

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

RE-PRESENTING CAPE TOWN THROUGH LANDSCAPES OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND EXCLUSION: AN INTERPRETATION OF THREE POWER SHIFTS AND THEIR MODIFICATIONS FROM 1652-1994.

University of Cape Town

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics. Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town.

Name: Linda Graaff

August 2008

ABSTRACT

Colonial practice informed the development of the built environment in Cape Town and resulted in the production of a landscape that represented the hegemony of colonial power. Where the over-arching concern is the relationship of power and space,¹ the process followed locates the inquiry in issues of social identity and exclusion as representations of power relations. If it is assumed that space is a function of social values and practices that are related to power, it follows that when power changes the built landscape should also change. This is an enquiry that tests this assumption.

Cape Town is a port situated in southern Africa, and was initially developed as a colonial settlement in the seventeenth century when the Dutch assumed power over the Cape; thus constituting the first power shift located in this argument. The undeveloped wilderness was changed from a condition of 'origins'² to a town representing Dutch power and social practice. The second power shift occurred when the British took over the colonised territory in 1806.³ While Dutch spatial practice was concerned with defending itself in an unknown territory, the British embarked on a process of expansion into the interior that was dominated by practices of segregation. Union government in 1910 marked the third shift and the beginning of a neo-colonial era where spatial practice remained largely aligned with a modernist European paradigm that produced alienating landscapes.

The post-structuralist theories of Lefebvre and Foucault are interpreted to illustrate the 'representation of space' and 'power' in this context. The different spatial sets characteristic of each period,⁴ are presented as a construct that is developed to inform the method. The power shifts and modifications that constituted power changes through time are interpreted through a process of narrative and mapping. The accumulation of spatial practice through time produces a hybrid landscape where spatial practice in the context of the post-colonial condition represents cultural difference.

¹ The dialectical relationship between space and power is manifested through social practice, which in turn, results in spatial practice.

² The time period before European colonisation is referred to as 'origins' or pre-colonial.

³ This was in fact the second time that the British occupied the Cape, having occupied the Cape for a brief period between 1795 and 1802.

⁴ This is an idea located in Lefebvre's theory on the representations of space: the idea that each social formation represents specific social practices through the spatial dimension.

DECLARATION

I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that all the work in the document, save for that which is properly acknowledged, is my own.

Linda Elaine Graaff

August 2008

Signed

University of Cape Town

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank:

- My supervisor, Iain Low, for the continued support and encouragement through this research period. Through him I discovered the world of critical theory and inter-disciplinary research.
- Iain Black and Dave O' Donahue at the Cape Town city council for their assistance in locating the maps I needed. I was grateful for the efficient and friendly manner in which I was assisted.
- Nigel Penn for the encouragement and for re-assuring me about the topic. He also sparked in me an enthusiasm for the discovery of Cape history through the 'archaeological'.
- Rayda Becker, the curator at Parliament for showing me the historical maps in their archives.
- The staff at the Cape Archives and the National Library special collections department who helped in locating and making copies of the photographs and maps that I needed
- David Emslie for help with rendering the illustrations and maps in a digital form for the poster.
- Julia Raynham for compiling maps and images.
- Stef Raubenheimer for those invaluable comments and insights.
- Duncan Miller for proof reading and for the useful advice.

SOURCES

Cape Archives

City Engineer's Department, Cape Town (CCT)

National Library, Cape Town

Parliament Archives

University of Cape Town Libraries

University of Cape Town

KEY OF FIGURES

FIGURES	MAPS	NARRATIVES
	EMBLEMATIC IMAGES	
A	LOCATING CAPE TOWN	
B	POST COLONIAL IDENTITY	SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY
C	LAYERED CASE STUDY	
	FINDINGS LANDSCAPES OF POWER AND SPACE	
D	MAPPING AS SPATIAL PRACTICE	
E	LARGER SETTLEMENT LANDSCAPE	
F	CENTRAL CITY	
G	PRIME SITE	
H	CHRONOLOGY	
I	POSTER	
J		SHIFT 1: DUTCH COLONY The making of Dutch colonial territory
K		SHIFT 2: BRITISH COLONY British colonial expansion
L		SHIFT 3: NEO-COLONIAL Segregation and neo-colonial alienation

LIST OF FIGURES

note: Where books are referenced, refer to References.

Where maps or illustrations are referenced refer to Sources and References.

CHAPTER 1

figures A

1. A New Mapp of the World. 1683. Source: CCT 2006.
2. W.J.Blaeu., Africae nova descriptico, Amsterdam, ca 1635-1662.
Source: Parliament Archives.
3. The Cape Peninsula by Terence McNally, 1970's postcard.
Source: Vergunst, N. 2001. Hoerikwaggo. p. 19.
4. Monomatapia. 1700. Source: Parliament Archives.

CHAPTER 2

figures B

5. Nieuwe Kaart van Caap der Goede Hoop, by Francois Valentyn. Unknown date. unknown source.
6. The Landing of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape by Charles Davidson Bell, English, 1852, oil on canvas. Source: Vergunst, 2001. Hoerikwaggo. p42.
7. Khoisan huts and livestock. Peter Kolbe drawing. c. 1676- 1726. Source: Hattersley, A., 1969. An illustrated Social History of South Africa.
8. Cecil John Rhodes seated on stoep 'Groote Schuur' homestead, Rondebosch, Cape. Source: AG 3448, Cape Archives.
9. Second New Year, Coons, Caledon Street. Source: Noor Ebrahim. 2003. Noor's Story My Life in District Six.

CHAPTER 3

figures C

10. Fort T' Goede Hoop 1693 superimposed over City of Cape Town and environs map. 1974/75. Source: CCT. 2007.

CHAPTER 6.1.1

figures D

11. Johann Gregor map Berlin 1652. Source: Corner, 1999. Recovering landscape.
12. Daniel Stalpaert, Amstelodami veteris et nouissimae ubris. (Amsterdam: Nicolaus Visscher.c.1670) Source: Cosgrove, 1999. Mappings. p. 107.
13. VOC Fort 1660. Source: CCT. 2007.
14. Plan of the situation of the Cape of Good Hope and its fortifications. c1786.
Source: CCT. 2007.
15. Cap de Bon Esperance. c1705. Source: CCT. 2006. 0012.

16. Plan Tafel Valley. c1657., depicting original grants. Compiled from Old Cape Freehold .Volume 1. Source: CCT. 2007
17. Kaart van der Kaapstad. drawn by Eleman, P.G., c1819. Source: CCT. 2007.
18. Alexander Wilson map, c1860. part portion. Wil C2. Source: CCT. 2007.

CHAPTER 6.1.2

figures E, F, G.

19. T' Fort de Goede Hoop. c1693. 'Company Gardens and several Public and Private buildings around them.' Source: CCT 2006 0017.
20. Plan der Situatie van de Caap de Goede Hoop 1770. Source: CCT 2007.
21. Table Bay Charty Map. c1858. detail. Source: CCT 2007.
22. Map of Cape Town 1891. Source: CCT. 2007
23. City of Cape Town and Environs. c1974/75. Source: CCT. 2007.
24. Foreshore Joint Technical Committee Map. c1947. Source: Joint technical committee. The Cape Town Foreshore Plan.
25. Unknown title.c 1660. Source: CCT 2006 0018.
26. Grondtekening van der vesting en stad der Kaap de Goede Hoop. Unknown date. Source: CCT 2006.
27. William Thompsons map. c 1827. Rennie, J. Buildings of Central Cape Town.1978. Barclay Snow Survey, 1862. part portion no 7. Source: CCT 2007.
28. 1868 William Barclay Snow, part plan of central town. Source: CCT. 2007.
29. Chase Goad Ltd. Insurance Plan.1925. Cape Province. Union of South Africa. Source: National Library.2007.
30. Chase Goad Ltd. Insurance Plan.1935. Cape Province. Union of South Africa. Source: National Library.2007.
31. Castle.1665. Source: CCT.2007.
32. Map of Strandt Tafelbaai.1693. Source: CCT. 2007.
33. Walter Thom survey map. Part portion 99. c 1898. Source: CCT. 2007.
34. Walter Thom survey map. Part portion 110. c 1898. Source: CCT. 2007.
35. Goad map Cape Town. page 7. 1925. Source: National Library. 2007.
36. Goad map Cape Town. page 7. 1956. Source: National Library. 2007.

CHAPTER 6.1.3

figures H

CHAPTER 6.1.4

figures I

CHAPTER 6.2.1

figures J

37. 'Cap de bone Esperance' by Allain Mallet, French engraving, c.1683. Source: Vergunst, N., 2001. Hoerikwaggo.
38. Cape Fort Plan. c1670. CCT. 2007
39. Fort Reservoir Plan. c1683. CCT. 2007. Cape Town. E3505. Source: Cape Archives.
40. Plan of the Amsterdam Battery, Cape Town. Source: E 3505. Cape Archives.
41. 'Vue de Cap Le Bon-esperance. de l'Oeust'. 2007. Source: J.H. Schneider of Amsterdam; drawings. Parliament Archives.
42. 'Vue de Cap Le Bon-esperance. de l' Est'. 2007. detail. Source: J.H. Schneider of Amsterdam; drawings. Parliament Archives.
43. Old Supreme Court building, now cultural history museum, Adderley Street, Cape Town. (converted from old slave lodge) Source: E 3833 Cape Archives.
44. Old Town House, Greenmarket Square Cape Town. unknown date. Source: E 3986. Cape Archives.
45. Dutch Reformed Church Cape Town. H.C. de Meillon. unknown date. Source: E 2209. Cape Archives.

CHAPTER 6.2.2

figures K

46. Panoramic view of Cape Town. part portion. by Josephus Jones, c. 1808. pen and ink water-colour. Source: Vergunst, N. 2001. Hoerikwaggo.
47. Commercial Exchange Building as seen from the Grand Parade. de Meillon. unknown date. Source: E3985. Cape Archives.
48. View of Rogge Bay fish market Cape Town, showing crowds and fishing boats on beach with sailors home and Table Mountain in background. unknown date. Source: AG3443. Cape Archives.
49. Thomas Bowler/ Prince Alfred inaugurating Table Bay Breakwater, 1860. Source: Source: Hattersley, An illustrated history of South Africa.
50. Cape Town showing City Hall and Parade. unknown date. Source: E7997. Cape Archives.
51. City Hall, Darling Street, Cape Town. unknown date. Source: E4084. Cape Archives.
52. Houses of Parliament Cape Town with Table Mountain in background. unknown date, duplicate of AG 3430. Source: AG3471. Cape Archives.
53. Standard Bank building, Adderley Street Cape, Town. unknown date. Source: AG3432. Cape Archives.

54. Railway station buildings, Adderley Street, Cape Town. Source: E 4086. Cape Archives.

CHAPTER 6.2.3

figures L

55. The municipal pier and promenade and its demolition. Source: Villiers, S. de., 1985. *A Tale of Three Cities*.
56. Re-claimed land, Foreshore Cape Town. Source: Joint technical committee, 1947. *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*.
57. The magnificent painting of the Cape Town of the future seen from the de Waal Drive. Source: Joint Technical Committee. Foreshore development.
58. The Heerengracht 1963. Source: Villiers, S. de., 1985. *A Tale of three cities*.
59. Civic Centre. 1970's. Source: Villiers, S. de., 1985. *A tale of Three Cities*
60. Rope skipping in Upper Ashley Street. (now named Blinde Street) These quaint cottages have survived the bulldozers and have since been turned into upmarket townhouses. Source: Barrow, B., 1997. *The Spirit of District Six*.
61. Community street life in District Six. Some of the buildings retained character and sturdiness, and could have been saved. Alas, no reprieve was shown. source: Barrow, B., 1997. *The Spirit of District Six*.
62. What District Six looked like before it was cleared in the late sixties, (60.1) to what it was reduced to. (60.2) To date most of the suburb has remained open ground. Source: Barrow, B. 1997. *The Spirit of District Six*.

KEYWORDS

BOUNDARY

Boundaries delimit, protect, and regulate concealment and exposure, playing a significant part in human societies. The separate identities of public and private realms depend on the construction of the boundary, and the way it is articulated.

CAPE TOWN

Cape Town constituted the first colonial town in southern Africa that developed into what is now a city located at the foot of Table Mountain in South Africa. (figures A1-4) This thesis deals with the geographical construct of central Cape Town,⁵ comprising the original Dutch settlement; however, the broader environment around Cape Town may be referred to in certain instances in order to illustrate a point central to the argument. The Khoi-san called the area where Cape Town is now situated 'Camissa' to describe the fresh 'sweet water' from the mountain streams that flow down Table Mountain into Table Bay. Later the Dutch named their settlement 'Fort de Goede Hoop' or 'Kaapse Vlek', and the British renamed the developing town 'Cape Town,' being the 'centre' of the Cape Colony.

CARTOGRAPHY

This term applies to the representing of concepts through a process of mapping. This involves processes of de-territorialization and re-territorialization associated with colonial and post-colonial cultures. It is related to the representation of the spatial reality of the 'other' in the post-colonial context, where a landscape of difference was constructed.

EXCLUSION

Central to the notion of territory is the idea that spatial practice allows or disallows through the manipulation of space. Spatial and symbolic boundaries define the nature of realms, where the binary of inclusion and exclusion is central to the definition of public and private spaces.

⁵ Described here as the case study area.

HOERIKWAGGO

This is an old Khoi⁶ word meaning 'mountain of the sea' and is used to describe the whole Cape peninsula and the mountain as a landmark. Table Mountain is thought to have been named by the Dutchman Joris von Spilbergen in 1601 who considered the mountain to be flat like a table. This is the name the mountain is known by today.

HYBRID

The landscape of the city is layered with different meanings that create ambivalence in interpretation that is presented as a hybrid space. The hybrid space is one where cultural meanings and identity always contain traces of other meanings and identities. Through these layers a dialectical relationship between different identities and spaces emerges as an interpretation of space. In this definition the built environment is not fixed but is continuously transforming.

IDENTITY

The discussion of identity introduces the post-colonial discourse of 'cultural difference and diversity' (see chapter 2.1). This term is used in relation to phenomenological social practices and belief systems where social values represent people. In this context I am referring to the identity of slaves, settlers, colonists and indigenous people. In South African history the discussion of ethnicity⁷ and identity has historically largely become one based on racial identity, where the merging of social and spatial identity becomes relevant.

⁶ See Khoi-san.

⁷ Bickford Smith (1995) uses the term ethnicity to describe group identity and stresses that group identities evolve and are not static or permanent.

KHOI-SAN / KHOI

This is a generic term used to describe the different indigenous tribes living in the Cape when the Dutch arrived in the seventeenth century. There were two main groups of people, the Khoi who were pastoral and moved in seasonal patterns to graze their livestock and the San, who were hunter-gatherers.⁸ Within the Khoi were different tribes of people, including the Gorachouqua and the Goringhaiqua who, according to Worden et al (2004, p. 16), “used the shores of Table Bay as part of their transhumance pattern.” The San⁹ did not own live-stock, rather hunting wild animals for food and occupying the interior regions of the country. It is likely that before the Dutch arrived there had been some amalgamation of the Khoi and the San people who influenced each others’ social practices; hence the name Khoi-san.¹⁰

LANDSCAPE

Landscape is defined as a product of cultural practice that describes the relationship between cultural production and material practice. Through understanding the construct of landscape we can unpack the relationship between the built environment, a result of material practice, and the social dimension, that is intrinsic to cultural production.

MAPPING

The practice of mapping involves the acts of visualising, conceptualizing, representing and creating spaces graphically. Cosgrove (1999, p. 2) describes mapping as a “graphic register of correspondence between two spaces, whose explicit outcome is a space of representation where mapping is not confined to the archival but can also be remembered, the imagined or the contemplative.”

⁸ Around 2000 years ago Africans entered the north-eastern parts of the country and from the second century moved down the coast along the Drakensberg. At about the same time pastoralism arrived from Namibia, bringing with it animal domestication and ceramics. Skotnes (2007, p.62) says: “This intrusion was to bring hunter gatherers into competition with a new economy.” In Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd’s work (cited in Skotnes, 2007, p. 63) they recorded that the San in the Cape “articulated fundamental differences between themselves and pastoralists, and it is clear for them, at least, that pastoralism was part of a hostile social and economic system.”

⁹ The San, according to Skotnes (2007) referred to themselves as ‘!xam’.

¹⁰ There is some contention amongst archaeologists as to whether the pastoral Khoi and the hunter-gatherer San maintained their identities as two groups of people or whether there was in fact amalgamation.

PUBLIC / PRIVATE

Society divides its spaces into public and private, where division controls movement from one space to the next and access to places and activities. This public and private division of space is a universal feature of all cities and cultures and historical periods. The nature of these divisions between public and private realms varies widely according to the associated spatial practices. I have chosen the filter of public and private spaces to illustrate the relationship between the private realm and the practice of exclusion.

POWER SHIFTS AND MODIFICATIONS

Three major shifts in power within the time period incorporated in this thesis have been identified. The first one occurs with Dutch colonization (1652); the second one happens with British colonialism (1806) and the third one is when Union Government was formed in 1910. When South Africa achieved democratic governance (1994), another shift in power occurred. It is difficult to define a precise moment when change occurs. There is usually a transition period during which events build up that influence shift in power. Chapter 6.1.3 attempts to map these transition periods.

<u>SHIFT 1</u> : PRE-COLONIAL/ DUTCH COLONIAL:	1652
<u>SHIFT 2</u> : DUTCH COLONIAL / BRITISH COLONIAL:	1806
<u>SHIFT 3</u> : BRITISH COLONIAL /NEO-COLONIAL:	1910

The shifts are related to the political, economic and social forces that comprise power and domination. These forces influence a re-alignment of power that results in different spatial practices. I am making a distinction between a shift and a modification. In this context I am referring to a shift as a significant transformation or re-alignment of political, economic and social forces. A modification refers to a partial change that occurs within each shift. Change in the Cape occurred progressively, encompassing 'continuities' and 'discontinuities'¹¹. In making a distinction between a shift and a modification, it is useful to assess the conditions where spatial practices remain ideologically aligned even when power changes.

¹¹ Refer to the chapter on Theory/ Foucault/Chapter 6.

RACIAL CLASSIFICATION

The classification of people according to race became centred on the distinctions of 'White' and 'non-White' in South Africa. Cape Town's history was informed by these definitions and defined the colonial hegemony. People of mixed origins were termed 'Coloured' and they characterised Cape Town's landscape. For the purpose of this thesis I have used the terminology 'White', 'Coloured' and 'Black'; however, it is not the intention to condone the classification of people according to race. It is only necessary in this context when dealing with the history of South African populations.

SPATIAL PRACTICE

Spatial practice is the dialectical relationship between people, incorporating their customs and actions, and the built environment. Spatial practice refers to the application or methods used in social practice in relation to the production of space and the built environment. Spatial practice and social practice that define identity interconnect in the realm of the built environment.

TERRITORY

This refers to Robert Sack's (cited in Robinson 1996, p. 56) concept of territoriality: "The attempt by an individual or group to influence, affect, or control objects, people and relationships by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area." This geographic area represents power.

VOC

The VOC is an abbreviation for the 'Vereenigde Oosterlike Compagnie', a capitalist trading company based in Holland that monopolized trade between the East and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its power lay with the directors, known as the 'Heeren Seventeen' to whom all the company's servants were accountable. The VOC also colonized Java, Bantam and the Celebes. The English name is the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) and historical accounts sometimes refer to the VOC as the DEIC.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	p.0
Abstract	p.1
Declaration	p.2
Acknowledgements	p.3
Sources	p.4
Key of figures	p.5
List of figures	p. 6
Keywords	p.10
Table of contents	p.15
1. INTRODUCTION	p. 17
figures A 1-4.	p.17/ 18
2. CONTEXT	p.23
2.1 Post-colonial theory and a discussion on identity	
2.2 Historical overview of Cape Town's social and political development as a pre-colonial , colonial and neo-colonial landscape.	
figures B 5-7	p.25/ 26
figures B 8-9	p.34/ 35
3. METHOD	p.35
figures C 10	p.35
4. ARGUMENT	p.39
4.1 Hypothesis	
4.2 Position	
4.3 Critical question and sub questions	
4.4 Shifts definition table	
4.5 Filter	
4.6 Conclusion	
5. THEORY ON SPATIAL PRACTICE	p.48
5.1 Introduction	
5.2 Re-presentation: The conceptual triad on the representation of space	
5.3 Power: Foucault and the genealogy of space	
5.4 Conclusion	

6. FINDINGS LANDSCAPES OF POWER AND SPACE

6.1 MAPPING

- 6.1.1 Mapping as spatial practice** p. 63
Mapping as spatial practice: representing the colonial landscape in
Cape Town

figures D 11-15 p.69/ 70

figures D 16-18 p.71/ 72

6.1.2 Mapping Cape Town

An interpretation of maps and theory p.75

figures E 19-24 p.77

figures F 25-30

figures G 31-36

- 6.1.3 Chronology:** Representation of events, built form, social
practices and maps.

figures H

6.1.4 Poster

figures I

6.2 NARRATIVE

- 6.2.1 SHIFT 1: The making of Dutch colonial territory:** Fortification
and the materiality of social practice p.78

figures J 37-42 p.79/ 80

figures J 43-45 p. 90/ 91

- 6.2.2 SHIFT 2: British colonial expansion:** Emancipation
and the power of production p.91

figures K 46-47 p.91

figures K48-50 p.101/ 102

figures K51-54 p.103/ 104

- 6.2.3 SHIFT 3: Segregation and neo-colonial alienation:** Union
government, nationalism and modernist planning principles

p. 106

figures L 55-59 p.109/110

figures L 60-61 p.113/114

figure L 62 p.117/118

7. CONCLUSION p.119

8. REFERENCES p.121

9. ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY p.124

Cape Town is one of the many post-colonial¹² cities in Africa in which colonial power is embedded through a particular spatial configuration and material form. Colonialism was introduced in Cape Town, first by the Dutch in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and then by the British in the nineteenth century, resulting in different forms of spatial practice through which power and space were represented. This topic focuses on the dialectical¹³ relationship between the built environment and spatial practice as a re-presentation of power and is prompted by an interest in how human inhabitation is made initially in the wilderness and later within an urban landscape as a function of social identity. The relationship between spatial practice and human settlement creates a 'pattern' of inhabitation.¹⁴

The over-arching concern is about the relationship between power and space, where it specifically relates to the construction of particular landscapes that represent the social dimension. Corner (1999, p. 9) describes this relationship: "From a specifically landscape-architectural point of view, it is crucial to understand how cultural ideas condition construction and how construction, in turn, conditions the play of landscape ideas in a larger cultural imagination."

Cape Town's built environment developed according to a specific ideology that reflected the power structure and identity of a colonial hegemonic order; thus introducing the notion of dominance over the landscape. In his book, 'Colonial Cities', Ross (1984, p. 3) asks: "What can we understand about a society by examining its physical and spatial environment?" This is a question that can also be applied conversely, and he proposes that in order to understand this question, we need to understand the functions of the city, including the distribution of power, social values, spatial practice, and the economic history in relation to the social relations of its

¹² According to Ashcroft, et al (1995, p. 2) "The term 'post-colonial' is resonant with all the ambiguity and complexity of the many different cultural experiences it implicates, and..., it addresses all aspects of the colonial process from the beginning of colonial contact."

¹³ The term, according to Colebrook (2002) "originates with the ancient Greeks who allowed different opinions to encounter each other in order for the truth to emerge through confrontation." Colebrook cites Deleuze who proposes that the contradictions do not reveal a truth but remain in tension to disclose 'difference' or 'becoming'. Rohman (2000) describes the Hegelian philosophy: The argument is that contradictions of life need to be confronted through a dialectical method that would perceive their underlying identity."

¹⁴ The inhabitation of space involves elements of boundary making, where resistance and appropriation are intrinsic to this theoretical idea.

production. Space, therefore, being the manifestation of different social, economic and political forces that comprise power, represents values that inform social identity.

Cape Town's landscapes of social identity and exclusion have been influenced by general and specific conditions through time where the physical manifestation of the built form represents conditions that are both typical and unique. The situation can be compared to other colonial cities in the world and in Africa that were developed under similar circumstances; in that it was developed through the practice of a colonial hegemony, incorporating slavery and later capitalism. Its uniqueness is attributed to its geographical location and to the specific social dynamics that developed between slaves, colonizers and indigenous people particular to Cape Town.

The relevance of the discussion on social identity in the current context relates to the notion of 'non-racialism' under the government of 'national unity' formed in 1994. This concept is what the struggle for liberation was based on; however, there are related tensions as different races within Cape Town struggle to express their own identity in an emerging democracy that inherited the legacy of division on racial lines. Soudien (2001, p. 116) calls for a new type of non-racialism that he calls 'critical anti-racism' that may be described as a form of anti-racism that consciously seeks to work with, and takes into account, what post-modernists, following Bhabha (1995), have called 'difference.'¹⁵

The general purpose of the research is to re-present the physical and social dimensions through time, and to understand the production of space as a representation of power through a process of mapping and narrative. The method explores the landscapes of social identity and exclusion as a means of uncovering the relationship between power and spatial practice. The spatial entity becomes the focus for understanding conditions endemic to the notion of exclusion and a form of categorization emerges that reveals, through interpretation, the world of space in relation to its production. This is a form of mapping used in the role of 'articulation'.¹⁶

The assumption made is that Cape Town's landscape has been transformed with shifts and modifications in power as a result of related spatial practices. The method that Corner (1999, p. 4) uses determines that the focus is on the "agency of landscape rather than upon its simple appearance" . By interrogating the agency of

¹⁵ See the discussion on post-colonial identity in chapter 3.1.

¹⁶ Guattari's ideas on mapping address this issue of 'articulation'.(Kaufman,1998,p.151)

landscape, I am suggesting that the representation of power can be perceived through a study of changing urban space that is influenced by social practice related to different identities. This is a construct developed for the purpose of unpacking the relationship between power and space in an interpretative mapping of the title.

The post-structuralist¹⁷ theories of Lefebvre and Foucault are applied to locate the argument in the issues of power and representation. Lefebvre (1991, p. 26) identifies space as a product in the capitalist modal system that is used as a tool for domination to control people. His conceptual triad poses a theory for the interpretation of space: 1. Spatial practices; 2. Representations of space and 3. Representational space. Lefebvre's main theory is centred on the premise that social space is not reducible to a form but has a character defined by society through spatial practice¹⁸ and its 'representations'.¹⁹ Foucault's theories are central to the notion that space changes with power. In addition, according to Watson: (2000, p. 628) "We are subject to the production of truth through power." Where Foucault examines the relationship between knowledge and power, I am using material culture to represent power structures through spatial practice. The intention therefore is the interpretation of the built environment as a construct of power relations.

Linear time structures the argument where Cape Town's landscape is traced from a condition of origins through to 1991²⁰, and locates the colonial and post-colonial conditions in the temporal dimension through which landscapes change. The conditions of continuity and discontinuity²¹ are informed by the social, economic and political influences that comprise shifts in power. However, the shifts included modifications that were discrete in that practices were carried over from one power regime to another, where a form of continuity becomes evident. It is difficult in certain instances to define a precise moment²² when change occurs. Shields (1999, p. 60)

¹⁷ The post-structuralists contested the idea that social systems were static in meaning and they focused on the contradictory nature of things; this implies that interpretation can never be definitive.

¹⁸ Another theorist who writes about the importance of spatial practice is de Certeau (1984). His concern is about the way people who comprise the 'masses' in society, use the city in their own way. His theory is that people create their own traces within the city grid and set up other dialogues which cannot be planned and mapped, a dialogue that he claims contributes largely to making spaces in a city work. De Certeau (1984) calls it 'the migration from the planned'. He explains that *spatial practices* evolve and are important in that they actually determine the conditions of social life.

¹⁹ See chapter 6

²⁰ This marks the year after Mandela was released and the Group Areas Act was repealed.

²¹ According to Foucault (1980, p. 49) historical breaks and changes always involve some overlapping and interaction between the old and the new.

²² "A moment is a flash of the wider significance of some 'thing' or event, its relation to the whole, and by extension, our relation to totality." (Shields, 1999, p. 58)

states: "Moments are themselves essential forms in which everyday contents are arranged in recognisable patterns."

There is continuity that builds up and then a transfer of spatial practice that represents change. The accumulation produces the hybrid where spatial practices represent cultural difference. These ideas are based on Lefebvre's writing (1991, p. 48) which describes the importance of identifying social production within a broader context: "The history of space cannot be limited to the study of specific moments constituted by the formations, establishment, decline and dissolution of a given code. It must deal also with the global aspect - with modes of production as generalities covering specific societies with their particular histories and institutions."

The landscapes that comprised the power shifts in Cape Town are discussed in relation to social and spatial practice, both informal and formal, initially creating impositions on the wilderness through acts of territoriality and later becoming sets of imposed relations over inherited situations. Territory was produced as land was claimed and 'left over' as a fundamental aspect of colonial practice. Initially the wilderness and later the settlement and colony were divided up through different spatial practices that set up tensions between location and ownership; the privatization of the public; and between property and politics. Ultimately these practices created conditions of landscape that influenced social formations through the mechanism of power. In this context the colonial powers used spatial definitions to empower and exclude.

According to Corner, (1999, p. 6) the landscape idea is not universal but is different across cultures and times; with meaning, value, physical and formal characteristics that are not fixed. In addition to this he argues that different cultures produce different manifestations of landscape. He explains the relationship of landscape to the social dimension by saying: "whatever the precise origin, coding, and intensity of the lens, the landscape idea arises as an eidetic filter through which different cultures view their woods, mountains, waters, and fields, and gain a sense of social identity." The power shifts introduced and set out particular characteristics²³ of landscape that defined conditions of exclusion in relation to the social where landscapes have been produced²⁴, represented²⁵ and inhabited. Different social, political and economic conditions contextualise each shift and its modifications.

²³ See shifts definition in Chapter 5.

²⁴ The way in which space is produced is related to spatial practice within particular time periods.

The colonial practices that have informed the development of the built environment in Cape Town have resulted in the production of different landscapes. These are investigated through three filters: 1. Public and private realms; 2. Building types 3. Location. In the case of Cape Town, these practices have ultimately resulted in exclusive spaces where the built environment has been the vehicle through which power is played out. The characteristics of urban life are understood to be influenced by the way the public and private are defined and an exploration of the nature of realms of spatial and symbolic boundaries is made. I have investigated what Iain Low²⁶ refers to as “the iterative nature of space in relation to power where the institution of power that is centralized has physical limits and boundaries.”

Mapping as a colonial practice within the context of the post-colonial is inextricably linked to the notion of territory and domination. Kaufman (1998, p. 145) cites Deleuze and Guattari whose description of the notions of earth and territory through mapping is about finding the answer in “the multifarious spaces opening up between the expanses of the Earth and the territorial universes of existence.” Hence their statement: “Thinking takes place in the relationship between the territory and the Earth.”

Before colonization, the Cape was inhabited by nomadic Khoi-san dwellers that lived in the area around Table Mountain, including the site of the existing city centre, which is the case study area. This site is referred to by Abrahams (1993, p. 12) as the ‘prime site’ as it was the first piece of land contested through acts of territoriality. The first major shift occurred in 1652 when the Dutch VOC sent a fleet of ships to Cape Town to establish a refreshment station. The building of a defensive structure in the form of a mud fort was the first illustration of power through material form at the Cape. The next power shift occurred when Britain took the Cape as a Colony for the second time in 1806 and the third shift heralds a new era of neo-colonialism around 1910 with the formation of the Union government. These developments through time ‘overwrote’ space, where despite erasures, there were traces of previous inscriptions; hence the layering effect of history over time forms a palimpsest that describes space.

