://news.iafrica.com/features/666218.htm.

14   First, Ruth. 'Africa South', July-Sept 1957, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957_Alexandra_Bus_Boycott.

15   Price, Robert M. *The Apartheid State in Crisis: Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975-1990.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.) 193.

I have never told anyone this before.

Despite being too young to understand the racial complexities in South Africa during apartheid, I must have been partly aware of the oppression of Blacks, probably through my parent's attempts at explanations. I recall thinking, 'why don't they just paint themselves white and all their problems would go away?' Subconsciously, I think I knew this was not the right thing to say, as I always kept it to myself. Of course, I understand now that the idea of race and identity being so easily disengaged from each other is absurd, as they are so intrinsically linked in the making of self.

The Real & Virtual Sites of Resistance

Throughout history, philosophers and theorist have recognised that space is not always a physical notion. It can also be understood in terms of the imagination or ideation, even metaphysics. These conceptual spaces pose a problem for apartheid, since it was a system that relied on the control of tangible space, not virtual space. Resistance to apartheid in South Africa took on many forms and occupied many types of space, especially as the government became stricter in maintaining its oppressive system. While some acts of rebellion - protests in the streets or the underground meetings of ANC leaders - were performed in physical sites, others became more spatially abstract; they transcended physical borders and racial divides. The internet, radio, exile communities, and underground actions all created alternative sites of resistance, sites that sidestepped the spatial controls of apartheid and spread the continued message of resistance.

...

Fig. 21.   Plan of Liliesleaf Homestead.

Fig. 22.   Excerpt from document outlining Operation Mayibuye, a plan to overthrow the apartheid government.

March 21, 1960 is a historical date for all of South Africa, as approximately five to seven thousand people congregated outside the Sharpeville police station in a peaceful protest against pass laws. However, the crowd and the situation grew increasingly menacing and, by the end of the day, as a result of police violence, sixty-nine people were dead and one hundred and eighty people were injured.

Police shot many of the victims in the back as they tried to flee. What ensued were weeks of protests and strikes around the country, leading to a government declaration of a State of Emergency and the eventual banning of the ANC. The event became known as The Sharpeville Massacre and the date is still recognised by South Africans as Human Rights Day, in memory of those who died. This event represented a shift in the resistance against apartheid: following the protest and its aftermath, the anti-apartheid struggle moved away from the practice of nonviolence and, because of the banning of the ANC, went underground.

This is the time in apartheid's history when the sites of resistance began to change. Now movement, interaction, and communication had to be hidden from view. While still occasionally occupying physical sites, these underground actions created alternate spaces, outside of the realm of apartheid control. As Bremner says,

> these were shadow lives, stealthy, disciplined, invisible and silent. Alone or in small groups, operatives lived in darkness, camouflage or disguise between safe houses, dead letter boxes, dugouts, border crossings, ruses and missions. Their movements produced a shifting geography of secret, silent, dislocated spaces which offered them invisibility and the ability to live as if they were not there.[1]

The most famous of these sites was Liliesleaf Farm (fig. 21, opposite), a group of unassuming buildings that stood on twenty-eight acres of land just twelve miles north of Johannesburg. The house was purchased in 1961 by Navian (Pty) Ltd, a front company for the Communist Party, which had been banned in 1950. While Arthur Goldreich and his family posed as the White owners, the cottage and various outbuildings were the meeting places for a number of South Africa's anti-apartheid movement leaders. These included Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, and Ruth First.

---

1   Bremner, 156.

Mandela had moved into the house during October 1961, under the guise of the property's gardener, before he was arrested in 1962 for leading a strike and leaving the country illegally. He was sentenced to five years in jail, a sentence he was serving when charged with treason in the Rivonia Trial.

As a site of resistance, Liliesleaf Farm is most famous as the place where the military branch of the ANC, known as MK or *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) came into being. A small number of ANC leaders also met here to organise Operation Mayibuye (fig. 22, previous spread), a secret plan to defeat the apartheid government. In addition, the group published freedom literature on printing presses in the outbuildings, and broadcast the first test of Radio Freedom using an aerial transmitter made out of a lightening conductor.

On July 11, 1963, the South African police raided the farm and arrested many of the ANCs leaders who were meeting at the time. What followed was the Rivonia Trial, which sentenced Mandela and his comrades to life in prison and changed the face of the apartheid struggle in South Africa. Despite this blow to the ANC, this physical space of resistance, along with the town of Sharpeville, helped define and strengthen the international anti-apartheid message. Once an isolated plot of land, the farm has since been absorbed into the leafy suburbs north of the city. It is a real site that can be visited, a site of commemoration. The buildings were made into a museum, which pays homage to the significant historical events held within its walls and the legacy of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa that it helped launch.

...

Preface: Emmett Till was a 14-year old black boy from Chicago, who was brutally murdered in Mississippi, in August 1955. Found three days later, his body had been beaten; his eye gouged out; he was shot in the head; and dumped in the Tallahatchie River with a 70-pound cotton gin fan weighing him down with barbed wire. The two men accused of his murder were the husband of a white woman he 'flirted' with and the man's half-brother. At his funeral, his mother insisted on an open coffin to reveal the violence of his death and over tens of thousands of mourners came to show their respects. A photograph of his body was published in black newspapers and magazines all over the US, garnering great support and sympathy for the African-American Civil Rights Movement.

Like the Emmett Till trial that prompted Rosa Parks to refuse to leave her seat on a bus and inspired the civil rights movement in America, the Rivonia Trial, which ran from 1963 to 1964, was a catalyst for the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. Frequently referred to as "the trial that changed South Africa,"[2] the hearing, which took place following the mass arrest at Liliesleaf Farm, gave a focus for the voice of the ANC, and, although it ended in the sentencing of many of the ANC's leaders, it put an international spotlight on apartheid.

When Nelson Mandela, the first accused, addressed the judge in his famous four-hour speech against South Africa's legal system, he transformed the physical space of the courthouse into a site of resistance. He managed to change a space that had consistently worked against him, into a stage in which he formally, and publicly, confronted the apartheid state. He eloquently said,

> During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal, which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.[3]

These words, along with the image of Mandela himself, spread across the globe, raising international attention, both through the official press, and the protests and campaigns organised around the world. Many ANC members were already in hiding or exile, and helped to raise awareness and funds for the eleven defendants. On a number of separate occasions throughout the trial, the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council voted to condemn the apartheid system and demanded the release of all political prisoners.[4] It was most likely through this international pressure that the defendants were spared the death penalty, as had been expected.

Even so, the harshness of the life sentence raised much alarm, prompting many international organisations, such as the International

---

2   "Rivonia Trial 1963-1964", *South Africa History Online*. Accessed September 26, 2012, http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/rivonia-trial-1963-1964.

3   "I am prepared to die", *Famous Trials*. Accessed September 25, 2012, http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/mandelaspeech.html.

4   "Behind the scenes", *Famous Trials*. Accessed September 25, 2012, http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/behindscenes.html.

Fig. 23.   Nelson Mandela outside the Rivonia Trial Courthouse in Pretoria
(Photographer: Jürgen Schadeberg).

Olympic Committee and *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* to end South Africa's membership.[5] While the ANC within South African borders was crippled, its presence internationally grew from the publicity of the trial. The trial was denounced by the United Nations Security Council and prompted international sanctions. As South Africa attempted to maintain the apartheid system, throughout economic, cultural, and social isolation, it became evermore apparent that this was impossible in an increasingly globalised world. The Rivonia Trial and the making of Mandela, the political icon, solidified the anti-apartheid movement, especially outside the country's borders. While the courthouse may have been a tangible, albeit fleeting site of resistance, the message and image of Mandela created millions of virtual spaces of outrage all over the world.

...

When the ANC went underground in 1960, its way of communicating, protesting, networking, and moving changed. This was a hard time for those involved in the struggle, as the apartheid government thought it had quashed the resistance movement. Ronnie Kasrils, an ANC member, explained,

> The late 1960s were the bleakest period of the struggle against apartheid. The underground networks had been crushed, we had ceased to exist and the masses were intimidated. We needed to get a message of hope to the remnants of the movement and to the South African people.[6]

In the following decades, those in exile continued to raise awareness and protest against the apartheid system, including organising covert operations, which occurred within the borders of South Africa. Some of these missions took place during the dark times of the late 1960s. In 1968, when the apartheid government was trying to deter the Indian community in South Africa from the struggle, Ken Keable travelled to Johannesburg on his first 'mission'. In his false-bottomed suitcase, he carried 1,200 letters of ANC support for this racial community group,

5   "International reactions", *South Africa History Online*. Accessed September 26, 2012, http://www.sahistory.org.za/rivonia-trial-lilliesleaf-farm-1963-64/reactions-impact-trial.

6   Duval Smith, Alex. "Secret London activists who became anti-apartheid's unsung heroes," *The Observer Online*, July 1, 2012. Accessed November 17, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jul/01/london-activists-anti-apartheid-anc.

Fig. 24.   The Africa Hinterland bedford truck, now located at Liliesleaf Farm Museum (Photographer: Mzansi Girl).

which he sent all over Johannesburg. This courier system created alternate paths of communication, outside the formal structure of segregated apartheid spaces.

Englishmen Denis Walshe and Graeme Whyte were in Durban in 1971 to spread the word of the ANC with the help of 10,000 printed leaflets and some bucket bombs. Smuggled in from London using the false-bottomed suitcases, the intention was to communicate to those within South Africa that the ANC was still functioning. The leaflets stated, "The ANC says to [John] Vorster and his gang: your days are coming to an end. We will take back our country."[7] Made into 'leaflet bombs', they were placed in high-density Black commuter areas, spraying leaflets like confetti on detonation. At the same moment, cassette recorders played the message "This is the voice of the ANC" and songs from the ANC choir.[8] Between 1967 and 1971, this form of covert dissemination went on once a year in five cities around South Africa.

However, there were still those with the view that words were not enough, especially in the 1980s when South Africa declared a State of Emergency. With the increased political repression during this time, a plan was set in motion to smuggle weapons into the country to prepare for the overthrow of the apartheid government. This was done under the guise of Africa Hinterland, an overland safari touring company and a front for the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK).

     Using a redesigned army style Bedford truck, the company offered a seven-week safari from Nairobi to Cape Town, relying on actual tourists to help with their cover (fig. 24, opposite). Only the recruited drivers, young men and women from mostly Dutch and British Communist parties, were in on the scheme. The truck was outfitted with a secret five-metre compartment that hid the weapons picked up at a 'servicing' stop in Lusaka, Zambia.[9] Once inside South Africa, the weapons were unloaded in either Johannesburg or Cape Town, transferred to smaller vehicles, and then collected by ANC operatives for further distribution or to be buried for later use.

     The operation came under threat only once, as the South African government suspected weapons were being smuggled into the

---

7   Duval Smith.

8   Duval Smith.

9   "I was a teenage gun runner" *The Guardian Online*, February 13, 2012, http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2001/feb/13/features11.g21.

We are shouting   Goodbye
                      Goodbye good land
                      Good Hope good hope
We'll be singing   Welcome when you sing Welcome
                      We'll come
                      Home dancing over grey wastes
                                    grey clouds and grey seas
                                      grey days all of
January February March April
March until all may March right through
                      the year of the land
in a climate of rich rivers   KEI and Keiskamma
                      FISH RIVER
                      BLOEDRIVIER
                      AMANZINTOTI
across a grey river into the new orange ripe and free state
of re-birth where all our lands
      cape
But now the land is called granite and locked rock
                          the closed mouth
                          opens crying
                        an in first humble

            breath[1]

                                Cosmo Pieterse
                             Exile's Re-initiation
                              (A Poem for Dumile)

---

1   Pieterse, 1.

country and Africa Hinterland was one of a few companies breaking the sanctions on international travel. An Australian Special Forces operative was sent to investigate and participated on a tour. The English driver, Stuart Round, believed he had an undercover agent on the bus, but was told to continue with the hand off as usual. In the end, the real tourists on the trip were convincing enough for Africa Hinterland to be cleared of suspicion, allowing them to complete over forty trips to South Africa, smuggling in an estimated 40-tons of weapons and ammunition over a nine-year period.[10]

After Sharpeville and the banning of the opposition parties, there was a lull in political protest. These covert actions had the effect of both supplying tools needed to combat the apartheid regime and of helping to show those in South Africa that they were not alone in their protest. Through the underground movement of letters and weapons, these covert activities created both physical and metaphorical paths between multiple points.

...

Banning the ANC and other opposition parties created 'mirrored spaces' outside of South Africa's borders. Forced into exile, people moved to countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, England, and Canada, extending the reach of the struggle against apartheid. Bremner explains that,

> The geography of this exile life covered a vast trans-continental network of dispersed but interconnected sites, isolated and disengaged from their surroundings. They were governed, like any other foreign military base or humanitarian camp, not by the laws of the host country, but by the constitution of the organisation under which they fell, overseen by its internal structures and military police. Routes and corridors allowed continuous flows of information, ideology, weapons and supplies to weave isolated, semi-licit sites into an informal network of a territory for a nation in waiting.[11]

---

10   Duval Smith.
11   Bremner, 155.

Fig. 25.   Poster for the Culture and Resistance Festival, Gaborone, Botswana, 1982. (Poster Design: Thami Mnyele, Medu Art Ensemble).

These flows of information and ideology were essential, as they allowed the exiled ANC to maintain support, while out of the country. The exiled community created its own system of space and connection, which resisted the segregated spaces of the apartheid government, as it forced groups to seek other audiences to have their voices heard, many of these on an international scale. This freedom of political message would have been quashed in the censor-heavy apartheid system.

Linzi Manicom, an exiled ANC activist, talks about the moment when Internet use became more common, and she would spend her mornings in 'South African time'.[12] The body and the mind could exist in two different locations, given the ability to live a virtual 'imagined' life back home, creating a relative space between these two locations. This strengthens the romanticised notion of the 'motherland' experienced by many in exile. For those living in ANC and PAC military camps and schools, this nostalgia felt for South Africa was key to their sense of survival and purpose, as Bremner points out,

> They paid little heed to the places they were in, preferring
> to live inside their dreams 'of some place in South Africa,
> in the township of their youth, where everything was
> more beautiful, warmer and greener … than anywhere else
> on earth'. Memories of the poverty or brutality of home
> had to be repressed, so as not to cloud this yearning for an
> idealised return.[13]

The very inter-racial relationships and connections that apartheid had tried to prevent were able to flourish in these dislocated spaces. A strong sense of solidarity and friendship was forged between people of different racial backgrounds over a common feeling of 'un-belonging'. Although they might have come from different sides of the apartheid 'wall', and their experiences of South Africa could not have been more different, there was an immediate connection through what defined them as South African. This created external communities which transcended the spatial control within the country.

…

---

12   Linzi Manicom, e-mail message to author, September 18, 2012.
13   Bremner, 154.
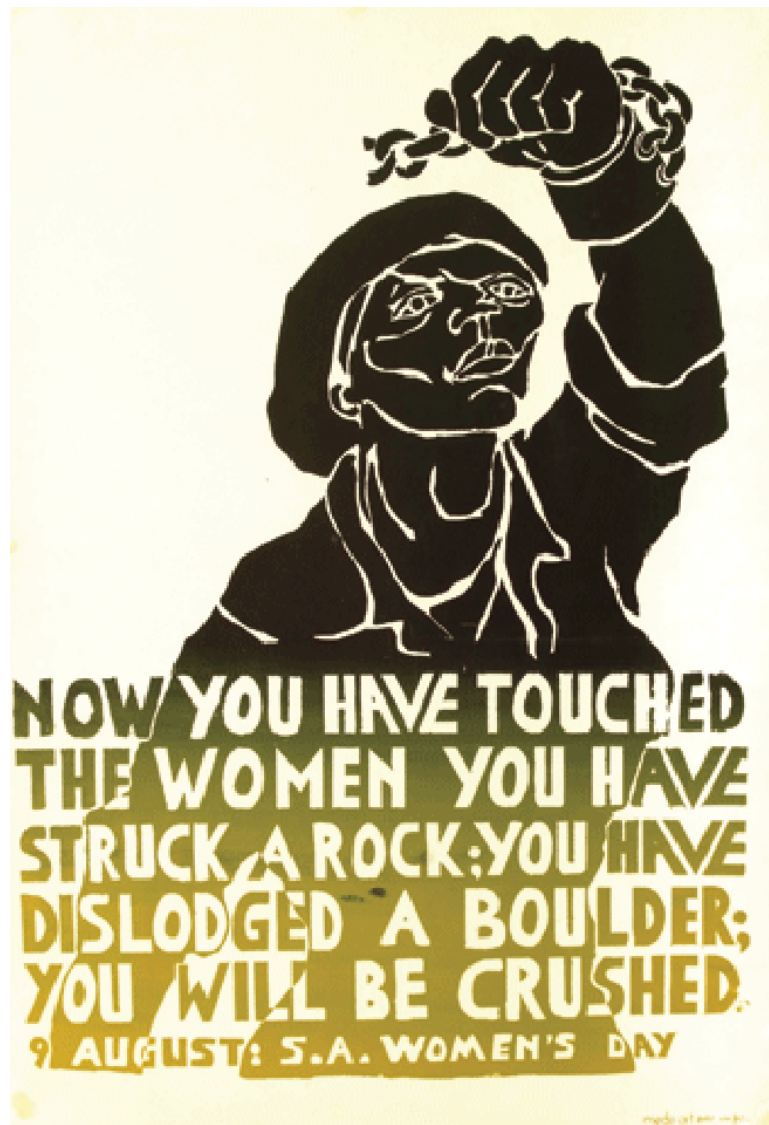
Fig. 26. *Touched the Women*, Gaborone, Botswana, 1981. (Poster Design: J.A. Seidman, Medu Art Ensemble).

In July 1982, hundreds of South African artists, musicians, actors, and writers convened in Gaborone, Botswana for the Culture and Resistance Festival. Many attending were now exiled in the USA and Europe and this weeklong event brought together old colleagues and forged new friendships. Organised by the Medu Art Ensemble, an artist group founded in 1977 by exiles in Botswana, the attendees were treated to art exhibits, talks, and performances.   It was a rare opportunity for social interaction, but for none more so than the Black South Africans in attendance, who lived with the everyday realities of pass laws and restrictions on their movements.

Writer Keorapetse Kgositsile, the keynote speaker, quoted O.R. Tambo, the president of the ANC, with the intention of exploring and recommending a plan for the future of art in a free South Africa. He said,

> The comradeship that we have formed in the trenches of freedom, transcending the barriers that the enemy sought to create, is a guarantee and a precondition of our victory. But we still need to build on this achievement. All of us – workers, peasants, students, priests, chiefs, traders, teachers, civil servants, poets, writers, men, women and youth, black and white – must take our common destiny in our own hands.[14]

He urged artists to work collectively, which led to the formation of many creative groups and workshops. These non-racial groups helped to instruct the new generation of artists and creators, leading to many opportunities for 'grey areas'.

The term 'culture workers' was coined during the festival, moving away from the term 'artist', perceived as elitist, and aligning them more with those actively involved in the struggle. With this change in language, from individual to collective and artist to worker, everyone became equal under the heading 'cultural worker', removing the connotations of colour that 'artist' or 'township artist' implied.

Speaking after the festival, artist Thami Mnyele lamented the art of 'negation', referring mainly to 'township art', which was an easily marketable style favoured by a White audience. For Mnyele, this created a confusing message and meant the Black artists did not work with the 'people' as both subject and audience. He called for

_____

14   Kgositsile in Peffer, 79.

an accountable art as a functional tool, such as sculpture as furniture or song as protest. This form of art was to develop organically from those oppressed by the apartheid system, reflecting their interests and passions. One of the main slogans used at the festival was, 'Art is a weapon of the struggle.'[15] In order for art to be effective as a 'weapon', its message could no longer be ambiguous or figurative, but rather it had to be direct in its political duty. As Mnyele said,

> our people have taken to the streets in the greatest possible expression of hope and anger, or conscious understanding and unflinching commitment. This calls for what all progressive art should be – realist, incisive, and honest.[16]

A major impact of the Culture and Resistance Festival, and others like it, was the international audience it brought together. Like those in exile, this opportunity allowed for new networks of communication to develop, counter to the mechanisms of apartheid's segregated spaces. It also created mirrored spaces of South Africa, where those that had been away for many years could reminisce with those still embedded in its culture. These relations between artists, activists, and community members produced new spaces of resistance beyond the reach of apartheid's control.

...

> VOICE: This is the African National Congress. This is the African National Congress. This is the Voice of Freedom. The ANC speaks to you! Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye!

> (Singing of the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelele Afrika and Morena Boloka)

> VOICE: The time has come. This Government of slavery, this Government of oppression, this Apartheid monster must be removed from power and crushed by the People! It must be removed by force! They will never stop the pass raids, the arrests, the beatings, the killings--they will continue to drive us out of our homes like dogs and send us to rot in the so-called Bantu homelands, they will

---

15   Peffer, 84.
16   Mnyele in Peffer, 84.

continue to pay us miserable wages, and treat us as their beasts of burden until the day we beat them up and crush white rule! This land of ours was taken away by bloodshed, we will regain it by bloodshed. Sons and daughters of Afrika, you in your millions who have toiled to make this country rich, the ANC calls upon you: Never submit to white oppression; never give up the Freedom struggle; find ways of organising those around you – the African National Congress calls you to be ready – to be ready for war![17]

Transcription of ANC Radio Freedom broadcast
1969

Over the opening sound of machine-gun fire, the announcer's voice speaks loud and strong. Despite the ANC's ban in the 1960s, their message was still being delivered, albeit now from remote locations. As the government increasingly repressed the struggle against apartheid, it became essential to find other ways of disseminating information to the general public, both inside South Africa and internationally. Founded in 1967, until the 1990s, Radio Freedom was the voice of the ANC and *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, its military wing, and used mostly as a form of propaganda during the anti-apartheid era.[18] The broadcast delivered messages via radio stations in other countries, especially through Tanzania and Angola, locations of their exiled headquarters.

Although listening to the program was punishable with up to eight years in jail, many credit it with creating an atmosphere of comfort and solidarity, and helping to coordinate and unify the anti-apartheid movement, especially when many of its leaders were imprisoned, exiled, or underground. By using a radio broadcast, the ANC created a greater network of support, and crossed boundaries and laws set in place by the apartheid system. The political message kept the protest movement going, demonstrating the importance of the dissemination of information. Before social media's profound influence on political situations, this radio broadcast helped push against the regulations and restrictions of apartheid.

17   "Transcript Radio Freedom", *South Africa History Online*. Accessed October 18, 2012, http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/transcription-anc-radio-freedom-broadcast-1969.
18   "ANC Radio Freedom", *UCSC Library*, accessed October 4, 2012, http://library.ucsc.edu/content/anc-radio-freedom#.

I remember my dad and I sitting in a café at the Rosebank Mall. A young Black woman came to take our order and as she smiled and walked away, my dad commented that you could sense a difference in the new generation of Black South Africans. Her ease of interaction and eye contact distinguished her from a history of domestic workers and labourers, with the quintessential lowering of the eyes and 'yes baas[1]' responses.

---

1   A South African term for 'boss'.

A Culture of Resistance

IT IS NO SECRET THAT CULTURE HAS ALWAYS held a prime position as a tool of resistance. When people do not have weapons, they use words, songs, and the body in order to have their message heard. In South Africa, culture ensured that resistance was embedded in the everyday lives of those living under oppression. Our experiences of the space around us are influenced by images that visualise it and words that describe it. These representations of our lives reflect back on us, relaying an understanding of our own surroundings. For a community, these carry meaning and collective memory by creating signifiers of an event or person in time. Culture also has the ability to strengthen a group's identity through dance, music, or art, in turn strengthening their power of resistance. Much of this was also outside of apartheid's control. The meaning of a song lyric or a reference in a book was hidden behind metaphor and irony, under the radar of apartheid. People were united through a shared culture, which transcended racial and territorial divides, relinking spaces separated by apartheid.

...

Fig. 27.   Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying Hector Pieterson, with Hector's sister,
Antoinette Sithole running along side (Photographer: Masana Sam Nzima).

The iconic image of Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying the body of 13-year-old student Hector Pieterson during the Soweto Uprising in 1976 became a catalyst and international symbol of the atrocities taking place during apartheid (fig. 27, opposite). Photographer Masana Sam Nzima captured the photo on the first day of protests and drove the young boy to hospital, where we was pronounced dead on arrival. Realising the importance of those six photos, he hid the roll of film in his sock, however, these images were the last photographs he would ever publish as a photojournalist. After learning that the police were looking for him, he fled Johannesburg for the village of Gazankulu, where he was placed under house arrest.[1] The significance of this image is revealed by the harassment Nzima experienced at the hands of the state police, and the photograph, akin to a pietà, reached an international audience, shocking people into global awareness. Locally, Hector became a martyr in the resurgence of the anti-apartheid movement, which had been struggling since the Rivonia Trial in 1964. The image became a signifier for the events in Soweto, taking its place in South Africa's collective memory. Peffer describes the picture as "symbolic of a bloodletting, a ritual sacrifice that would unite the Black community."[2] Although Hector was not the first child to be shot that day,[3] his dying body captured on film transformed him into an icon, the image thrusting the brutality of the apartheid system into the limelight.