²⁵ Most of colonial history pre-1994 is written from the perspective of the colonizer, including representation through mapping, which reveals the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised in the post-colonial context.

²⁶ Personal communication.

This series of events set the stage for the 'apartheid city' which in many ways was a continuum of a trend where the landscape was steadily claimed. The continued practices of segregation resulted in the production of social alienation. The city continues to mutate in the post-apartheid condition with its emerging political agenda. Jennifer Robinson (1996) identifies a major concern relating to the spatiality of South African cities, where the construction of identity and racial order²⁷ is now so entrenched that breaking the patterns of exclusion are difficult. Cape Town has inherited political, ideological, social and cultural dimensions that need to be recognized if we wish to understand how the practices of the past intersect with our current global post-colonial condition with its ambivalence and plurality.

This thesis does not cover the shift to democracy in 1994; however this assumption sets up the argument that now in a current post-colonial, post-apartheid condition, the built environment should again be representative of this change. Values remain aligned with the principles of capitalism, where the power still lies, and a post-colonial paradigm is presented.

This research is a contribution to the rationalization of the current post-modern, post-colonial condition and the argument is formulated as a vehicle for understanding our current built environment. Whilst we are operating within a global environment where power has changed, we are still in a process of emerging from the effects of three hundred years of a capitalist/post-colonial modal system. There is and has been historically a tendency both locally and globally to use the dimension of space to marginalize and exclude. The results are generally informal settlements, poor housing on the outskirts of the city, and social poverty.²⁸ Social poverty results in violence and, according to Nabeel Hamdi, involves the exercise of power and erodes the assets of the poor. A re-distribution of power therefore, has the potential to empower people.²⁹ These ideas are relevant in the context of Cape Town where issues of violence, sustainable development, poverty and social identity are the key to unpacking the spatial dimensions of the built environment and the layers of meaning represented in a hybrid city.

²⁷ "Setting people apart was constitutive of the racial order" (Robinson 1995, p.1)

²⁸ Gated communities currently associated with the middle/upper classes and the privatization of land are also manifestations of violence and social poverty defined by boundaries.

²⁹ Lecture given at UCT, 17.07.2007.

2.1 POST-COLONIAL THEORY AND A DISCUSSION ON IDENTITY

This thesis is embedded within a post-colonial³⁰ discourse. Post-colonial theory covers many issues related to the project of colonialism around the world, including the debates relevant to this topic such as identity, nationalism, places, and representation. The relationship of power and knowledge in the context of colonialism is indivisible. According to Ashcroft et al (1995, p. 1) “the business of ‘knowing’ other people underpinned imperial dominance and became the mode by which they were persuaded to know themselves: that is, as subordinates to Europe.” This process of colonization resulted in European languages, literature and educational structures being spread to colonized territories. Ashcroft (ibid) recalls that colonialism resulted in the “suppression of a vast wealth of indigenous cultures beneath the weight of imperial control.”

Post-colonial theory is particular to different countries, where imperial culture became appropriated and resisted in different ways. Spatial practice is where post colonial theory intersects with space and where the built environment becomes a form of language that represents knowledge and power.

Jacobs (1996, p. 2; p. 5) discusses a ‘politics of identity’ that is built around structures of power internal to the city and around a broader history of colonial influences that operates through cultural processes. She describes how the imperialist process involved in the construct of ‘self’ and ‘other’ was fundamental in the production of a hierarchy in power and domination practised by the colonial powers. The processes through which the categorization of ‘self’ and ‘other’ were defined and negotiated are according to Jacobs (ibid) “a crucial part of what might be thought of as the cultural dimension of colonialism and post-colonialism”, marking out the structures of ‘difference’ as structures of power. She identifies the idea that the politics of identity and difference are established under colonialism and negotiated through a range of post-colonial formations that are activated through space. “Where the colonial problematised the imperial processes of power and identity through conceptual binaries³¹, the post-colonial theorists have re-interpreted the concepts through terms

³⁰ The term ‘post-colonial’ is used to describe the relationship between ‘coloniser’ and ‘colonised’ from the first moment of colonial contact.

³¹ Core/periphery; self/other; first world /third world; north/south

like 'hybridity' and 'creolisation.' This new range of phenomena according to Jacobs (ibid, p. 14) comes mainly from and is about the 'the margins' and aims to counteract or 'unsettle' imperialism.

The discussion of the relationship between people and space is located in the context of Homi Bhabha's post colonial discourse on difference and diversity. Bhabha (1995, p. 207) re-thinks the perspective on the identity of culture, saying that culture is never unitary, nor simply dualistic in relation to the self and other. He argues that in the colonial context notions of 'culture' became an object of imperial knowledge and that now in the current condition critical theory rests on the notion of cultural difference rather than cultural diversity.³² According to Bhabha (ibid, p. 206) diversity describes cultures unsullied by the inter-textuality of historic locations, and attempts to describe a mythic memory of a unique collective identity. In contrast, he claims, cultural identity emerges in a contradictory and ambivalent space influenced by mimicry and mutual construction.

Bhabha (1995) challenges the perception that the historical identity of culture is a unifying force and recognises the ambivalence of culture. According to Bhabha (ibid, p. 208), 'the third Space'³³ constitutes the "discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated re-historicized, and read anew." He argues (ibid, p. 210): "It is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of 'enunciation,' that we begin to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or purity of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity."³⁴

The ambivalence and plurality inherent in cultural identity described by Bhabha's theory of the 'third space' draws a reference from Derrida's ideas on difference that declares language untrustworthy as a vehicle of truth. Rohmann (2000, p. 93) describes Derrida's philosophy that questions 'truth' at the 'centre' where the centre, or in this case colonial power itself creates language to represent the interests of a

³² Imperialists would use 'diversity' in anthropological accounts.

³³ A theory developed by Bhabha to explain cultural difference.

³⁴ The example Bhabha (1995, 208) uses is of the Algerian liberation struggle; whereby he says: "In the moment of liberatory struggle, the Algerian people destroy the continuities and constancies of the 'nationalist' tradition which provided a safeguard against colonial cultural imposition. They are now free to negotiate and translate their cultural identities in a discontinuous, inter-textual temporality of cultural difference." Similarly when South Africa became fully representational in 1994, a negotiation of difference emerged.

patriarchal social order. In this context material form and spatial configurations represent language. The binary of the 'self' and 'other' adopted by colonial power is rejected here in favour of the notion that hybridity³⁵ challenges colonial power. Bhabha argues (1995, p. 209) that the dominance of the colonizer is 'dis-locatory', paradoxically confirming the very thing it displaces.

The proposition of the theory of cultural difference questions the accepted decisions of past and present; of tradition and modernity and of explanations of identity through cultural diversity. It represents the problem of how something becomes repeated, relocated and translated in the name of tradition or in the name of history. It recognizes that history is not necessarily faithful to memory but is a strategy of representing, in this case, colonial authority.

2.2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CAPE TOWN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AS A PRE-COLONIAL, COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL LANDSCAPE.

Introduction

This overview is intended to locate the thesis in its historical context and focuses mainly on the events that I have considered necessary in terms of understanding influences on the power shifts that are pertinent to the issues of identity or exclusion. The three shifts³⁶ are described and the main events related to each shift are scoped; including those leading up to the shift and those that occur as a result. In considering the colonial city³⁷, there are two aspects, the global³⁸ and the local. Cape Town was one of the colonial cities where the initial basis of social organization was a combination of VOC company practice and slavery. It differed from colonies where there was a long tradition of urbanization before colonisation.³⁹ Cape Town falls into Ross and Telkamps' (1984, p. 9) definition of a colonial city according to the following criteria: 1. Dominance by a foreign minority. 2. Linking different civilisations in some

³⁵ According to Bhabha, hybridity may be the most common and effective form of subversive opposition since it displays the 'necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination.'

³⁶ The thesis does not cover the fourth shift that would have been the transition to a democratic government in 1994; however, the events leading up to this event are scoped in this chapter to locate the argument in the current condition where continuity in a contemporary discourse is considered important.

³⁷ The concept of the colonial city poses difficulties, where on the one hand urban theory establishes the idea of the city as a social product, and on the other hand concepts of dependency in the context of the world system are considered.

³⁸ This use of global is in the context of colonisation, not current meanings associated with the word.

³⁹ Urbanisation occurred before colonisation in places like Algeria, Vietnam and Jakarta.

form of 'relationship'⁴⁰ 3. The imposition of an industrialised nation on a non-industrialised one. 4. A relationship where the colonised were subjected as instruments of colonial power.

Origins

As a vehicle for understanding the first shift, in the context of the argument, it is necessary to gain some insight into what happened originally when the indigenous groups of people lived in the area now known as Cape Town. There is little recorded history of this period which relies largely on archival and archaeological evidence.

According to Pippa Skotnes (2007), the |xam⁴¹ occupied the whole central interior of the country. The Cape was inhabited by the pastoral nomadic |xam or Khoi-san⁴² dwellers. The latter moved with cattle from one grazing ground to the next in a pattern that related to seasonal migration and grazing ground for livestock. In addition to the people there is evidence that a large number of wild animals roamed the wilderness, including big game. (figure B5)

SHIFT 1: PRE-COLONIAL/ DUTCH COLONIAL: 1652

The first interactions between Khoi-san and European sailors in the Cape resulted due to the practice of shipping and trade. The Cape was strategically positioned on the shipping route between Europe and the East and was a form of 'halfway-mark' by which time sailors needed fresh water and provisions. The Portuguese, under Francisco de Almeida landed at the Cape in 1510 to find fresh water and according to Worden et al (2004, p. 13) "bartered with the Khoi pastoralists, on the site of the current Salt River". They kidnapped Khoi live-stock and children, which resulted in a retaliation in which de Almeida was killed with fifty of his men. Subsequent to this the English and Dutch are recorded to have set up tents along the shore-line whilst trying to negotiate the bartering of cattle for iron; and according to Worden et al, (ibid, p. 14) the English set up a penal colony on Robben Island in 1615. These interactions marked the beginning of European colonisation at the Cape.

The Dutch were not the first to land on the shores of Table Bay but were, according to the records, the first Europeans to build shelter and maintain a presence. A fleet of

⁴⁰ This is the task of a colonial city.

⁴¹ This is a Khoi name for the people living in southern Africa. It is argued by archaeologists that |xam ancestors of some 100 000 years ago are the ancestors of all modern humans.

⁴² This was a generic name for the many different indigenous tribes living in the Cape in the seventeenth century. Also the name used in the current context to describe the |xam. See keywords

three ships,⁴³ owned by the VOC and captained by van Riebeeck, arrived on the shores of what is now known as Table Bay on 6 April 1652, with the primary intention of occupying the Cape. Van Riebeeck, who arrived with one hundred and sixteen men, was under the instruction from the VOC in Holland to set up a refreshment station to provision ships on the trade route between Europe and the East. The Fort de Goede Hoop⁴⁴ was established to facilitate the successful passage of ships by providing them with fresh fruit and vegetables that were to be grown in the settlement. According to de Kock (1950, p. 14), individual trade was forbidden with the Khoi-san. The Dutch VOC exercised a complete monopoly⁴⁵ over the Cape and only barter through the VOC Company was allowed; and this occurred with the Khoi-san already a day after landing. It is important that the successful barter of fresh meat from the Khoi was what Dutch survival at the Cape hinged on initially. In return they bartered tobacco and alcohol; an effective way to render the Khoi population submissive. (figure B6)

The indigenous shelters that existed around Table Mountain accommodated the nomadic lifestyle of the Khoi-san. Consisting of grass mats fixed to dome-shaped pole structures, they were easily erected and taken down in accordance with their transhumant patterns around the mountain. The cultural importation of solid and static building structures introduced a new technology of shelter, based on a European paradigm of permanent settlement. (figure B7)

The first slaves were brought to the Cape in 1658,⁴⁶ initially to work in the VOC garden. They became integrated into society in a peculiar way,⁴⁷ thus resulting in a transfer of social practices and a gradual mixing of social identities. The slave population was diverse.⁴⁸ Slavery had a major impact on the social make-up of the town. By 1710, there were already more slaves than European VOC officials and

⁴³ The Reiger, de Goede Hoop and the Drommedaris

⁴⁴ The original fort and garden was known to the Dutch by this name.

⁴⁵ All trade was central to the VOC and permission had to be granted for any business that occurred in addition to which all trade was taxed, the proceeds of which went to the VOC. The Company controlled whatever they could during their time of rule at the Cape, including employment of people, their liberation from the Company or their subservience. Even those that were given 'free burgher' status had to report to the Company authorities, pay taxes and abide by the Company laws.

⁴⁶ Slaves originated from Ceylon, India, Java, the Philippines, Japan, Siam, Angola, Mozambique, East Africa, and West Africa.

⁴⁷ The use of this word refers to the particular relationships that developed between coloniser and colonised in a post-colonial context.

⁴⁸ In 1658 the first shipload of 228 slaves came from Dahomey in Guinea. A second shipload of 174 slaves (mainly children) came from Angola, having been captured from a Portuguese slaver bound for Brazil. Thereafter, VOC slaves came to the Cape by Company sponsored voyages from slave outlets largely in Madagascar.

free-burgers together.⁴⁹ The Dutch managed to maintain control over the slaves, even though they were so outnumbered, through a system of hierarchy and oppression; however, there was resistance but not ever to the extent that it actually threatened Dutch power at the Cape.⁵⁰ The slaves outnumbered the Dutch by the time the British arrived at the Cape in 1795.⁵¹

The Dutch settlement developed as a town that was divided according to social hierarchy and race; however the cultures were mixed. The resultant 'creolisation' of people, between Europeans, Khoi-san and slaves formed the basis of a culturally diverse population, represented through language by the development of the Afrikaans language. The influence of the slaves brought from the East resulted in Muslim culture becoming a fundamental part of Cape Town's landscape.⁵² During the period of Dutch rule at the Cape a new identity of settlers and slaves developed in Cape Town, personified by free blacks.⁵³ According to Elphick and Giliomee (1979, p. 145) "Manumission brought the group of free blacks⁵⁴ into being; miscegenation and conversion further shaped its character." The free blacks played a role in the development of a cultural identity in Cape Town in that they were now technically 'free' and therefore had the possibility of living as a family in a community.

The small pox epidemics in the eighteenth century killed many who had little resistance to foreign diseases of this nature and many were killed by the Dutch colonists who, according to Skotnes (2007) hunted them down. By the end of the first shift, the Khoi-san had lost their land around Table Mountain and those that survived were found in areas north of the Dutch settlement. This first shift, instrumental in the final demise of the indigenous tribes, can be attributed to a number of factors.

⁴⁹ The rapid growth in imported slaves after 1713 is thought to be due to the economic boom and the replacement of Khoi labour and slaves lost in one of the numerous smallpox epidemics, which also occurred in 1753, 1754 and 1767.

⁵⁰ There was resistance from the slaves; however, prospects for runaway slaves were difficult in that they faced unknown dangers. Nevertheless they were a regular feature of Cape life, either as individuals or in groups. Table Mountain was a place of refuge for runaway slaves whose fires could apparently be seen from the town as a constant reminder of their presence, although they also went further afield (for example, the Hangklip slaves). In 1767 violent crimes committed by VOC Indonesian slaves resulted in an official ban on importing this nationality of slave, implying a recognition that different slaves brought with them their own cultural heritage and therefore behaviour patterns. Setting fire to thatch roofed houses, and burning of crops have also been recorded as forms of resistance.

⁵¹ In 1672, the European burgher population was 64, in 1687 it had grown to 537 with 300 slaves. Between 1658 and 1795 the VOC slaves grew from around 300 to 1000.

⁵² In 1804 the Muslims were granted official religious freedom, accompanied by two privileges: 1. the granting of the Tanu Baru (new burial ground) and 2. the right to build a mosque. The Tanu Baru was granted in 1805 and was only officially registered in the name of the Muslims in 1830. This was in return for Muslim loyalty in the event of an attack on the Cape by the British, which did occur in 1806.

⁵³ Manumission: the freeing of slaves in the period before emancipation resulted in what were known as 'free blacks'. Slaves could either buy their own freedom or could be manumitted by the master. Slaves were also manumitted via wills or bequests or through the provision of an 'exchange slave'.

⁵⁴ any free person wholly or partially African or Asian (but not khoi khoi)

However, it was mostly due to contact with European colonists that indigenous people were practically wiped out as a distinct social formation.⁵⁵

SHIFT 2: DUTCH COLONIAL / BRITISH COLONIAL: 1806

The British, wanting to secure the trade route to India, attacked the Cape and defeated the Dutch in the Battle of Muizenberg in 1795.⁵⁶ The eradication of VOC trade restrictions after 1795 encouraged the growth of merchant activity in Cape Town. When the Treaty of Amiens was signed in 1802 the Dutch returned to the Cape. For the first time the Cape was ruled by a Dutch government, and not by a private company, namely the VOC.⁵⁷ According to Bickford Smith (1995, p. 19) the Cape was now treated as a permanent part of Holland; an isolated province inhabited by Dutch citizens.

In 1806 the British attacked the Cape again and defeated the Dutch in the Battle of Blaauwberg. At this time, the town comprised more slaves⁵⁸ than free-burghers with a total population of 16 428.⁵⁹ Bank (1995, p. 186) views this period when there were 2000 slave hirelings in Cape Town as an early stage in the transition from slavery to wage labour.

The reason that the take-over of power by the British from the Dutch is regarded as a shift is due to the following: 1. The VOC monopoly on trade was lifted resulting in a change in the economic structure of the colony, marked by the development of commerce. 2. The abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1806 marked the first moves by the British colonial power towards a wage labour system. 3. The beginning of 'production' in the context of an industrialised economy.

Manumitted slaves in the period between 1806 and 1838 contributed to the transition from slave to wage labour. With emancipation in 1838⁶⁰ came the need for workers

⁵⁵ The languages they spoke and the culture are now virtually extinct; with few remaining descendants living in the Northern Cape, the Kalahari desert and Botswana, where they struggle to survive and still struggle for land rights. Those few remaining have been amalgamated into the culture and life of South Africa, living in towns and cities.

⁵⁶ The first British governor was Sir George Young (1798) who adopted a different strategy aimed at increasing government revenue from customs dues, resulting in a property increase of one third.

⁵⁷ The British Governors de Mist and Janssens sought to increase revenue and decrease expenditure by promoting the Cape as a trading post between India and Holland.

⁵⁸ The number was over 9000 slaves.

⁵⁹ This total number excludes government employees, the Khoi, government slaves and sailors who came and went through Cape Town harbour.

⁶⁰ Slavery was abolished in 1834 with emancipation only four years later.

housing in town, coupled with the new landlord class that emerged.⁶¹ The descendants of the slaves were integrated in the social life of the town as shopkeepers, coach men; fruit vendors, tradesmen, fishermen, artisans and professionals. There were numerous Malay leaders who represented the ex-slave population in their struggle for political representation and rights.⁶² 'Coloured' identity became prevalent in the Cape's political landscape towards the end of the nineteenth century, comprising people of mixed origin. The term 'Cape Coloured' was accepted in the 1890s by people wishing to differentiate themselves from 'Africans' and 'White' people.⁶³ (figure B9)

A build up of events led to a further modification in power with the formation of Representative Government in 1853, that included the emancipation of slaves, the formation of a public sphere, the development of a ward system where votes within the wards linked property ownership to voter status, and the development of a strong merchant economy that lobbied through the public sphere for a form of political independence from the British government.

The face of Cape Town was changed due to the discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1886. Thousands of immigrants were enticed to and through Cape Town on their way to the mines in the North. Worden et al (2004, p. 212) state that by 1875, Cape Town and its suburbs had 45000 residents and by 1891 the population had grown to 67000.⁶⁴ The developing resource economy required cheap labour and the people living in African rural areas were targeted. The 1894 the Glen Grey Act⁶⁵ was critical in finalising the supremacy of the colonist. Communal peasants were driven off the land and they were denied the franchise. The individual tenure granted to them was worthless due to the restrictions attached; in addition to which an annual tax was imposed on tenured land. Rhodes⁶⁶ who was Governor at the time, favoured pass laws, and adopted an attitude of superiority to justify laws that disempowered most of the population, specifically the African. (figure B 8) Potential labour for the

⁶¹ Further forms of control were now 'needed' by the imperialists in rural areas and the 1841 Master and Servants ordinances were passed to control farm labour.

⁶² For example Mahomet Dollie was a Malay leader in 1890s and de Jager, the first Coloured butcher from District Six 6, stood for the town council in 1898.

⁶³ These terms: Black, African, Native, Coloured and White were used generically to classify people.

⁶⁴ This increased the social diversity of the town and included Jews from Eastern Europe, Indians, Germans, and Africans who by 1899 numbered about 10 000.

⁶⁵ Sir George Grey was the governor from 1851-1858 and his plans for White unity mirrored the wars of dispossession.

⁶⁶ In 1890, Rhodes became governor and realising he needed support to ratify his British South Africa Company, conquered the land north of the Limpopo (present day Zimbabwe) and gave liberals positions in parliament to defuse their potential opposition.

towns and mines was driven off the land and resistance to the Glen Grey Act was met with imprisonment.

Wealth accumulated on the gold mines by the independent republic⁶⁷ represented a threat to the power of the Cape Colony and therefore the British Crown. The Jameson Raid⁶⁸ of 1895 was an early warning of the South African War, essentially a war spurred by interests in the gold mines in Johannesburg. The Boer War started in 1899 and represented the culmination of the mounting tensions between the Boer and British.⁶⁹ In May 1902 the Vereeniging Peace Treaty marked the end of the war and a defeat for the Boers.⁷⁰ However, the outcome of the war shaped Afrikaner identity and provided ideological tools for nationalism in the years to follow. Britain now ruled the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and the Cape Colony had re-asserted its power.

SHIFT 3: BRITISH COLONIAL /NEO-COLONIAL: 1910

Britain, represented by Lord Milner in the Cape, favoured joining the different colonies as a united South Africa. Until this moment Cape Town was the primary centre of power for the colony.⁷¹ With Union, a dual power base came into existence with the interests of the Transvaal on the one hand, and the Cape on the other. Union was declared on 31 May 1910⁷² with Louis Botha⁷³ as Prime minister. The Union buildings were built in Pretoria, symbolising the partnership of Afrikaner and English power in government; however this was a government that gave no representation to the African and there was resistance from the African People's Organisation who sent petitions to King Edward in England, condemning the colour bar clauses incorporated in the Act of Union.⁷⁴

The Act of Union comprised the third shift as it formalised a form of self-governance independent from Britain; temporarily united English and Afrikaner interests; and

⁶⁷ The leader was Paul Kruger.

⁶⁸ The British were defeated in their plan to seize the mines and Rhodes was forced to resign as prime minister.

⁶⁹ 170 000 British troops were brought in from England and many Africans also took up arms, but according to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007, p.223) largely also with the intent of reclaiming lost land.

⁷⁰ 16.5 million pounds was paid out by England to the Boers. Milner, who was governor from 1897-1901, called the Peace Treaty one of the 'strangest documents in history'.

⁷¹ The reasons for this had to do with the wealth held by the mines in the Transvaal representing a shift of wealth and power away from the colonial centre in South Africa, based until 1910 in Cape Town.

⁷² The first election was in September 1910.

⁷³ In 1919 Louis Botha died and General Smuts became the second prime minister of the Union.

⁷⁴ In 1914 South Africa sent troops to Europe to participate in the First World War. In 1919 at the peace talks after the W.W.1, further African representation and an Afrikaner Nationalist delegation went to Paris to voice grievances.

provided a mechanism through which various Acts marginalising African interests were enabled. According to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007, p. 244) the Land Act of 1913⁷⁵, and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 were fundamental in forming the basis of policy for Blacks for the rest of the century. The ANC⁷⁶ was formed in 1911 with the initial aim of rejecting the Land Act.

The Native Urban Areas Act was passed in 1923⁷⁷ and resulted in the following: 1. systematized the laws of the four provinces; 2. provided a policy of slum clearance; 3. regularised the financial system of urban locations; 4. controlled location brewing and trading. However, what the Act did not do, was control the movement of people into the urban areas.⁷⁸ The South African Native National Congress (SANNC) reacted against the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, whereby Black townships were formed without tenure for African people.

This Act impacted on migration to the cities and informal settlements sprang up on the periphery of Cape Town and other towns. By the 1930s migration from rural areas to the cities had become a social phenomenon. General Smuts, aiming to improve the administration of Black residential areas, proposed in 1923⁷⁹ that Blacks could obtain freehold property in town; however, according to Davenport (1971, p. 14) by the time the report was drawn up, Smuts had been swayed by the Herzog-led local government in the Transvaal.⁸⁰ Herzog opposed the views of Smuts that urban

⁷⁵ The 1913 Land Act that prohibited Africans from purchasing land, renting land, money squatting, share-cropping, or leasing new land without consent, empowered white farmers to evict squatters who would not work as labour. This impacted on further migration to towns. The act also defined the nature of black land tenancy and tenure, where black people were not allowed to buy land among white-owned farms. The result was that too many people were confined to small areas in what amounted to 'locations'.

⁷⁶ African National Congress: This was led by Ka-Sema, a South African who was a graduate of New York Columbia University and Jesus College in Oxford.

⁷⁷ The influenza epidemic in 1918 added to the impetus by government to address urban legislation. The Department of Native Affairs revised its bill in 1922 with a focus on providing adequate housing and services. It was proposed in the Stallard Commission in 1921 that Natives should be given a "selection of sites within easy reach of work reserved exclusively for ...natives so long as they are in the employment of European masters or have definite work to do for the good of their own community." (Davenport. 1971., p.14)

⁷⁸ Davenport (1971): Subsequent bills: 1930, 1937; 1952 dealt with urban influx.

⁷⁹ In a report they drew up, one of their conclusions read as follows: "At the same time, it seems only right that it should be understood that the town is a European area in which there is no place for the redundant native, who neither works nor serves his or her own people but forms the class from which the professional agitators, the slum land-lords, the liquor sellers, the prostitutes, and the other undesirable classes spring. The exclusion of these redundant Natives is in the interests of Europeans and Natives alike" (Davenport, 1971).

⁸⁰ Herzog succeeded Smuts as prime minister in 1924 with his coalition and in 1929 the National Party won the election outright for the first time, with Afrikaner support. In 1934 Smuts and Herzog fused the SAP and the National party, forming the United Party.

Africans should be given tenure,⁸¹ and argued on sociological grounds that natives were not “by nature town dwellers.”

1948 marked a modification in power as the moment when the Afrikaans dominated National Party led by Malan won the election. This was a victory for Afrikaners over the British, not to mention the racial colour issue, and the remaining symbols of British ascendancy were removed.⁸² Verwoerd became prime minister in 1958. He is known for his implementation of Apartheid policies, which according to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007, p. 314) “was a scheme of social engineering that only an academic could conceive.” It was also a scheme that gave power to whites, defined sex laws, racial laws⁸³, group areas, segregated schools, eliminated public facilities, imposed influx control, and protected Whites in the labour markets.

By 1960, a further modification in power occurred when South Africa became a Republic, symbolising a further distancing from Britain and bridging the divide between Afrikaans and English South Africans. However, it was also the year of the Sharpeville Massacre, when police killed sixty nine people protesting the pass laws on the Witwatersrand. By this time one third of the population was urbanised.⁸⁴ A black lower middle class was emerging, consisting of urban people with skills and qualifications living in the townships.⁸⁵ The African National Congress began aligning themselves accordingly.⁸⁶ These events marked the beginning of the end for White supremacy in South Africa and the beginning of a military approach by the ANC. The 1976 Soweto Riots⁸⁷ was an event that according to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007 p. 355) “triggered ground breaking victories for the oppressed people and the final removal of Apartheid.”⁸⁸ By the end of the 1970s huge informal settlements had sprung up around the urban areas with approximately 100 000 people living in Crossroads near the airport in Cape Town.⁸⁹

⁸¹ Herzog argued that ‘urban areas were ‘white man’s land’ according to the 1913 Land Act.

⁸² Union Jack, God save the Queen, British Citizenship.

⁸³ The Population Registration Act of 1950 defined people in terms of race.

⁸⁴ compared to 10% in 1911

⁸⁵ By the 1970s five million blacks lived in the urban areas, while the white population, both urban and rural, was less than four million (Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007, p.348).

⁸⁶ Biko’s death and the banning of African organisations accelerated the international isolation of South Africa.

⁸⁷ Protests by African people against having to learn in Afrikaans at school

⁸⁸ By 1965 white English speakers formed less than 10% of the population but controlled more than 80% of the companies in the financial sector, and 90% in the mining sector and manufacturing sector.

⁸⁹ Having formed ten black homelands, the 1970s saw the granting of their independence; however with independence came the loss of South African citizenship. First the Transkei, then Bophuthatswana (1977) Ciskei (1979) and Venda (1980,) resulted in many squatters being ‘deported’ to their ‘homelands’ in the 1980s.

Events leading up to the shift to democracy

During the 1980s the modernisation of industry and farming caused seven million workers to be replaced by mechanisation, and violence increased with the rise in poverty that resulted. The country went through a period of instability in the 1980s when South Africa waged war on the ANC. In 1983 the state president, P.W. Botha, held a referendum for separate but unequal chambers for Whites, Coloureds and Indians but not for Africans, and the new tri-cameral parliament building was built in 1987.

With the ANC suffering a banning restriction,⁹⁰ the UDF was formed in 1987, an ANC organisation that opposed P.W. Botha's constitution and aimed to bring people from around the country who opposed Apartheid together. Mounting international and internal pressure for the release of Nelson Mandela from Robben Island prison put pressure on the Botha government. Military troops were in the black and coloured townships, many objectors were in jail, and there was rioting throughout the country, resulting in a violent landscape that was volatile.

In 1985 Mandela instigated a 'truce' through the writing of a letter to the Minister of Justice, requesting a meeting. Mandela and P.W. Botha began a 'negotiated agreement' in 1986.⁹¹ In 1989 Botha was succeeded by de Klerk as president. Influenced by international events surrounding the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989, de Klerk took the steps of unbanning the ANC and other liberation movements on 2 February 1990. On the 11 February 1990, Mandela was released from prison, symbolising the moment of South African democratic freedom.

⁹⁰ United Democratic Front

⁹¹ A series of 47 meetings took place between Mandela and a few government officials.

Where Cape Town represents a specific set of power relations, my aim is to reveal the relationship between power and space, through a mapping of the city. This research fits into the realm of critical theory⁹² that focuses on social transformation. An attempt is made to illustrate findings through a collection of narratives⁹³ and a series of mappings. Maps, charts, and narratives are the tools used to uncover patterns or particularities related to the different power shifts and transformations. A representation of change and continuity, or shifts and modifications, is made through time and through the different material and spatial conditions.

This method fits into a post-modern discourse that is phenomenological. It is an interpretative approach that fits into the realm of qualitative research.⁹⁴ The material and social implications of particular practices provide the basis for interpretation. These are represented through interpreting relationships between power and space. Historical accounts, narrative and maps that describe the characteristics of space defined in the argument (Chapter 4.4.) have been collected. Material traces of space, informing shifts in power, are used in a study of the social dimension where the maps and narratives are re-presented and interpreted. The patterns of association and exclusion build up the layers that are conceptualised as a palimpsest.

A collective case study⁹⁵ method is used to illustrate the findings, where Central Cape Town, incorporating the space that was laid out when the Dutch first established a refreshment station and gardens, is the primary case study area. (figure C 10) Periphery areas and the larger landscape might be referred to in order to illustrate the argument where necessary. Within the collective study, instrumental cases⁹⁶ will be researched to illustrate specific phenomenon that result due to political and or economic influences. For example, the spatial implications of changes in social practice: VOC and settler farming transforming a wilderness; the emancipation of slaves in Cape Town and the development of workers housing; the

⁹² Critical theory: epistemology is transactional; Ontology is historical realism; Methodology is dialectic.