...

> In the truth embedded in the writer's word lies that ineffable power feared so much by tyrants and tyrannies and other agents of death that they are prepared to stake everything they have against it. For they know only too well that no strategy or system can ever, finally, resist the word of truth.[4]
>
> André Brink

In his acceptance speech for the Nobel Prize in Literature, Albert Camus said that a writer's two commitments to their craft are, "the refusal to

---

1   Peffer, 56.

2   Peffer, 56.

3   15-year-old Hastings Ndlovu is believed to be the first child shot that day.

4   Brink, André. *Mapmakers : Writing in a State of Siege*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1983.) 195.

The writer may be seen as an expression of a society's need for truth and liberty. It is his responsibility to guarantee access to these basic realities, by constantly exploring the data of his world and comparing these with the fundamentals. His action is that of a cartographer. Having traversed that section of the territory of human experience available to him he draws a map of it, changing *terra incognito* into *patria*. It is a map that has to be drawn and redrawn all the time, ever more accurately as the aim is to create as close a correspondence as possible between what has been set out on paper and what exists out there. Map and territory can never be entirely identical; but the one can be made to reflect as truthfully as possible the contours of the other.

The map makes known what has been either unknown or only partly known before; and it is based on an act of exploration. In this respect the writer fulfils the need of society to know, to find out what is hidden, and to record that discovery. It is a paradoxical need, since society as a body might prefer to be left in peace and not to know too much, since it is so much easier to accept the status quo than to be forced to change and adapt to new realities. But if the writer should fail in his duty, or if he should be restrained from exercising his function, society would eventually stagnate into total inertia, and die.[1]

André Brink

---

1   Brink, André. "Censorship and the Author." *Critical Arts* (June, 1980: 16-26.) 17

lie about what one knows and the resistance to oppression."[5] Truth and liberty are important factors in a writers work, and, as described by André Brink, become indicators for a society. A healthy society relies on the ability to write freely about one's surroundings and experiences, and being able to share these with the community. As Brink describes it, "the imposition of silence is one of the most pernicious forms of institutionalised violence the State has at its disposal."[6]

Taking cues from the Russian intelligentsia, the distribution of homemade copies of literature and propaganda helped the continued spread of ideas, the realities of apartheid, and the movement against it. *Samizdat*, which translates as 'self published', was the reproduction of censored material that was then distributed by hand among friends, while *tamizdat* is literature published abroad and illegally smuggled into the country. In other cases, Africa's traditions of oral history and narration were used extensively and helped disperse ideas in the townships. This dissident behaviour came with high risks to those involved and was not engaged in lightly.

With the censors looking over their shoulder, writers in South Africa were even more aware of the significance their words could have. As Brink states,

> Where the writer is allowed only the freedom to pronounce the letters from A to M, his word immediately acquires a peculiar weight if he risks not only his comfort but his personal security in choosing to say N, or V, or Z. Because of the risk involved, his word acquires a new resonance: it ceases, in fact, to be 'merely' a word and enters the world as an act in its own right.[7]

South African writers from different racial and cultural backgrounds had to find their own ways of getting around the censors. A censor, in most cases, would read the text as a statement, only functioning as reference, rather than looking at the text in a more poetic fashion. Since the censor as reader was quite different from the literary reader, there was a space for creativity in how authors wrote

---

5	"Albert Camus Banquet Speech", *Nobel Prize*. Accessed November 18, 2012,	http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1957/camus-speech.html.

6	Brink (1980), 20.

7	Brink (1983), 164.

their stories. White authors, writing in either English or Afrikaans, could use the literary techniques of dislocation, allegory, or utopia. By displacing the setting of the story or simply leaving it indeterminate, the author could rely on considerable thematic links to the contemporary conditions in South Africa. Creating a narrative by using abstractions, allegories, or metaphors, the writer/censor relationship was subverted. This, however, relied on the ability to place their reader in a certain cultural context, which was not as easily done by Black authors writing in English. These cases were therefore more difficult. In addition, the primary function of Black writing was political, so the message could not be coded and hidden within the text, as it lost its powerful meaning.

For authors writing in English, their potential reach was far greater than those with a limited Afrikaans audience. Their publishing possibilities were not tied to the censors and the political situation in South Africa, but they could rather seek international publication possibilities.

While an author is obligated to speak about truth and liberty, the distribution of these words and ideas is paramount in a society threatened by censorship. Taurus Publishing House created an alternative, less underground option for the production of work by Afrikaans writers. Independent in nature and anti-apartheid in value, the publishing group was started by various people, including Ampie Coetzee, John Miles, and Ernst Lindenburg, with funds from an appeal on the ban of *Kennis van die Aand* (Knowledge of the Night), the first Afrikaans book banned by the apartheid government. The intention was to publish books that would most likely be rejected by other publishers who worried about bans. A small batch of each book was printed and distributed to a list of readers who had previously bought Taurus books. Although the censorship board would eventually catch on, by then they would have sold out, as the printing was already making its way through liberal literary circles. As Brink explains about his novel, *Droe wit seisoen* (A Dry White Season), which was published by Taurus in 1979, "by the time the censors pounced, the first two editions had been sold out and were enjoying active clandestine circulation."[8] In this way, Taurus, which operated from 1975 to 1991, was an important voice in disseminating word of the realities of South Africa and the apartheid system. Not only did they continue to circulate important anti-apartheid literature coming from Afrikaans authors, they also put pressure on other publishers to take more chances, so as not to lose

---

8   Brink (1980), 24.

their reputations. This process allowed for an internal system, selling sensitive books, which side-stepped the formal system of the apartheid state.

When is a bullet wound, not a bullet wound? On June 16th, 1976, as the young victims of the Soweto Uprising were rushed to Baragwanath Hospital, the police intended to charge the injured with 'rioting', and asked for a list of victims with gunshot wounds. This documentation was essential in the process of punishment by the government, in order to maintain their power over the striated space of apartheid. However, when the doctors refused to comply with the official order, the administrative clerks were ordered to compose the record and mark the bullet wounds on the patient's chart. With the doctors' consent, in an act of subterfuge, the clerks noted the patient's bullet injury as 'abscess', with the patients then being transferred to surgery for 'drainage of abscess'.[9] In effect, this saved these vulnerable victims from another bout of police harassment, violence, and possible jail time.

Like a change in racial classification, the use of language and its meaning can change a reality, if it is altered or appropriated for another use. The doctors in Soweto used language to subvert the intentions of the police and to change the reality of this delicate situation. These doctors reversed apartheid police tactics who used language to mask the cause of deaths at John Vorster Square. It was also because of language - the introduction of Afrikaans into township schools - that the Soweto Uprising began, and it was through language, that an unknown number of its victims were protected from apartheid system consequences.

John Vorster Square, a police station in Johannesburg named after the prime minister at the time, was opened on August 23, 1968. Between 1971 and 1990, eight people died while in police custody. The first death was that of Ahmed Timol, who died on October 27, 1971, with the official cause of death as, "opening the window and 'diving through it'."[10] The torture and abuse that went on behind the closed doors of John Vorster Square were hidden behind a veil of words and shifting meanings. As can be seen in Chris

---

9   Ndlovu, Sifiso Mxolisi. "The Soweto Uprising". *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*. 2. (South African Democracy Education Trust.) 344.

10   "Going to Goch Street". Accessed November 18, 2012, http://heritage. thetimes.co.za/memorials/gp/DeathInDetention/article.aspx?id=593652.

He fell from the ninth floor

He hanged himself

He slipped on a piece of soap while washing

He hanged himself

He slipped on a piece of soap while washing

He fell from the ninth floor

He hanged himself while washing

He slipped from the ninth floor

He hung from the ninth floor

He slipped on the ninth floor while washing

He fell from a piece of soap while slipping

He hung from the ninth floor

He washed from the ninth floor while slipping

He hung from a piece of soap while washing.[1]

Chris van Wyk
"In Detention"

I stand on bricks before my fellow-man

I am the statue of liberation

who with electrodes on the balls

tries to scream light in the dusk

I write slogans in a crimson urine

over my skin and over the floor

I stay awake

suffocating on the ropes of my entrails

slip on soap and break my skeleton

murder myself with the evening newspaper

tumble out of the tenth floor of heaven

to salvation on a street among people[2]

Breyten Breytenbach
Excerpt from "Letter from Foreign Parts to Butcher"

1   "In Detention", *Poéfrika*. Accessed November 18, 2012, http://poefrika. blogspot.ca/2008/12/chris-van-wyks-in-detention.html.
2   Coetzee, J. M. *Giving Offense : Essays on Censorship*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.) 216.

van Wyk's poem, "In Detention" (opposite), the reasons for the death of a detainee were listed by the police, absurdly, as 'slipping on a piece of soap while washing' or 'falling from the tenth floor' (it was like spitting in the face of the anti-apartheid struggle). Both van Wyk and Breyten Breytenbach, in his poem "Letter from Foreign Parts to Butcher" (opposite), used the official police language in an abstracted way, each illustrating the atrocities that happened there. While van Wyk made a mockery of the language and phrases used, Breytenbach spoke on behalf of the tortured, and unmasked the coded messages, challenging the police's power directly.

Breytenbach was later arrested and sentenced to nine-years in prison. Although heavily monitored, he was still able to write poetry, but these works took on a less obvious form. In his poem, "The Conquerors" (following page), he became the voice of the oppressor. As J.M. Coetzee explains it,

> The speech of the real-life enemy against whom Breytenbach directs himself is never as naked as Breytenbach would wish it to be. On the contrary, it is evasive, circuitous, self-censored. What Breytenbach performs in these poems is, in effect, ventriloquism, pre-emption of the enemy's speech, presentation of the enemy's case in heightened, parodic, and self-damaging form in a medium – the discourse of the intelligentsia – to which the enemy had no access.[11]

Camus suggested that a writer could preserve a freedom of voice in four ways: clarity, refusal, irony and obstinacy.[12] As reflected in Breytenbach's use of irony, Camus claimed,

> When it comes to weapons that can be used against the too powerful, irony remains unparalleled. It completes refusal in the sense that it often allows its user not only to reject the false but also to say what is true.[13]

Despite the extent to which White authors could write about the tyranny of the apartheid system, it was always from a particular perspective. They could not portray the full humiliation experienced in everyday

---

11   Coetzee (1996), 226.
12   Camus, Albert. "Rules of Engagement", John Cullen (trans.). *Harper's*, (July 2012), 2.
13   Camus, 3.

because we would not acknowledge them as human
beings
everything human in us dried up
and we cannot grieve over our dying
        because we wanted nothing more than fear and
        hatred
we did not recognize the human uprising of
        humanity
and tried to find rough solutions but too late
the flowers in the fire
no one is interested in our solutions –

we are past understanding
we are of another kind
we are the children of Cain[1]

Breyten Breytenbach
The Conquerors

---

1   Coetzee, J. M. *Giving Offense : Essays on Censorship*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.) 225.

life by Black South Africans. The voice of the Black writer was an essential viewpoint that brought insight into the lives of the majority of the population. Although there were Black authors from the early 19th century, it was not until the '*Drum* school' (1942-1970) and the 'Soweto school' (1971-1975) emerged, with 'protest writing', that a solid Black voice was heard in the literary world. This style of writing was mostly descriptive and aimed at a concerned White audience with the actual power to bring about change. The *Drum* school was made up of writers such as Ezekiel Mphaphele, Can Themba, and Casey Motsisi, who all contributed to *Drum* magazine. Many went into exile during the increased political repression of the 50s and 60s.

Later, in 1971, it was Oswald Mtshali's poetry collection, *Sounds of a Cowhide Drum*, which took up the voice of the Soweto school. His success, with the sale of 16,000 copies of his book, many to White readers, prompted a shift by many Black writers towards poetry. Another was poet Mongane Wally Serote, whose book of poems, *Yakhal'inkomo,* was published by Renoster Books and won the Ingrid Jonker Poetry Prize in 1973. The poems reflected an increasingly angry and cynical outlook on life under apartheid.

Not surprisingly, after the Soweto Uprising, Black literature changed, directing itself at a growing Black audience and seeking critical consciousness rather than simply protest. This became known as the '*Staffrider* school', a literary magazine mostly by and for Blacks, which sought to create unity and cohesion within the Black population.

For Black writers, censorship and banning of their work was the norm, not the exception, as it was for White authors. However, the attitude towards censorship was different, met with more defiance. Mothobi Mutloatse describes this as,

> It doesn't matter what the censors say or what they do with Black South African literature, the die is cast.
>
> And our slogan is: never backwards! *Pamberi ne chimurenga*. To hell with the censorship.
>
> To tell the truth we are going to celebrate each book that is banned – to being with *Forced Landing* (banned last week).
>
> We are pleased that the government at least appreciates Black art and dignity.[14]

---

14 de Lange, 134.

Through the South African literary world and the pursuit of truth, the experiences, practices, and realities of everyday life were revealed, and the faults of the apartheid system revealed.

...

> Art is not a mirror held up to reality, but a hammer with which to shape it.[15]

> Bertold Brecht

Apartheid's degree of political repression changed over time, as power struggles intensified, the apartheid government became increasingly severe in its policies and political actions. Anne Schumann, author of the article "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance Against Apartheid in South Africa", explains that the use of music in politics shifted from the mirror, revealing the reality of life in South Africa during the 1940s and 50s, to the hammer, with the purpose of changing this reality. During the main years of the anti-apartheid movement, music was used as a tool to challenge the government and to aggressively promote ideas about a new reality, both politically and socially.

African oral communication has a long tradition of serving as a memory tool. James Scott explains that these verbal stories, "offer a kind of seclusion, control, and even anonymity that make them ideal vehicles for cultural resistance."[16] In addition, the lack of literacy and funds, mostly the effect of apartheid, meant that the oral sharing of information could reach a broader audience than the printing press. Historically, poetry and songs coming from South Africa were acknowledged as legitimate ways of debating the power struggles within the country, and it was actually the convention to use them to do so. Essential to this idea was the notion of poetic license, allowing the performer to express opinions freely, even if they went against the accepted social norms of the time.

---

15   Brecht in Schumann, Anne. "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance Against Apartheid in South Africa." Stichproben. *Wiener Zeitschrift Für Kritische Afrikastudien* 14, no. 8 (2008: 17-39.), 17.
16   Scott in Schumann, 18.

It was not in just the political sphere that South Africa practised the ideas of separateness. Culture was also considered in the apartheid system, which had the effect of imbedding political connotations into the arts. The *Publications Act of 1974* led directly to the Directorate of Publications, which, through the input and complaints of the police and the public, controlled decisions to ban submitted material. Despite the power to ban music, the government relied more heavily on the state-controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), which abstained from playing songs that were deemed inappropriate. Until the establishment of the Independent Broadcasting Authority in 1994, the apartheid government was successful in limiting the music available to both Black and White populations. As a mouthpiece of the apartheid government, the controlled messages of the SABC became another tool in the practice of social engineering. Despite the minimal collection of music played by SABC radio, musicians were constantly challenging the beliefs of the apartheid state, initially as mirrors and then as hammers.

The earliest move to a more political message came in the 1930s, through the identity of music rather than lyrics. Until that time it was American vaudeville and church choirs which were the main influence on South African music. Slowly, in the mid 1930s, elements of African music were integrated into songs, and as Christopher Ballantine said, "the content of the shift was to assert the belief that there was intrinsically a value in the adoption or incorporation of musical materials that were African."[17] Later, one jazz musician claimed,

> music can deliver its message without words. The most powerful anthem of the struggle in the 1980s was a song called '*Mannenberg*'[18], which had no words, it simply referred to a series of styles of music that was influenced by black culture. [...you] would automatically associate them with being free, to have an identity [...] you can do what you like, but we are not going away.[19]

The inclusion of African sounds into new music promoted a stronger and more conscious African identity and allowed for more elusive political statements.

---

17   Ballantine in Schumann, 21.

18   Written by Abdullah Ibrahim.

19   Freedom Sounds in Schumann, 29.

Fig. 28.   Miriam Makeba for *Drum* Magazine, 1955. (Photographer: Jürgen Schadeberg)

In the vein of Brecht's notion of the mirror, music made in the early 1940s was a reflection on the issues of everyday life, and not necessarily aggressive. Most artists saw their struggles in those of everyone around them and did not consider their messages to be political in nature. As Miriam Makeba (fig. 28, opposite) said, "people say I sing politics, but what I sing is not politics, it is the truth."[20] However, as the ANC gained support and people became more active, these songs were perceived as more political.

In the 1950s the anti-apartheid movement began to take shape and protest songs became more popular. Musicians were increasingly politically involved, and therefore the line between the recording of artists own songs and protest songs began to blur. Previously recorded songs became anthems for the street, and songs made popular by protests and rallies were soon recorded in studios. While these songs informed the masses, they also called for action, as in the case of the song '*Azikhwelwa*' (We refuse to ride) and the first bus boycott in August 1943. This song echoed through Alexandra township, as fifteen thousand people refused to take the bus and instead walked the nine miles to work. This went on for nine days, until the bus company removed the previous fare increase. Specific politicians were often named directly. Mandela recalls singing '*Naants'indod'emnyama, Verwoerd bhasobha, naants'indod'emnyama*' ('behold the advancing blacks, Verwoerd. Beware of the advancing blacks') during the Rivonia Trial, naming Hendrik Verwoerd, the prime minister from 1958 to 1966, and the man responsible for the realisation of apartheid. As he said, "we sang at the top of our lungs and it kept our spirits high."[21] Mandela made it clear that these songs provided a feeling of solidarity and strength to both an individual and a group, creating a form of relational space between those involved.

In some circumstances, it was not necessarily the lyrics that were politicised, but rather the context in which the song was sung. This can be seen in the case of '*Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*' (God Bless Africa), a prayer song that was used first in a political context and then as the national anthem of South Africa. Interestingly, this mirrors the course of Mandela himself, from a political 'terrorist' to the eventual president. A secondary and hidden significance could be found in a song's superficial meaning, as '*Udumo Lwamaphoyisa*' (A Strong Police Force) was a warning for shebeen owners of nearby police.

---

20   Makeba in Schumann, 22.
21   Mandela in Schumann, 23.
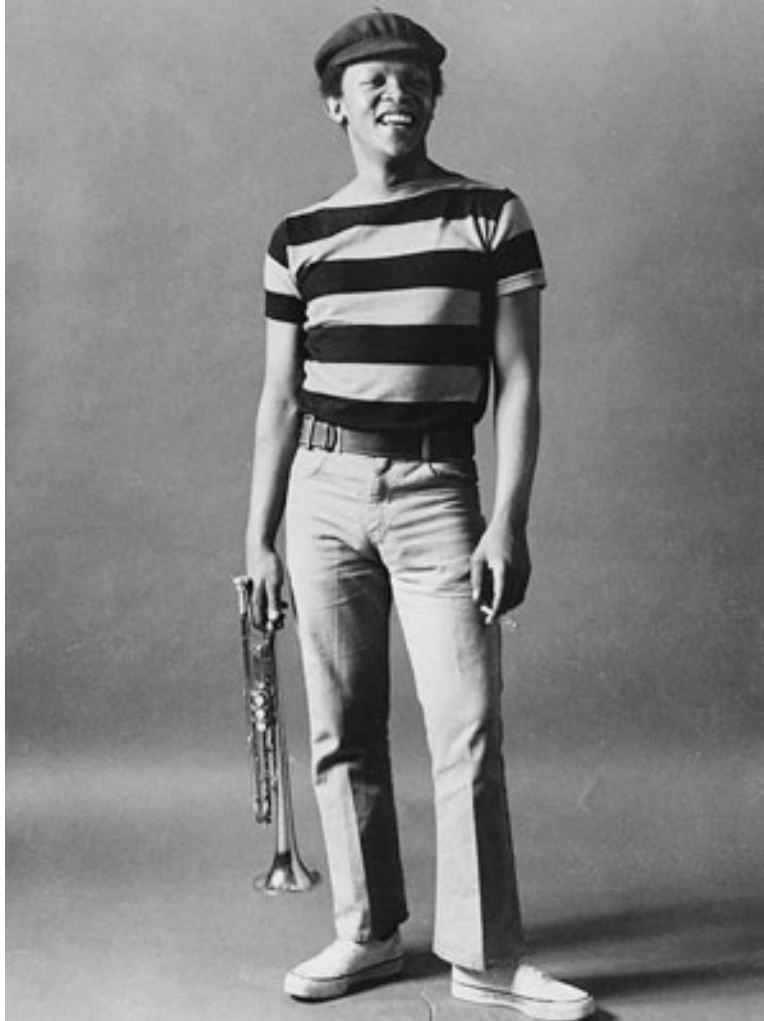
Fig. 29.   Hugh Masekela (Photographer: Unknown).

After the banning of the ANC, the exile of many of the country's most prominent performers, and the increasingly harsh policies from the SABC, South Africa's music scene was left traumatised. According to Hugh Masekela (fig. 29, opposite), famed South African jazz musician, "music became an even more important weapon in the struggle as any possibility of open legitimate protest had come to an end after the Sharpeville massacre."[22] The music at this time began to reflect this sombre feeling, as the lyrics became more desolate in tone, which is reflected in the song '*Thina Sizwe*':

Thina Sizwe, thina sizwe esinsundu	We the nation, we the black nation
Sikhalela, sikhalela izwelethu	We mourn, we mourn for our land
Elathathwa, elathathwa ngabamhlope	Stolen from us, stolen from us by the white man
Mabayeke, mabayek'umhlaba wethu	Let them leave, let them leave our land[23]

Although the mood may have become sombre, musician Sibongile Khumalo explains, "you have no other option but to stand up and go and fight,"[24] which many people continued to do.

The South African struggle regained momentum after the Soweto Uprising in 1976, as music once again became indisputably political, but this time, shrouded in metaphor. In the album 'Universal Men', Juluka band members Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu explain,

> This next song describes two fighting bulls. One is large and strong with huge horns and one is small with tiny horns. But as they fight it becomes clear that the little bull is going to beat the big one. From this story comes a Zulu proverb, which says: the bull does not stab with his horns but with his fighting knowledge. It is the spirit that counts, not superior weaponry. It is a tale that symbolises the victory of the underdog over his oppressor.[25]

As music was widespread throughout South Africa, songs took on an almost folk-like function, and familiarity allowed people to

---

22   Masekela in Schumann, 25.

23   Schumann, 26.

24   Khumalo in Schumann, 26.

25   Clegg and Mchunu in Schumann, 26.
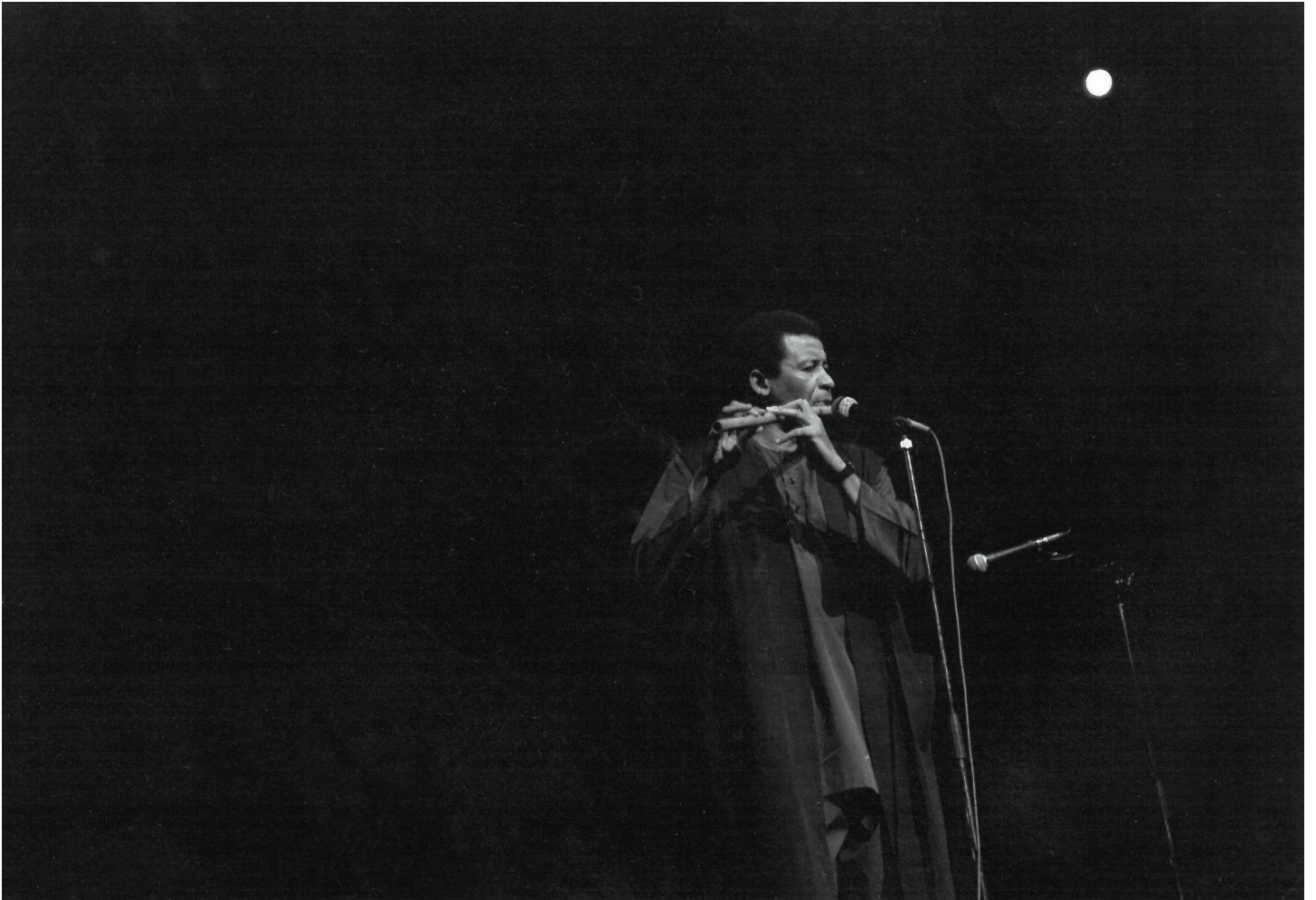
Fig. 30. Abdullah Ibrahim at the Culture in Another South Africa
Conference, Amsterdam, 1987 (Photographer: Margaret Bruun-Meyer).