⁹³ The method will not incorporate a meta-narrative but will fit into the post-modern approach where a more localised theory will be fitted to a particular situation.

⁹⁴ This is an inductive process where non-empirical questions are concerned, with abstract concepts with philosophical or conceptual weight.

⁹⁵ Instrumental case extended to cover several cases to learn more about the phenomenon, population or condition.

⁹⁶ Instrumental case studies are done to gain insight into an issue and/or to refine a theory. A case study is an analytical description of an event, a process or an institution or (s)p(l)ace.

Land Act of 1913 and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 and the development of townships.

Specific political shifts in the history of the Cape have been identified and discussed in order to observe how spatial patterns change through periods of transformation from one power regime to the next. The social, economic and political influences that inform each shift have been scoped to examine and determine the primary influencing factors.

The time element has different conditions that contextualise each shift.⁹⁷ The shifts definition table developed in the argument is used as a construct for mapping the hypothesis (see Chapter 4). The shifts and modifications within each time period present social landscapes that are defined by characteristics. These have been developed as a construct to inform the method and the different manifestations of spatial practice (see shifts definition table 4.4).

The production of Cape Town's built environment is examined through the 'filters' that are set up for the purposes of this argument. Where the built environment is being analysed through different spatial conditions in time, the 'filters' set up a system through which to examine the argument that examines the dialectical relationship between space and power. The filters are: 1. the privatisation of the public; 2. location and 3. building types.

This study is both longitudinal⁹⁸ and cross-sectional, where the time line has been developed to explain the phenomenon over time, representing the longitudinal study. Specific moments have been examined to illustrate the argument as a cross-sectional study. Through the method, an assessment has been made as to whether the findings challenge or confirm the argument and assumptions made. This is a critical/interpretative examination of space as a text for our condition.

⁹⁷ For example: modernism, nationalism and apartheid are a package.

⁹⁸ Longitudinal and cross-sectional studies: longitudinal: takes place over time; cross-sectional: takes a snapshot at a specific time and can be descriptive, exploratory or explanatory.

In order to achieve the above, I have done the following:

1. **Literature review** of Cape history:
 - **Historical:** political, social and economic history focusing on the periods when these 'shifts' occur and on the transformation processes that resulted according to my terms of reference described above.
 - **Typologies:** residential; institutional; (libraries, museums, city hall, civic, post office, prisons) religious; agricultural; social; (clubs, theatres, cinemas, taverns) merchant; (customs house, commercial exchange, warehouses) military (fort, castle).
 - **Spatial practices:** the inhabitation of space; social practice.
 - **Government Acts / legislation:** land policies; government legislation.
2. **A survey of maps** has been undertaken. Maps produced in the time frame that spans the three different power shifts in this thesis have been collected and collated. (Point number 4.)
3. **Images** in the form of drawings and photographs have been sourced to illustrate what buildings or spaces looked like through the different time periods. This is a useful indicator of change in the built environment.
4. **A mapping exercise** has been done in the form of:
 - **A layering of maps** In chapter 6.1.2 maps are interpreted through the three different time periods and power shifts under discussion. The maps are grouped into three categories: The first is called 'larger settlement landscape', which shows the built environment in its natural surroundings; the second is called 'central town', and represents the original garden area, incorporating the Fort and Castle; the third group of maps represent the 'prime site', being the site on which material form was introduced to the Cape through the building of the first Fort.

This method allows for interpretation on different scales of mapping through the temporal dimension. The maps are discussed and an interpretation based on an application of Lefebvre's conceptual triad (1991, p.33) on representation is then interpreted through the three power shifts in relation to the maps. (See chapter 5; pg. 49)

- **The time line / chronological representation:** Chapter 6.1.3 maps a chronology of time, events, buildings, spatial practice and maps. It is intended as a tool that provides an overview where the production of maps can be related to events and spatial practice. This has proved a useful tool for interpreting linkages and relationships between the built environment and social practice.
 - **Poster:** This is intended to provide an overview and graphic representation of the shifts and buildings under discussion. (Chapter 6.1.4)
5. The three shifts are unpacked through a series of '**narratives**'.
 6. **Post-structuralist theory** has been used. (see chapter 5)
 7. **Critical question and sub questions** have been identified that are addressed through the narratives and mappings within the argument. (see chapter 4)

4.1 Hypothesis

The relationship between power and space operates through social practice. Shifts in power are represented through the built environment as a condition of social and material transformation. The topic identifies the built environment, and its relationship to social identity and spatial exclusion as the lens for testing this assumption. The context is the post-colonial city, Cape Town.

By making an inquiry into the spatial development of Cape Town and tracing its construct through different time periods, the present post-colonial condition can be informed. If it is accepted that space informs social identity, then the built environment becomes the text for interpretation. This is therefore a critical/interpretative examination of space as a text for our current condition.

4.2 Position

With Dutch colonization of the Cape in 1652 came the development of a city built according to a specific ideology that reflected the power structure and identity of the colonizer. Through colonisation by the Dutch the 'mode of production'⁹⁹ changed from a communal system to a capitalist one. The process of colonization introduced the notion of dominance over the landscape through a hegemonic order where a set of social and spatial practices was at first imposed by the Dutch colonialists, then by the British, and later appropriated by the Apartheid government.

These practices expressed dominance through the material in the form of the built environment, and were part of a process of defining territory in Cape Town through the strategising of space and the definition of boundaries. Mann as cited in Robinson (1996) suggests four sources of social power: ideological; economic; military and political. He argues that the first two are forms of 'diffused power', and are read in social practices that embody power relations but are not explicitly commanded. The latter two operate on the link between definite commands and conscious obedience, which in turn have 'territorial expression'. He expresses an archetypal view that political power is centred and is exercised *outward*; and that it is territorial. In this context power is located across the territory of central Cape Town and its extent, initially the Cape Colony and later South Africa. This concept of territoriality gives

⁹⁹According to Jaffe (1994, p.5) a mode of production is a social formation together with its economy.

geography a heightened significance and links the landscape to social power. Robinson (1996, p. 19) states that “Territoriality cannot be understood outside particular social and political relations.”

The resulting landscape, incorporating the dimensions of the social and the built, was produced as a result of specific spatial practices that represented power.

Landscape¹⁰⁰ is defined as a cultural practice, with its own techniques and expressions, and is essentially a product of social relations. This definition fits into a body of contemporary theory that describes the relationship between cultural production and material practice. For example, Cosgrove (1998) argues that landscape represents a way of seeing and is a comment on social relations, and he uses the construct to illustrate indicators of change. This idea provides a useful way in which to explore the relationship between the built environment and social practice.

The assumption is that power and space operate *in a dialectical way*. This idea is rooted in the theories of Lefebvre and Foucault, where Lefebvre (1991) identifies space as a product in the capitalist modal system that is used as a tool for domination to control people. Foucault (1980) argues that knowledge and power are related, where material culture in the form of the built environment becomes representative of power structures through spatial practice. It follows therefore, in their theoretical approach, that space and power are interconnected. This leads to the suggestion that the representation of power and its impact on social identity can be perceived through a study of urban space.

In summary, the argument identifies three different power shifts within Cape Town’s colonial history, where modifications in spatial practice build up that ultimately result in shifts in power. Some of the some shifts in power were discrete in that social practice was carried over from one power regime to another, where a form of continuity becomes evident. Modifications refer to partial changes in the way power is distributed within each shift where spatial practice represents continuity rather than difference.

The built environment becomes the lens for reading ‘change’ that occurs with shifts in power. If this argument holds, when power changes the built landscape should also

¹⁰⁰ The idea of landscape as a cultural concept has been developed in Europe since the Renaissance.

change. This is an inquiry to assess if the argument can be adequately illustrated. The dimensions of public and private space, location, and building type are used as a further construct or 'filter' for unpacking the relationship between power and space through time in an interpretative mapping of the title.

The way in which space is produced is related to social practice characteristic of particular time periods. The time element has different conditions that contextualise each shift and its modifications. These practices are in turn affected by global developments in philosophical thinking, connected to power structures, either aligned with or representing resistance to power. For example, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch operated as a capitalist trading company at the Cape, under a broader umbrella of the Dutch feudal system. In the nineteenth century, under the British, the Cape experienced a different set of practices where slavery was abolished and the influences of the thinking associated with the Enlightenment¹⁰¹ affected social practice in Cape Town. A Modernist paradigm in the twentieth century dominated Cape Town's landscape and resulted in the spatial arrangements associated with the neo-colonial government.

The first substantial shift located for the purposes of this argument occurred with colonization when the Cape changed from a condition of origins to that of a colonial settlement around 1652.¹⁰² This act by the coloniser whose intention it was to stake and protect a claim¹⁰³ to the land was symbolic of the moment where expressions of power were made through the material. The Cape went through a period of transformation as a colonial imprint was developed through the imposition of the built form on a landscape that was previously undeveloped.¹⁰⁴ Spatial practice was used by the colonial regime of the Dutch (VOC) to exclude the Khoi-san pastoralists from the Dutch settlement in the Cape. This resulted in a spatial strategy of 'defence' that was practised by the Dutch due to their vulnerable position on the Cape coast.

The tone was set for future planning when the Cape was to become a British Colony. The second shift in power occurred, after a period of transition, when the British occupied the Cape in 1806. This resulted in Cape Town's becoming a landscape that comprised a combination of defensive and exclusive spaces. It is argued that the

¹⁰¹ 'Illumination out of darkness': refers to the intellectual mood of Europe in the eighteenth century, exemplified by the power of reason.

¹⁰² The VOC first established a fort and colonized the territory around Table Mountain.

¹⁰³ This introduces the concept of ownership over land through the use of material form.

¹⁰⁴ By this term I am referring to the lack of built environment; this is not a reference to culture. Even though there were nomadic settlements, there was no development as a permanent city.

colonial practices of the British were characterised by 'segregation' and set the stage for the modernist 'apartheid' city. This was in many ways a continuum of a trend. The third shift occurred with the formation of Union government in 1910, which represented the end of colonialism at the Cape in the traditional sense of the word and heralded the beginning of a form of neo-colonialism. The landscape was steadily claimed and resulted in an 'alienated' city. The subsequent power shifts to 'Nationalism'¹⁰⁵ in 1948 represented the culmination of social practice that excluded and privatised.

4.3 Critical Question

What is the relationship between shifts in power, space and social identity in Cape Town where the material and spatial condition of exclusion has been informed by changing spatial practice related to the production and representation of the built environment?

4.3.1 Sub Questions

POWER

How is the relationship between power and the landscape represented through material form (in Cape Town and generally)?

What forms of power shifts affect the transformation of space?

What are the critical shifts in this context relevant to this primary question?

What types of buildings are informed by power and what do they represent?

How is spatial practice informed by power?

Are there reconfigurations of space or is there a complete collapse and 're-patterning' that takes place?

IDENTITY

What is the relationship between location, identity and building type?

What types of buildings are associated with different identities and what do they represent?

What role does the public sphere have in representing different identities?

How are the issues of social identity represented in the spatial organization of a city?

¹⁰⁵ Represented by Apartheid that was associated with Modernist ideals in spatial planning.

SPATIAL PRACTICE AND MODES OF PRODUCTION

What is the relationship between different production modes and spatial practice?

How do practices play themselves out and result in built form?

What are the specific dimensions of the different practices of the different political periods?

What are the spatial and material conditions of exclusion?

What is the relationship between cultural production and the material?

What is the connection between social practice and spaces of exclusion?

4.4 Shifts definition table

A CONSTRUCT FOR UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL IDENTITY AND EXCLUSION

TIME	POWER	CHARACTERISTICS	TERRITORY
ORIGINS		movement defined by a pastoral society	wilderness
SHIFT 1	ORIGIN/DUTCH COLONIAL	defence, agriculture, trade, slavery	refreshment station
MODIFICATION	French	defence lines, forts	French lines
SHIFT 2	DUTCH/BRITISH COLONIAL	empire, expansion, imperialism, segregation	CBD, greater Cape Town
MODIFICATION	Municipal representation	property	Cape Colony
SHIFT 3	COLONIAL/ NEO-COLONIAL	segregation	South Africa
MODIFICATION	Apartheid	alienation	South Africa
MODIFICATION	Republic	isolation	South Africa
SHIFT 4	NEO-COLONIAL/ ANC DEMOCRACY	political representation	South Africa

4.5 Filters

The following filters have been formulated as a methodological and interpretative tool for examining landscapes of social identity and exclusion.

PUBLIC/PRIVATE

At the Cape, the marking out of private domain from the public was critical in the successful establishment of territory. This practice of defining the private realm was the way in which colonists maintained a presence in the landscape, where the success of settlement-making was reliant on the making of boundaries to mark territory. The Greek word *polis*, the Roman¹⁰⁶ word *urbs* and the English word *town* were all derived from the notion of a ring wall, a circle, a surrounding fence. This idea of boundary is fundamental to the definition of public and private space where the demarcation of land for private use is integral to the built environment. Boundaries are associated with protection and the definition of identity because the division of the public from the private impacts on identity according to who is included or excluded. Madanipour (2003, p. 331) describes this relationship in the following way: "Boundaries establish new territorial parameters in and through which identities are (re-)created and embedded."

The success of using public and private space as an indicator of the social dimension is verified by Madanipour (2003, p. 2) who says: "The way space is subdivided and the relationship between the public and private spheres, in general, is a mirror of social relations and a main indicator of how a society organizes itself".

All cities are divided into public and private spaces; however the nature of these divisions can vary widely. Movement is controlled and boundaries define territory as an expression of power by making public and private divisions. Private property has the potential to express individual identity while public spaces express that of a collective identity; however, public spaces, if controlled by an autonomous power, can also reflect the state rather than that of collective society. Robinson (1996, p. 325) states: "By creating boundaries and territories and granting them powers and responsibilities states create subjects with new frames of reference and new ways of perceiving the world".

¹⁰⁶ The Romans had a god for boundary - Terminus.

The nature of boundaries which separate public and private spaces informs the character of the city. Madanipour (2003, p. 3) states that “the relationship between the public and private has overlapping economic, social, cultural and political dimensions and has a clearly physical manifestation, perhaps more than any form of structuring in the city”. He proposes that “the challenge of city building is to erect the boundaries between the two realms so that they combine clarity with permeability, acknowledging the interdependence of the two realms, and supporting both sides of the boundary” (ibid, p. 70).

The negotiation of a boundary is articulated in space as a threshold.¹⁰⁷ The threshold communicates between the private and public realm through an ambiguity or ambivalence. For example, a colonnade, gateway, foyer, or a raised terrace area between public and private spaces provides a transitional space that ‘thickens’ a boundary and allows an enrichment of social life in that it is simultaneously part of the public and private realms. A means of separation and communication, threshold spaces facilitate the spaces to pause, shelter, and bridge the divide physically and socially, representing a negotiation of realms. In contrast to the ‘thickened’ boundary or threshold space, rigid walls are limiting and retard communication.

Public spaces are as important in the making of a successful urban environment as the inter-active threshold spaces. Public squares provide openings in the city grid, spaces for air and light, and were traditionally created as gathering spaces in the city for trading, the collection of communal water, and other collective activities associated with the public realm.

LOCATION

In cities throughout the world there has historically been a direct relationship between location and power; as well as location and value. Cosgrove (1998, p. 62) makes this observation: “Today the highest value of land is set at the heart of the great metropolitan urban areas, at ‘peak land value intersections’, and that land is allocated to use by the dominant institutions of capitalist exchange: banks, insurance companies, and the head offices of giant corporations.”

¹⁰⁷ Madanipour (2003) discusses how through the establishment of a flexible boundary (sic thresholds), urbanism can be enriched. Society divides its spaces into public and private, division controls movement from one space to the next and access to places and activities. This public and private division of space is a universal feature of all cities and cultures and historical periods but the nature of these divisions, meaning and relationship between public and private vary widely.

According to Champion (1989), the relationship between the centre and periphery has figured extensively in writings on geographical analysis that examines the spatial organisation of human society. The theoretical relationship between distance from the centre and increasing economic disadvantage has been a theme picked up by archaeologists and anthropologists who have attempted to find a means of translating social concepts of power and authority into data related to settlement patterning. The tendency for the emergence of a new and dynamic society emerging on the fringes of central spaces that hold power has also been noted historically.

Location therefore becomes a useful filter for examining conditions of exclusion within the city and beyond its boundaries. It is related to the analysis of typology, in that it is informative for the purposes of this study to understand what *types of buildings* were located in *particular locations*, and how through time the relationship between location and type changed or remained the same. The centre, in the colonial context, was represented by the spaces dominated through power, for example, the institution.¹⁰⁸ The centre represented by the colonial order, practised exclusion through institutions and private buildings. The edge is characterized by the liminal spaces that belong to the fringe, for example workers' housing, taverns, appropriated spaces and spaces outside those directly controlled by power. The existence of the third element is also acknowledged, which consists in the threshold spaces between the centre and periphery. These boundaries become undefined and an interface between the two extremes is created, allowing a plurality and a condition of non-certainty.

The issues of location and dis-location which are characteristics of the initial major shift that occurred with colonisation set up the tension between location and ownership. The relationship between property and politics and the influences/forces that comprised the dividing up of land in terms of what was claimed and what was 'left over', introduces the connection between exchange and hierarchy, and the articulation of inside and outside. It also provides a framework for understanding the process of economic and political development in society.

¹⁰⁸ Buildings that represent those in power are for example, churches, schools, clubs, military, and commercial.

TYOLOGY

Scoping the typological¹⁰⁹ in relation to the broader context of the socio-economic/political influences in each period becomes an indicator of change or continuity. How the typological is related to the notion of social identity and exclusion will set up a pattern for interpretation, in the post-modern context, with associated political implications and meanings. Specific to this argument are the types of buildings that represent capital power, for example the government buildings, the institutional and the financial. Secondary are the residential, representing social identity and either exclusivity or exclusion. Typology is a filter for what types of buildings are associated with different identities and more specifically how they inform identity.

4.6 Conclusion

Power impacts on space through social practice that in turn results in the production of the built environment through spatial practice. When major shifts in power occur, specific representations of these shifts in the built environment are expected. I have posited three such shifts and chosen three 'filters' through which to examine this construct. In addition, the shifts definition table illustrates a temporal dimension into which certain characteristics of space have been noted. A study of central Cape Town makes an assessment as to whether the hypothesis holds.

¹⁰⁹ A study of building types: residential, institutional (libraries, museums, city halls, civic; post offices, prisons), religious, agricultural; social (clubs, theatres, cinemas, taverns), merchant (customs house, commercial exchange, warehouses), and military (fort, castle).

5.1 Introduction

This inquiry fits into a phenomenological¹¹⁰ approach where post-structuralist theories¹¹¹ are applied to a diagrammatic construct over time. The emblematic buildings and spaces in the case study area are scoped through an application of the theories presented by Foucault¹¹² (2000; 2002; 1991) and Lefebvre¹¹³ (1991). Both theorists argue that the physical form of a hierarchy of power is constituted by spatial practice. These theories are central to the topic where the dialectical relationship between space and power is the primary concern. What these theories have in common is confirmation of the assumption that the built environment is produced as a construct of power relations, and is in fact essential to the exercise of power.

Lefebvre is concerned with the *process* of the production of space and its configuration. His theory is used to interrogate and substantiate the argument that space represents power through social practice. In the *Production of Space* (1991, p. 33) Lefebvre says: "In reality, social space 'incorporates' social actions".

Foucault argues for the relationship between knowledge and power, where material culture becomes representative of power structures through spatial practice. According to Watson (2000, p. 628), Foucault sought "to show how the way knowledge is organized reflects the power structures within a society and how the definition of the normal man, or mind, or body, is as much a political construct as one that reflects the 'truth'". If this is how knowledge is presented, then space that is representative of 'knowledge' is also reflective of power.

¹¹⁰ Interpretative theories developed such as phenomenology and critical theory through the ideas associated with post-positivism. Social realism and slice of life ethnographies became valued.

¹¹¹ Marxist theory influenced the writing of the post-structuralist theories developed in France by Lefebvre, Foucault and de Certeau, whose thoughts are contextualised as a post-war reaction against the monotony of industrialisation and the reign of a machine-like oppressive production orientated landscape that was seen as alienating. Marx's work establishes the role of 'spatialisation' in contemporary capitalism. Where space, according to Marx, was seen as an object of consumption, a political instrument, and an element of social struggle, Lefebvre and Foucault transformed his theories in a discussion about space.

¹¹² His lectures at the College de France in 1978 and 1979 represented a shift in ideas where he recognised firstly the exercise of political sovereignty by the state over an entire population; and secondly where government itself is seen as a practice – "or as a succession of practices – animated, justified, and enabled by a specific rationality". (Shields, 1999 p.xxiii)

¹¹³ Lefebvre was a French political economist who declared all he ever wrote about was love and according to Shields (1999), he personifies the twentieth century search for freedom. His post-modern theories were also influenced by ideas proposed by Nietzsche and Spinoza, on the "central dualism of 'lived experience' (le vecu) and 'conceptual thought' (le concu)".

Lefebvre's theory on *l'espace*.¹¹⁴ is centred on the idea that social space is a social product and a tool for domination in the context of the capitalist modal system¹¹⁵, as a tool of power. In addition, the characteristics of social space are defined by society. Lefebvre described history as a series of epochs,¹¹⁶ where time is the ultimate ordering system of space and history is central as an organising idea.

Lefebvre's theoretical *triad* set up a dialectical relationship between the *lived, the conceived and the perceived*. The triad provides a vehicle for the interpretation of space in relation to spatial practice where the production and reproduction of specific places and groups of spaces (spatial 'ensembles') describe social formations. Lefebvre (1991, p. 33) suggested three ways of conceptualizing space: 1. Spatial practice: the 'spatial sets' characteristic of each social formation that influence the production of the built environment; 2. Representations of space: the way or medium through which knowledge or power is produced; 3. Representational spaces: this is linked to the traces of space through time, and their symbolisms, inherent in the 'lived space' that overlays physical space with meaning.

Foucault's theory of power is used to identify power shifts with its conditions of continuity and discontinuity as indicators of change. Foucault, as cited by Rabinow (1991, p. 361) said that "space is fundamental in the exercise of power" and it is through events¹¹⁷ that power is informed. The events are interpreted by Foucault through what he called a '*genealogy of relations of force, strategic development and tactics*.'¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ Shields (1999, p.155) interprets Lefebvre's *l'espace*: "the spatialisation of a social order where abstract structures such as 'culture' become concrete practices and arrangements in space. It is not just an achieved order in the built environment, or an ideology, but also an order that is itself always undergoing change from within through the actions and innovations of social agents".

¹¹⁵ In his book, "The production of Space, (1991, p. 26) ,Lefebvre says the following to explain the root of his work: "A (social) space is a (social) product - in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet ... it escapes in part from those who make use of it. The social and political (state) forces which engendered this space now seek, but fail, to master it completely; the very agency that has forced spatial reality towards a sort of uncontrollable autonomy now strives to run it into the ground, then shackle and enslave it."

¹¹⁶ Shields criticises the anti-dialectical nature of this: Shields (1999, p.172) argues that this approach directs attention from the struggles of everyday life to grand themes in the economic and political structure of time. He argues for the dialectical relationship between different spatial modes that jostle each other as a contradictory idea.

¹¹⁷ Events are discussed in the interview called Truth and Power. Foucault (2000, p.115, 116) commented on the concept of 'event' in relation to structuralism: "the most systematic effort to evacuate the concept of an event" The problem is at once to distinguish among events, to differentiate the networks and levels to which they belong, and to reconstitute the lines along which they are connected and engender one another".

¹¹⁸ The genealogical approach was developed by Foucault as a method for resolving the historical framework. Foucault (1994) describes it as being the following: "a form of history that can account for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of objects, and so on, without having to make reference to a subject that is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history."

According to Shields (1999, p. 75), Lefebvre developed social theories¹¹⁹ on 'everyday life' as an attempt to critique the denial of individual and community rights to space under capitalism and the state.¹²⁰ Lefebvre is described as being one of the first theorists to put environmental concerns on the agenda, and according to Shields (1999, p. 143) "he attacked patterns of excessive consumption that led to the squandering of resources, pollution and the one-sided development of whole regions of the world as eco-tourist preserves in which the environment itself was consumed." Lefebvre wrote that the first implication of (social) space being a (social) product¹²¹ is that natural space is disappearing, and the second implication is that every society produces its own space. This illustrates how the theory brings a discourse that is historical within a current relevance where space, produced as a construct of power relations, impacts on the current environmental debate. Now we are experiencing the condition where resources and mono-functional development driven by capitalism drive the schism between poverty and wealth, as predicted by Lefebvre.

5.2 Representation: The conceptual triad¹²² on the representation of space

Historically public spaces have defined the social dimension through practice, and are sites through which the urban condition can be interrogated. The changes in spatial practice through time inscribe space with 'spatial sets characteristic of social formations'. Public spaces facilitate social practice through informal trade, places of meeting, of protest, and of displays of power. Through time practice changed and the public spaces metamorphosed; however they are always representative of the collective or of state power.

The 'spatial dialectic' of identities, activities, and images associated with public places level the inequalities of local cultures, through the inhabitation of space and routines of everyday life. I have illustrated through the shifts, the processes involved

¹¹⁹ This is a theory based on the phenomenological that attempts to develop a "critique of the denial of the individual and community's 'rights to space' under the abstract specialisation embodied in capitalism and technocratic knowledge structures of the state"(Shields, 1999. p.146).

¹²⁰ This was a response to post-Second World War modernisation, that was perceived as producing an environment that was alienating, turning daily life from a set of creative and self actualising experiences into the boring and repetitive 'everyday'.

¹²¹ Shields(1999, p.68) asserts that Lefebvre's identifying space as a product, is giving the same ontological status to space in the mode of production, as capital or labour. This is because Lefebvre argues that space, as a product, has consumptive value in the context of industry and eco-tourism, turning space into a commodity along with and besides being property.

¹²² Lefebvre(1991, p.39) explains the importance of a triad and not two elements: "oppositions and dualisms are avoided, where binary theories strip everything which makes for living activity from life, thought and society (from physical, mental and social.); whereas in favourable circumstances, life, thought and society might form a coherent whole."

in the production of space. The emblematic buildings attached to public spaces or the public spaces themselves are located to interpret the representations of space.

5.2.1 Spatial practice: *“embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33).*

This is the *lived space*, where spatial practice incorporates a dialectical interaction that produces space and appropriates it; where spatiality is not only a product but also a producer and reproducer of the relations of production and domination, as an instrument of power. Lefebvre calls this ‘capitalist’ space a *socially produced* system that describes social spatialisation¹²³ as an ‘achievement’ and an ‘ongoing practice.’ “Thus production process and product present themselves as two inseparable aspects, not as two separable ideas”. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37).

Generically what started out as a medieval strategy of the fort and castle on a localised level, developed into towns and then cities. Neighbourhoods, streets, public spaces, all of these, including their specific locations, are what Lefebvre describes as being ‘characteristic of social formations’. An interpretation of spatial practice involves the study of building type and urban morphology, where zones are created for specific purposes. For example: sites for recreational purposes (parks); sites for military action; sites for death (grave yards); sites for remembrance (memorials; museums; tours); and sites for religion (churches, mosques, temples). Through ‘type’, the relationship between ideology, social formations and space is informed by the built environment. For example, churches become necessary for formalised religion, and routines and routes linked with the spatial are what Lefebvre calls a *lived space or total space*.

Different types of buildings and spaces were produced in Cape Town from the Dutch Colonial period, and through the British and Apartheid periods, (re)presenting social practices that are related to power. In Cape Town spatial practice informed building

¹²³ Shields(1999, p.164) says that spatial practice includes underground practices, restructuring the institutionalised discourses of space where new modes of spatial praxis emerge such as squatters, slum dwellers, who “fashion a spatial presence and practice outside of the norms of the prevailing (enforced) social spatialisation”.

type through colonial and neo-colonial power structures. The social practices defined by the first shift in power with the Dutch were broadly merchant trade, slavery, and agriculture. This translated into spatial practice centred on defence in an unknown or untamed landscape. The building types that developed as a result were related to defence and to the successful administration of the settlement. The Fort and later the Castle accommodated practices of governance and defence; the Slave Lodge that of slavery; the Dutch Reformed Church, that of religion and so on. However, it was the Castle that can be considered the most emblematic building of this period, representing the practice of permanent settlement and its protection.

The practice of privatising land was a demonstration of power through the definition of boundaries. The location of buildings describes the mechanisms of colonial and neo-colonial power that occurred in Cape Town in relation to space. British colonial practice resulted due to the second shift in power, and was characterised by the practice of segregation according to race, which has particular spatial implications.¹²⁴ It is argued that the building emblematic of the second shift is the Commercial Exchange Building, built in 1822. Representing commerce, this building symbolised the arrival of merchant trade at the Cape without the restrictions of the Dutch VOC, and it was to become a site of 'exclusive' political representation through the formation of the public sphere. As a result of the third shift in power in the twentieth century, the residential districts were excluded further through the spatial practices of marking boundaries that resulted in an environment of alienation. With the third shift, the spatial practices that developed through the influences of modernisation resulted in the reclamation of land from the sea, on Cape Town's beach-front and the development of the Foreshore. The civic centre building on the Foreshore is emblematic of apartheid power conceived as part of the 'gateway to Africa' plan. These are the characteristics and built manifestations representative of the social formations for each power shift.

Shields (1999, p. 141) maintains that it is still the centre that has power when he suggests the following: "cities possess a centre and *banlieus*, and citizens, where those on the interior, decide who among the insiders should be expelled and whether or not to open their doors to those on the outside". The exclusion and inclusion of

¹²⁴ The working class moved to residential areas on the edge of the central town, known as District One and District Six and the middle classes moved out of town to the suburbs to the south of Cape Town. The first forced removals happened in 1901 when 6000 Africans were evicted from central Cape Town to Ndabeni; marking the practice of spatial segregation and exclusion of people from the city centre based on racial distinctions.

activities related to 'space' and 'place'¹²⁵ are directly influenced by spatial practice.¹²⁶

5.2.2 Representations of space: “are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations” (Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 33).

Lefebvre (1991, p. 42) states that “Representations of space have a specific role and influence on the production of space...a conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent - all of whom identify what is *lived* and what is *perceived* with what is *conceived*”. Their intervention occurs not as a singular building but as a ‘project’ embedded in a spatial context and a texture which calls for ‘representations’ that will not vanish into the imaginary realm. Conceptions of space tend to have a system of verbal and intellectually worked out signs, including speculation on numbers, canon, and *moduli*. Shields (1999, p. 161) describes the discourses *on* space as “the discursive regimes of analysis, spatial and planning professions and expert knowledges that conceive of space”.

The project of colonialism, comprising the first two shifts at the Cape, introduced systems of representation to justify and confirm a reality of ‘territorialisation’ over space. This was continued by the neo-colonial power after 1910. *Conceived space* is represented through maps which serve as evidence of ownership; a new paradigm introduced to the Cape in 1652. Mapping through the Colonial project was a means of justifying the Colonial presence, through a specific mode of representation; thus constituting *representations of space* in terms of the paradigmatic shift that occurred with colonialism (see Chapter 7.1.1). These representations are abstract but play a fundamental part in social and political practice The logic and forms of knowledge; for example the cartographic information system and conceptual depictions of space are linked to production relations and an order imposed by this.