transform the lyrics into new meanings. Although the texts may have been changed to fit within the apartheid constraints, many audiences knew the original lyrics or could recognise the subtle word plays, and in live concerts, would adjust their singing accordingly. In his song 'Slave', Lucky Dube speaks about a liquor slave, which, when sung by the public, would be shifted to legal slave. Another play on words, never noticed by the censorship board, was an album of revolutionary songs entitled '*A Naatjie in Our Sosatie*' ('a tangerine in our kebab' in Afrikaans), which, when spoken, was a reference to 'Anarchy in our Society'.

As the apartheid struggle became much more militant, so did the music. Lyrics began to reflect the urgency felt by the anti-apartheid movement after 1976. Songs recognised the growing guerrilla forces taking shape outside the South African borders, as more and more young people went to ANC military training camps. With lyrics such as, "They are lying to themselves. Arresting us, killing us, won't work. We'll still fight for our land", or "We have left, our mothers and fathers don't know where we are, to country they have never been, fighting for our freedom,"[26] the rising anger felt by the youth of South Africa was revealed. No longer were messages of protest being hidden under subtext or insinuations, but rather they confronted the government and apartheid system head on.

With its policies of segregation and separate development, the apartheid government considered one's musical tastes to be a political, rather than a personal preference. Musical styles were meant to stay distinct from each other, in orderly and definable fashion. During the mid 1980s, many bands were now experimenting with musical styles, combining various types of music, from traditional African sounds to contemporary rock or bebop. As Ballantine explains,

> it is what these integrations discovered and made possible
> that was exciting and important, for, like their audiences,
> the bands were wholly non-racial, rejecting in their
> behaviour and commitment, centuries of racial and class
> dichotomy. Their music was an alchemy, helping, in its
> way, to corrode the old social order and to liberate the
> new.[27]

---

26   Schumann, 32.
27   Ballantine in Schumann, 33.

Fig. 31.   A gumboot dance performance.

Fig. 32.   Women doing a toyi-toyi protest march/dance.

This act of blending was not simply the case with the music being played, but also the audiences listening. Clubs, such as Kippie's in Johannesburg, began to attract and cater to an interracial clientele, shifting the physical boundaries between races.

Music has the ability to transcend order as it promotes impromptu singing and dancing and other moments of play. As Mandela said,

> The curious beauty of African music is that it uplifts as it tells a sad tale. [...] African music is often about the aspirations of African people, and it can ignite the political resolve of those who might otherwise be indifferent to politics. [...] Politics can strengthen music but music has a potency that defies politics.[28]

These temporary events and spectacles helped to strengthen cultures and unite racial groups, as they allowed for commonality, through which shared spaces were created.

...

Like an underground Morse Code, gumboot dancing was originally used as a form of communication between gold miners, as talking was prohibited while working (fig. 31, opposite). With labourers from all parts of the country, this method of communication crossed oral and cultural divides between tribal and racial groups. It also acted as a substitute for drumming, which had been restricted by the apartheid authorities. While the mine administrators removed any sense of cultural identity in its workers, including their traditional dress, the only tools they had for adapting to this oppressive system were their bodies and their boots.

Defined by the large rain boots, or gumboots, worn by the miners, most of the steps represented a caricature or mockery of the authorities under whose control they lived. The words and names used by the 'leader', as instructions for the dance sequences, reflected the experiences of daily life and working in the mines. Phrases such as *dayinja* (danger), *abelungu* (white people), or *amaphoyisa* (police), speak to this coded language brought about through dance.[29] While

---

28   Mandela in Schumann, 35.
29   "Gumboot Dance", *Otoplasma*. Accessed October 18, 2012, http://otoplasma.com/gumboots/dance.html.

the individual dancer's movements are fluid and uninhibited, the group, as a whole creates a unified sound, signifying strength and solidarity. Created out of necessity and in repression, gumboot dancing became both an expression of joyfulness, as can be heard in the uplifting rhythms and voices, and of resistance, as a means of continued communication.

Toyi-toyi, a more aggressive form of protest dance, was commonplace after the Soweto Riots, as the anti-apartheid struggle became more aggressive in general (fig. 32, previous spread). Explained by activist Vincent Vena, "toyi-toyi was like a weapon when you didn't have guns, didn't have teargas. It's a tool that we used in war".[30] Believed to have originated in Zimbabwe, the dance was used in both protest and in celebration, and strongly revealed the exuberance with which those living under apartheid rule faced their oppressors.

    The toyi-toyi movements - an exaggerated march with arms holding invisible shields and spears above the dancers head - created a frenzied scene when done by a large group. The chant is a leader-response combination, which usually involved the leader shouting *Amandla* (Power) and the crowd responding with *Awethu* (to us), the statement of 'Power to the people'. It was an effective way of instilling fear in the police who tried to control their movements, through the combination of fast-paced movements and chanting. As one former police commander explained,

> Most of the riot police who had to contain those marches were shit-scared of the chanting blacks confronting them. Here was an unarmed mob instilling fear just by their toyi-toyi![31]

    Halfway between a march and a dance, the effectiveness of the toyi-toyi is that it can be done by almost anyone without any additional equipment. This guaranteed its continued widespread use at protests, rallies and celebrations until the present.

Like the use of the body in protests, dance created new thresholds and spaces between people and perceptions of space changed with its appropriation as sites of celebration and spectacle.

...

30   Schumann, 32.

31   'Amandla! A four part harmony', 2002.

> To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed.
> It means putting oneself into a certain relation to the world
> that feels like knowledge - and, therefore, like power.[32]
>
> Susan Sontag

In photographer Alf Kumalo's obituary, he is quoted as saying,

> I couldn't imagine Black people folding their hands. I
> knew the bitterness and the desire for freedom. I knew
> people were ready to sacrifice their lives for freedom. And
> they did.[33]

As a leader in documentary photography during apartheid and South Africa's eventual democracy, Kumalo continued a long-standing tradition of photojournalism in South Africa, exposing the everyday lives of Blacks, and capturing moments of intense political tension and struggle.

Kumalo was in good company. Working at the same time were, amongst others, Ernest Cole, Jürgen Schadeberg, and Peter Magubane. At *Drum* magazine, under the guidance of Schadeberg, a young German, Cole and Magubane developed into great photographers, with the ability to tell a story through a simple photograph.

Many photographers had their break at *Drum*, usually with harsh consequences to themselves. As *Drum* editor David Hazelhurst points out, "the police hated journalists – and photographers in particular, for their pictures portrayed the truth about an evil system."[34] Magubane was arrested and placed in solitary confinement for two years, while Cole eventually sought refuge in Europe and then America, after he refused to turn informant for the police.

With a police ban on photography at most events, getting a shot was not always easy, and photographers had to think fast and creatively. Kumalo would set his timer and balance his camera on his head, playfully dancing around and, unbeknownst to the police, taking photos the whole time. Magubane used to hide his camera in a

32   Sontag, Susan. *On Photography.* (New York: A Delta Book, 1973.) 5.

33   "Alf Kumalo," *The Telegraph Online,* October 25, 2012. Accessed October 28, 2012. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/politics-obituaries/9634223/ Alf-Kumalo.html.

34   "Veteran photographer Alf Kumalo wins the 2005 Nat Nakasa Award". *SA National Editors Forum*, April 17, 2007, Accessed October 25, 2012.

hollowed out bible or loaf of bread. This defiant attitude helped them capture images of police violence and protests, freezing these moments in time and space.

David Goldblatt, a White Jewish South African, was documenting life under apartheid during this same period. While the photographers at *Drum* were more involved in photojournalism, Goldblatt was fascinated by the everyday lives and regular activities of South Africans. He photographed Black workers in the mines, Indian families living in the 'White area' of Hillbrow, and Afrikaans farmers in the South African landscape. Although his photographs were not as overtly political, his movements across these racial boundaries revealed many of the hidden stories of the apartheid system. As Paul Weinburg, co-founder of the photography collective Afrapix, said,

> Maybe we should start by recognizing that it is people out there that make this struggle. It is people that make those statistics. [...] it is not simply the politicians, the press conferences and the talking heads that are important.[35]

Afrapix, which existed between 1982 and 1991, was formed by a group of both Black and White photographers, developing what became known as 'struggle photography'. They believed photographers should use their unique skills to fight for change in South Africa, taking on the role of political activists. Photography played a key role in maintaining some form of cultural identity, even as apartheid stripped away the humanity and dignity of a country and its people. Cedric Nunn, a member of Afrapix, said,

> I think that particularly in a country like South Africa where for centuries and particularly in the last four decades or so there has been an overt attempt to remove people's identities or to make them something other than what they are, there is a huge potential there for using photography in a way that could actually, in some small measure, get people back to their identity, get people back their control of identity.[36]

---

35   Weinburg in Alvarez, David, "Photographing Resistance to the Menace and Alienation of Apartheid Transport – Santu Mofokeng's 'Train Churches", *Alternation*, 1996, accessed October 26, 2012, http://www.americansuburbx.com/2012/05/santu-mofokeng-photographing-resistance-to-the-menace-and-alienation-of-apartheid-transport-santu-mofokengs-train-churches-1996.html, 2.
36   Nunn in Alvarez, 1.

This notion of the image and identity is a complicated one. The risk of this 'struggle' documentary photography is that it can construct victims as it seeks them out. When an image is captured, its historical context is frozen, but so is the representation of its subject. With respect to the subject of the suffering Black body, Jane Taylor and David Bunn explain that a photograph can make

> fixed a certain theory of representation: the belief that images are indeed mimetic and that they narrate, have intention and can therefore subvert an audience.[37]

While photography is used as a tool of the State, through surveillance, it is also a mechanism through which the truth is justified and events become fact. As Sontag points out, when words can be manipulated, "a photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened."[38] In a society whose media is controlled by the State, with an investment in hiding the truth, the ability of the image to portray the reality of a situation was paramount. This act of rebellion diminished the power of the apartheid structured space by revealing other sides of the story.

---

37   Peffer, 258.
38   Sontag, 5.
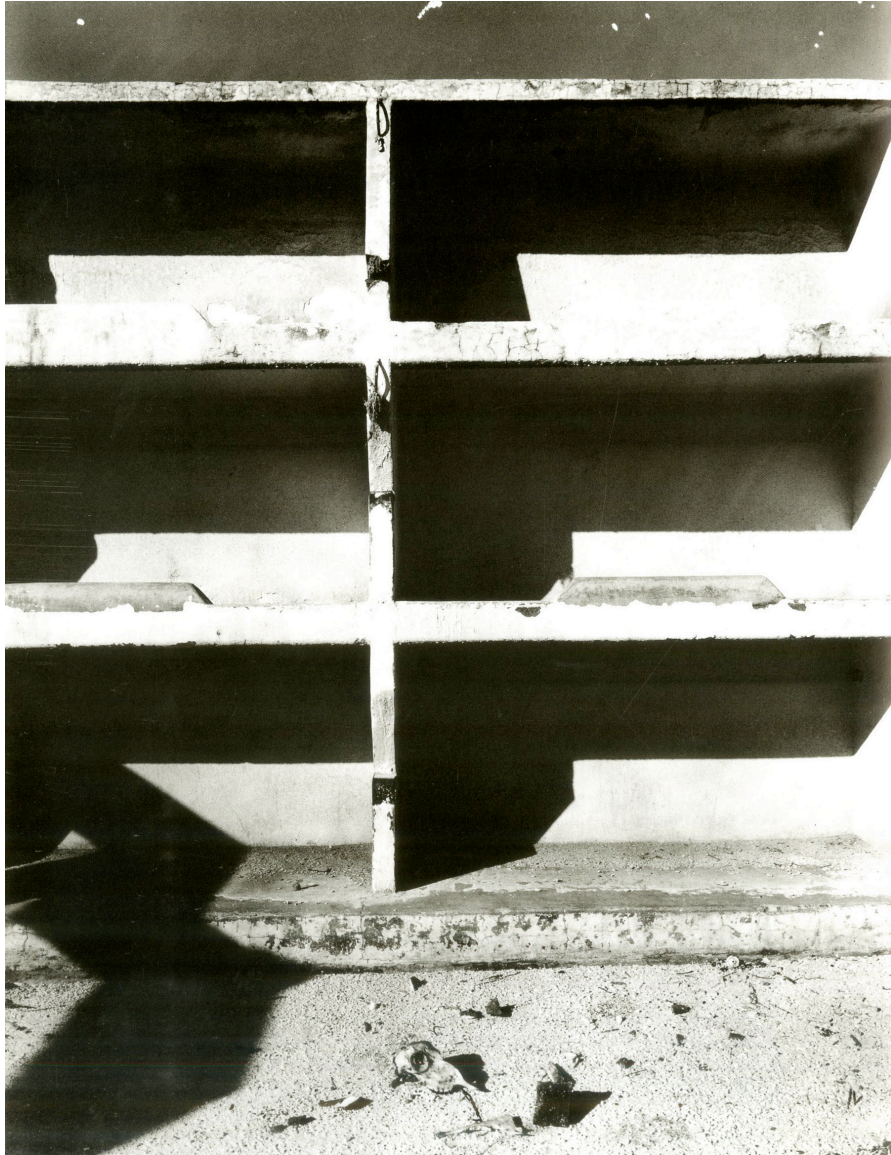
Fig. 33. *Miners' bunks in the Chinese compound, Simmer and Jack Gold Mine, Germiston, July 1965* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).
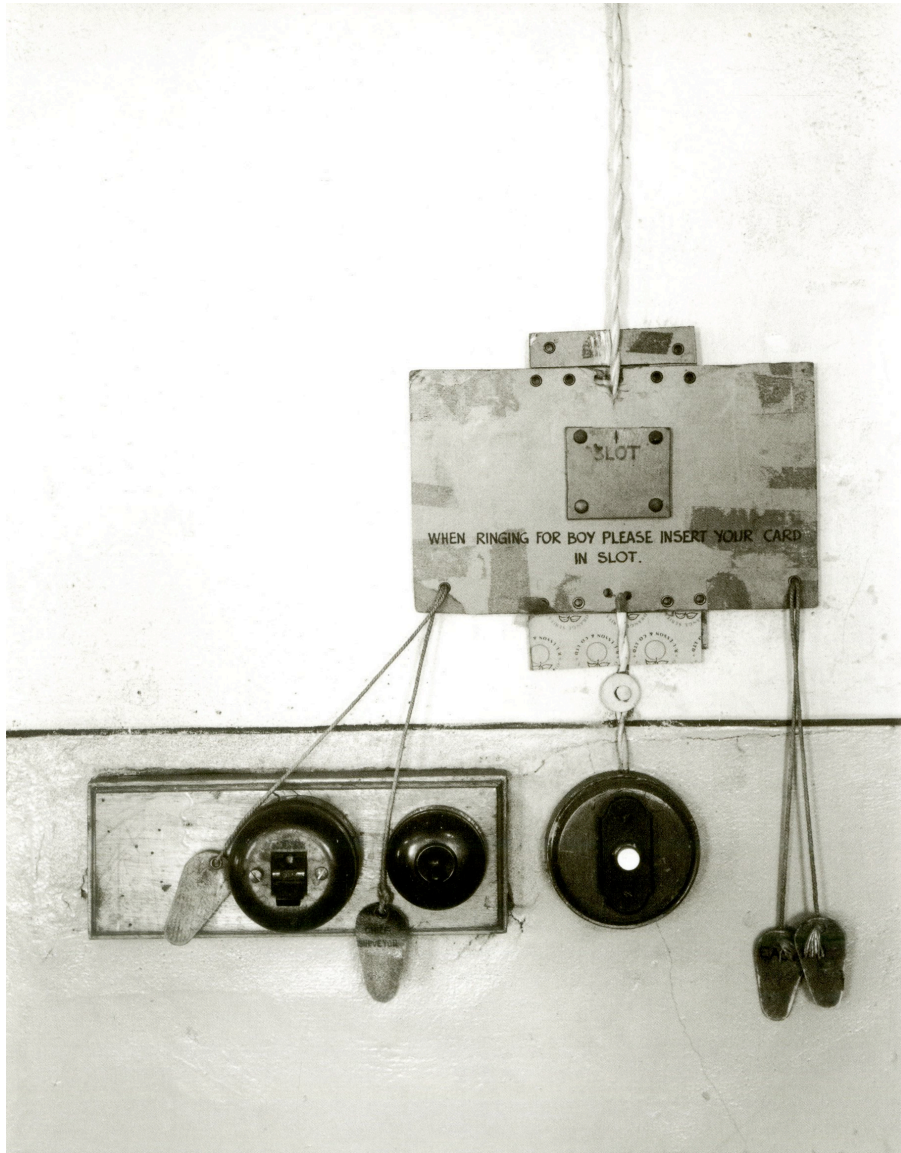
Fig. 34. *Call system used by officials at a mine office when they wanted the services of "the boy", Consolidated Main Reef Gold mine, October 1967* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 35. *Air and water hoses have been lowered to the bottom and are being connected to drill the blast holes. President Steyn No. 4 Shaft, Welkom, Orange Free State, January 1970* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 36. *While the bottom is being blown over with compressed air to uncover misfires, men use shovels to shield their faces from the stinging blast of stone fragments and mud driven through the air at high speeds. President Steyn No. 4 Shaft, Welkom, Orange Free State, January 1970* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 37. *On Eloff Street, 1967* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 38. *On Eloff Street, 1967* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 39. *Steven with bus, Doorfontein, Johannesburg, 1960* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 40. *Men hiding from the police* (Photographer: Jürgen Schadeberg).

Fig. 41. *Holdup in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, November 1963* (Photographer: David Goldblatt).

Fig. 42.   *Servants are not forbidden to love. Woman holding child said, "I love this child, though she'll grow up to treat me just like her mother does. Now she is innocent"* (Photographer: Ernest Cole).

Fig. 43. *People interviewed have referred to this as miners dancing their traditional dances within the mine complex* (Photographer: Ernest Cole).

Fig. 44. *The coffins of thirty of the Sharpeville dead were buried side by side.* Funerals became the only place that blacks could meet in large groups (Photographer: Peter Magubane).

It's funny that when I think about African music in my childhood, Paul Simon's 'Graceland' always comes to mind...the album that should never have been. I was eight years old when it came out and I remember playing the record over and over, dancing around my friend Megan's living room. There we were, two little girls from Canada, unaware of the political controversy surrounding the album. Whatever it was, I identified with the soulful voices and South African sounds of Ladysmith Black Mambazo and Simon's poetic lyrics. To this day, it still evokes something in me, the way music has the ability to enter your soul and connect you to a place or time, like a long dormant memory.

Part Three:
The Space of the In-Between

When I began writing about the acts of everyday resistance by those living under apartheid in South Africa, I was not sure where it would take me or, if anything, what it would reveal. It all began with rumours of covert activities, smuggling, and censorship. I could see that these ripples on the surface of apartheid's apparent blanket of control revealed the tears in its fabric, the contradictions in its absoluteness. As my research developed, and I read about how language, dance, music, and art were used in the struggle, I realised that actions against the apartheid system did not need to be on a large scale in order to have an impact. It was also the daily activities and movement of people, and their use of space which chipped away at apartheid's power. Through the process of writing these stories of protest, resistance, and bravery, it has become clear that at the heart of each is a blurring of boundaries and a greying of the spatial geography of Black and White. In the end, South Africans achieved the right to the city through their actions, which had the effect of creating *grey areas* and *loose space*. This notion of the use and appropriation of space reveals the profound impact that everyday citizens can have on their cities.
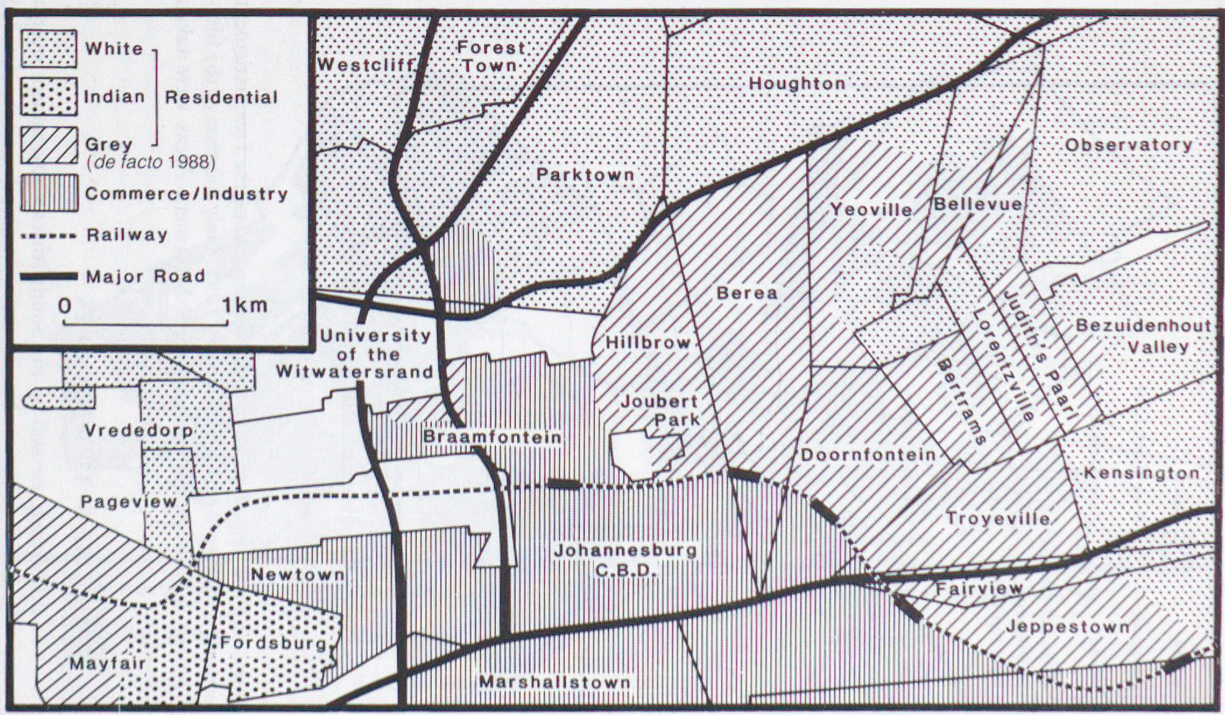
...

Fig. 45. Map showing Grey areas in Johannesburg, 1988, after *The Free Settlements Areas Act* from A.J. Christopher (*The Atlas of Apartheid*. London: Routledge, 1994, pg. 137).

By the 1980s it was clear that urban segregation in South Africa was an utter failure. The apartheid system had almost more loopholes and omissions than laws, despite the best efforts of legislators to maintain the status quo. A major development in the downfall of apartheid was the *Govender Case* in 1982, which ruled that Non-White families could no longer be evicted, unless other housing was provided. The housing shortages at the time meant the *Group Areas Act* had become more of a theory than reality. The spatial practice of apartheid was broken down by the lived realities of the city. After this change in legislation, the number of Non-Whites moving to the urban areas increased, and by 1988, the *Free Settlement Areas Act* officially acknowledged the 'Grey Areas' of the city (fig. 45, opposite). With these tonal delineations, the black and white map of segregated South Africa suddenly became even more ambiguous. With many of these grey zones located at the heart of the downtown areas, Peffer explains they "were a de facto repudiation of the farce of *de jure* Urban Areas divisions...".[1] Before they became official, the grey areas of the city were spaces never successfully segregated through legislation. The apartheid administration tried to regain control of these areas by analysing and mapping them, an attempt to bring them back within the ordered system. In Johannesburg, these included neighbourhoods such as Newtown, Braamfontein, Hillbrow and Pageview (fig. 46, following page), and in Cape Town, it was Woodstock and District Six. These parts of the city were filled with working-class people, artists, students, and activists of all racial groups.