The first map of the Company Gardens and the Fort established the colonial

¹²⁵ Shields (1999, p.117) explains Lefebvre’s ideas where he makes the distinction between *place* and *space*. He said that “space is a practised place”. A Place (*lieu*) “is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a *space* by walkers”. The definition of place excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place). Place defines location where “elements are beside one another, each situated in its own ‘proper’ location, a location it defines”. A place is thus an instantaneous configuration of positions and it implies an indication of stability.”

¹²⁶ This theme of inclusion and exclusion that characterised Cape Town’s spatial development, is what Lefebvre described as a ‘geography of social relations.’

presence and evidence of its reality in a landscape; thus defining social identity and inclusive or exclusiveness. The gardens are given prominence in the representation showing their dominating influence over the settlement in that the reason for settlement was for the refreshment station with its garden, representing how the Dutch period saw a spatial configuration based on the production of vegetables and food, an agricultural landscape that informed the developing city. (Figure F 25) The hierarchy of power was represented through the placement of VOC buildings representing power in relation to the VOC garden and its point of reference, the port (from where food was distributed to ships). The project of power embarked upon by the Dutch VOC still remains embedded in the current landscape of Cape Town as a 'representation of space'.

Shields (1999, pp. 177, 178) describes the paradigm of land ownership that is rational and bureaucratic in its system of spatial definitions: "Laws are mapped onto space and social codes of propriety prescribed through zoning laws. By 'lot' draws individuals into the property structure, where everyone is potentially a property owner and therefore has a vested interest". Every home owner's plot is a 'space of representation.'¹²⁷ Space has developed from a natural space, to a historical space of territorial power and conquest, into today's arena of speculative capital, through private property, zoning, taxation schemes and planning controls. Private property structures developed by the Dutch grounded the system of the patriarchal family and the practice of dwelling as family into the capitalist mode. "Private property forms one of the bedrock elements of modern spatialisation across divisions of class, ethnicity, age, and gender" (ibid, p. 177). According to Shields (1999, pp. 164, 169), "most crucially these 'representations' are central to forms of knowledge and claims of truth made in the social sciences, which (today) in turn ground the rational/professional power structure of the capitalist state".

Where the Dutch initially represented landscapes of agriculture, (Figure E 19) they were later concerned with showing the Dutch VOC building types. (Figure F 26) The British maps, in contrast, were far more detailed, and depicted the complexity of the city that developed through commerce. (Figures D17; F 28) The maps of central Cape Town functioned not only as ownership diagrams but showed spatial practice for the purposes of valuing, moving and organising capital. Through the act of mapping, power realised a reality that constitutes these representations of space.

¹²⁷ The map of 1693 represents evidence of the beginnings of a town with privatised lots (freehold) and the activities associated with the sea represented (refer freehold diagram Plan of Tafel Valley depicting land ownership in 1657; only drawn up from title deed information by the city council in 1985).

5.2.3 Representational spaces: “*embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces)*”(Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33).

Lefebvre, as cited by Shields (1999, p. 178) that “Social space is a *series of ghettos*: those of the elite, of the bourgeoisie, of the intellectuals, of the immigrant workers, etc. These ghettos are not juxtaposed, they are hierarchical, spatially representing the economic and social hierarchy, dominant and subordinated sectors” . In central Cape Town, the economic and social hierarchy was evident through the development of the city. As a result of the first shift, the central garden area, that later also incorporated the Heerengracht,¹²⁸ Plein Street and the Governor’s house, was always representative of the power base associated with wealth in terms of privately owned property. The subordinated sector included the areas towards the ‘Malay Quarter’, now known as the Bokaap, and was associated with freed slaves’ housing. District Six, which developed during the second shift, also represented racially-mixed workers’ housing, while the white middle-class lived in areas further up the mountain overlooking the city. In the neo-colonial period, the townships and informal housing settlements on the fringes and peripheral areas completed the landscape of ‘ghettos’ that Lefebvre describes.

The public spaces of the city become sites where the social relations of production are represented and thus become representational sites. Representations of space are called the *discourse of space*: derived from historical sediments within the everyday ‘*discourses of space*’ where space is part of the social relations of production. Shields (1999, p. 168) reasons “because the reproduction of the social formation must obviously be achieved in and through space with time as a *medium*”.

The Parade is an example of a public space where practices changed through time and inscribed the palimpsest of space that is *perceived*. It was initially the site of the first Fort and houses during the first shift period. When the British took power, it was a military ground.¹²⁹ It has been the site of many a casual meeting, mass action gathering, celebration speeches, a gallows, a site of informal trade, merchant trade, and fundamentally the site of the first act of claiming territory through the material

¹²⁸ Later known as Adderley Street.

¹²⁹ It is now a market and parking lot.

that occurred with the building of the earthen Fort in 1652. The space thus becomes layered through its lived realities, for example the practice of selling flowers (Trafalgar Place) and fruit on the military parade ground, and parking cars where soldiers once marched.

This describes how lived practices become an overlay of historical material, including symbols of oppression, such as the slave pole and gallows. The *lived* includes Nelson Mandela's speech, when he was released from prison, delivered from the balcony of the City Hall. The contradictions set up between the location of City Hall, a symbol of British Imperialism and Mandela's liberation speech in 1991 are what Lefebvre calls the overlay of a lived reality over physical space; thus comprising representational space. "Yet this space is always, now and formerly, a *present* space, given as an immediate whole, complete with its associations and connections in their actuality. Thus, production process and product *present* themselves as two inseparable aspects, not as two separable ideas" (Lefebvre.1991, p. 37).

Representational space is space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'. This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space and makes symbolic use of its objects. These lived experiences layer space through time and inscribe space with meanings that are representational.

5.3 Power: Foucault and the genealogy of space.

Foucault's genealogical¹³⁰ approach identifies the importance of the *event* in making an interpretation of power and space. In this discussion spatial practices that have influenced material form through power in Cape Town are set against specific global events. This is therefore, not a chronological interpretation of theory but follows the themes of what Foucault called *governmentality*, *truth* and *space*. The discussion on 'governmentality'¹³¹ locates Cape Town and its power structures within a world context. The discussion on *truth* describes the relationship between power and knowledge in a colonial context. The discussion on *space and power* locates the theory in material culture. Foucault's ideas on *governmentality* have been scoped in this context to locate *events* in Cape Town that demonstrate the relationship of power with space.

Foucault (2002, p. xxiv) describes the 'archaeological' enquiry that he undertook in his book 'The Order of Things', through which he laid the foundations for an understanding of modal changes. "Now this archaeological inquiry has two great discontinuities in the *episteme* of Western culture: the first inaugurates the Classical age (roughly half-way through the seventeenth century) and the second, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, marks the beginning of the modern age." The identification of these time periods coincides with the first and second power shifts located in this argument. The first is in 1652, when the Dutch colonists arrived at the Cape and the second is when the British occupied the Cape. It is justifiable therefore that the Western culture that Foucault refers to here, was influential at the Cape.

Foucault uses a theory where the dialectic of 'continuity' and 'discontinuity' describes the power shifts. He maintains that historical breaks always included some 'overlapping, interactions and echoes' between the old and the new. In the 'Order of Things,' (2002) he emphasises the existence of "continuities between the modern and the post modern episteme, such as the continued importance of the problematic of representation in the space of counter sciences".

It is argued that a shift does not necessarily mean absolute change, but a

¹³⁰ The genealogical approach was developed by Foucault as a method for resolving the historical framework; being a form of history that "can account for the constitution of knowledge, discourses, domains of objects, and so on, without having to make reference to a subject that is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history" (Foucault, 2000, p.115).

¹³¹ In a discussion on discipline and population Foucault (2000, p.219) says "In reality, one has one triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government, which has as its primary target the population and as its essential mechanism the apparatuses of security". He describes the discovery of 'population' as an object of scientific investigation; along with the concept of people who must behave in the proper way, according to precisely determined norms under a form of disciplinary power. This is what he refers to as *governmentality*.

redistribution of the (prior) episteme. The power shifts are related to the way in which Foucault describes discontinuity. Forces that influence a re-alignment of power result in different spatial practices due to a significant transformation or re-alignment of political, economic and social forces. The first power shift that introduced the practice of colonialism ultimately created a state of 'rupture', in that the social practices of communalism that occurred before the colonial hegemony were very different from the practice of capitalism introduced through colonial power.

Modifications refer to partial changes that occur as a result of the shift in power. In making a distinction between a shift and a modification, it is useful to assess the conditions where spatial practices remain ideologically aligned even when power changes. Changes in Cape Town's landscape occurred progressively, encompassing continuities and discontinuities; therefore modifications refer to partial changes within each shift where spatial practices reflect an ideological form of continuity rather than of difference. The modifications in power that occurred within the shifts are discussed in the narratives. They refer mainly to the period of British colonial rule and neo-colonial rule that appear to need a condition of 'modernity' through which power becomes flexible. The modifications I have identified are: 1. 1853, Representative Government. 2. 1948, Apartheid government. 3. 1960, Republic. These all represent modifications in power through spatial practices of 'continuity'.

The colonial practices can best be understood in the context of *the politics of Machiavelli*¹³² where Foucault (2000) describes the link that binds Machiavelli to territory as a "purely synthetic one, in that there is no fundamental, essential, natural, and juridical connection between the prince and his principality. As a corollary of this, given that the link is external, it will be fragile and continually under threat - from outside by the prince's enemies who seek to conquer or re-capture his principality, and from within by subjects which have no a-priori reason to accept his rule".

This situation bears resemblance to the project of colonialism where the link between the power base of the Dutch VOC or the British crown bore no link with their territory, rendering the link fragile and therefore under threat from 'outside'. This resulted in the strengthening of power through the built form as representation of social practice where structures of defence were needed to maintain power. Hence the building of the Fort at first, followed by the Castle, and then the French lines, were acts of

¹³² Machiavelli's text: '*The Prince*' written in the sixteenth century, is used by Foucault as the basis for which the whole literature on *government* established its standpoint (Foucault, 2000, p.202).

defence and power simultaneously. The Fort, according to Worden (1998/99) symbolised power and at the same time vulnerability.

Foucault (2000, p. 125) states that new techniques were developed by power structures to “grapple with the phenomena of population, in short to undertake the administration, control, and direction of the accumulation of men. The economic system that promotes the accumulation of capital and the system of power that ordain the accumulation of men from the seventeenth century are a correlated and inseparable phenomena; hence there arise the problems of demography, public health, hygiene, housing conditions, longevity and fertility”. An example of these influences on Cape Town can be read through the spatial practices in Cape Town exercised through the Slums Act in the twentieth century that had major implications for the practice of forced removals during the Apartheid era. This is an example of population being controlled through spatial practice. Foucault (ibid, p. 205) concludes that “the object of the exercise of power is to re-enforce, strengthen, and protect the principality, with what he owns, and with his subjects”.

In the 17th and 18th centuries there emerged in Europe a conception of the exercise of power as a technology. Foucault (2000, p. 125) states that power in this form was more important than “the constitutional reforms and new forms of government established at the end of the eighteenth century”. The monarchies in the Classical Period developed great state apparatuses: the army, the police, and fiscal administration. Thus a new ‘economy of power’ was established, enabling, according to Foucault (ibid, p. 120) “procedures that allowed the effects of power to circulate in a manner at once continuous, uninterrupted, adapted and ‘individualised’... techniques that were much more efficient, less risky in results than techniques previously employed which were based on a mixture of more or less forced tolerances, from recognised privileges to endemic criminality”; hence the development of *governmentality*. The requirement was the maintenance of order that influenced what the ‘order of a society’ should be in terms of the organisation and collective infrastructure of a city. This involved: 1. The avoidance of epidemics and revolts; 2. The idea of a decent family and moral life. In the 17th and 18th century, through the project of colonialism, these European influences were directed at the Cape Colony, where spatiality was a function of the aims and techniques of this condition of *governmentality* described by Foucault. Particularly the British and neo-colonial governments utilised these social practices where military and institutional practices dominated.

Kant's ideas form the backdrop to Foucault's theory on *governmentality*. He wrote for a periodical in 1783,¹³³ co-incidentally at the same time that French troops were in Cape Town, identifying the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) as an event or process occurring in the contemporary world which is of capital importance in the history of thought and reason. This consisted of a commitment by humanity to be free to reason, liberating itself under the motto 'dare to know'. Rabinow (1994, p. xxxiv) states that in 1798 Kant saw the French Revolution as significant in that that it was an "event in which free people adopt a mode of government of its own choice". These changes in Europe at the end of the 18th century influenced what happened in the Cape, where power that shifted in the colonial base affected the colonies, resulting in the beginning of an end to the ancient autocratic regime style of government experienced under Dutch and British rule by the end of the 19th century.

In Cape Town, the Cape achieved representative government in 1853. The political lobbying that took place was based on the tenets of the Enlightenment and resulted in a form of Cape liberalism. Social practice in Cape Town was related to power through property ownership; thus setting up social boundaries governed by the binaries of male and female, indigenous and colonist, inclusion and exclusion, and was based on values of the liberal middle classes. Architecture, according to Foucault (cited in Rabinow 1984, p. 361) "ensures a certain allocation of people in space, a *canalization* of their circulation, as well as the coding of their reciprocal relations". The production of capitalism is called by Foucault (2000, p. 207) "the introduction of economy into political practice," where the art of government is just the art of exercising power in the form, and according to the model, of the economy". To govern a state will mean, therefore, to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods"(ibid). These ideas relate social production to the productivity of power.

The social practices used for the benefit of power by the Dutch were broadly merchant trade, slavery, and agriculture. When translated into a spatial form involving the context of Cape Town, these practices were centred on defence in an unknown or untamed landscape with wild animals and indigenous people. The British modified these practices and further entrenched the practice of exclusion through

¹³³ *Der Berliner Monatsschif: Title: What is the enlightenment? The emergence of a new figure or role in our culture, the philosopher as journalist.*

material form. These are what Foucault called the *mechanics of power* that by the twentieth century had evolved in South Africa into a capitalist system of social practice dominated by the interests of production. “The way power was exercised – concretely, and in detail – with its specificity, its techniques and tactics, was something that no one attempted to ascertain; they contented themselves with denouncing it in a polemical and global fashion as it existed among the “other”, in the adversary camp”¹³⁴ (2000, p. 117).

Foucault concluded that it is a narrow conception of power to say that the definition of the effect of power is only repression. That is, power can also be perceived as a ‘productive network’ in society. Foucault: (2000, p. 120) “What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also transverses and produces things; it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.”

Foucault (ibid p. 221) reconstituted the great forms/economies of power in the following way: first state justice, “born in a territoriality of feudal type and corresponding in a large part to a society of the law - customary laws and written laws - with a whole game of engagements and litigations. Second , the administrative state, born in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in a frontier and no longer feudal territory, an administrative state that corresponds to a society of regulations and disciplines. Finally, the state of government, which is no longer essentially defined by the surface it occupies, but by a mass: the mass of the population, with its volume, its density, with the territory that it covers to be sure, but only in a sense as one of its components. Foucault (ibid, p. 351 describes this type of government as one that “corresponds to a society controlled by apparatuses of security”.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Opponents of Soviet Socialist power called it totalitarianism; power in Western capitalism was denounced by the Marxists as class domination.

¹³⁵ This phenomenon is positioned according to certain pointers: he describes governmentality being born out of an archaic model, drawing support from a diplomatico-military model, (technics) or thirdly assuming its dimensions due to a set of particular instruments, namely the police. The idea is that a state is well organised (or that power is effective) when a system of policing extends over the entire territory (Foucault, 2000, p.351).

5.4 Conclusion

The Dutch and British colonial powers and the neo-colonial governments used spatial definitions in Cape Town to empower and exclude; thereby doing what Foucault calls 'power through practice'. The colonial practices of the Dutch and British began a process that involved capitalism and colonialism which then resulted in the practice and production of a form of localised 'Modernism'.

Both Foucault and Lefebvre propose that the dialectic between space and power represents hierarchical power through spatial organisation. Foucault argues for the relationship between knowledge and power that makes material culture representative of power structures through spatial practice. In relation to this idea, the built environment is produced as a construct of power relations. He interrogates governmentality and power through global events where shifts in power represent continuity and discontinuity.

Lefebvre's conceptual triad provides the primary tool for interpreting space in relation to its representation. A discussion of the three shifts identifies the *lived, conceived and perceived* spaces in Cape Town. The emblematic building types for each shift, the Fort and Castle; the Commercial Exchange and the Foreshore buildings represent spatial practice. The cartographic methods through the three shifts consistently represent the gaze of those in power. The lived reality through time and space inscribe the spaces with meanings. All these represent social identity based on spatial practice defined through type and conditions of inclusion and exclusion.

LANDSCAPES OF POWER AND SPACE

6.1 MAPPING

“The map is open and connectable in all its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, and susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group or social formation. It can be drawn on the wall, conceived of as a work of art, constructed as a political action or as a meditation.” (Deleuze and Guattari, cited in Kaufman, p. 409)

6.1.1 Mapping as spatial practice: representing the colonial landscape in Cape Town

Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between the spatial practice of mapping, represented as a construct of social identity, and the landscape. Landscape, defined as a means of cultural production that is related to spatial practice, provides a method through which to examine this relationship through the agency of mapping. Corner (1999, p. 5) describes landscape as “an ongoing medium of exchange that is embedded and evolved within the imaginative and material practices of different societies at different times. Over time landscapes accrue layers with every new representation, and these inevitably thicken and enrich the range of interpretations and possibilities”.

The meaning of mappings, what they represented in the past, how the conceptions have been revised, and how they have served to project order and arrange social, imaginative and physical worlds is explored. How the practice of mapping has shaped modern seeing and knowing, and how contemporary changes in the world alter the meanings and practice of mapping is also relevant where the act of ‘seeing and knowing’ represents power. Cosgrove (1999, p. 1) describes the map as the most sophisticated form that has been developed yet for the purpose of the generation and transmission of knowledge. Cosgrove (ibid) argues that landscape represents a way of seeing and is a comment on social relations and he uses this construct to illustrate indicators of change.

In this chapter an overview is conducted of the different maps and surveyors in Cape Town during the colonial period. What the maps represent as instruments of power within the colonial and neo-colonial context is also considered. In addition to the material evidence that remains in the form of buildings and artefacts, cartography is an accessible tool that can be used to reconstruct how the landscape in Cape Town developed as a colonial and post-colonial city.

The Agency of Mapping

Mapping has the potential to be the key to the space-time of relational systems. It entails processes of gathering, working, reworking, assembling, relating, revealing, sifting and speculating and is different from planning. Rather it encourages searching, finding and unfolding complex forces. It can be a generative means, without being overly determinate. Where maps become an agency of power, they stage, according to Cosgrove (1999, p. 216) “the conditions for the emergence of a new reality”.

Corner (1999) sees the practice of mapping not only as a means of power where power and knowledge are intrinsically connected but also as an instrument that has the potential for being productive and liberating. Its agency lies in uncovering realities previously unseen or unimagined; thus unfolding potential, making territory over and over again with consequences each time.

Alternative forms of mapping are emerging where spatial experience is foregrounded. Cosgrove (1999, p. 232) describes an example whereby the Situationist, Guy Debord, changed a map of Paris by walking it, then cutting the map up and ‘re-configuring’ it in an activity that became known as *Derive*.¹³⁶ He proposes that maps were used as a type of colonial agency and that the Situationists explored new ways of interpreting everyday life and the unexplored mappings of the city.

In the design for the Parc de la Villette in Paris (1983), Rem Koolhaas and Bernard Tshumi developed strategies using the superimposition of independent *layers* to achieve a heterogeneous and thickened surface. The *layers* are mappings of the complexity of the intended programme, where the resulting structure is complex but without hierarchy or a single organising principle. This process leads to a mosaic-like field of multiple orders, opening up the possibility of a hybrid. Not only may things

¹³⁶ According to Cosgrove (1999, p.231) this is a form of cognitive mapping that subverts the dominant and authoritarian regimes.

occur simultaneously side-by-side, but they may also merge as a new event structure. This is an indeterminate type of mapping in that the layered field opens up any number of interpretations, uses and transformations in time.

According to Huggan (1995, p. 410), Deleuze and Guattari view post-colonial discourse as a transformation pertinent to the “complex patterns of de- and re-territorialisation working within and between the multi-cultural societies of the post-colonial world”. In Deleuze and Guattari’s terms the map is considered as a rhizome (open) rather than as a falsely homogeneous (closed) construct, with the emphasis shifting from de-to re-constructing and from map-breaking to map-making. This approach provides an alternative to the structuralist practice of mapping by duplication and mimicry. The colonial maps were used to ‘fix’ the foundations of Western culture. In this way power was maintained by the West over other cultures. However, it is in the context of colonial map-making, described by Deleuze and Guattari, that was constructed as a hegemonic tool to ‘fix’ positions of power, that the colonial maps of Cape Town were drawn.

For the purpose of this thesis a line drawn or a boundary defined in the colonial context represents power through the definition of territory. The mapping in the next section is testing this phenomenon.

Mapping and Colonisation

Maps were, at first, largely developed for navigational purposes but with colonialism this changed. The relationship between early modern mapping and colonialism is significant. The practice of mapping in the colonial context represented a form of dominance over the landscape, by charting ownership and thus claiming land; hence becoming a practice through which power played itself out. Cosgrove (1999, p. 16) describes this process: “The same cartographic documents which in the eyes of colonists have so often secured the legality of their appropriation of aboriginal lands today act alongside quite distinct mappings such as rock markings and memory lines to secure land claims in a post-colonial era”.

The practice of mapping therefore provides continuity between the past and present. According to Cosgrove (1999, p. 32) “On a more general level, mapping the whole Earth could be considered as a process of intellectual control. In an act of power, through lines, shapes, place names and mathematical positions, the map maker

appropriated the Earth and imposed his own view of its order, through the territorial, political and cultural divisions in which he organised it”.

The circumnavigation of the globe produced a decisive moment in cartography¹³⁷ where representing a spherical Earth became an immediate requirement. The pattern of sailing routes was a function of wind and sea current patterns, as originally established by the Portuguese navigators Bartholomeu Dias and Vasco da Gama.¹³⁸ De Gama was the first to establish an efficient triangular route from Europe, via South America and then around the Cape.¹³⁹

In the context of the colonial, by contrast, different aspects of mapping defined ‘exclusionary’ processes where maps had, and still have, the ability to conceal their partiality, their silences and their powers of deception. Through selective processes, the practice of recording colonial interests by a chosen author that represented a specific gaze was effected. Cosgrove (1999, p. 11) refers to two features of this process: 1. the cultural engagements that underpin the authoring of the map; 2 the insertion of the produced map into circuits of use, exchange and meaning; that is, the map is an element of material culture. He differentiates maps from territory in that mapping is made through selective acts where the rules of selection of what is recorded on the map or conveying fragmentary information from the periphery, constituted the mapping process. But, he says, these rules of selection facilitate exclusionary practice through what is perceived as an aesthetic and moral determinate.

A potential for mapping in the context of the post-colonial is proposed by Guattari, (cited in Kaufman et al, 1998, p. 152) who provides a theory of cartography. According to Kaufman et al (1998, p. 151) “Mapping is Guattari’s answer to the overarching question of articulation”.¹⁴⁰ A theory of cartography in this context has to account for the “multiple articulations of the social and the subjective, the material

¹³⁷ In the early fifteenth century in Europe, *Ptolemy’s Geographica* gave systematic techniques for projection, where perspective started being used as a geometrical technique for manipulating two dimensional representational space. The development of these techniques converged with oceanic navigation and commercial contracts between Western Europe and the transatlantic regions. In addition to this the European territories were in a process of internal re-organisation, nation-state construction, commercialization of agriculture and urbanisation.

¹³⁸ When da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, he was the first seaman in history to complete a voyage to India of some 9000 miles.

¹³⁹ In the late sixteenth century the invention of triangulation secured the means to cartographic representation; and by the eighteenth century, the chronometer was invented whereby longitude could be fixed according to certain representational styles and conventions.

¹⁴⁰ The same is in fact true for Deleuze, Foucault, Jameson and de Certeau.

and the semiotic, between map and territory; it has to detect models, to imagine how desire and production, madness and work, connect or intersect while cutting in and out of one another; it has to find ways to plot the lines of entwinement - both dense and ethereal, opaque and in your face for everyone to see - between knowledge and power, discourses and practices, between ways to see, to tell, and to make do; while scrupulously disentangling the tiniest knots;..." (ibid).

In the context of post-colonial theory, Huggan (1995, p. 409-411) describes the map as being approximate in the representation of 'literal truth'. He asserts that the map in post-colonial discourse continues to feature as a paradigm of colonial discourse; however a deconstruction or a re-visualisation of the map allows one to re-engage in the ongoing process of cultural de-colonisation that prevails. "The 'cartographic connection' can therefore be considered to provide that provisional link which joins the contestatory theories of post-structuralism and post-colonialism in the pursuit of social and cultural change." (ibid)

Colonisation of wilderness represented

Through the project of colonialism, hegemonic power is portrayed through a process of charting out territory and the allocation of land where wilderness became co-modified as landscaped land through the process of mapping.

In Corner (1999, p. 88) Alan Balfour,¹⁴¹ describes the Johan Gregor map of 1652 Berlin. (figure D11) He says: "Its most visible expression is the imposition of enlightened order on the land: land ordered to enhance the power of the court, ordered to decorate courtly ritual and ceremonial performance. Here nature is a component of deliberately constructed reality. Here is the first evidence of consciously formed city landscape". He describes how outside the walls land was made productive as needed, beyond which lay a disordered and dangerous underworld of wilderness that was to be feared.

The same could be said for the imposition of the Fort built by the Dutch (also in 1652) at the Cape that occurred concurrently with the laying out of the first 'landscaped' vegetable gardens. The power of the VOC was represented through the land, as material evidence of their power. The rectilinear layout of the gardens at the Cape bears an uncanny resemblance to the landscaped gardens within the medieval city

¹⁴¹ In his essay entitled: Octagon: The Persistence of the Ideal.

walls, such as seen in Gregor's map; straight lines, grid-like; and land ordered to enhance the power of the feudal state. In the Cape this set up an order that was to define the layout of buildings when the gardens developed into a town. Another similarity to the concept of the medieval city is how beyond the walls of the fortification, land was wilderness and a place to be feared. Land was only made productive as it was needed, and material boundaries defined the distinction between wilderness and landscape.

Modal systems and the first power shift

Cosgrove (1998) discusses the role of landscape in relation to capitalism, where a changing relationship of the human to the land is signified by landscape assuming a mode of production for the first time. This modal change that occurred with colonialism at the Cape was part of a larger global phenomenon that incorporated a shift in the modal system from feudalism to capitalism. In capitalism land is a commodity whose value lies in exchange; it is property defined by contract. The significance in the Marxist context is that the productive value of land becomes alienated by appearing as exchange value. As such it is quantified through cartographic processes. Cosgrove (1998, p. 8) compares a medieval map and a colonial map and finds evidence that the former depicts an order of the divine creation and the place of the human world within it, while a colonial map represents "the proper order of the British dominated globe and the relative place of the nations within it".

In Marxist thinking, feudalism and capitalism denote a mode of production, being a theoretical description of a set of economic and social relations that serve as a model/ an ideal type. Between 1400 and 1900 Europe was progressing towards a characteristic form of social and economic organization which we term capitalist. Cosgrove (1998) says "the transition from feudal dominated social relations and their associated cultural assumptions, to capitalist centrality in a world system of production and exchange is a phenomenon of central historical importance in making sense of our own world". This is relevant where these changes had a direct effect on the transformation on the landscape in the Cape through the project of colonialism.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Three different theories are proposed to explain the transition from feudalism to capitalism (in Europe): 1. The Ecological Demographic Model: This interpretation places emphasis on environmental constraints as they operate within a given level of social and technological development. (refers to European context) 2. The Commercial/Mercantile Model: There is the argument that the revival of trade in the Mediterranean in the tenth century activated the origins of capitalism. Long distance trade generally is considered the initial factor in the evolution of European capitalism. Profits up to 400% allowed for massive investment and concentration of capital. 3. The Structural/Class Conflict models:

The maps of the colonial Cape would have resulted as conscious representations of acts of place making within an unknown wilderness beyond. Colonial practice used the method of mapping as the primary tool to claim ownership and divide up unchartered territory, where maps represented the European gaze of the colonizer. The methods of drawing territory represent a construction of the truth, according to the gaze of the person drawing the map or of the institution employing the surveyor to perform the act of mapping.

When the Dutch fleet arrived in 1652 to set up a trading¹⁴³ station for the Dutch East India Company in Holland, the initial setting out of gardens and building of the Fort constituted an imposition on those already occupying the sites chosen for settlement by the Dutch. The Khoi-san relationship to nature was different from that of the colonial settlers. It is understood that for them land was not perceived to be something divided and allocated through the use of hand drawn diagrams that set up hierarchies and fixed boundaries.¹⁴⁴ The colonial mappings represented spatial practice that was entirely new in the context of the Cape. These maps claimed ownership through the cartographic.

The first garden and fort maps are medieval in their representation of a fortified landscape that had definite boundaries and limits. The Dutch practice of defence was represented through their maps and presented a colonial paradigm brought from Holland (figure F 25). If one compares the 1670 map of Amsterdam (figure D12) with the first Fort and Castle plans, (figures D13 and D15), it becomes apparent where the configurations originate. By 1786 these practices are developed to the point that the spatial configurations bear a direct resemblance to those in the map of Amsterdam mentioned above (figure D14). Their transposition in the Cape wilderness provides evidence of Dutch settlement practice that involved cartographic representation.

Dubb and Brenner look for the answers to the question of transition within the structures of Feudalism where the emphasis is on the internal dynamics of feudalism. All three acknowledge the validity of the differing models and that change was variable under different social formations.

¹⁴³ commerce: to communicate physically; trade: the course or track for a ship.

¹⁴⁴ The Khoi-san were a nomadic pastoral society that moved around seasonally with cattle from one grazing ground to the next in specific patterns related to climate, grazing grounds and inter-tribal relations.

An overview of Cape land surveyors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Sims (1997) records that the arrival of the first land surveyor, Pieter Potter, at the Cape coincided with the granting of the first freehold¹⁴⁵ tenure land along the Liesbeeck River in 1657. This was the settlement's earliest boundary. Pieter Potter was not a land surveyor by trade but had experience in charting territory. Van Goens, the VOC official who appointed Potter, would not sanction the allocating of unchartered land to 'free' agriculturalists. This illustrates the importance of the map in representing the vehicle through which power was held. Pieter Potter's map shows the first eleven of the Liesbeeck Valley farms; in 1660 his final plan of the Liesbeeck shows evidence of the transfer of ownership.

The first houses adjacent to the Fort were granted on 20 September 1660. Eight grants were issued; however, none had a diagram. By 1660 the first title deeds refer to the names of the streets. The practice of recording land rights through diagrams and deeds was a system used by the VOC when Pieter Potter was land surveyor at the Cape. According to Sims, (1997, p. 8) the first drawings appear to be "from the hand of Potter," and the general plans and title diagrams indicate a system of land rights with a surveyor's diagram, defined by measurement.

The Plan of Tafel Valley was only compiled by the City of Cape Town in 1989-1991 from surveyed VOC diagrams (figure D16). It indicates that already in 1657 the former wilderness was taking on the form of privately owned land. The first plots were given to free-burghers for private residences, resulting in the land along the former Heeregracht, around Church Square and the former Wapen Plein, being the first residential area of the town.¹⁴⁶

The Eleman map (figure D17) of 1819 is probably the first extensive recording through mapping of the individual 'quantified' plots that were privately owned. The map, besides showing the privately owned plots, is also interesting in that it shows the definite limits and boundaries of Cape Town. Almost representing a dismembered limb, it represents a fortified environment with boundaries consisting of built forts, sea and mountains.