Culture, particularly during apartheid, created grey areas, both literally and figuratively. Interactions between artists of different races were in contrast to the segregation of the country as a whole, and in fact, there were no segregation laws that barred the mixing of races at art exhibitions, including the exhibiting by Black artists. The art community became a symbol of hope for a non-racial society. With a lack of access and opportunity, early Black artists gained knowledge and expertise from those who had studied and travelled abroad, including established White artists. Many of these spaces were located on the edge of the 'White' cities, in these grey zones. In Johannesburg, this included organisations such as the Market Theatre, the Johannesburg Art Foundation, and the Alex Art Centre. David

1   Peffer, xxi.

Fig. 46.   *Shopping on 14th Street, Pageview, Johannesburg, Transvaal (Gauteng), July 1965.* (Photographer: David Goldblatt)   Many people in Johanesburg did their shopping in Pageview, an Indian area. In 1977, the residents were forcibly removed to make way for white residents, in an enforcement of the Group Areas Act.

Goldblatt, who founded the Market Photography Workshop in the Market Theatre complex, said,

> If the primary thrust of such a facility was to be towards young black Africans it had, at the same time, to be open to everyone, irrespective of race. In this there was a principle but also the hope that in throwing people together who would otherwise have no experience of each other, the Workshop might be a small counter to the ethnic surgery that had so successfully separated South Africans under apartheid.[2]

This workshop space, like those previously mentioned, was a space of respite in a city filled with exclusion, located in Newtown, a grey area on the edge of Johannesburg's White downtown. These grey areas also provided a fertile ground for the more overt protest art that emerged in the 1970s and 80s. The Crown Mines settlement became home to an underground poster workshop run by Steven Sack, and much of what is known as 'people's art', such as posters and t-shirts, were designed and created in these mixed-race workshops.

Throughout South Africa's apartheid history, the term grey defined the blurry, undivided spaces which did not fit so neatly into the segregation of the rest of the country. Whether actual neighbourhoods and communities, cultural facilities, or simply the interactions between people of different races, grey areas began to reflect the breaking down of the race's spatial divisions.

...

As Karen A. Franck and Quentin Stevens explain in their book, *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*, 'loose space' refers to areas of the city where activities occur that were not planned for those locations.[3] These activities can happen alongside the primary uses of space, such as sidewalks, town squares, or streets. Other forms of loose space can be found in places where a fixed use might never have existed or has long since faded away. It can take a number of forms, including imaginary (utopia, heaven, hell), found (*koppie, veld*[4]) or constructed

---

2   Peffer, 36.

3   Franck, Karen A and Quentin Stevens, eds. *Loose Space : Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life.* (London: Routledge, 2007), 2.

4   *Koppie* is a small hill and *veld* is a rural space, like a low field.

Fig. 47. Whites Only bench as a striated space, Johannesburg, 1982 (Photographer: United Nations Photo).

(street, sidewalk, park). According to Franck and Stevens,

> accessibility, freedom of choice and physical elements
> that occupants can appropriate all contribute to the
> emergence of a loose space, but they are not sufficient. For
> a site to become loose, people themselves must recognize
> the possibilities inherent in it and make use of those
> possibilities for their own ends, facing the potential risks
> of doing so.[5]

This contrasts with the idea of tight spaces, where human movement and behaviours are ordered and given hierarchies, similar to Deleuze and Guattari's *striated space*, which refers to space created and controlled by the State (fig. 47, opposite). These spaces have little opportunity for divergence or transgression, as there is a close link between how they are designed and what happens within them. Apartheid, as a spatial framework, could be seen as the epitome of a tight space, with specific racial and programming zones. One of the main factors which contributes to loose space is that the activities that generate it lie outside the fixed programming of space and function. Although often related to retail and play, loose space is not found in the "aesthetically and behaviourally controlled and homogeneous 'themed' environments of leisure and consumption where nothing unpredictable must occur."[6] Apartheid was exactly one of these themed environments, where all parts of daily life, from work to play to home, were calculated, ordered and assigned.

Space becomes loose through the use and perception of thresholds: parts of a boundary that can be opened up and passed through. While thresholds allow for loose space, they also restrict spaces as they limit behaviour and perceptions. As Stevens explains, the concept of *liminality*, the latin word for threshold, "is an anthropological term for the intermediate stage in rituals of progression from one social status to another."[7] A liminal state suggests a temporality which is reflected in many of the actions performed under apartheid. Since most activities that created loose space during apartheid were unsanctioned by the government, such as protests or informal trading, their strength and effectiveness were

---

5   Franck and Stevens, 2.

6   Franck and Stevens, 3.

7   Stevens in Franck and Stevens, 73.

Fig. 48.   A couple from Soweto have wedding photographs taken in a park in Lower Houghton, a white residential area of Johannesburg. (Photographer: Peter Magubane).

Fig. 49.   *Doornfontein, Downtown*. A religious ceremony under a bridge in Johannesburg (Photographer: Santu Mofokeng).

achieved because they were fleeting moments. Stevens explain that,

> thresholds, like rituals, create conditions of intensity,
> transformation, the elevation of status and the blurring
> of social categories and rules. These physical conditions
> create liminal moments in everyday life which often give
> rise to playful behaviour.[8]

The authors use wedding photography as an example of this, as many couples are symbolically captured crossing the thresholds of buildings. Typically, the poses disobeyed the codes of public space; they emphasised how people's actions within public space in cities created a new social dialogue. During apartheid, social meanings, such as intimacy and publicity, were juxtaposed by the use of parks as wedding photography backdrops (Fig. 48, opposite). They also created sites of spectacle and liminality, as the bride and groom acted out the ritual of newly weds in these public spaces. These social transgressions helped to shift the seemingly formal spaces of the city into loose space. As Stevens concludes,

> under conditions of liminality, social distinctions and
> controls still exist, but they are negotiated. Public space
> is constantly being opened up and transformed and thus
> remains 'in play'.[9]

The appropriation of space is a major factor in its looseness, as people lay claim to the public sphere through the activities of their choosing (fig. 49, opposite) and by using the "physical features of their surroundings when they find those features helpful, and overcome or ignore them when they are constraining."[10] This use of public space also creates a sense of inclusivity, which the various legislations of apartheid had attempted to limit or prevent, as activities create common ground between varying people. However, appropriation and loose space create their own tensions, as intended and unintended activities occur simultaneously. During apartheid, it was these conflicts which spatial and racial segregation set out to avoid. Despite this, as Franck and Stevens describe,

> control by the state, civil institutions or big business does
> not put an end to looseness: it merely requires that agents

---

8   Stevens in Franck and Stevens, 74.
9   Stevens in Franck and Stevens, 91.
10   Franck and Stevens, 35.

Fig. 50. View of an *open space buffer* zone near Soweto (Photographer: Unknown).

adapt. [...] Spatial conditions are fluid in the sense that they change over time: rules, roles, and boundaries continue to shift according to balances of power, with changing spatial needs and alliances. New *détentes* are reached, and new forms of compliance, oppression, and subterfuge emerge.[11]

The potential for loose space depends on the relationship between adjacent spaces. When the edge between spaces is blurred, there is an opportunity to easily see and move between these spaces. As well, areas of convergence, where movement and circulation meet, allow for chance encounters and informal social relations. During apartheid, the large *open space buffer* zones that lay between racial groups were an attempt to control these edges and cross over areas (fig. 50, opposite). They decreased the visibility and physical movement between them, with the effect of tightening those spaces. However, the dependence on the Black worker guaranteed some form of movement across these territories, as they travelled from the townships to the mines or the White suburbs. This was especially the case during the bus boycotts, which saw thousands of Black and Coloured people walking to work. Their traverse through the city on foot generated a much larger chance for interaction. In essence, the lives of Blacks and Whites in South Africa were so inherently linked that the city had no choice but to resist the controlled, tightened spaces planned by the apartheid system. Just as space cannot maintain an absolute state or be unaffected by lived realities, tight space is loosened through movement and use that exists outside the ideal society.

In the case of apartheid South Africa, marginal spaces were created through the process of segregation and removals. Occupants of these spaces are most often those who did not belong to the dominant group, but rather, have been pushed to the outskirts. This produced loose space as a form of resistance. The simple act of being in these bordering spaces had the effect of creating a space that was contrary (fig. 51, following page). While the dominant group aimed to freeze the use and meaning of those spaces, living in these marginalised zones created in-between areas that *related* rather than *separated*. Spaces of relating are found in areas of shared experiences and common ground, which loose spaces helps to build through the idea of *porosity*. This porousness

---

11   Franck and Stevens, 94.

Fig. 51. *Crossroads Squatter Camp, 1977. Crossroads squatter camp, a sprawling slum near Cape Town Airport, grew out of defiance of the Group Areas Act which prohibited black city workers from living with their dependants. Illegal shanties were built, along with schools, shops and churches, by people who were determined not to be separated from their families* (Photographer: Steve Bloom).

is achieved through the formation of thresholds, which Stevens says,

> are created in a variety of ways; each is a form of resistance
> against forces of separation and segregation, each is a way
> of loosening social and spatial constraints without losing
> identity through assimilation or suppression.[12]

The shared experiences of these spaces helped to connect different groups, which apartheid tried to keep apart, strengthening their identities and connections to place. Most importantly, porosity and thresholds allow for commonality and relationships to form outside of the borders of apartheid's designated spaces, creating spaces of encounter and improvisation.

In the 'Train Church' series (fig. 52-55, pages 132-135), photographer Santu Mofokeng shows Black apartheid commuter trains being re-appropriated for religious service. As Michel de Certeau said,

> a practice of the order constructed by others redistributes
> its space, it creates at least a certain play in that order, a
> space for manoeuvres of unequal forces and for utopian
> points of reference.[13]

Mofokeng explains that the existence of these 'train churches' combined two important aspects of life for many South Africans: the long commutes between home and work, and a strong spiritual presence.[14] Commuting, as a form of movement, did not develop as a natural part of life for Blacks, but rather as a striated space of the State, the product of zoning, removals, and homeland isolation. The plan of the railway routes allowed the apartheid government to control the exact path that Blacks and Coloureds moved through space in order to avoid traversing White zones. Although not all travellers would take part in the religious service, the reclamation of these trains - as spaces of worship - transformed them into a space of resistance and altered the way those riding them would perceive their surroundings. As well, like those couples having their wedding photographs taken in public spaces, these liminal moments created connections between travellers, as social etiquette and codes of conduct shifted, and the formal space of the train became a space of 'play'.

---

12   Franck and Stevens, 173.

13   de Certeau, 18.

14   "Train Church 1986", *Santu Mofokeng*. Accessed October 27, 2012, ttp://
cargocollective.com/santumofokeng/filter/work/train-church.

Towards the end of the 1980s and onwards, the socio-spatial practices of South African cities began to shift, as the National Party tried to 'modernise' the apartheid structure. Public space started to include everyday activities such as hawking, worshipping, or playing, as Lindsay Bremner describes:

> Small tables are set up under trees or awnings; from them, (usually) women sell cigarettes, sweets, bananas or tomatoes to passers by, engaging, at the same time, in child care, gossip, or a game of cards. Streets and roadsides serve as gathering places for domestic workers, where, instead of being trapped in isolated lives on their employer's properties, they are able to engage in informal lotteries, supplement their meagre incomes with informal trade or simply share stories about their employer's craziness. Church groups visibly occupy inner city parks on Sundays; wedding photography is a thriving business the day before.[15]

These activities and uses of space tested the tightness of apartheid's zoned cities. As sites became designated 'grey areas', the formal urban spaces appeared more loose and playful. Activities that generated looseness were often associated with verbs such as *reject, disrupt, subvert, reverse, transform,* or *recompose*.[16] The reconceptualising of these spaces, whether intentional or accidental, allowed for new urban identities to be created and, in the case of Johannesburg, the appropriation of spaces that lie outside an individual's direct domain. As Franck and Stevens explain,

> loose spaces give cities life and vitality. In loose spaces people relax, observe, buy or sell, protest, mourn and celebrate. Loose spaces allow for chance encounter, the spontaneous event, the enjoyment of diversity and the discovery of the unexpected.[17]

For cities to survive, they need to be able to adapt and change according to new economic, social or political situations. By creating apartheid cities as an eternally 'tight space', any act or movement that loosened these spaces had a

---

15   Bremner, 184.
16   Franck and Stevens, 14.
17   Franck and Stevens, 4.

significant effect, simply by a measure of opposition. The transformation of loose space in cities changes our perceptions of the environment around us and exposes alternatives, while at the same time disrupting the status quo of regimented spaces.