¹⁴⁵ freehold: land given by the VOC; registered in the free burgher's name but with restrictions and conditions attached.

¹⁴⁶ The van der Stel brothers had the plots facing Wapen Plein (Grand Parade) on what is now Darling Street.

In 1785 Louis Michel Thibault entered the employ of the VOC to supervise the fortification of the Cape. He arrived at the Cape as Lieutenant Engineer to the Swiss regiment of Court Charles Daniel de Meuron (1783-1815). Muir (1975, p. 90) describes how the French garrison built a line of defence in 1781 as the Dutch feared an attack by the British from False Bay. They consisted of four forts running from fort Knokke (where Woodstock railway station now stands) to Devils Peak. The other forts were called the Central or Frederick William Redoubt, the Hollandse Redoubt and the Burger Redoubt.¹⁴⁷ (figure D 14) In 1800 Thibault finished a general plan of Cape Town, commissioned by the Dutch government.¹⁴⁸

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, British trade was expanding globally. Shortly after Thibault's mapping, the British occupied the Cape for the second time in 1806. Thibault pledged allegiance to the British, and was employed as Architect and Surveyor. However, all his military drawings were confiscated. He was authorised to practice as a private Surveyor and invited to take the customary oath. The British government practised selling surveyed crown land on the route from central Cape Town to Simons town as a strategy to strengthen its treasury. In 1811 Thibault became government surveyor and in 1813 the survey for the Western side of the Liesbeeck River was complete.¹⁴⁹

William Barclay Snow's map dated 1862 was 4.2 m x 3.7 m in size and is entitled "Plan of the Municipalities of Cape Town, Green Point and Sea Point."¹⁵⁰ it shows the area from Camps Bay to Woodstock, the slopes of Table Mountain and Devil's Hill in the South, with the military lines¹⁵¹ and the coastline in the North. All buildings are drawn, with specific reference to churches, military and government buildings as well as with topographical and cadastral information. (figure F 28)

In 1845 a Scot named Alexander Wilson became Manager of the Gas Works Company, located in Woodstock. Having waited for the municipality or government to get their own surveyor, he drew a topographical map himself in 1860 which was revised in 1872. It represented an accurate picture of Cape Town from the mountain to the sea, rendering the mountain streams and water leadings; it was intended for

¹⁴⁷ In 1795 the British overwhelmed the Dutch defence in the battle of Muizenberg.

¹⁴⁸ When the British took occupation in 1806, they formed a line of defence with the British block houses on Devil's Peak. In 1827 the forts were demolished.

¹⁴⁹ The extent of the Crown lands at this time comprised the following: 875 morgan; 2500 morgan of freehold titles. 36 land owners.

¹⁵⁰ It was drawn at a scale of 1 inch to 10 Cape Roods.

¹⁵¹ Located at the current Tollgate bus depot and running in a line up to Zonneblom College.

the gas company to accurately position their gas pipes. The 1872 topographical map¹⁵² shows every house from Green Point and Sea Point to Papendorp (now Woodstock), and included railway works, the new docks, harbour improvements, telegraphs and every new building in town. (figure D 18)

Walter Thom was an ordinance surveyor from England and came to the Cape 1892 as surveyor, plans examiner and draughtsman. He was commissioned to complete a survey of the whole city for a drainage system that was to be put in place. In 1895 he was employed in District Six to help set out road improvement lines. In 1900 he returned to England, having completed a detailed map (scale 50 feet to one inch) that showed every building and public space or park drawn in the most meticulous detail. (figures G 33,34)

Conclusion

These cumulative efforts of mapping and re-mapping illustrate that whilst colonial mapping was a major tool for the expression of power during the first shift of power from origins to colonisation, it becomes a more administrative tool as time goes by. In addition, the map as representation of landscape, clearly shows the typology and location of centre and periphery; inclusion and exclusion.

Conventional meanings in mapping are defined by boundary making, spatial separations and spatial fixing for the purposes of defining territory; however this idea has been destabilised in the current context. Cosgrove (1999, p. 5) identifies the current world as being characterised by the “transgression of linear boundaries, liminality, marginality and spatial flow which render obsolete the conventional geographic and topographic mapping processes, calling for a new form of cartographic representation which expresses the qualities of new spatial structures”. These are the spaces of appropriation that resist power. Mapping has in the past claimed to explicitly represent spatial stability or act as a tool as a means to achieving it. Cosgrove claims that cultural connections are no longer stable but are contingent.

This however, is an ideological viewpoint in that political power still uses the map with its boundaries and borders to delimit and control a population where identity and nationality are located according to lines on a two dimensional surface. The power

¹⁵² Scale: 200 feet to the inch.

plays of the current global forces are disputed over these same lines. In Palestine these lines have become so complex that the map literally represents a camouflage. The maps in Africa are still representative of the colonial hegemony supposedly a thing of the past; and the maps in Cape Town still reflect the power structures of the past. The question one asks is: "If the map hasn't changed, has power changed?"

In the global sense the experience and meanings of space have been re-worked and boundaries are more permeable than before. Mapping contemporary cultures becomes increasingly problematic in a world of information technology with an invisible flow¹⁵³ and mapping has the potential to play a role in challenging power. In a world of more permeable boundaries, and new technologies, it is mapping that has the potential to take on new meanings so that rather than being used as an instrument of power and of appropriation, it could also be a tool of enablement.

¹⁵³ This theme is discussed by Appadurai (1996) in 'The production of locality.'

An incomplete list of some of the land surveyors in colonial Cape Town

(referenced mostly from Sims 1997)

- 1657 Pieter Potter:**
Hendrik Lacus (1661-1667) assisted Pieter Potter,
second in command at Cape in 1666.
- 1670 J. Wittebol:**
land surveyor in sketch of fort signed by him.
Johannes Mulder: (1685-1692) store man and landdrost, duty to
keep register of all property granted.
- 1691-1696 Heinrich Bernhard Oldenland:**
Botanist, master of the Company Gardens, and land surveyor.
Douw Steyn, master mason.
- 1700-1718 Kate Jesse Slotsboo:**
arrived in 1699 on same ship as Willem Adrian van der Stel.
He surveyed Vergelegen farm.
- 1718-1739 Evert Walvaren Lochius**
- 1741-1746 Jurgen Lievenberg**
- 1749-1759 Carel Davis Wentzel**
- 1760 Joseph Pontee**
- 1760-1777 Carel Brink**
- 1779 Pieter Cloete**
- 1783-1814 Johannes Wernich; Louis Michel Thibault**
- 1792 Johan Frederici**
- 1798 Cornelius Palm**
- 1802-1806 Josephus Jones**
- 1860 Alexander Wilson:** map
- 1862 William Barclay Snow:** map
- 1898 Walter Thom:** map

6.1.2 Mapping Cape Town: An Interpretation using Lefebvre's triad

In this chapter transitions and changes in the built environment through time are represented through maps. The maps are grouped according to their dates. Dutch colonial maps are grouped under Shift 1; British colonial under Shift 2; and Neo-colonial under Shift 3. The maps represent the modifications that occur within each power shift period and show that power shifts incorporate periods of transition. (diagram 6.1.3) The maps are presented through three different scales. The first maps E 19-24 show the larger settlement landscape; the second show the central town F 25-30; and the third show the 'prime site' area G 31-36. This is the 'palimpsest' through which Lefebvre's triad is interpreted.

SHIFT 1: PRE-COLONIAL/ DUTCH COLONIAL: 1652

Figures E19,20; F 25,26; G 31,32

spatial practice: The medieval practice of building a Fort and Castle is represented through the marking of boundaries in a wilderness. The VOC social formations are represented through the mechanism of 'defensive' built form.

representations of space: The hierarchy of the Garden and Fort are indicated as diagrammatic constructs, indicating primarily agriculture and defence. The infrastructure necessary for survival is given prominence, for example, the water reservoir and 'grachts'.

representational spaces: The church, slave lodge and Castle symbolises power through religion, domination and defence. The Grand Parade's lived spaces were representational of power. Firstly through the Fort and the spatial practices involved in the assertion of power and later through its character as an open piece of landscaped land between rivers. This area was representational of the connection between the settlement and the trade routes, and therefore central to the maintenance of power.

SHIFT 2: DUTCH COLONIAL / BRITISH COLONIAL: 1806

Figures E 21, 22; F 27, 28; G 33,34.

spatial practice: Neighbourhoods, streets, and public spaces have developed characteristics and are representative of social formations. District Six represents workers housing and capitalism through production. The building types develop an urban morphology of 'zones'. The Parade and whole sea line as far as the new break water is strengthened as a military zone. The Parade is an example of how land becomes 'flattened' through the need for a military ground. The Commercial

Exchange building, located on the edge of this military zone, was emblematic of the development of a capitalist economy. The map indicates the zones of religion, showing eight sites for Christian religion. There is still no indication of a mosque representing the religion of the newly emancipated slaves. The Roland Street Gaol and the Breakwater prison represent the exercise of power through what Foucault called the 'disciplinary'.

representations of space: The role of maps that legitimised property as investment becomes evident through representation. City blocks are now shown as made up of many different individual entities, rather than as a single zone. This demonstrates the development of the city through the privatisation of land zoned for different practices that are tied to the production of space. These systems of valuing land, dividing, privatising and commoditisation represent the hegemony of power through mapping.

representational spaces: The settlement's lived realities were perceived through central and liminal activities. The case study area is representational of knowledge based institutions through which power operated: namely libraries, churches and schools. District Six was the lived space of capitalist production, and workers housing. The 'prime site' represents a palimpsest of power, comprising the Fort, (Shift One) the Commercial Exchange, the Standard Bank and the General Post Office. The barracks, drill hall, and Caledon square, located on the Parade re-enforced the notion of defence symbolised by the Castle and the 'French lines.'

SHIFT 3: BRITISH COLONIAL /NEO-COLONIAL: 1910

Figures E 23,24; F 29,30,G 35,36.

spatial practice: This socially produced system of demarcation according to race describes what Lefebvre (1991, p. 37) calls social spatialisation as an ongoing practice or an achievement. The alienation of the city from the sea, in addition to the alienation of people from their socialised space, is represented in the 1935 diagram (Figures F 30) where the old Pier is shown floating in the 'reclaimed' land area.

representations of space: The practice of segregation is immediately evident in the 1974/75 map where lines are unashamedly and rather crudely drawn onto the plan. It serves as a blatant reminder of the social and spatial practice of apartheid. The Goad plans (Figures F 29,30 and G 35,36) represent the world of commerce and capitalist means of production where space is quantified and insured against fire or loss. The Garden no longer dominates the diagram. What dominates in these maps are the statistics that fuel capitalism.

representational spaces: By the time the 1975 (Figure E 23) map was drawn, the town had become what Lefebvre (1991, p.33) describes as a series of 'ghettos' that

are hierarchical and represent the different sectors of society. The lived realities in space change through time and all represent capitalist accumulation through modified social and spatial practice.

6.2 NARRATIVE

6.2.1 SHIFT 1: The making of Dutch Colonial territory: Fortification and the materiality of social practice.

Introduction

The wilderness at the Cape was changed from a condition of origins¹⁵⁴ to that of a colonial settlement, when the VOC first established a Fort and colonized the territory around Table Mountain in 1652. The arrival of the colonists constituted the first shift in power. The social practice of the nomadic people living on the land around Table Mountain, now known as Cape Town, was overwritten by that of colonial settlement practice. This chapter explores the dialectical relationship between power and spatial practice particular to the first shift. This was represented by the building of the Fort, the setting out of the Company Gardens, and the making of territory through the definition of boundaries in a virtually undisturbed wilderness. The boundaries associated with territory established new parameters in and through which identities were (re-)created and embedded.¹⁵⁵ A landscape of separation and division was constructed between the people who had arrived as colonists and those who had been there originally.

Madanipour (2003, p. 50) says that “the continuous exertion over a particular part of physical space by an individual or group results in the establishment of a territory” . This statement could be applied in the case of the Dutch who maintained a presence, and through the appropriation of land established control over the territory at the Cape. It is significant that that the built form was necessary in the realization of making territory and establishing a continuous presence.

This first shift in power manifested itself through spatial and social dimensions and impacted on peoples' identities in terms of who they were in relation to the VOC social hierarchy.¹⁵⁶ The status associated with identity was equated through the spatial dimension in terms of who was excluded by and from the built environment

¹⁵⁴ Before European colonialism.

¹⁵⁵ The idea that territorial parameters create and embed identity is promulgated by Madanipour (2003, p.331).

¹⁵⁶ Cape Town's population was made up mainly of VOC officials and Company servants, together with slaves, who comprised the labour that built the Dutch town.

and conversely who was included within the town that started to develop along the beach front along Table Bay, known then as Rogge-Baai.¹⁵⁷

The dominant spatial characteristic defined in the argument is one of 'defence' through the making of boundaries. A colonial imprint was developed through the imposition of the built form in a landscape that was previously 'undeveloped'¹⁵⁸. These defensive strategies, expressed through the material were manifested as boundaries that took on different physical forms. These constituted the initial 'staking out' of private land by the centralized power from the public domain. An interpretation of Dutch spatial practice is made through the unpacking of the case study area, namely the original Fort and the gardens that comprised the initial settlement. The different building types that emerged with the development of the town are scoped and analysed in terms of their location in relation to social identity and the alignment of power.

It should be noted that by far the most significant shift occurred at the 'moment' of colonisation at the Cape by Europeans in the seventeenth century, as it represented the beginning of change from a feudal to a capitalist existence based on fixed land ownership and property.

Period of Transition

*"The arrival of the Europeans was undoubtedly the most devastating of the various colonisations of South Africa. Although the British were first to lay claim to the Cape and the adjacent continent in 1620, Jan van Riebeeck of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC)¹⁵⁹ 'colonised' the Cape in 1652."*¹⁶⁰ (Skotnes. 2007, p. 63)

According to Skotnes (2007, p. 63) the British¹⁶¹ arrived at the Cape in 1620 but the first foreign shelter was built by the Dutch. In 1648, the ship called the Haarlem was wrecked in Table Bay and employees of the VOC, Janz and Proot, built a fort that according to Jaffe (1994) "segregated them from the Khoi¹⁶² of the Cape Peninsula. Their VOC report saw the Cape as not only a refreshment station but also as a

¹⁵⁷ This name has its roots in Dutch, and is a reference to the many seals living in the bay at the time.

¹⁵⁸ By this term I am referring to the lack of built environment, not a reference to culture. Even though there were nomadic settlements, there was no development as a city.

¹⁵⁹ The English description for the Dutch VOC: DEIC: Dutch East India Company

¹⁶⁰ The Portuguese had also landed and traded with the Khoi-san before Jan van Riebeeck arrived.

¹⁶¹ The Portuguese, according to Giliomee and Mbenga (2007) came into contact with Khoi herders at St Helena Bay and Mossel Bay when they first rounded the Cape in 1497. The Portuguese crosses that were erected to mark landing positions around the coast are the first evidence of European material culture in close proximity to the Cape; however, they were not located in the vicinity of Cape Town itself.

¹⁶² See: Keywords, Chapter 1 for an explanation of the different names of tribes.

potential slave colony. They advocated trade, for “the Natives, after we had lain there five months, came daily to the Fort which we had thrown up for our defense, to trade with perfect amity, and brought cattle and sheep in quantities” (cited in Jaffe (1994)). For these original inhabitants, space was conceptualized and used according to a value system that appreciated the ‘material’ in a different way to the hegemony imposed by the colonial order.

LANDSCAPES OF POWER AND SPACE

Fortification as spatial practice and the making of territory

The geography of the Cape took on a particular significance when it was colonized and power was exercised across its territory. The Cape was strategically placed as a necessary refreshment station that was crucial to the success of the Dutch trading routes with the East, and the Dutch were therefore concerned with defending their position on the southern coast of Africa.

The Dutch spatial practice at the Cape was driven by a need for survival in a wilderness where, in addition to the large game that roamed, many local Khoi-san inhabitants occupied the slopes around Hoerikwaggo¹⁶³ where Cape Town is now situated. They therefore responded to their situation by forming a defensive spatial pattern of settlement, resulting in the exclusion of the many indigenous people.¹⁶⁴

The definition of boundaries and lines of defence were symbolic of the practice of territoriality adopted by the Dutch in claiming land. Fortification defines the condition ‘public and private’ through a process of exclusionary practices where boundaries demonstrate an expression of power; and a system of power relations.

Jaffe (1994) describes how when van Riebeeck arrived in 1652 he was instructed by the VOC to: “trade with the Khoi and reconcile them to your customs” . Copper, tobacco and arrack was bartered with the Saldanha Khoi in return for cattle. Without fresh meat, the Dutch would not have survived and the success of this first trade was critical to the power shift that took effect through this practice of trade. Jaffe (ibid, p. 38) says that “from this moment on the communalists began to lose their capital

¹⁶³ Table Mountain is reputed to have been known by this name by the original inhabitants. Use of this in an attempt to indicate that before colonisation the Cape would have been known to the indigenous people by a different name.

¹⁶⁴ Generally referred to as the Khoi-san by the colonialists

assets” . This marks a significant moment in that the practice of trade represents the first practice that operated through the mechanism of power.

Jan van Riebeeck's Fort de Goede Hoop was built in 1652 on a piece of land alongside the Fresh River that flowed down from the mountain through what is known today as the Grand Parade. Located on the beach front and being immediately accessible to the sea, it facilitated the infrastructure for the needs of the VOC officials, slaves and company men who were responsible for the vegetables grown in the gardens and their distribution through the Fort to the passing ships. (figures J 37 & J 38)

The building of the earthen Fort was on land, appropriated from the Khoi-san, and is regarded as the 'prime site'.¹⁶⁵ With this notion of 'prime' the element of contestation over territory was introduced. Abrahams (1993, p.12) describes how Khoisan artefacts have been found that were left at the site before the Dutch arrived and asserts that it was one of the first sites of permanent contact. (ibid)

Jaffe (1994) cites recorded accounts of how they brought cattle to the area immediately adjacent to the fort for grazing which implies that this area comprised part of their territory. Worden (1998/99, p. 75) describes the first encounter between the Khoi-san tribe, known as the Cochoqua and the Dutch. He cites Jan van Riebeeck's journal: "At their first encounter they came with thousands of cattle grazing in the vicinity of the fort, indeed almost entering through the gate and being kept out of the gardens with difficulty" . This act by the colonizer whose intention it was to protect and defend themselves whilst staking a claim to the land was symbolic of the moment where expressions of power were made through the material. This expression was also symbolic of the 'contestation'¹⁶⁶ that resulted due to this act.

The following extract cited by Worden (1998/99) from van Riebeeck's Journal in 1655 illustrates this point: *"it happened that about 50 of these natives wanted to put up their huts close to the banks of the moat of our fortress, and when told in a friendly manner by our men to go a little further away, they declared boldly that this was not our land but theirs and that they would place their huts wherever they chose"* . Worden (ibid., p.75) makes the following interpretation: "...the Khoi were contesting

¹⁶⁵ Abrahams 1993, p.12.

¹⁶⁶ Contestation over land, grazing rights, and ownership, that included the domino effects of colonization, accepted value systems etc.

the central symbols of the Dutch presence and power the same way that Dutch occupation of pasturage threatened the symbols of Khoi existence”.

Fortresses are the extreme case of attempting to control relations between two realms of territory. A fort is ambiguous in meaning, symbolizing both power and vulnerability simultaneously.¹⁶⁷ The Fort mediates this apparent contradiction and it is understandable that it represented a crucial line of defense through its materiality and its positioning in relation to the landscape. Worden (ibid, p. 74) describes this concept: “In the context of seventeenth century foreign settlements the forts were also indicators of weakness, of alien presence in a landscape which they did *not* dominate, reflecting the need to huddle in a single defensive building”.

According to Worden (ibid) the Fort represented the Company, being its housing, garrisons, residences for officials, sleeping quarters for employees, storehouses and administration offices. The Fort could therefore be regarded as the ‘cornerstone’ for the urban grid that was to develop through the spatial practice of the Dutch VOC authority. The vegetable gardens¹⁶⁸ comprised an initial setting out of boundaries in relation to the position of the Fort and the streams that flowed down from the mountain. They were diverted around the perimeter and through the gardens to provide irrigation. In addition to the task of establishing territory in the context of contesting the ‘prime site’ for the building, it was also a case of taming a wilderness. Floods are reported to have washed out the garden in winter time and threatened the mud fort. In 1663 a masonry reservoir was built in the area adjacent the mud fort to store fresh water for the docked ships.¹⁶⁹ (figure J 39)

Thus, according to Worden (ibid), began the practice of excluding the Khoi pastoralists from the bounds of the settlement. In 1656 they were told to keep their cattle behind the Lion Mountain where they were out of sight of the Company settlement and by 1660 could only pass through the settlement on Company footpaths. These events reflect the role of spatiality in determining movement and access where people were excluded according to social identity. Those Khoi that did become involved within the confines of the VOC conduct and codes, worked in the town as porters or domestic servants, and changed their appearance, dressing like slaves.

¹⁶⁷ In a context where Jan van Riebeeck’s men were completely outnumbered.

¹⁶⁸ The gardens were planted for the purposes of growing vegetables to supply passing ships.

¹⁶⁹ Evidence of this can be found in the current Golden Acre shopping centre which now sits on this original site.

Only a year after the first slaves arrived, there was a resistance by two Khoi leaders, Herry and Doman, who Jaffe (1994, p. 40) records attacked the Dutch in May 1659. I would argue that the Khoi recognised that the practice of slavery signified that the Dutch were intent on staying and establishing themselves at the Cape. The Dutch started to adopt an aggressive strategy of keeping the Khoi away from the settlements around Table Mountain. They attacked settlements around the Cape Peninsula, where local people were killed and their villages destroyed. According to Jaffe (1994, p. 55) “The fundamental cause of the genocide of the Khoi-Khoi was not the smallpox epidemics but the racist land wars” . A watch house was built at the mouth of Salt River in 1659 to defend the settlement from attack by the Khoi and the mud fort was strengthened.

In April 1660 the leaders of some of the indigenous tribal groups¹⁷⁰ made a ‘dignified peace’, in which they accused their enemies of waging war for “the land which had belonged to them from all ages” (VOC Journal, April 1660, cited in Jaffe, 1994., p. 41). This seems to indicate that it took the Dutch only eight years to push the local settlements away from the direct vicinity of the Dutch settlement at Table Bay.

In 1662 the lines of defence were re-enforced. Jaffe (ibid. p.. 40) describes the process that “entrenched Van Riebeeck’s segregation policy which took physical shape when he had an almond hedge built from the area where Kirstenbosch gardens is now, to Rondebosch. It was extended with palings down to the Salt River, thereby dividing the peninsula into a wooded, fertile sheltered zone from Table Mountain to Table Bay, from the semi–sandy, wind blasted Cape Flats. So tough was the hedge that it remains today. At the time it segregated people, cattle and lands - the first ‘Group Areas’¹⁷¹ barrier.”

In 1674 a stone Castle¹⁷² was built to replace the mud Fort; however, it was realised that the location was vulnerable relative to Devil’s Peak and later redoubts and defensive lines were built to deal with the oversight as the VOC feared an attack by the British.¹⁷³ (figure J 42) However, the stone is symbolic of permanence and the

¹⁷⁰ Aushumanao, who had returned from Saldanha, Doman and Ankaisoa.

¹⁷¹ Land Policy adopted by the apartheid government.

¹⁷² The interior walls are lined with double storey buildings, housing barracks. Within its walls were dungeons and torture chambers, and cells in the Catzenellenbogen bastion. The Council chamber where the court of justice sat for nearly a century was located here. The Kat became the governor’s residence.

¹⁷³ By this time the threat from the Khoi was not the primary concern in terms of defence.

intention of the Dutch to remain and establish their territory as a colonial presence. Again, the new Castle represented the community of the VOC itself, including offices, living quarters for the governor and workshops, a blacksmith, bakery, carpenters and joiners. The public execution ground adjacent to the Castle re-enforced the symbol of VOC authority.

The strategy of acquiring livestock from the Khoi had been comprehensively achieved and now the Khoi no longer represented a trade benefit for the Dutch. Jaffe (ibid, p. 43) recalls that by 1677 Ngounema¹⁷⁴ was forced to surrender, having lost 1600 head of cattle and 5000 sheep. In contrast, by 1681 the burghers and VOC had 14 000 sheep, goats and pigs and 23 000 cattle. The Dutch had also extended their colony up the south west Cape coast and interior as far as Namaqualand.

The star-planned Fort Knokke¹⁷⁵ was built with sentry boxes from earth and masonry in 1734. It was later linked to the Imhoff battery and Castle by a number of redoubts along the shore, known as the 'Sea Lines' or 'French lines'¹⁷⁶ (figure D 14). (Chapter 6.1.1, p. 70)

A settlement becomes a town

Where the practice of fortification represents the first power shift, the spatial practice related to the allocation of land to private individuals re-enforces the paradigm of colonial settlement practice that resulted. The first land set aside for private use occurred in 1657, only five years after the Fort was built, when freehold land was demarcated in the form of plots to individual owners in Cape Town.¹⁷⁷ One of the first land grants was given to the wife of the Company's gardener, Annetjie Boom for the purpose of opening a tavern for sailors arriving at the Cape. Worden (1998/99, p. 73) explains the reason for this: "it suited van Riebeeck who by this stage was tired of having to provide board and lodging at the fort for every visitor to Table Bay" . He describes how by the end of 1657 there were four taverns alongside the fort as well as a tailor, carpenter, surgeon and baker. This group of people comprised the first town burghers.

¹⁷⁴ A leader of the Cochoquas tribe: one of the main tribes together with the Namaquas.

¹⁷⁵ Evidence was found among railway lines at Woodstock in 1928. It was demolished to make way for the railway lines to the north.

¹⁷⁶ They placed redoubts along these French Lines, one at the Tollgate, another in the present Trafalgar Park. They were demolished in 1827 and only the one in Trafalgar Park still exists. It has earth banks and a stone entrance with a kiln-like chimney that may have been used for making bricks after the fort was demilitarized.

¹⁷⁷ The first guesthouse opened was by Annetjie Boom, the gardener's wife, and the prominent lots on the corner of the Parade ground and the Heerengracht were given to the van der Stel brothers.

The map of 1660 shows the existence of streets with names,¹⁷⁸ (figure D 13) and by the middle of the eighteenth century Worden (ibid) describes Cape Town “beginning to emerge as a distinctive urban community with physical, social and cultural features that clearly demarcated it from the rest of the colony”. Farm lands and privately owned vegetable gardens surrounded the town giving it a rural appearance and providing food for the town. In 1774 a road was built connecting the town to Rondebosch, accommodating the wagons coming to town with fresh produce. The salt pans in the area between what is now known as Paarden Eiland and Milnerton became appropriated and monopolised by the VOC in 1791.

The anti- barter resistance of the Khoi led the VOC to allow van Riebeeck to free some company servants to explore and breed cattle. As a result the first settler farmers were given land along the Liesbeeck River in 1659 where they were allowed to grow their own produce outside Company land under certain conditions.¹⁷⁹ Sims (1997) describes how the farmers, known as free-burghers,¹⁸⁰ were under the freehold system and were usually allocated small agricultural holdings measuring up to 60 morgen in extent.¹⁸¹

Slavery, appropriation and the institutional spaces of the VOC

“The Dutch reformed Church was one of the first places where segregation was practised. Blacks were confined to the back pews as early as the eighteenth century.” (Bickford Smith, 1995. p. 25)

In 1658 the first slaves were brought to the Cape from West Africa¹⁸² to provide a labour force needed to tend the agricultural produce and build the town; and so the original idea of a settlement comprising a ‘fort with a vegetable garden’ grew into a more permanent town. A typical grid that related to the preconceived European layout of a city was superimposed over the Cape landscape as the Dutch developed

¹⁷⁸ Oliphant Straat, (later Hout) Heere Straat (later Castle), Reijger Straat.

¹⁷⁹ The VOC forbade trade between the Dutch and Khoi as they wanted a monopoly on trade. Colonists had to sell products to the Company at low fixed prices and not to each other or directly to passing ships.

¹⁸⁰ After 1700 farmers were encouraged to increase their livestock to service the demands of the VOC ships. Loan farms were granted to farmers whereby they were given unsurveyed land for a period of six months to a year, subject to the payment of a nominal rent. These farms began the expansion of the colony further north (Sims1997).

¹⁸¹ Council policy of selling monopolies for wine meat and bread to the highest bidder resulted in smuggling of liquor and undercutting prices by boarding houses.

¹⁸² The first few slaves that arrived were brought from Guinea; however, the majority of slaves were captured in the East (Ceylon, China, Java, Malaysia) and comprised the bulk of the slave population.

their town in an act of territoriality, through which they defined the limits and extent of power. Within this layout the main institutional buildings were positioned according to their relation to the sea, the Fort/Castle and gardens where food was grown. The rivers were canalized and turned into *grachts*¹⁸³ and simulated the idea of living in Amsterdam.¹⁸⁴

The map of the original garden superimposed on the layout of the town as it developed shows that all institutional buildings and the first private dwellings were built within or on the edge of the original garden layout. During van Riebeeck's time, access to the garden¹⁸⁵ was strictly controlled and only high officials and ship's officers were allowed to enter, besides the slaves who were appointed to tend the garden.¹⁸⁶ The *gracht* that carried water from one of the mountain streams to the garden and town defined the western limit of the original Dutch town whilst Buitenkant Street defined the eastern limit. These were definite boundaries defining the limit and extent of the imposed colonial order in a foreign environment. The European paradigm of a grid-like street layout was different to that found in ports that developed within a medieval paradigm. These boundaries of inclusion and exclusion set up a spatial definition that is still strong in the current city, demarcating the central spaces¹⁸⁷ from the peripheral.¹⁸⁸

The area near the shore, now known as the Grand Parade, part of the original garden diagram,¹⁸⁹ and the first taverns,¹⁹⁰ was taken over by port and military activities. The Customs house and warehouses were placed along the beach, relating to the merchant activity of the port.¹⁹¹ (figures E 20 & F 26) According to Worden, (1998/99, p. 83) "the shore was the site of the greatest interaction between people at the lower end of the social scale".

¹⁸³ The Dutch word for a canal.

¹⁸⁴ They built *grachts* in their colony in Batavia as well.

¹⁸⁵ Hendrik Boom was Van Riebeeck's gardener and during the time that Simon van der Stel was governor, a master gardener called Hendrik Odenland planted oaks. (Before the avenue of oaks there was an avenue of orange trees.)

¹⁸⁶ Fruit trees, exotics, trees from Europe, turnips, asparagus, spinach, peas, pomegranate, herbs were grown. Trespassers received a hundred lashes and worked without payment for the Company for twelve months.

¹⁸⁷ Initial garden and Fort.

¹⁸⁸ District Six, Bo-kaap/Malay Quarter.

¹⁸⁹ When van Riebeeck left the Cape (1662), the garden was 21 Morgen in size. (The present area is only fourteen acres.)

¹⁹⁰ The 'taphuise' or taverns were where sailors, slaves, soldiers and poorer burghers met and drank and gambled together.

¹⁹¹ The road along the beach was known as Sea Street and then Strand Street. The backs of the houses faced the bay and in this street the Koopmans de Wet house was built, which became a school for Dutch children.

The Slave Lodge was one of the buildings together with the Fort and the Church that most represented company power. Originally the slaves were kept in van Riebeeck's fort, but later in 1669 a slave lodge was built next to the Company's Garden. In 1679 the slave lodge was rebuilt in the position of the current Slave Museum at the top of Wale Street. The slaves were moved into a new lodge in July 1679 when the original lodge burnt down.¹⁹² (figure J 43) The Dutch Reformed Church¹⁹³ was built in 1704 off the main route with the church flanked by a public square on its southern side. (figure J 45) This was 'Kerke plein', now known as Church Square,¹⁹⁴ where slaves were sold next to the old Slave Lodge under what was known as the 'slave tree'.