So the question previously asked - how do people create and maintain *public life* in the face of an administrative system of control? – boils down to human actions taking advantage of, and in turn, creating more loose space.   By looking at the practices of subversion and resistance by South Africans during apartheid, it is clear that movements, activities, and perceptions of space, which create thresholds, porosity, liminal moments, or chances for convergence and relating, all lead to the creation of loose space.

What is effective about using loose space to transform our cities on a larger scale is that it does not require special tools, great numbers of people or a lot of money. In the face of apartheid, many South Africans fought oppression by constantly resisting the formal, tight spaces, demonstrating that the human body - performing simple actions - can have the power to change its surroundings.

Fig. 52. *The Book, Johannesburg - Soweto Line, 1986* (Photographer: Santu Mofokeng).

Fig. 53. *Laying of Hands, Johannesburg - Soweto Line, 1986* (Photographer: Santu Mofokeng).

Fig. 54. *Leading in Song, Johannesburg - Soweto Line, 1986* (Photographer: Santu Mofokeng).

Fig. 55. *Supplication, Johannesburg - Soweto Line, 1986* (Photographer: Santu Mofokeng).

The thumping above our heads got slowly louder and more impassioned. The other kids and I emerged from the basement, where we had hidden from the party to watch cartoons. In my dining room, we found a group of men, sweaty and smiling, dancing, clapping and slapping their boots. Their rubber boots made this 'thwacking' noise, and mixed with the sounds of singing, hoots and whistles, created this pulsing rhythm that literally shook our Victorian house in downtown Toronto.

Social life—that is, *we*, not *I*—is the normal form of life. It is life itself ... In that constant, everpresent identification of the unit with the whole, lies the origin of all ethics, the germ out of which all the subsequent conceptions of justice, and the still higher conceptions of morality, evolved.[1]

Peter Kropotkin

1   Kropotkin in Popke, Jeff. "The Spaces of Being In-Common: Ethics and Social Geography." *TheHandbook of Social Geography*. S. Smith, R. Pain, S. Marston and J.P. Jones III (eds). (London: Sage, 2009), 1.

In what some might call, an act of bravery, I let my parents read my thesis draft before it was submitted to my committee for final review. I was nervous about this, as in essence, this was far more their story than it was ever my own. I approached this thesis with the views of an outsider which allowed me to wade through the cultural, social, and political complexities with a discerning and intentional eye, but also meant there was always something that was going to be left out. This became clear when I saw all my mom's suggestions of other events, protests, art, and music that I could write about, including the End Conscription Campaign, the United Democratic Front, and the artwork of Judith Mason. South Africa has almost a century full of subversive acts and the creating of loose space, so how was one to choose just a handful?

In going through this process of both research and self-discovery, I have become aware of how my impressions of South Africa have changed and matured over the many years. My experiences and memories straddle two histories, one which I had naively lived through, another in which I'm more actively engaged. As I read about significant events in the country's history, I would place myself in the Northern Suburbs of Johannesburg, where we stayed, and began to understand better the political and social contexts which I had unknowingly experienced as a child. The Soweto Uprising had occurred two short years before I was born so my first visit, at the age of one, had been to a country in turmoil, although you would never have sensed this from the family photo albums of leafy surroundings and poolside living.

Writing this thesis was my way of better understanding the world outside those suburban walls. The struggle against apartheid affected everybody, although maybe for the white minority, in more subtle ways. A country cannot survive and flourish under such a divided and unequal state. In the end, the writing of this thesis created an opportunity in which to engage with my parents and family to understand these differing experiences of South Africa. My memories of visiting family eventually became aligned with my childhood in Toronto, surrounded by the songs and dances of protest and celebration.

Bibliography

_____. "Alf Kumalo," The Telegraph Online, October 25, 2012. Accessed October 28, 2012. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/ politics-obituaries/9634223/Alf-Kumalo.html.

_____. "ANC Radio Freedom", UCSC Library. Accessed October 4, 2012, http://library.ucsc.edu/content/anc-radio-freedom#.

_____. "Behind the scenes", Famous Trials. Accessed September 25, 2012, http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/ behindscenes.html.

_____. "I am prepared to die", Famous Trials. Accessed September 25, 2012, http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mandela/ mandelaspeech.html.

_____."International reactions", South Africa History Online. Accessed September 26, 2012, http://www.sahistory.org.za/rivonia-trial-lilliesleaf-farm-1963-64/reactions-impact-trial.

_____. "I was a teenage gun runner" The Guardian Online, February 13, 2012, http://www.guardian.co.uk/theguardian/2001/feb/13/features11. g21.

_____. "Rivonia Trial 1963-1964", South Africa History Online. Accessed September 26, 2012, http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/rivonia-trial-1963-1964.

_____. "South Africa Chinese 'become black'", BBC News, accessed November 8, 2012, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7461099.stm.

_____. "Train Church 1986", Santu Mofokeng, accessed October 27, 2012, http://cargocollective.com/santumofokeng/filter/work/train-church

_____. "Transcript Radio Freedom", South Africa History Online. Accessed October 18, 2012, http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/transcription-anc-radio-freedom-broadcast-1969.

Alvarez, David. "Photographing Resistance to the Menace and Alienation of Apartheid Transport – Santu Mofokeng's 'Train Churches'" (excerpt). *Alternation*, 1996. Accessed October 26, 2012. http://www.americansuburbx.com/2012/05/santu-mofokeng-photographing-resistance-to-the-menace-and-alienation-of-apartheid-transport-santu-mofokengs-train-churches-1996.html.

Beningfield, Jennifer. *The Frightened Land: land landscape and politics in South Africa in the twentieth century*. London: Routledge, 2006.

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

Brink, Andre. "Censorship and the Author." *Critical Arts*, June, 1980: 16-26.

_____. *Mapmakers : Writing in a State of Siege*. London: Faber and Faber, 1983.

Camus, Albert. "Albert Camus Banquet Speech", Nobel Prize. Accessed November 18, 2012, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1957/camus-speech.html.

_____. "Rules of Engagement", John Cullen (trans.). Harper's, July 2012.

Christopher, A.J. *The Atlas of Apartheid*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Coetzee, J. M. "Emerging from Censorship," *Salmagundi*, No. 100, Fall 1993, 36-50.

_____.*Giving Offense : Essays on Censorship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Cole, Ernest. Thomas Flaherty, ed. *House of Bondage*. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1967.

Davies, Prof. R.J. "The Spatial Formation of the South African City." *GeoJournal Supplementary*, Issue 2, 1981: 59-72.

de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

de Lange, Margreet. *The Muzzled Muse: Literature and Censorship in South Africa*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1997.

Dehaene, Michiel and Lieven De Cauter, eds. *Heterotopia and the City : Public Space in a Postcivil Society*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Brian Massumi (trans.). London : Athlone Press, 1988.

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger : An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge, 1966.

Duval Smith, Alex. "Secret London Activists Who Became Anti-Apartheid's Unsung Heroes." The Observer , Sunday July 2, 2012, sec. World News. Accessed November 17, 2012. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jul/01/london-activists-anti-apartheid-anc.

Elder, Glen. "The Grey Dawn of South African Racial Residential Integration," *GeoJournal*, 22.3, November, 1990. 261-266.

Fanon, Frantz, "The Fact of Blackness", in *Race, Culture & Difference*, Donald, J. & Rattansi, A., eds. London: Sage Publications, 1992.

First, Ruth. 'Africa South', July-Sept 1957. Accessed December, 2, 2012. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1957_Alexandra_Bus_Boycott.

Foucault, Michel. Good Reads. Accessed February 15, 2013. http://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/1260.Michel_Foucault.

_____. "Of Other Spaces," Heterotopia and the City, trans. Lieven De Cauter and Michiel Dehaene. London: Routledge, 2008.

_____. "Space, Knowledge & Power," *Power* (*The Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984)*, James D. Faubion, ed. New York: New Press, 2001.

Franck, Karen A and Quentin Stevens, eds. *Loose Space : Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*. London: Routledge, 2007.

Golblatt, David. *Fifty-One Years David Goldblatt*. Barcelona: ACTAR, 2001.

Harris, Roy. *Language, Saussure, and Wittgenstein : How to Play Games with Words*. London: Routledge, 1988.

Harvey, David. "Space as a Key Word" Paper presented at the Marx and Philosophy Conference, Institute of Education, London, May 29, 2004. Accessed December 9, 2012. http://www.frontdeskapparatus.com/files/harvey2004.pdf.

_____. "The Right to the City." *New Left Review* no. 53 (2008): 23-40.

Hirsch, Lee. Amandla! A Four Part Harmony, 2002, film.

Karis, Thomas G. and Gail M. Gerhart, eds. "Nadir and Resurgence, 1964-1979. "*In From Protest to Challenge : A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882-1990*. Vol. 5. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1997.

Knape, Gunilla and Struan Robertson, eds. *Ernest Cole Photographer*. Gottingen: Steidl, 2010.

Kotsakis, Andreas. "Heterotopias of the Environment: Law's Forgotten Spaces." In *Law and Ecology : New Environmental Foundations*, edited by Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos. London: Routledge, 2011.

Lange, Margreet de. *The Muzzled Muse : Literature and Censorship in South Africa*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1997.

Leach, Neil, ed. *The Hieroglyphics of Space : Reading and Experiencing the Modern Metropolis*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory : The Multicultural and Classic Readings. 3rd ed*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004.

Lokko, Lesley Naa Norle, ed. *White Papers Black Marks: Architecture, Race, Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Mangena, Isaac. "Bus boycott which forced apartheid u-turn," iafrica.com, November 2, 2007, http://news.iafrica.com/features/666218.htm.

Magubane, Peter. *Magubane's South Africa*. New York: Random House, 1978.

Manicom, Linzi. e-mail message to author, September 18, 2012.

Matteau, Rachel. "The readership for banned literature and its underground networks in apartheid South Africa," *Innovation*, No.35, December 2007. 81-90.

Mead, Margaret. "Margaret Mead quote" Quotations Page, accessed November 18, 2012, http://www.quotationspage.com/quote/33522.html.

Murray, Martin J. *City of Extremes : The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

Nuttall, Sarah and Achille Mbembé. *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Peffer, John. *Art and the End of Apartheid*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Perec, Georges. "Georges Perec and Classification". Library Thing. Accessed March 16, 2013. http://www.librarything.com/blogs/thingology/2006/10/georges-perec-and-classification/

Pieterse, Cosmo and George Hallett. Present Lives Future Becoming. Surrey: Hickey Press Limited, 1974.

Popke, Jeff. "The Spaces of Being In-Common: Ethics and Social Geography." *The Handbook of Social Geography* . S. Smith, R. Pain, S. Marston and J.P. Jones III (eds). London: Sage, 2009.

Posel, Deborah. "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth Century South Africa". *African Studies Review*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2001. 87-113.

Price, Robert M. The Apartheid State *in Crisis : Political Transformation in South Africa, 1975-1990*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Robinson, Jennifer. "(Im)mobilizing space - dreaming of change." In *blank_____ Architecture, apartheid and after*, edited by Hilton Judin, Ivan Vladislavić, 163-171. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 1998.

Schumann, Anne. "The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance Against Apartheid in South Africa." *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift Für Kritische Afrikastudien 14, no. 8*, 2008. 17-39.

Serote, Mongane Wally. *Yakhal'Inkomo : Poems*. Johannesburg: Renoster Books, 1974.

Simon, David. "Crisis and Change in South Africa: Implications for the Apartheid City". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1989), 189-206.

Soja, Edward W. Thirdspace Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Spaces. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996.

Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: A Delta Book, 1973.

South African Democracy Education Trust, ed. *The Road to Democracy in South Africa*. Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2004.

Venter, Rudi. "Inventing an Alternative through Oppositional Publishing: Afrikaans Alternative Book Publishing in Apartheid South Africa – the Publishing House Taurus (1975-1991) as a Case Study." *Innovation* no. 35, December, 2007. 91.

Vladislavić, Ivan. *Portrait with Keys: The City of Johannesburg Unlocked*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009.