The slave lodge was situated on the same square as the Dutch Reformed Church. The juxtaposition of the slave lodge and church in such close proximity to each other seems incongruous; however, it is likely that the monolithic slave lodge might have been a display of wealth and power, in that it housed the Company's investment, namely slave labour. Adjacent to the slave lodge was a laundry¹⁹⁵ in a cottage, and a piggery, where the present House of Assembly built by the British now stands. The slave lodge was placed at the bottom of gardens but was actually central to the original garden.

The social relationship between the Dutch and the slaves was one based on hierarchy.¹⁹⁶ Slaves were not allowed to marry company men unless manumitted and hospitals were segregated after a small pox epidemic in 1755. There is evidence of the emergence of a growing identity with a popular culture in which slaves were involved through spatial integration in the town. Worden (1998) describes the following: "Slaves formed the largest single category of the town's population. They were omnipresent throughout the town, employed at the castle, at the docks and the

¹⁹² It was a large windowless brick building and housed the company slaves. The lodge was renowned for its bad living conditions, contributing to the easy spread of disease, the number of suicides (a form of resistance), executions (for bad behaviour/resistance) high mortality rates and its use as a 'brothel' by sailors and soldiers. However, what actually went on behind the high prison-like walls in terms of human degradation and suffering is largely unrecorded. With no windows or ventilation and in places with ceilings too low for a person to stand, and too dark to see in during the day, the building represents the de-humanising aspect of slavery and reflects the social values of the coloniser. There was no privacy and in 1685 the Governor Rheeede ruled that men's quarters should be separated from women and children, one of three adaptations to the form of the lodge which changed to accommodate the increasing number of slaves. It was essentially a building situated around a central court where food was prepared and roll call taken and in total there were seven phases in its construction. When Adderley Street was widened during British rule the front of the building was demolished.

¹⁹³ The first church stood within the castle walls: a wooden building demolished in 1679.

¹⁹⁴ Church Square: In British colonial period, Church Square housed the infant school; Dr John Philip's house where the civil service club stands; the first church for the London Missionary Society. Samuel Cronwright was born in the house. He married Olive Schreiner.

¹⁹⁵ Slave washer-women were used to do the Company's washing.

¹⁹⁶ VOC Governor at the top, then the officials, and lastly the slave with the company servant not far ahead of him.

quarry, as hawkers and water carriers in the streets and as domestic workers in the homes of almost all the citizens” . Slaves, whose owners permitted them to hire out their labour, gathered at Greenmarket Square, site of the main market and central gathering place for its citizens. The only officially demarcated places for slaves were the Company Slave Lodge and the separate burial ground alongside the burgher and Chinese graveyards near the Signal Hill quarry.

While the fringes accommodated liminal activity, there was a degree of spatial integration across class and race in the town; however there appears to have been a loose pattern of inhabitation according to hierarchy. Wealthier families resided in the Heerengracht, Strand and Darling Street. Muslim manumitted¹⁹⁷ slaves and fishermen inhabited the areas of Long Street, the Bo-kaap¹⁹⁸ and the area near the beach known as the ‘Waterkant.’¹⁹⁹

Apart from the VOC slaves, who lived in the Slave Lodge at the top of the Heerengracht,²⁰⁰ privately owned domestic slaves lived in close proximity to settlers. They slept in kitchens and attics and were not given their own defined space. This can partly be attributed to the conditions of slavery and also to the fact that the period was one where the distinction between public and private spaces was not yet defined in the way that it was to become with modernisation in the 20th Century. Madanipour (2003) accounts for this pre-modern use of space when he says the following: “The old society concentrated the maximum number of ways of life into the minimum of space and accepted, if it did not impose, the bizarre juxtaposition of the most widely different classes.”²⁰¹

The public squares developed around different functions but were all originally places for communal practices such as water collection. Green market square was originally the site of the stables, a water fountain, and a market with the Burger-wagt.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Manumission: Slaves whose freedom had been bought by themselves or by others.

¹⁹⁸ Afrikaans meaning: 'above town' referring to its geographic location.

¹⁹⁹ Afrikaans for the 'water-front', the implication being that it was situated next to the beach and sea.

²⁰⁰ Now Adderley Street.

²⁰¹ The nature of private space has changed through time. In Europe in the Middle Ages there were no boundaries between a professional and private life (Aries:1973:354, cited in Madanipour, p.77). Living quarters comprised a single room, to accommodate cooking, sleeping, business, entertaining, and home was a public place in the absence of restaurants. By the 18th century, the internal divisions of private space and the public character of the house were lost. The move for progressively smaller houses, and separate dwellings, rather than large households with shared spaces also occurred. This trend can be seen if one looks at the early spatial arrangement of the Dutch houses compared to those of the Dutch houses by the end of the nineteenth century and then the British houses developed this idea further.

²⁰² The Town House was rebuilt (1755) to replace the original thatched dwelling that housed the Burgher Watch in Greenmarket Square, .built originally in 1716. In 1761, it became the premises for the Burgher

(figure J 44) Boere Plein²⁰³ on the outskirts was where farmers were allowed to come into town with their produce on ox wagons.

In addition to the Slave lodge, institutional buildings representative of VOC power, such as the Governor's house, the Burgher Watch House, the Church, Hospital, and army barracks/Caledon Square, were built. These buildings were placed in a way that set up a relationship between the Fort and gardens, the two primary elements that defined the initial diagram of settlement. For example, the route from the Fort to the garden became Plein Street,²⁰⁴ and the Heerengracht accommodated the important VOC buildings and officials' houses.

Government House²⁰⁵ was the original guest house, built by van der Stel in 1682 for the entertainment of distinguished foreign visitors. The old walls still stand in the middle of the building and according to Green (1948, p. 38) could be the oldest domestic walls in the town. It was apparently built so that foreigners did not have to set foot in the castle, a highly exclusive space for those who held power, and thereby learn the weakness of the badly-situated fortress. According to Green, when van der Stel received certain French officers in the Cat; he was nearly recalled from Holland. The site was therefore discreet in the Company's Gardens.

Conclusion

Within the Dutch settlement, people were integrated to an extent through their living arrangements, despite hierarchy. The close proximity of living conditions between the slaves and the Dutch resulted in a hybrid language, namely Afrikaans which represents the creolized culture that developed. This particular Cape identity would not have existed if it were not for the unique set of conditions that were peculiar to the Cape in the Dutch colony influenced by slave, Dutch and Khoi cultures.

The Fort, and later the stone Castle, in combination with the setting up of boundary lines initially around the gardens, comprised instruments utilised by the Dutch in the

council and Burgher Watch. In 1796, the Burgher Senate started using the building as a meeting place. From 1828-1839 it housed the magistrates court and became the first town hall when Cape Town became a municipality in 1840. In 1917, renovation was completed for its use as an art gallery (discussed under document 4). In 1901 this building was still used as The Town Hall for the people of Cape Town until the building of a new one on the Grand Parade.

²⁰³ Now Heritage Square.

²⁰⁴ The name makes reference to the parade ground as a open public space.

²⁰⁵ "The lower storey consists of a porch open to the garden and the Fort, with two little halls on either side. It consisted of an open pavilion between two terraces paved with brick – the one looking towards the north and the other to the south. The second storey was added late in the eighteenth century; an ante room, morning room and other improvements were made. Lord Macartney was first British Governor to occupy Government House and he complained of the steep staircase. A second storey was added late in the eighteenth century with an ante room and morning room.

establishment of a colonised territory (figure J 41). The town was positioned in such a way that it backed itself up against the Table Mountain and Lions Head with the Fort and bastions creating a line of defence on the South East side that faced the more open land towards Salt River and what is now referred to as the Cape Flats.²⁰⁶ The Salt river provided a form of natural boundary and the watch house built at its mouth formed a first line of defence against the local inhabitants.

The spatial organisation of Cape Town under VOC rule was reflective of its social structure. The spine of the town developed around the route between the sea/castle area and the governor's house/Garden; both representing the power base of the Dutch VOC. The power and identity of the VOC was further represented through the institutional buildings located in this case study area; however Worden (1998/99) argues that "the spatial organisation that imposed itself on the shores of VOC Cape Town underscored VOC power and authority" as there was "no spatial segregation of its inhabitants by ethnicity, primarily because there was no indigenous quarter and because the distinctions of slave and free overrode other ethnic considerations". He does concede however: "the distinctions of outsider and local, of Company and burgher, of slave and free had their own spatial mappings". These spatial definitions are still evident in the fabric of the city today; however through time they have been inscribed with new meaning and representations.

²⁰⁶ This is an open, sandy area of land straddling False Bay and Table Bay.

6.2.2 **SHIFT 2: British colonial expansion:** Emancipation and the power of production

Introduction

Owing to the shift in power that occurred with the take-over of colonial rule by the British from the Dutch, Cape Town saw many changes that transformed its landscape. The socio-economic change that occurred with the shift in colonial power in 1806 informed particular spatial characteristics. The discourse as the nineteenth century unfolded was centred on the capitalist driven incentives of cheap labour and a productive work force and resulted in an increasingly segregated landscape. The physical manifestation of the shift in power resulted in a spatial repatterning of the town, where social tensions between British and Dutch identity and racial issues prevailed. British colonialism was defined through a society classified according to race.²⁰⁷

Bickford Smith (1995, p. 137) describes the relationship between material form and the condition of social exclusivity that developed with British colonisation: “Restructuring the material culture of the city in the course of the 1890s and early 1900s was one means by which a White and English bourgeoisie could promote its own conception of how society should be ordered. Social separation of Whites and Blacks was another”. The debate around Cape Town’s social hierarchy, according to Bickford Smith (ibid, p. 160) “reflected the complexity of the city’s social formation” . Cape Town was inherently a mixed population in the nineteenth century. British colonialism started the process of picking it apart through legislation and social classification. It was only after the emancipation of slaves in 1838 that the racial exclusionary practices²⁰⁸ of the British began to be formalised. Through legislation spatial practice, both locally and within the extent of the whole Colony, impacted on Cape Town’s built environment. This coincided with the economic concerns of capitalism practised by the British, based on production and wage labour. The houses built by property developers in the Bo-Kaap area and District Six after 1838

²⁰⁷ Racialisation: meaning attached to differences related to race. Racism: signification attached to difference that is negative.

²⁰⁸ Racial classification started to become particular where distinctions between Coloured people (Malay in origin or mixed Slave/European) and African people were made. This period also saw the onset of terminology that was used (and still is) of ‘Coloured’, ‘White’ and ‘Black’ to classify and control people. It is not the intention to condone the classification of people according to race but the terms are necessary when dealing with the history of South African populations.

were financed largely from slave compensation money paid out by the British government.²⁰⁹

In the wider context of an emergent industrial capitalism and the development of socio-political trends world-wide, the nature of spatial and social separation took on a deliberate form that reflected policies of exclusion and inclusion through spatial practice. Bickford Smith (1995, p. 186) describes it as follows: “The practice and ideology of segregation was the response of Cape Town’s dominant class, as well as the Cape government, to the economic and demographic change that threatened White hegemony” . The colonial hegemony was entrenched through the spatial dimension in the production of workers’ housing and institutional buildings, located in space and representing power through the continued privatisation of the public.

The transition from a social system based on slave labour to one based on wage labour occurred as a direct result of this second power shift, and is described by Worden and Crais as follows: (1994, p. 11) “The emergence of a new class of British-based merchant capitalists in the city, bringing with them ideas about efficiency and reliability of wage labour, further weakened the hold that slave ownership had exercised over the labour market of Cape Town. As economic activity increased and as wage labour became more prevalent, both the hiring out of slaves and their manumission²¹⁰ became more widespread”.

There was a build up of events that led to a modification in power with the formation of Representative Government in 1853, the most critical of which was the abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1834²¹¹ and the formation of a political culture at the Cape through the establishment of a free press.²¹² The economic implications of a shift in the market from people to buildings, defined the nature of spatial development. Where slaves were the former investment, property development was the latter. Secondly, the relationship between property and politics and power was direct where land ownership defined voter status. The relationship between property and politics became a significant feature in the colonial categorisation of people through colour

²⁰⁹ The emancipation of slaves in 1838 resulted in wage labour and property development. One could also argue that the need for a wage-based economy based on the principles of production and capitalism, resulted in emancipation where the slaves represented an accessible work force, numbering more than colonists at the time of British occupation.

²¹⁰ Many manumitted slaves lived within the town and in the area now known as Bo-Kaap.

²¹¹ The Atlantic slave trade was abolished by the British in 1807, with emancipation at the Cape being effected on 1 December 1838.

²¹² The role of the free press was central to the definition of the public sphere that was centred on the rights of propertied men.

where segregation by race was a function of political and cultural domination. Bickford Smith (1995, p. 25) makes the following analysis in relation to the hierarchy of power: “Whiteness was associated with the ownership of land or its managements, and Blackness with working it”. Responsible government in 1872 was a further power modification through which the Legislative Assembly was formed. This, according to Worden (1998, p. 158) defined the moment when Cape Town came to the fore as a capital city of the Cape Colony, thereby “asserting its identity as the home of parliament”.²¹³

In the context of this second power shift, and its modifications,²¹⁴ I have identified particular buildings and spaces that are emblematic of certain aspects of the shift to highlight the relationship between the different social identities and the role of space in the execution of power. These include the growth of residential housing due to the rapid population growth and the need to house workers who were mainly ex-slaves;²¹⁵ the development of buildings related to commerce; (figure 53) particularly those that represented the merchants such as the Commercial Exchange; the developments related to labour and its production.

Period of Transition

Where the Dutch had built according to practices associated with defending themselves, the British took this another step in the period of their first occupation due to the Cape’s importance in the global context as one of its colonies. Green (1948, p. 14) describes the reason for this as follows: “Until 1815 Britain regarded the Cape as a fortress forming part of the defence system of India”.

The French had invaded Holland in 1793 resulting in the disintegration of the VOC and the arrival of French fleets in Cape Town.²¹⁶ The British attacked Cape Town in 1795 and assumed power, having defeated the Dutch in the Battle of Muizenberg.²¹⁷ They re-enforced the defence lines between 1795 and 1802, and General Craig extended the lines from the old Simons Town road up the slopes of Table Mountain in the form of a block house that was built high on Devil’s Peak, known as the King’s

²¹³ Sir John Molteno: first premier.

²¹⁴ Independence from a central colonial power was represented through modifications in power that were representative of a growing Cape identity.

²¹⁵ By the middle of the nineteenth century: three thousand houses; population of 25 000 people.

²¹⁶ The beginning of the nineteenth century was an unstable period in Europe and feudal systems were changing.

²¹⁷ A sizable garrison was kept at the Cape as this was a strategic point on the African coast from which to protect the trade route with India. When the Treaty of Amiens was signed in 1802 the Dutch returned to the Cape.

Battery. Below, another three block houses were built near the present De Waal Drive. The new fortifications were connected to the town via a road.²¹⁸ Another fort was built at the mouth of the Salt River as well as at Camps Bay, Simons Town, Muizenberg, Kalk Bay, Elk Bay and Visch Bay.²¹⁹

LANDSCAPES OF POWER AND SPACE

“We the excluded may soon expect to hear churches refuse us admission, theatre doors closed against us, the very side walks in the streets we dare not tread. In train and tram car we’ll be refused, because we are inferior.” (Andrew Jackson, a West Indian educated in Edinburgh, cited in Bickford Smith, 1995, p. 86)

Public Spaces and privatised worlds

With the shift in power, British Imperial enterprise was the force behind expansion in the city; however, sources of capital were largely local. By 1811, due to the lifting of restrictions on retail outlets, there were already forty two small retail shops in Cape Town. In 1822 Bird (1966) describes the Heerengracht²²⁰ as once being the “residence of the best Cape families but now of English shop-keepers” . Between 1820 and 1840, Cape Town acquired the “modern elements of capitalism”, (Worden, 2004, p. 159) including a private commercial bank and the Cape of Good Hope Bank in 1837.

Adderley and St Georges Streets were developed commercially for the purposes of housing merchant and commercial activity. Money was spent on the central town where mostly British merchants owned businesses and where the financing of building was a reflection of status, wealth and British values. Symbolic of the shift of power from Dutch to British power, was the building of St Georges Cathedral in 1848.²²¹ Sir George Grey introduced skilled artisans from Europe into the Colony but Worden (2004, p. 169) says that “it was the great merchants who influenced the architecture of the city most” . By 1870 the ‘grachts’,²²² that carried water from the mountain streams and were so representative of Dutch tradition, had disappeared underground.

²¹⁸ The forts were built of rubble stone with clay and lime pointing, and housed a magazine, a water cistern and sleeping quarters.

²¹⁹ Now known as Fishhoek.

²²⁰ Now Adderley Street.

²²¹ It was re-built in 1897 as it stands today and represents British colonial religious practice.

²²² Dutch word for canals.

The influence of the Cape merchants and the development of political representation aimed at giving power to white men played itself out through the public sphere; significant in that this became the site where power and values were contested within a framework of exclusivity. McKenzie cites Clifton Crais (1998/99, p. 90) and argues that the “bourgeois public sphere as a disembodied mechanism of control, was part of a general change in notions of power which shifted the focus from the body to the representation and production of knowledge about the dominated and thus re-conceptualised the colonial state at the Cape”. This is where the public sphere intersects with the built environment.

In 1852 the Cape liberals, who were British, dominated and owned most of the commercial property. They loaded the vote for Representative government²²³ with a 50 pound income qualification, a 2000 pound property qualification to enter the Assembly, a 4000 pound property qualification to enter the Legislative Council, and the non recognition of communally owned land and income-in-kind as qualifications for the vote; effectively disenfranchising the Xhosa.²²⁴

The ideology of separation emerged from social practice based on segregation and a division of labour. Whites were used as skilled workers, supervisors, managers and employers, and Blacks as unskilled labourers.²²⁵ Social practice in everyday life during the 1890s that displayed forms of discrimination include the following: African people kept to one side of the field at major rugby matches on Green Point Common; and segregation at the circus and theatre was practised by 1899. A leader justifying the decision not to allow mixed sport/cricket in the Cape Times, is cited by Bickford Smith (1995, p. 150) as “both colours should pursue a policy of mutual exclusion” . In 1892 a literacy test for voter qualification was introduced and the 1894 Glen Grey Act further segregated Africans politically.

The railway station and the railway lines represent the policy of British expansion into the interior of the country.²²⁶ In 1861 the first temporary station was built (a long low

²²³ Representative government 1853.

²²⁴ The majority of African people living in the Cape Colony were from the Xhosa tribe; the colony's borders by this time included the eastern Cape where the Xhosa lived. The Cape Colony's boundary at this time was at the Fish River.

²²⁵ African people were only allowed to go to standard four at school.

²²⁶ A portion of the Parade was sold to the Railways by the Cape Town City council for 10c (one shilling) on condition that it would once more become council property when no longer required by the Railways. When demolition of the concourse was effected, part of the land was used for the extension of Strand Street.

wooden shed) on the sea-ward side of the Commercial Exchange on the Parade.²²⁷ In 1875 a new railway station was designed and construction was begun to renovate the old railway station²²⁸ in the same position as the original one on the corner of Strand and Adderley Street.²²⁹ (figure K 54) Its main structure was constructed of nine braced wrought iron arch ribs spanning 75 feet by 31 feet high. The old masonry reservoir²³⁰, built in 1663, was located underneath what was known as the Protea Bar in the station which also included the infamous clock meeting place. The railway station underwent many additions in its life time and was finally demolished in 1967²³¹ when a new station was built that still remains today.

The Commercial Exchange

Restrictions on trade were lifted after 1795 when the VOC was no longer in power, resulting in the emergence of the mercantile elite which operated through the Commercial Exchange.²³² In this time the English merchant community began to emerge as a dominant class and the building of the Commercial Exchange was therefore emblematic of British colonial power at the Cape. The Cape was now a British dominated city.

The merchants met in a coffee shop in Berg Street²³³ until the neo-Classical Commercial Exchange was built on the edge of the Grand Parade at the bottom of the Heerengracht in 1822. The building became the focus for middle-class economic

²²⁷ It comprised three lines, a bank of offices, waiting rooms, and ablutions. It was framed in wood and clad in corrugated iron.

²²⁸ J. Sher – contractor

²²⁹ Description: It consisted of three blocks; the main block faced Adderley Street, with two entrances with double doors. The centre was the booking office and station master's office. A tower on each end: one with first class waiting rooms and refreshment rooms, and the other tower housed the traffic manager's department. The Strand Street wing comprised two stories. Ground floor: waiting room for second and third class lady passengers with convenience attached; refreshment room, separate entrance for porters, licences, guards and latrines for public; first floor: offices. Victorian in style (compare to Gare de Lest Paris, 1847) Parade/Castle Street wing was also double storey; first: railway dept; lost luggage; cloaks and parcels and telegraph dept; width of roof over the tracks was 77 feet; spanned by iron arched roof elliptical in form, sprung from ground, embedded in rock; length of 260 feet; glazed skylight; two platforms for arrival and departure; end platform connecting the two; four lines with extra rails to take narrow gauge trains. A special service in the design were ventilation shafts running from basement to top of building, with perforations in the cornices of rooms and system of flues and gratings. The plinth of granite from Kloof Street quarry; structure imported brick and faced with Portland cement, to emulate stone; platforms asphalt, retaining walls of platforms in cement concrete; timber floors in building, sheet zinc roofs.

²³⁰ 180 x 50 feet, flanked by flights of steps, constructed across a mountain water course built by van Riebeeck to secure fresh water supply for colony and passing ships. Situation of reservoir given in sketch plan in 'Zuid Afrikaanse Geschiedenis in Beeld' published in Holland in 1913.

²³¹ On the 30 May 1967, the old station was used for last time as an exhibition hall for the Design '67 exhibition - "for progress demands its removal after almost 90 years of existence" (Cape Argus 30/05/67 cited in Wilkinson)

²³² The first attempt at setting up an organisation of merchants occurred as early on as 22 August 1800 at 35 Plein Street and plans and proposals for a 'Commercial Coffee House' were made.

²³³ Now known as St Georges Street.

and social life in the city during the 1820s and 1830s. Considering the dates of formation, it seems likely that the practices associated with the Commercial Exchange played an important role in straddling the shift from Dutch to British dominated power, and the building can therefore be considered as significant in representing this power. In addition to formalising links with London markets through the Cape of Good Hope Trade Society, the building also provided Cape Town with a focal point for social activity. Through the Exchange, the British government was lobbied and the group fought battles on behalf of commercial interests; for example the replacement of the rix dollar with the sterling; the establishment of the Cape of Good Hope Bank and the ending of slavery.

The Commercial Exchange is described by Bird (1966, p. 149) as follows: “a large and handsome building, built by subscription, stands on the Western extremity of the parade. It was built when the wine market was good and the existing commercial room became too small for the exportation of growing wealth. At that moment no plan could be too magnificent for the rising self importance of Cape merchants, and the Exchange was erected on a scale ridiculous if compared to the required purposes”. (figure K 47)

There were two main sectors of the economy comprising the mercantile elite: Firstly there were mainly the British merchants involved in the large shipping houses, who collaborated with the British government. Secondly the rising commercial class who were a mix of Dutch and British, many of whom were also landlords, began to agitate for Representative government through the mechanism of the bourgeois public sphere²³⁴. This resulted due to the economic transformation related to the rise of the middle class to political power in the colonies and Britain. It defined itself in opposition to aristocratic power and developed in Cape Town from the 1820s onwards, largely through the mechanism of the Commercial Exchange that was aligned with the development of this public sphere.²³⁵

²³⁴Philosophically, the public sphere is the place where society is formed, and is the area where the collective will of society is formed.

²³⁵Habermas's theory on the public sphere is described as a phenomenon developed in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries in the context of a developing market economy. His concern was about social conditions that led to the debate on public issues by private persons willing to let arguments and not status determine decisions.

It was in this context that the *South African Commercial Advertiser*²³⁶ was born in 1824 with John Fairbairn and Thomas Pringle as editors. The intention was to 'enlighten,' with the newspaper playing an important role in the development of a political culture at the Cape. The motivation came from the need to create a new vision of political life that would replace the power held by an ancient regime that rested on aristocratic privileges, associated in this case with colonialism.

The merchants resented the autocratic power of the Colonial government and agitated for a municipal council. A ward system was introduced in 1840²³⁷ whereby 10% of Cape Town's population gained political representation. Eligibility was linked to land ownership and was male dominated. It connected power to property and wealth and protected the status and hierarchy of the white minority. Worden states (2004, p. 173) that "property became the key to local political influence" . This was theoretically a non-racial franchise; however, it is clear that at this time the majority of property owners were of European origin.

McKenzie (1998/99, p. 91) states that the campaign to establish a free press was part of a "wider shift in mechanisms of power and the conception of politics in the colonial world" . What McKenzie refers to as a shift, is in the context of this thesis, a 'modification' and represented a mechanism through which a forum for political debate was established in 1829 with the establishment of a free press. Absolutism by the colonial power was challenged by the Cape merchants; thus a new discourse in political power was introduced.

Worden (2004, p. 174) states: "For the British townfolk, through the mouthpieces of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, this was the moment when they began to define their colonial identity " . The role of the press was vital in representing the Cape to a wider audience and thereby establishing an identity necessary for the gaining of political representation. With the emergence of a free press, reading rooms and coffee rooms were established in the town and the first public library,²³⁸ proclaimed by Somerset in 1818, was housed within the Commercial Exchange until the new one was built in the gardens in 1858.

²³⁶ The newspaper was perceived as a threat to colonial hegemony, and was closed down by the governor Lord Somerset; however, under Ordinance 60 the press was placed under the protection of the law and the newspaper re-opened in 1829 with the establishment of a 'free press'.

²³⁷ 96 ward masters and 48 wards.

²³⁸ According to Foucault knowledge is related to power; therefore the library representative of knowledge would also make this building one representative of power.

These influences were instrumental in effecting the power modifications to a legislative council and then representative government in 1827 and 1853 respectively. However, Giliomee et al (2007, p. 191) comment on the distribution of power: "In 1853 the Cape Colony received representative government but the governor appointed in Britain still called the shots". When Responsible Government was achieved in 1872, the Cape received its first prime-minister and the Houses of parliament were built from 1875-1884. (figure K 52)

The Society House located in the Exchange represents the nineteenth century British colonial social scene. Situated in the Heerengracht, it was one of many clubs that existed; housing billiard rooms, a ball room, coffee room, and reading rooms. The other social clubs that were built during this time included coffee houses, reading rooms, libraries, museums and lecture halls. Bird (1966, p. 54) writes that in the 1830s a newspaper reported that "clubs were springing up like toadstools from the rank soil of luxury, idleness and sensuality".

Bird (1966, p. 54) describes it as follows: "The charm of the house lies in its situation, so prime for gossip, being in the centre of the Heerengracht, traversed by everyone going to the Parade, to the Government offices, to the Custom House or to the wharf; so that between the hours of eleven and five, almost everyone may be seen from the doors of this house".

Cape Town's residential areas, power and the social dimension

In contrast to the spatial layout of the centre of town that was dominated by British merchants, with their banks, social clubs, commercial and government buildings, the outskirts of town developed differently, according to a developer/landlord mentality. The slave compensation²³⁹ money paid out by the British government was invested in real estate on the edges of town where houses²⁴⁰ were built for the workers of the new wage based economy. These workers comprised largely the freed slaves. It is ironical that their new landlords were largely ex-slave-owners who built the houses with the proceeds of the slave compensation money. Terrace houses were built to make maximum use of land for economic benefit, with the last undeveloped inner-city block being sold in 1879.²⁴¹

²³⁹ 1.25 million pounds paid out by the British government became capital for potential investment in the city.

²⁴⁰ Most of these houses were located in the areas now know as Bo-Kaap and District Six.

²⁴¹ Until 1861 developers could lay out the streets and houses as they wished due to the absence of municipal regulations, resulting in a 'haphazard' layout such as in District Six.

With emancipation came ambiguities around class, race and upward mobility in society. According to Ross (1983, p. 17) "These ambiguities can be seen clearly in the residential pattern that emerged after emancipation. The freed slaves now took advantage to desert their ex masters en masse". The urban economy and the port activity provided job opportunities in town, and the freed slaves practiced their skills as artisans and shopkeepers. Malays²⁴² were bound together by practices and beliefs and were an assertive ethnic community.²⁴³ There was a strong sense of community through a shared heritage as slave descendants. Islam represented a form of resistance against the British hegemony and there were many mosques built around the town.

Originally known as Kanala dorp,²⁴⁴ the area now known as District Six was officially incorporated into the municipality of Cape Town in 1867 when it became the sixth district.²⁴⁵ It continued to be the first port of call for new immigrants, resulting in a rich mixture of African and European cultures, including Jewish, Caribbean, Australian and Indian. Soudien (2001, p. 18) describes it as follows: "It was home, therefore to the itinerant and the mobile, seeking to establish themselves, but it was also home to religious fundamentalism, political vanguard, cultural idiosyncrasies and artistic innovation".

District Six became a source of contention for the British colonial authorities, partly due to its multi-racial living arrangements and partly due to the unsanitary conditions. Cape Town had developed what was referred to as 'the special tradition of multi-culturalism' as a lower class phenomenon in District 6. (figures L 60 & L 61) This was a problem for the British Colonial authorities whose policy of social separation was being undermined. Black social mobility challenged White supremacy. Segregation was promulgated by the colony as a means of controlling this mobility.²⁴⁶

The institution of British Colonialism operated according to a system of spatial and social practice defined by legislation. The efficiency of the bureaucratic system effected a policy based on 'cleaning up the city', which involved the eradication of

²⁴² Racial distinctions were made between Malays as descended from Malaysia through slavery and Coloureds who were generally people with mixed blood born in Cape Town (van der Kaap).

²⁴³ The dominant class intervention was in the form of attempting to prevent the spread of Islam through the establishment of Christian Missions: (St Stephens; the Anglican St Pauls, St Philips, St Marks, Moravian Hill);

²⁴⁴ The meaning has its roots in a Malay word, for 'a place of refuge'.

²⁴⁵ In 1867 the ward system was abolished when the town was divided into districts.

²⁴⁶ There was disagreement amongst Cape Town society on the nature of residential segregation.

slums, and the categorisation of people; thus a particular spatiality was defined. In the 1880s the municipal franchise was adopted by Cape liberals and ensured British domination over local politics. A new law in 1893 introduced multiple votes for property owners with the number of votes relating to the value of owned property. The beneficiaries were the English landowners of commercial real estate, not the Dutch inner city residents and their “Coloured” tenants. This ‘plumping system’ was then abandoned in 1893 due to the threat of a non-White candidate, Achmat Effendi, being elected. Replaced in 1895 by the plural vote, the greater the value of the property,²⁴⁷ the more votes were allowed; the plural vote effectively disenfranchised fishermen, artisans and labourers living in cheaper houses in the 1890s.²⁴⁸

By the 1890s white people were beginning to buy their residential separation, and the following description by Bickford Smith (1998, p. 51) explains the development of racially exclusive living areas where whites only residential areas were created, including Milnerton, Oranjezicht, and parts of Camps Bay.²⁴⁹ White people were encouraged to move to the suburbs²⁵⁰ or these areas exclusive so that much of inner Cape Town could be left as ‘virtual locations’ for coloureds.

Bickford-Smith (1995) describes how for many, the residential geography of the Cape Peninsula had already offered something of a ‘*cordon sanitaire*’ between themselves and the ‘residium.’ “In a situation analogous to Melbourne, Cape Town’s prime residential areas were on the sylvan slopes of Table Mountain and by the sea, at Green Point and Sea Point. Priced beyond the reach of Cape Town’s labouring poor, living on mountain slopes or behind the bulk of Signal Hill, provided a degree of topographical protection against Cape Town’s dangerous classes” (ibid, p. 153) . After 1891 urban reforms aimed at transforming Cape Town introduced the paving of streets, the laying of piped water to houses and the drainage scheme completed by 1902.

²⁴⁷ 1 vote for property worth 100-499 pounds; 2 for property worth 500-1000 pounds; 3 for property worth 1000 pounds or more. Some people qualified for six votes in all.

²⁴⁸ The Clean Party became more and more difficult to defeat at the poll due to franchise rules where from 1882 onwards the minimum property qualification for owners or occupiers was raised from 10 to 100 pound.

²⁴⁹ Separation was protected by clauses in the deeds of sale.

²⁵⁰ In referring to the de-centralization tactics to avoid over-crowding in the city, in general terms, Madanipour (2003, p.47) describes suburbs as a manifestation of the middle classes wanting a separate life where the process of sub-urbanization represents “a new pattern of consuming space which allowed the middle class households to have larger personal and intimate territories. At the same time, this fear of overcrowding was parallel to the fear of the poor and racially different people”.

The Khoi-san and the Breakwater prison/ African dock labour and housing

Generally African people were used for hard labour while the coloured labour was used for more skilled jobs in industry. In 1822 the African (Mfengu) dock workers were put into barracks built ten years earlier for Irish dock workers. Inside the dock gates they existed under the supervision of police.²⁵¹ Living conditions were poor and they slept on floorboards.²⁵² In 1854 the first Cape Parliament met in Cape Town and through Representative Government an Act was passed forcing Africans entering the colony to carry passes.

The 1860s saw Dutch farmers living beyond the control of the British on the northern frontier. According to Skotnes (2007, p. 64) they hunted animals and bushmen,²⁵³ those not dying at the hands of the Boers died of starvation. "In retaliation, gangs of bushmen raided settler cattle, and in some cases farmer aggression provoked homicidal attacks" (ibid) . The arrest of one of these gangs coincided, more or less, with the arrival of Prince Alfred in Cape Town, who tossed the first stones into Table Bay to initiate the building of the Cape Town harbour along with the convict station to house the prisoners who would labour on its breakwater. (figure K 49) "This was the Tooren gang whose members were tried in October 1869 and sentenced to two years hard labour each" (ibid).

Prisons are the ultimate representation of power through the built form and the British built many in the 1860s, with such vigour in all the towns of the colony, that it is quite clear there was a policy of discipline and punishment in order to control a population through incarceration. In 1860 the Governor of the Cape presented to the British Cabinet the need for a breakwater to protect the shipping in Table Bay during winter gales. Mr Gladstone, who made the presentation, suggested it be built by convict labour. The foundation stone was laid in 1861. In 1891 the breakwater prison was completed with the breakwater only completed in 1893. Sometimes there were 1000 convicts imprisoned at any one time. Prisoners quarried and loaded stone and conditions were hard. In 1923 the prison became a native location.

In 1892 there was the first of numerous strikes against the poor conditions of labour accommodation in the docks. There was contention amongst employers of labour over where and how labour should be housed. In 1899 the Native Location Act was

²⁵¹ with a 9pm curfew, no alcohol, or women allowed

²⁵² MacKenzie, who was in charge of the docks, treated workers badly.

²⁵³ This was another name to describe the indigenous tribes.

passed, with Councillors Smart and Mckenzie²⁵⁴ proposing two different locations for labour. Smart proposed lodging in town for dock workers and a barracks was completed in 1897 for 200 men; however, this was then given over to accommodate poor Whites. McKenzie favoured a location outside town modelled on the semi-compounded migrant system used on the Kimberley mines.

Between 1891 and 1902, further harbour additions worth 3 million pounds was carried out and the railway station received additions worth 200 thousand pounds. The labour requirements of these projects meant that 1500 dock workers were housed in 27 sheds near the convict barracks, enclosed by a fence and under the supervision of a location attendant. With the bubonic plague at Cape Town docks in 1901, the Cape Government became responsible for containing disease (in terms of the 1897 Public Health Act). It took over the landing and loading of cargo at the docks and introduced a pass system. 6000 Africans were forced to leave the town and live in Ndabeni, also known as Uitvlugt,²⁵⁵ thereby constituting the first formalised location built for African dock workers in a peripheral location on the outskirts of town. In 1902 Alfred Mangena²⁵⁶ represented Africans who complained about conditions in Ndabeni and he proclaimed that the location was illegal.²⁵⁷ There was a rent boycott and the government was then 'forced' to legalise the location through the Native Reserve Location Act in 1902.

Conclusion

"Restructuring the material culture of the city in the course of the 1890s and early 1900s was one means by which a White and English bourgeoisie could promote its own conception of how society should be ordered. Social separation of Whites and Blacks was another."(Jaffe, 1994, p. 137)

The social effects of capitalism, market economies and a class structure based on propertied men, set up a framework where the concept of binaries came into play. Social boundaries were drawn of inclusion and exclusion, of male and female, black and white, indigenous and colonist, the disorderly city versus the rational public place, and all within the ideology of a world based on middle class values. This ideology was reflected through the development of built spaces. Despite the

²⁵⁴ Both were major employers of labour.

²⁵⁵ Until April 1902 plague passes were needed to leave town.

²⁵⁶ Alfred Mangena stayed in Cape Town in a parsonage run by Father Bull and attended night school for Africans.

²⁵⁷ He was supported by a White Advocate named Wilkinson.

hegemony of colonialism, there were 'spaces' of resistance, mainly in the taverns and the streets and public spaces where ethnic diversity prevailed. District Six was also known for its working class spirit and this was a site of popular culture. Bickford Smith (1995, p. 1) quotes a visitor to the Cape (1911) who said that there was a social mixture to which he was quite unaccustomed: "it is evident on the streets, on the tramcars, in the railway stations, public offices, and in places of entertainment".

The re-configurations of space that took place with this second shift in power are expressed in this time period through the characteristic of 'exclusive expansion'. If one looks at a map of the town at the beginning of the nineteenth century compared to one at the end of the century, it is evident that the town had more than doubled in size. (figures F 27 & F 22) This was due to many social, economic and political factors brought about by the power shift that occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The town, due to its increased population demands, developed neighbourhood districts that represented difference. This shift also saw the beginnings of the division of labour and its accommodation according to skin colour divisions and social status. On the face of it, Cape Town was transformed into a 'gentleman's town' with piped gas, and water, electricity, pavements and cobbled roads; however, underneath the surface the colonial practice ensured that those who benefited were the wealthy land-owners. The city hall was built in 1905 and represented the transition from a town to a city as well as British colonial hegemonic power. (figure K 51)

Andrew Bank and Gary Minkley (1999, p. 6) address issues of space and identity in British colonial Cape Town. Their discussion refers to spatial 're-patterning' as being "exemplified by the creation of new divisions between spaces demarcated as interior and exterior, public and private, male and female, middle class and underclass". In accordance with the ideology where there was a connection between press, municipal politics and property, the principles of exclusion based on property ownership, also applied to the access of women and unpropertied men into these social spaces. This translated into the beginnings of a formalised spatial exclusion based on race and class where wealth could be largely divided and categorised along racial lines.

The power shift that influenced this period did not manifest itself through a collapse of the Dutch town, but built on the existing layout through a process of 're-patterning' that was reflective of power. (figures K 46 & K 50) The palimpsest of spatial

definitions through the location of public and private spaces and the typology of buildings resulted in a landscape which marginalised and excluded according to race. Areas like District Six, and many other suburbs in Cape Town,²⁵⁸ resisted racially divided neighbourhoods, and the communities defied the practice of segregation introduced by the British.

The political developments of the nineteenth century were made with the primary intention of holding on to power through the continued 'territorialisation' of land. McKenzie argues that the constitution of 1853, giving Cape Town its own representative government would not have been possible without the establishment of the political culture based on the tenets of the bourgeois public sphere as defined by 'rational' *men* (McKenzie, in *Kronos*, p. 1021998/99). The result was the beginning of an end to an ancient autocratic regime style of government.

²⁵⁸ From Woodstock, and as far as Wynberg and Kalk Bay.

6.2.3 SHIFT 3: Segregation and neo-colonial alienation: Union government, nationalism and modernist planning principles.

Introduction: The modifications that took place towards the end of the nineteenth century saw Cape Town gaining political representation within the colony. The shift in power that took place in 1910 with Union represented a form of neo-colonialism at the Cape. While power had theoretically shifted from the European centre, knowledge and therefore power remained aligned with its colonial past. When South Africa became a Union it was, according to Giliomee & Mbenga (2007, p. 229) “also part of the concept of British supremacy”. Britain believed at this time that a United South Africa would “be of greater value to Britain in case of war than four separately governed colonies” (ibid).

The forces of modernism that emerged during the twentieth century, followed by a growing Afrikaner nationalism, resulted in a particular configuration of spatial sets that comprised a modification in power and produced alienating and fragmentary spaces. When apartheid became an entrenched policy after 1948, a modification in power emerged that saw the concretisation of the social landscape previously developed by the British colony. Pinnock (1989, p. 156) argues that it would be wrong to assume that post war urban re-planning was due to the ideals of a Nationalist Afrikaner²⁵⁹ mentality only and that it was in the context of ‘trends’ in the development of monopoly capital world-wide. Because of these trends, “first world ideology could be swallowed, almost undigested in the redevelopment of a colonial city on the southern tip of Africa” (ibid).

According to Robinson (1996, p. 19) “Spatial strategies are seen to operate as key mechanisms in the exercise of power in modern society”. This idea is illustrated through a new set of economic, political and social/ideological influences in the twentieth century through which the material landscape was produced. Where many practices represented continuity, the shift in power that occurred with Union government opened up the opportunity for the practice of apartheid that entrenched an accumulation of colonial social practices. The social practice of the new Union government was in many ways a continuity of British colonial practice; however, the re-emergence of a strong Afrikaner party by the middle of the twentieth century started to challenge British identity. The practice of apartheid was the result of a form

²⁵⁹ The identity of people of Dutch origin began to emerge as one with roots in Africa; hence the development of the identity of the ‘Afrikaner’.

of Afrikaner Nationalism that accumulatively built on British Colonial practice and European modernism. Even though Cape Town was regarded as a 'liberal' centre compared to Pretoria, the spatial implications of the social agenda that resulted due to the third shift were pronounced in the city.

The role of spatiality in relation to social practice defined by racial classification in the twentieth century is examined through the role of boundaries that continued to dominate the spatial discourse. Lines were literally drawn between different areas with the sole intent of spatial exclusion, and the end result was one of informal peripheral settlements and social poverty. The events leading up to the development of the Foreshore and the removal of people from the city centre (District Six) comprised spatial practice that resulted in the establishment of townships created explicitly in the execution of state power. Even though the peripheral townships are not in the case study area, they are considered important in that they resulted due to legislation made about the central city. Soudien (1986, p. 115) discusses District Six "as a site for the production of South African identity".

Pinnock (1989, p. 154) verifies that these issues are inter-related: "The planning of the Foreshore, the destruction of inner city working class communities, and the construction of 'satellite towns' were interconnected". He describes how the Le Corbusian²⁶⁰ town planning ideas emerged in South Africa at the Town Planning Congress held in Johannesburg in 1938. Four of the six exhibits displayed were those of Le Corbusier. One was a model for a Native township and the other was a plan for central Cape Town. The speaker Norman Hanson said the following: "We pay a tribute to the colossal achievements in creative thought of Le Corbusier, from whose expositions we have taken our line of attack". The arrival of the Nationalist government in 1948 coincided well with these Fascist plans of re-structuring the city. Le Corbusier's planning was uncompromising, whereby the "surgical method"²⁶¹ was used.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ A renowned Swiss Modernist Architect, he also designed Chandigarh and Social Housing 'Unites' in France.

²⁶¹ Le Corbusier is quoted as saying "through surgery we must create order, through organisation we must make manifest the spirit of a new age" (cited in Pinnock, 1989, p156).

²⁶² The mechanism through which it happened was through the creation of a State Planning Department and the purchase of the land by Public authorities in order to control the location of urban communities.

The vision and ideals of nationalism that intersected with the values of modernism, resulted in what Lefebvre called abstract space.²⁶³ The decisions taken around the reclaiming of land from the Foreshore, the elimination of people from the city centre and District Six, and the formation of peripheral townships²⁶⁴ are directly related to this modernist ideology. Thus 'sites of segregation and alienation' were produced.

Transition

The period of transition that informed the third power shift was defined by a combination of events leading up to the end of the nineteenth century. While production and industry impacted on the built environment, politically the policies executed by Rhodes,²⁶⁵ were instrumental in the practice of exclusive expansion into the Northern territories from the 1890s onwards. The ideology of separation between the different racial groups was entrenched and spatialised through the Glen Grey Act (1894) and the Native Location Act (1899).

Jaffe (1994, p. 126) quotes Rhodes's vision: "I believe in a United States of South Africa, but as a portion of the British Empire. The principle must be recognised in the Old Country that people born and bred in the Colony and descended from those who existed in this country many generations ago, are much better capable of dealing with the various matters that arise than people who have to dictate from some thousands of miles away"(figure B 8). His ideas on segregation were also adopted by the first Union Government under General Botha and then Smuts. Only people of European descent were eligible as members of the houses of parliament; however, equality between English and Dutch was agreed. Jaffe (1994, p. 131) analyses the situation as follows: "One strong central government was seen as the only way to put the native question in South Africa on a satisfactory and permanent basis".

The moment of the shift in power was represented by the South African Act of 1909, presented by Lord Milner and proclaimed in Westminster on the 31 May 1910. The Cape, Natal, the Free State and the Transvaal were united into one legislative union. The first parliament was opened as a Union Government in 1910. While new Union

²⁶³ *Abstract space*: emerges with Picasso, and modern architects, homogeneity and fragmentation is a feature. Haussman (who redesigned the layout of Paris) was precursor of this spatial practice, where city is broken up, fragmented and segregated by streets and boulevards in order to produce a new unity; this approach is dominated by a visual logic, reducing space to a 'planification'.

²⁶⁴ While the periphery is not directly related to the case study area, a discussion is relevant in that it is representative of exclusion.

²⁶⁵ In 1898, Rhodes and his Progressive Party were defeated by W.P. Schreiner and the Afrikaner bond in the Assembly election.

buildings²⁶⁶ were constructed to house the government in Pretoria, Cape Town was now the alternative seat of government.

After the First World War there was an increased emphasis placed on spatial planning. Industrial expansion and relaxation on influx control, resulted in sharp urban population growth. Pinnock (1989, p. 151) sums it up as follows: "Inner city overcrowding, sprawling squatter camps along the northern railway line, grassroots politics, an increase in trade-union organisation all pointed towards a coming clash over urban space and the quality of life".

LANDSCAPES OF POWER AND SPACE:

The Foreshore

Cape Town in the 1930s was perceived as an inherently third world city and urbanisation policy was influenced by the effort of the city to turn Cape Town port into the 'gateway' to Africa. The role of the railways and the government and the city council as bodies of the elite who represented power, were instrumental in the decisions taken in the promotion of capital accumulation associated with trade through the port. The efficient transport of trade goods to and from the port was crucial to the economy of the town, and resulted in the Railways Company announcing their plan to build the Duncan Dock in 1935. This involved the reclamation of 480 acres of land from the sea. The sea and beach was offered by government to the City Council. Fundamentally this involved the privatisation of the sea; thereby defining a new form of territoriality in Cape Town. (figure L 56)

The first Joint Technical Committee was appointed to advise on the development of the Cape Town Foreshore planning. They submitted their report in June 1947. The committee undertook to deal with what they perceived to be the difficulties that arise due to the rapid expansion of a modern industrial economy where vehicular traffic was, according to the Report, a primary concern. In 1939 the Minister of Railways decided to appoint town planning experts to advise on the layout of the Foreshore Area. They were Mr Thompson of London, Professor Thornton White and Monsieur Bedouin of Paris.

²⁶⁶ The design by Sir Herbert Baker included two wings that were meant to be symbolic of the 'two races' (the Dutch and British.) This in itself represents the arrogance of the white power base where the native populations were not acknowledged.

They presented two proposals that included the construction of a 'monumental approach from the Harbour to the City; the placing of the city hall at the head of the approach; the provision of adequate traffic links; the siting of the railway station; and the expansion of the commercial area of the city. (figures L 57 & E 24)The plan that was finally approved included these components and re-sited the railway station along Adderley Street.

However, in the end, the Foreshore planning was what Pinnock (1989, p. 153) calls a particular planning, which did not stop at the inner city. The modernist planners, who emerged from the Bauhaus, directly influenced the planning of Cape Town, based on Le Corbusier's 'dream' of a utopian society. Pinnock describes the designs: "His plans were the most advanced and formally elevated the hypotheses of a monopoly capitalist culture in the field of architectural design. The planning was Eurocentric and promoted the concept of repetition and standardisation developed post World War One to cope with the housing shortages in Europe.

The social values of modernism are dominated by capitalism and are particular in their potential to allow or disallow, include or exclude. With reference to Cape Town, Don Pinnock (ibid) states: "Urban planning cannot be separated from political and economic considerations. Indeed ideas only become effective when they connect with a particular constellation of forces. These social forces can be attributed to the 'values' of those in power in the 1930s". These values were concerned with control of labour through racial segregation and the alienation of people who were different. These ideas transposed through the spatial dimension were realised through a production mode associated with industrialisation, efficiency and ultimately production. The concern for sanitation associated with being 'modern' was the vehicle through which these ideals were realised.

Pinnock (1986, p. 152) outlines the main objective of the plans prepared by the City Council that involved the construction of a 'Monumental Approach' from the harbour to the heart of the city. (figure 58)"This was an essential component in the conception of Cape Town as a "Gateway of South Africa". Dredging began before the approval of plans and in 1947, the building began. The first high rise buildings that were the beginning of what is now known as the Foreshore appeared. (figure L 58) In 1962 the Shand Committee approved elevated freeways across the Foreshore between the city and the sea. As Pinnock (ibid. p. 153) describes it, these were constructed "slicing through what remained of the 'Monumental Approach' and effectively cut

central Cape Town off from the Ocean”.

The old pier built in 1913, with its wooden central warf, disappeared with the execution of the foreshore plan. (figure L 55) Cape Town’s connection to the sea at the bottom of Adderley Street was lost. The pier was the focus of social interaction and its loss was not only a physical but also social one. The public practice of trade around the pier was moved to a privatised space within the new harbour. Green (1952, p. 87) describes the impact of the foreshore reclamation: “I remember Rogge Bay as a beach covered with the familiar open boats, all with their bows turned seawards, all left ready for launching at a moment’s notice. A beach of oars, tackle boxes and snoek kerries, anchor ropes and stone anchors. It was a memorable site when the whole fleet put to sea under sprit sails and jibs, and the scene on their return was even more vivid. For then all the Malay priests and grey bearded hadjis in Cape Town, all the bright skirted Malay women folk and fezzed small boys seemed to be waiting on the sand. Then the fish carts were piled high and the fish horns sounded triumphantly. Boats were washed and scrubbed, canvas covers lashed over spars and sails....Now a statue of van Riebeeck stands where there used to be steps leading down to Rogge Bay²⁶⁷” (ibid). (figure K 48)

The Civic Centre is a building illustrative of the social forces aligned with modernism. (figure 59) First proposed in the 1947 Foreshore plan, it was conceived within the gateway framework of the original foreshore vision; however it was eventually built within the monumental approach and not on the site initially proposed.²⁶⁸ The vision was based on the principles of the cartesian grid, order, control, and universality. The building makes no attempt to identify with its location, within its material context or physical surroundings. Modernists were pre-occupied with avoiding what they called ‘accidental’ layout and promoted the concept of repetition and standardisation in the creation of *types*.

District Six

As we have seen with British colonialism, the inner city residential areas in Cape Town resisted the spatial distinctions and boundaries that were being drawn by the colonial hegemony at first and later by the Union government. This trend was pronounced in areas like District Six. According to Jaffe, (1994, p. 1) despite the intent of segregation and exclusion “fraternization between racial groups in Cape

²⁶⁷ As Table Bay beach front was originally named by the Dutch.

²⁶⁸ The existing city hall site was the proposed site.

Town remained relatively free and unimpaird by laws or even strong and consistent patterns of customary exclusion until well into the twentieth century.” The forced removals that occurred as a result of the Group Areas Act delivered a landscape of dislocation in the context of identity.

The landlords²⁶⁹ in Cape Town in the nineteenth century developed the city in a way that allowed difference, with every occupation or activity preserved so long as the rent was paid. The planning was haphazard, spurred by a need for working class housing in the city and the influx of people into the city. “Comprising of some 3 700 buildings and covering approximately 104 hectares at the height of its development in the 1940’s, the area largely consisted of small rectangular urban blocks, resulting in a fine grained city structure.” (le Grange cited in Greshoff, 2004. p. 9) The district represented a landscape of resistance where people were located rather than dislocated. However, the 1926 census showed that there were 70 000 non Europeans living in the city, and that 77.5% of them lived in over-crowded dwellings. A contradiction between capital accumulation of landlords who put rent up and the exploitation of a cheap labour force, was evident.

These conditions did not satisfy the needs dictated by the modernist ideology concerned with sanitation and control described above. A set of Acts was passed whereby people of colour were further marginalised after 1910. The Western Cape was earmarked as a coloured preference labour area; however under the Separate Amenities Act (1953) Coloureds were now treated as non-Whites (the same as Africans) . The Union government segregated the urban areas through the Native Affairs Act of 1920, which promoted pass laws as an extension of the Glen Grey system. African and Coloured were increasingly disenfranchised.²⁷⁰ Any form of Black and Coloured urbanisation was seen as a threat to the status quo, a threat which according to Pinnock (1986), helped carry the National Party to power in 1948.

In 1950 the Group Areas Act²⁷¹ completed urban residential segregation, according to “ethnic, linguistic, cultural or other” criteria. (figure E 23) It further extended the

²⁶⁹ 90% of District Six was landlord owned, mostly White or Indian.

²⁷⁰ People of colour were further discriminated against when only white women were given the vote, thereby halving their voting status in 1930. In addition to this, income restrictions were lifted for white men, thereby increasing the voter status of the white population even more. The Native Representation Act of 1936 struck African voters off the common voter roll. Coloureds remained but in 1951, Coloureds were placed on a separate voters’ role.

²⁷¹ The social engineering tactics practiced by Apartheid after 1948 included the Population Registration Act (defining people according to race); the Group Areas Act; The Mixed Marriages Act and the Separate Amenities Act that legalised many practices that already existed in Cape Town since the nineteenth century.

Glen Grey system into Coloured or Indian areas and empowered inspectors to enter premises at any time of day or night (Jaffe, 1994, p. 165). In 1954 the weekly tenancy rule effectively disenfranchised Coloured people.²⁷² When the Coloured people were removed from the voters roll in 1956, they were given 'local self government' in each region. In the name of reducing friction between Native and Coloured, 208 new towns were proclaimed for Coloured and 76 for Asians in South Africa. This legacy of divide and rule still remains today creates friction between African and Coloured People. Robinson (1996, p. 2.) emphasises that racially segregated living areas were the key to the implementation of apartheid: not racism, capital accumulation, or a docile work force where "the spaces of apartheid constituted and sustained that order".

The plan for the Foreshore included the clearing of the slum areas in the central city. This affected District Six, the Docks area and the Malay quarters. The re-planning of District Six was seen as an opportune occasion for the extension of a freeway towards the Cape Flats that would not interfere with the activity of Sir Lowry Road. On the west side, the planning of the 'slums' of the Malay Quarters and the Docks were also on the agenda but were reserved as a secondary step. District Six was the first area tackled.

The White and Indian traders also profited²⁷³ from inner city housing. Pinnock (ibid) describes the contradictions involved: When in 1961 the Group Areas Board started to investigate the possibility of declaring District Six coloured, a move which would deprive other races of their trading rights, a request was made (in 1962) to leave Hanover Street – the centre of District Six – non-racial. However, in fact, Group Areas were declared on the basis of land ownership and not residency, and most of District Six was owned by white absentee landlords. Within District Six people were from different nationalities and cultures. This is what made District Six unique in Cape Town. According to Soudien (2001, p. 120) the gangs were kept in check by a sense of social identity and "there was a community spirit that the most advanced urban development will never be able to buy or replace".

Implementation of the Group Areas Act was problematic. The Cape Town City Council was opposed to the Group Areas removals proposed by National Government. This was due to a number of mainly economic reasons. The City

²⁷² Coloured people disenfranchised in 1951. They 'gained' Provincial Council membership/municipal vote until 1971 ordinance 14 abolished it.

²⁷³ District Six's economy: 200 white business men employed 2000 people. property value 2 million, annual turnover, R 4.5 million.

Council²⁷⁴ initially refused to draw racial maps to facilitate the partitions and proposed a less drastic scheme under the Slums Act.²⁷⁵ After 1940 the city's black urban population increased due to workers moving to the city for work, resulting in the council's facing increasing expenditure. From their perspective, the upgrading of the inner city would mean a rise in rates.

The 1951 census showed a White migration out of Cape Town into the suburbs and a non White increase of 22 000. Cape Town City Council²⁷⁶ resisted Group Areas for as long as they could but were under pressure from the nationalist government to implement the Group Areas Act and build 'locations' for the different non-White racial groups in the Cape Flats on the periphery. In a climate of White liberalism that dominated the political arena, the provision of workers' housing would have impacted on rates paid by the property owners, the majority of whom were White, and secondly the loss of income by White landlords owning property in District Six was an unpopular proposition. Pinnock (1986, p. 162) describes this as follows: "To slum landlords, Group Areas removals and council housing threatened this income" . In the 1960s the state began to threaten the power of Council through legislation.²⁷⁷

In 1965 CORDA²⁷⁸ was set up by the state. District Six was proposed as a residential high class development, catering for middle class people, such as shop assistants and office workers. Supported by the White community, CORDA gave assurance that only slum areas would be eliminated. However the promise was broken when in 1965 more than 300 000 coloured people had been resettled in state housing schemes on the Cape Flats, leading to a massive reduction in municipal voters, which was of course the overall intention of National Party policy. While White traders looked forward to urban renewal, property developers awaited a housing boom. However, this never happened.

In 1961 the state took the initiative away from property developers through the

²⁷⁴ The most powerful department in relation to spatial matters was the City Engineer and coupled with the Health Department they were responsible for the provision of roads, services and working class housing. The rates from property owners formed the basis of income levied on property.

²⁷⁵ According to Pinnock (1986) the reluctance was due to the cost that mass removals involved.

²⁷⁶ The Council of the 1950s comprised mainly United Party Supporters (the official opposition), comprising professional people, landlords, and small business men and not the Afrikaner workers or big finance houses like Sanlam. The Afrikaners feared that Coloureds would gain power through the wards and gain positions in town councils if they were not deprived of their municipal voting rights.

²⁷⁷ The 1959 Group Areas Development Bill allowed the state to appropriate property outside a proclaimed group area. The bill was later removed but served as a warning that failure to comply with the Group Areas Act would result in its being re-instated.

²⁷⁸ Committee for the Rehabilitation of Depressed Areas

curbing of rent increases, and property in the area was neglected resulting in an escalation of crime and violence. Its slum status was the reason for tearing it down; however, in 1964 District Six was finally proclaimed a White area. Thousands of mainly Coloured people were forced to move from the inner city and southern suburbs to townships on the Cape Flats. 50 000 Coloured people were moved in the Cape Peninsula within twenty years.²⁷⁹ Many families and communities were split up, resulting in a loss of social cohesion and community spirit that had developed through the years. The result of this spatial segregation imposed directly by power was that of social alienation.

District Six had been a place that succeeded in making identity and locality; it now provides the 'space' for imagining and re-interpreting an identity. According to Erasmus (2001) the social meaning of District Six embodies qualities of mutual respect and respect for 'difference'. It represented social harmony in a context where this was not confined. Rich and poor lived together and newcomers were absorbed openly. When the more affluent moved out to newly developed suburbs, the poor remained. There was a spirit of moving across boundaries of class, religion and race. (figures L 60 & L 61) According to Soudien (2001, p. 125) District Six represents not only unity, but unity "structured in difference." The district is remembered as an enclave that existed apart from the broader South African context, i.e. it established its own rules and did not conform to those of racial segregation, class oppression and xenophobia. The forced removals of District Six were symbolic of taking the heart out of the city. (figure L 62)

Alienation and peripheral townships

"One of the features of the ghetto satellites that sprang up was an isolation that was not unplanned. For those who could not afford motorised transport, the distant township was to become a trap. They were imprisoned by their poverty in environments which were both isolated and hostile to the only form of transport they had - walking. The roads were laid out in such a way that there were few roads in and out to access highways, also making the areas easy to control. A riot policeman was quoted as saying: 'We can seal these places off in a few minutes, we know all the roads that go in'". (Pinnock, 1986, p. 159)

Spatial practice executed as a result of Group Areas legislation operated as a function of Apartheid power. Robinson (1996, p. 21) explores how the organisation of

²⁷⁹ This included removals from areas like Claremont, Newlands, and Constantia.

space is involved in the growth of state power and argues that “the South African state became involved in the social and spatial regulation of African people’s lives in cities for reasons of statehood or governance, and not simply in response to some underlying economic logic or racist pressure” . In South Africa the key agent of planning was the state (an institution) but, in Cape Town, local and national interests diverged to a degree. The state planning won the day and resulted in the peripheral townships we have currently.

The 1947²⁸⁰ Foreshore plan of the City Council included a proposal for township planning. Pinnock (1986) describes how it “included a ‘regional’ diagram for ‘defined communities’ which contain ring roads and radials with neat self-contained townships in between - each with its enclosing swath of green belt. It projected clusters of inward looking, mono-class satellites spreading out across the Cape Flats and connected to the inner city by fast highways”.

In 1950 when the Group Areas Act was passed, people were forced to live in designated areas defined according to race for the explicit purpose of accommodating labour. Where labour is implicit in production, this was necessary for the realisation of the capitalist production mode. Open strips of land were left around the township developments that became known as buffer strips (they were 200 yards in width, and the land could not be developed) . The state utilised these strips as a defensive element to control resistance, through army manoeuvres. What the government achieved was the creation of living environments of ‘minimum needs’ for the purpose of reproducing labour; whereby the state used the spatial entity of the township to maintain control and assert power.

Townships were a response to the creation of ‘minimum needs’²⁸¹ for the provision of housing for labour.²⁸² In towns, workers were shut off from urban life by being forced to live in locations; having to carry passes, with non-Europeans divided further along racial lines into tribes and according to religion. This was a system of classification, comprising a state of despotic divide and rule.

The transition to state housing on a massive scale was part of the strategy of the new

²⁸⁰ before power ‘modified’ to a Afrikaner led Nationalist government

²⁸¹ Le Corbusier defined not only the Modernist paradigm for layouts of towns but through the formation of the CIAM²⁸¹, he also defined minimum standards for housing. The findings were found in the South African Native Housing book, in the establishment of minimum standards for worker dwellings.

²⁸² Through the initiative of the garden suburbs, the Cape Ordinance for the Control of Townships (no. 13 of 1927) was passed which gave the Surveyor General control over township planning.

government to defend and conserve its position. This marked the beginning of Cape Town's low-income housing problem that has now become a crisis. Squatting became an increasing problem as the housing backlog continued. The 1951 Illegal Squatting Act froze the number of shacks at the existing level and the state 'managed' the worker housing crises which threatened the conditions of production. Initial resistance by the City of Cape Town to implement the government's Group Areas Act was due to a reluctance to foot the bill for the potential increased administration costs and the costs of building new houses.²⁸³

Conclusion

There is the argument that Cape Town was a haven of ethnic harmony and integration before the coming of Apartheid in 1948; however, segregation did exist institutionally before 1948. What is significant about apartheid is the power of spatiality of the modernist urban housing programme which is proving difficult for planners to break in the current paradigm. The combination of exclusionary Acts passed by the National Government by the 1950s effectively disenfranchised and disempowered the majority of the population.²⁸⁴ Robinson (1996, p. 30) describes the landscapes of South African cities generally: "Urban racial segregation has created starkly divided landscapes, with sprawling, infrastructurally poor black townships severed from the high-rise commercial city centre and salubrious suburban areas".

Power was practised through the various acts passed by the apartheid government where the conditions of urbanisation reshaped Cape Town's settlement patterns. The mapping activities of the neo-colonial governments increasingly became a tool of separation and division.

The modernist 'master' plan was by nature aggressive, and involved the eradication of workers' housing from the city centre. This fitted in perfectly with the apartheid ideology where social values were based on separation and control; thereby obliterating any form of social cohesion and identity which had its origins in layers of history and experience. The concern with the monumental manifested itself through

²⁸³ In 1959 the Cape Town council demanded the State pay for 1000 new houses a year. The backlog at that stage was 12 000 houses.

²⁸⁴ Jaffe (1994) notes that these laws served a class of mine, factory and farm owners, commercialists and bankers, who in 1952 comprised 5% of the population and enjoyed 60% of the national income. The White working class, about 16% of population, received 24% of the national income. 10 million Africans; comprising 80% of the population drew 16% of national income (where their output amounted to three times their pay).

the buildings on the Foreshore. Standard became geared towards capitalist profit as a reflection of social values. Economic values dominated and were used to justify the social dimension. The social consequences of this paradigm that emerged through the production of space, has significance in this context.

This thesis has investigated the dialectical relationship between power and space. The hypothesis proposes that space is a function of social practices through which power operates and is located within the post-structuralist theoretical discourses of Foucault and Lefebvre. The argument sets up a construct that tests the hypothesis through an interpretation of power shifts where the built environment becomes a text. The assumption tested is that landscapes of social identity and exclusion are informed by spatial production and representation that are a result of social practices related to power. Three power shifts and their modifications have been identified in central Cape Town and a method has been developed in an attempt to identify spatial patterns and particularities through periods of transformation. Political and economic events, spatial practices and maps provided the data through which an interpretation has been made. In this way a methodological mechanism has been used to bring inter-disciplinary discourse together.

In comparing the representation of landscapes of exclusion and social identity in central Cape Town through time, interpretation reveals both similarities and differences through the successive power shifts. In the first power shift the practice of defence resulted in the initial fortified environment, spatially constructed according to a colonial paradigm. The second and third shifts enabled the continued practice of defending the central city through material form, physically manifested through the built environment where forts, defence lines and buffer zones are emblematic of this practice. This evidence of continued spatial practice is similarly replicated in the extended landscape: Colonial power needs to be defended to remain intact.

The differences lie in the articulations of these spatial practices as they affect the built environment. These differences result in the transformation of space according to the characteristics of the power it defends, from the first colonial occupation to the final hegemony of the modernist capitalist condition. The discontinuities that exist have informed change that occurs due to ideological, economic or political conditions that are influenced by both global paradigms as well as local conditions.

What has become evident is that the first power shift was the most pronounced and could be constituted as a 'rupture' where the built environment took a form of permanence for the first time. The second and third shifts were marked by particular events that put in motion periods of political transition that bridged the shifts in power.

It appears that the physical manifestations of the second and third power shifts were not immediately evident but took time for built transformation to take effect. This was due to the fact that change in the built environment requires a particular combination of accretive practices that define moments and represent 'social formations'. Consequently the modifications in power are often more immediately apparent spatially as they generally reflected legislative application that built on pre-existing conditions.

The cartographic dimension is representative of subtleties that inform physical changes in the built environment; together forming a palimpsest through which landscapes of power and space can be interpreted. This inquiry has shown that mapping plays a role of legitimising and enabling, making 'representation' a fundamental tool of power. In this context, colonial identity has been built on these mapped foundations that constructed worlds of 'coloniser' and 'colonised'. Post-colonial identity however, challenges this dual construct and proposes that the representation of hybridity should rather be recognised in Cape Town's current built environment through a mapping of 'integration and difference'. How this will manifest spatially in Cape Town's post-colonial, post-apartheid condition, and whether it will remain an accurate monitor of power, is still to be established. However, the paradigm that relates spatial practice to power still provides a theoretical position for interpretation and for evaluating whether our current condition is one of 'power shift' or 'modification'.

1. Abrahams, G., 1993. The Grand Parade Cape Town, archaeological excavations of the seventeenth century Fort de Goede Hoop, *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, Volume 48, p. 3-15.
2. Appadurai, A., 1996. *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
3. Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. & Tiffin, H. eds., 1995. *The post colonial studies reader*. London & New York: Routledge.
4. Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. & Tiffin, H. eds., 1998. *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts*. London: Routledge.
5. Bank, A. & Minkley, G., 1998/99. Genealogies of space and identity in Cape Town. *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*. No. 25. p. 4.
6. Barrow, B., 1997. Breytenbach, photographs. *The spirit of District Six*. Cape Town: Human and Rosseau.
7. Bhabha, H., 1995. Cultural diversity and cultural differences. In Ashcroft et al. eds., *The post colonial studies reader*. London: Routledge. p. 206.
8. Bickford-Smith, V., 1995. *Ethnic pride and racial prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand University Press.
9. Bickford-Smith, V., 1998/1999. Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, 1838-1910. *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*. No. 25. p. 103.
10. Bird, W., 1966. *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*. Cape Town: Struik.
11. Certeau, M. de., 1984. *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
12. Champion, T.C. ed., 1989. *Centre and periphery: comparative studies in archaeology*. New York: Routledge.
13. Colebrook, C., 2002. *Gilles Deleuze*. New York: Routledge.
14. Corner, J. ed., 1999. *Recovering landscape: essays in contemporary landscape architecture*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press.
15. Cosgrove, D.E. 1998. *Social formation and symbolic landscape*, Madison Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press. c. 1984.
16. Cosgrove, D.E. ed., 1999. *Mappings*. London: Reaktion Books.
17. Davenport, T., 1971. *The Beginnings of urban segregation in South Africa: the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 and its background*. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University: Grahamstown. Occasional Paper, No: 15.
18. de Kock, V., 1950. *Those in bondage: an account of the slaves of the Cape in the days of the DEIC*. London: Allen & Unwin.
19. Ebrahim, N. 2003. *My Life in District Six*. Cape Town.: The District Six Museum.
20. Elphick, R. & Giliomee, H., 1979. *The shaping of South African society, 1652-182.*, Cape Town: Longman.
21. Fehr, W. 1955., *The Old Town House: its place in the history of Cape Town*. Cape Town: Cape Times.
22. Foucault, M. & Faubion, D. eds, 2000. *Power*. New York: The New Press. c 1994
23. Foucault, M. & Gordon, C. eds, 1980. *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings*. 1971-1977. Brighton: Harvester Press.
24. Foucault, M., 2002. *The order of things: archaeology of the human sciences*. London: Routledge. c 1970.
25. Giliomee, H. & Mbenga, B. *New history of South Africa*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
26. Green, L., 1948. *Tavern of the seas*. Cape Town: H.B. Timmins.
27. Greshoff, J., 2004. *The last days of District Six*. Cape Town: District Six Museum.
28. Hattersley, A.F.; 1969., *An illustrated Social History of South Africa*, Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

29. Huggan, G., 1995. Decolonizing the map. In Ashcroft et al, eds. *The post colonial studies reader*. London: Routledge. p. 407.
30. Jacobs, J.; 1996. *Edge of empire: postcolonialism and the city*. London: Routledge.
31. Jaffe, H., 1994. *European colonial despotism: a history of oppression and resistance in South Africa*. London: Kamak House.
32. Joint Technical Committee, 1947. *The Cape Town Foreshore Plan*. Final report of the Cape Town Foreshore. 1948. Union of South Africa: Government Printer.
33. Kaufman, E. & Heller, K. J. eds., 1998. *Deluze and Guattari: new mappings in politics, philosophy and culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
34. Keegan, T., 1998. Colonial South Africa and the origins of the racial order. In Legassick, M. & Minkley, G., *Current trends in the production of South African History*. (Centre for African Studies UCT) Published in *Alternation*. Vol. 5, No.1. University of Cape Town.
35. Lefebvre, H., 1991. *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
36. Madanipour, A., 2003; *Public and private spaces of the City*. London: Routledge.
37. McKenzie, K., 1998/99. Franklins of the Cape: The South African Commercial Advertiser and the creation of a colonial public sphere, 1824-1854. *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*. No. 25. p. 88.
38. Muir, J., 1975. *Know your Cape*. Cape Town: H. Timmins.
39. Noor, E. N. 2003. *Noor's Story My Life in District Six*. Cape Town: The District Six Museum.
40. Pinnock, D., 1986. Some notes on the blueprints of a garrison city. Paper presented at a conference: Western Cape: roots and realities. Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.
41. Rabinow, P. ed., 1991. *The Foucault reader*. London: Penguin.
42. Rennie, J. 1978-1984. *The Buildings of Central Cape Town 1978; Volume One and Volume Two*. Cape Town: Cape Provincial Institute of Architects.
43. Robinson, J. 1996. *The Power of Apartheid; state, power and space in South African cities*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann Ltd.
44. Rohmann, C., 2000. *The dictionary of important ideas and thinkers*. London: Arrow.
45. Ross, R. & Telkamp, G., 1984. *Colonial cities: essays on urbanism in a colonial context*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff for the Leiden University Press.
46. Ross, R., 1983. *Cape of torments: slavery and resistance in South Africa*. London: Routledge.
47. Shields, R., 1999. *Lefebvre, love and struggle; spatial dialectics*. London: Routledge.
48. Sims, M. J., 1997. *History of mapping in the Cape Peninsula*. Unpublished B.Tech. Cape Peninsula Technicon.
49. Skotnes, P. 2007. *Claim to the country*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media
50. Soudien, C., 2001. District Six and its uses in the discussion about non-racialism. In Erasmus, Z. ed. *Coloured by history, shaped by place*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.
51. Vergunst, N., 2001. *Hoerikwaggo: images of Table Mountain*. Cape Town: South African National Gallery, Iziko.
52. Villiers, S. de., 1985. *A tale of three cities*. Cape Town: Creda Press.
53. Vollgraaf, H. 1997. *The DEIC slave lodge at the Cape*. African Studies.
54. Watson, P., 2000. *A terrible beauty: a history of the people and ideas that shaped the modern mind*. London: Orion.
55. Wilkinson, J. O. unknown date. *The Cape Town railway station, 1878-1968*; History Term Paper, University of Cape Town.
56. Wilmot, G & Simons, M. eds., 1989. *The angry divide: social and economic history of the Western Cape*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
57. Worden, N. & Crais, C., 1994. *Breaking the chains: slavery and its legacy in the*

- nineteenth century Cape Colony*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
58. Worden, N. et al., 2004. *Cape Town: the making of a city: an illustrated social history*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
59. Worden, N., 1998/99. Space and identity in VOC Cape Town, *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, No. 25. p. 72.

1. Alsayyad, N., 1992. *Forms of dominance: on the architecture and urbanism of the colonial enterprise*. Avebury: Adershot.
2. Andrew, P. & Japha, D., 1978. *Low income housing alternatives for the Western Cape*, University of Cape Town, Urban Problems Research Unit.
3. Babbie, E. R., 2001. *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
4. Bank, A. & Minkley, G., 1998/99. Genealogies of space and identity in Cape Town. *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*. No. 25. p. 4.
5. Cosgrove, D., 1993. *The Palladian landscape, geographical change and its cultural representations in sixteenth-century Italy*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
6. English, J. et al., 2002. *Professional communication: how to deliver effective written and spoken messages*. Cape Town: Juta.
7. Judin, H., 1998. *Blank: architecture, apartheid and after*. Rotterdam: Netherlands Architecture Institute.
8. Laidler, P., 1939. *The growth and government of Cape Town*. Cape Town: Unie-Volkspers.
9. Lefebvre, H., 1991. *Critique of everyday Life. Volume*. London: Verso.
10. Lemon, A., 1991. *Homes apart, South Africa's segregated cities*. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
11. Lewcock, R., 1963. *Early nineteenth century architecture in South Africa: a study of the interaction of two cultures. 1795-1837*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
12. Markus, T., 1993. *Buildings and power*. London: Routledge.
13. Mills, S. 2003. *Michel Foucault*. London: Routledge.
14. Natoli, J., 1997. *A primer to post modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
15. Naude, A., 1979. *A Cape album*. Cape Town: H. Timmins.
16. Oberholzer, J., 1972. *The historical monuments of South Africa*. Cape Town: The Rembrabdt van Rijn Foundation.
17. Pama, C., 1973. *Vintage Cape Town: historic houses and families in and around the old Cape*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
18. Pearson, A., 1993. *Deleuze and philosophy, the difference engineer*. London: Routledge.
19. Pile, S. & Thrift, N., 1995. *Mapping the subject: geographies of cultural transformation*. London: Routledge.
20. Ross, R., 1994. *Beyond the pale: essays in the history of colonial South Africa*. Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg.
21. Shorten, Cape Town. 1963. Cape Town: Cape and Transvaal Printers Ltd.
22. Soja, E. W., 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical studies of cities and regions*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
23. Tewdwr-Jones, M. & Allmendinger, P., eds, 2006. *Territory, identity and spatial planning: spatial governance in a fragmented nation*. London: Routledge.
24. Warren, D., 1985. Property, profit and power: the rise of the landlord class in Cape Town in the 1840s. *Studies in the History of Cape Town. Journal of Cape History*, Vol. 6, Ch. 4, University of Cape Town History Department.
25. Worden, N. & Crais, C., 1994. *Breaking the chains: slavery and its legacy in the nineteenth century Cape Colony*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

RE-PRESENTING CAPE TOWN THROUGH LANDSCAPES OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND EXCLUSION: AN INTERPRETATION OF THREE POWER SHIFTS AND THEIR MODIFICATIONS FROM 1652-1994.

ADDENDUM

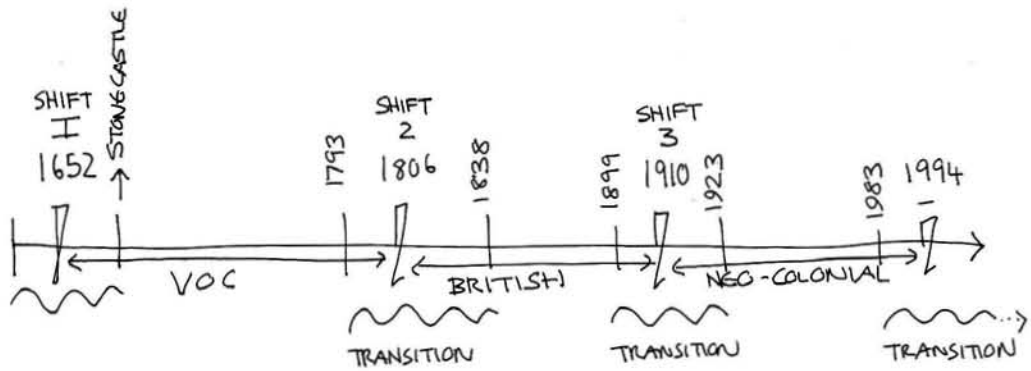
Text:

1. **p.5:** 'Table of Figures' changed to 'Key of Figures'.
2. **p.15:** Table of Contents: figures A1-4 changed to p.17/18; figures B 5-7 changed to p. 25/26; figures B 8-9 changed to p. 34/35.
3. **p.16:** Table of Contents: figures D 11-15 changed to p. 69/70; figures D 16-18 changed to p.71/72; figures J 37-42 changed to p.79/80; figures J 43-45 changed to p.90/91; figures K 48-50 changed to p.101/102; figures K 51-54 change to p. 103/104. figures L 55-59 changed to p.109/110; figures L 60-61 changed to p. 113/114; figure L 62 changed to p. 117/118.
4. **p.54.** '(Figure F25)' inserted into text in first paragraph after the words 'developing city'; '(Figure E 19)' inserted into text after the word 'agriculture' in last paragraph; '(Figure F 26)' inserted into text after the words 'building types' in last paragraph; Figures '(D17 and F 28)' inserted into the text after the words 'through commerce' in the last paragraph.
5. **p. 75 and p.76.** SHIFT 1 heading: 'Figures E 19,20; F 25,26 and G 31,32 inserted after '1652'. SHIFT 2 heading: Figures E 21,22; F 27,28; G 33,34 inserted after '1806'. SHIFT 3 heading: Figures E 23,24; F 29,30; G 35,36 inserted after '1910'. '(Figure F 30) inserted into text after the words '1935 diagram'; '(Figures F29,30 and G 35,36)' inserted into text after the words 'The Goad plans'; '(Figure E 23)' inserted into text after the words '1975 map'.

Figures:


6. Figures F29/30: Figure 29 given a date: '1925'.
7. Figure K49. 'Table Bat Breakwater' changed to 'Table Bay Breakwater'.

6.1.3. CHRONOLOGY: REPRESENTATION OF EVENTS, BUILT FORM, SOCIAL PRACTICES AND MAPS.

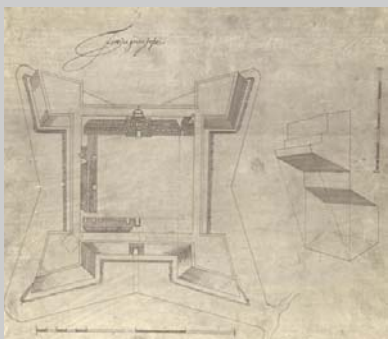


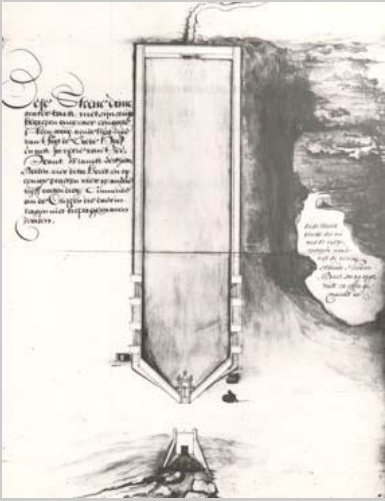

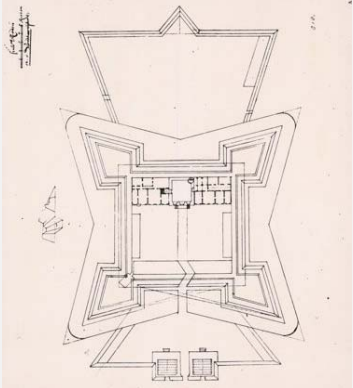
NOTE: ALL MAPS ARE RECORDED ACCORDING TO DATES OF THEIR PRODUCTION/ IF UNKNOWN PRODUCTION DATE, THEN ACCORDING TO DATE ON MAP. ALL MAPS ARE FROM THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN CITY ENGINEERS DEPARTMENT UNLESS REFERENCED OTHERWISE. WHERE MAPS ARE GIVEN NO NAME, THEY ARE UNTITLED.

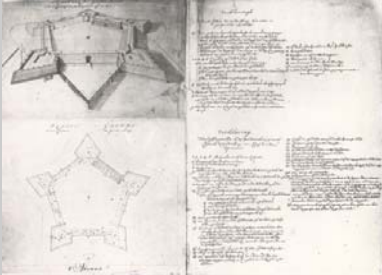
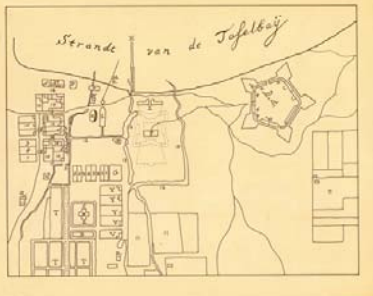

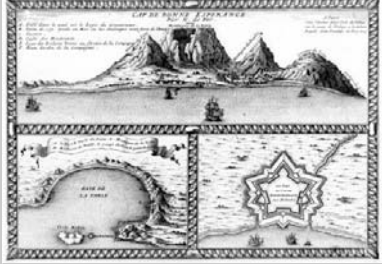
TIMELINE

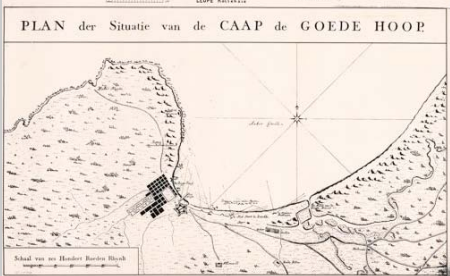


date	events	built	practice	map
1503	Antonio de Saldanha lands at the Cape		Barbers with Khoi-san, Saldanha climbs Table Mountain, takes fresh water from Salt River	 <p>Unknown date</p>
1509	Saldanha and 11 of his men killed in 'Saldanha Bay' (Table Bay)			
1648		Janz and Proot (Dutch) build fort at Table Bay		


SHIFT 1 VOC LAWS



1652	Jan van Riebeeck arrives 200 000 Khoi-san living in the area around Table Mountain	Jan van Riebeeck builds VOC mud fort	Trade Gardening Agriculture	
1653				 <p style="text-align: right;">Cape Fort</p>
1657	DEIC (VOC) in Rondebosch		First settler farmers	
1658	First slaves brought to Cape		slavery	
1659	Khoi-san (Herry and Doman) attack the Dutch	Fort strengthened. Watch house built at mouth of Salt river.		

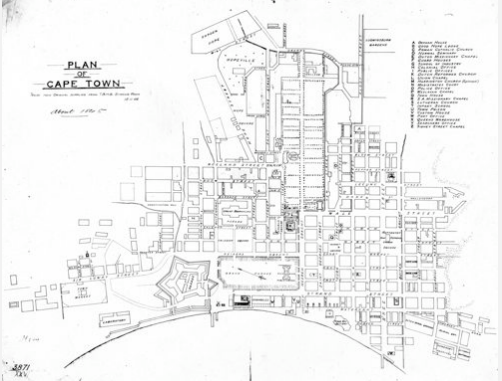
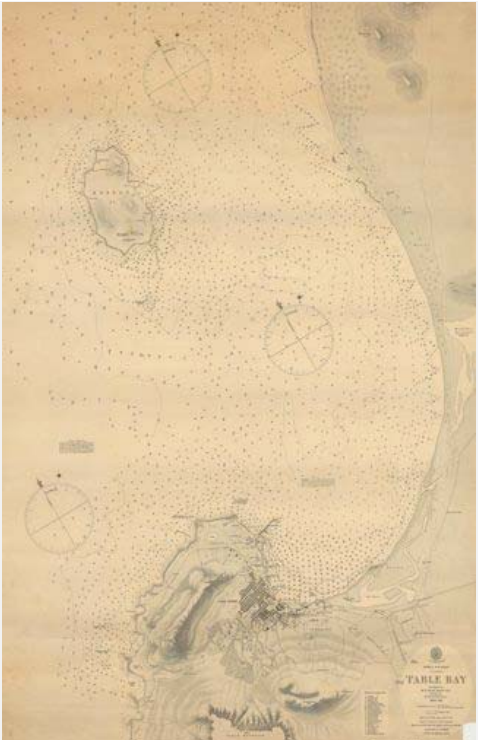
date	events	built	practice	map
1663		Masonry reservoir		<p>Fort reservoir</p> 
1665				<p>Castle Fort and Garden</p> 
1669		Slave lodge built		
1670				 <p>Cape Fort</p>
1674		Stone castle		
End of transition				
1677	Local chief forced to surrender land up to Namaqualand			
1679	Settlers in Stellenbosch	Slave lodge re-built	Segregation of schools	



date	events	built	practice	map
1688	Settlers in Paarl, and Franschoek			
1690				 <p data-bbox="954 716 1138 741">Castle perspective</p>
1693				 <p data-bbox="954 1073 1127 1098">Strandt Tafelbaai</p>
				 <p data-bbox="954 1339 1159 1365">Fort T' Goede Hoop.</p>
1700			First Loan farms/ Grazing licences granted to VOC settlers	
1704		Groote Kerk		
1705				

date	events	built	practice	map
1770				 <p>Plan Caap de Goede Hoop</p>
1771			First mission stations	
1775				
1781		French defence lines		
1785				 <p>Cape Town 1875</p>
1787				
1791	VOC monopoly over salt pans			
TRANSITION				
1793	Disintegration of VOC French invade Holland French fleets in Cape Town			
1795	First British occupation at the Cape Cape boundary at the Fish River			
1799		African Theatre		


date	events	built	practice	map
1804	Governor de Mist proclaims Chamber of Commerce			
SHIFT 2 BRITISH COLONIAL PRACTICE				
1806	28 February: Battle of Blaauwberg. Second British Occupation John Cradock Governor. Treaty signed in Woodstock/Papendorp. Population of town 16000. Free: 14 000;slaves 9000		Freehold surveying of farms	
1807	Atlantic Slave trade abolished	42 small retail shops in Cape Town	Prize negroes freed from slave ships	
1809	Khoi-san population 20000		Khoi-san required to carry passes	
1811				
1815	Louis Michel Thibault dies			
1817	Founding of Commercial Exchange: St Georges Street			
1818	Establishment of South African Public library			
1819		Foundation stone for Commercial Exchange.	First extensive mapping of privately owned plots	<p>PG ELEMAN Map</p> 
1822		Commercial Exchange finished	Non-denominational schools opened	

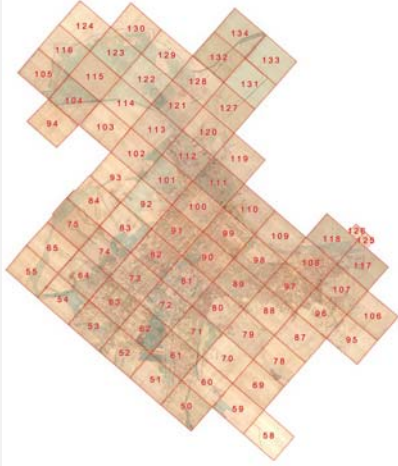
date	events	built	practice	map																																													
1827	Legislative Council	Amsterdam battery dismantled and fitted as a prison		 <p>Thompson's Map</p>																																													
1828	Ordinance 50/ Khoi movement restrictions repealed																																																
1829	Ordinance granting free press																																																
1831				 <p>PLAN OF CAPE TOWN, <i>Depicting (by permission of the Trustees, &c.)</i> 415, 102 SOUTH AFRICAN DIRECTORY FOR 1831. COMPILED BY G. CRESS.</p> <p>REFERENCES</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>1. Colonial Buildings</td> <td>10. Mayor's Senate House</td> <td>17. Theatre</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2. Cathedral Church</td> <td>11. Dutch Burrows</td> <td>18. Prisoners' H.Q.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3. Lutheran Church</td> <td>12. Malabar Chapel (now building)</td> <td>19. Indian House</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4. Catholic Church</td> <td>13. Commercial Buildings</td> <td>20. African Society's House</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5. Parliament place of the English Church</td> <td>14. School House</td> <td>21. Slave Barracks</td> </tr> <tr> <td>6. Independent Church's Chapel</td> <td>15. Church House</td> <td>22. Post Office</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7. Wesleyan Church</td> <td>16. Town Council</td> <td>23. Town Magazine</td> </tr> <tr> <td>8. Wesleyan Methodist Chapel</td> <td>18. Prison</td> <td>24. Town Magazine</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>25. Malabar Barracks' Hospital (now)</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>26. Town Magazine</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>27. Prisoners' H.Q.</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>28. Military Hospital</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>29. Commercial House-Large</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>30. Wesleyan's Hall</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td>31. Prisoners' H.Q.</td> </tr> </table>	1. Colonial Buildings	10. Mayor's Senate House	17. Theatre	2. Cathedral Church	11. Dutch Burrows	18. Prisoners' H.Q.	3. Lutheran Church	12. Malabar Chapel (now building)	19. Indian House	4. Catholic Church	13. Commercial Buildings	20. African Society's House	5. Parliament place of the English Church	14. School House	21. Slave Barracks	6. Independent Church's Chapel	15. Church House	22. Post Office	7. Wesleyan Church	16. Town Council	23. Town Magazine	8. Wesleyan Methodist Chapel	18. Prison	24. Town Magazine			25. Malabar Barracks' Hospital (now)			26. Town Magazine			27. Prisoners' H.Q.			28. Military Hospital			29. Commercial House-Large			30. Wesleyan's Hall			31. Prisoners' H.Q.
1. Colonial Buildings	10. Mayor's Senate House	17. Theatre																																															
2. Cathedral Church	11. Dutch Burrows	18. Prisoners' H.Q.																																															
3. Lutheran Church	12. Malabar Chapel (now building)	19. Indian House																																															
4. Catholic Church	13. Commercial Buildings	20. African Society's House																																															
5. Parliament place of the English Church	14. School House	21. Slave Barracks																																															
6. Independent Church's Chapel	15. Church House	22. Post Office																																															
7. Wesleyan Church	16. Town Council	23. Town Magazine																																															
8. Wesleyan Methodist Chapel	18. Prison	24. Town Magazine																																															
		25. Malabar Barracks' Hospital (now)																																															
		26. Town Magazine																																															
		27. Prisoners' H.Q.																																															
		28. Military Hospital																																															
		29. Commercial House-Large																																															
		30. Wesleyan's Hall																																															
		31. Prisoners' H.Q.																																															
1834	01 December Abolition of slavery																																																
1838	Emancipation of slaves	Beginning of housing development for workers																																															
End of transition																																																	
1840	Two-tiered ward system	Storage dams on Table Mountain																																															

date	events	built	practice	map
1845				
1848		St Georges Cathedral		
1849	July: anti-convict campaign/7000 people gathered at the Commercial Exchange for mass meeting.			
1852	Discovery of coal			
MODIFICATION				
1853	Representative Government			African entering colony required to have passes
1854	First Cape Parliament met in Cape Town			
1858		First Public Library		 <p data-bbox="954 1885 1177 1915">Table Bay Charty Map</p>


date	events	built	practice	map
1861		Public Library in Botanical Gardens. First temporary railway station. Foundation of Table Bay Breakwater.	Prince Alfred visits the Cape. First temporary railway station	
1862				Snow map 
1864		Railway extended and tram		
1867	Discovery of diamonds	Robinson Dry Dock		
1870				
MODIFICATION				
1872	Responsible Government Legislature and House of Assembly; Sir John Molteno first premier	Alfred Basin		
1875	Cape is capital of Britain's Cape Colony. Afrikaner movement emerges in Paarl Standard Bank opens.	Foundation stone laid for houses of Parliament	First prime-minister	Wilson map detail 



date	events	built	practice	map
1877	Transvaal Republic annexed by Britain; Afrikaner Bond			
1878	Fish curing at Roggebaai threatened/Siens petition 4000 Africans brought to Cape from Eastern frontier.	Railway station finished	Old coal store used to house Mozambican labourers in the docks. Roller skating rink reserved for Whites-only.	
1882	Small pox epidemic			
1879	22000 European immigrants arrive	First semi-formal location type housing built	Africans build huts near Salt River Station and towards Southern suburbs	
1880's	Afrikaner bond	First factories built		
1880	Griqualand West: Kimberley diamond fields annexed to Cape		Many Africans living on fringes of District Six	
1881			Old wood store at docks used to house African workers	
1882	Clean Party formed: English and White Afrikaner Patriot marks Afrikaner ethnic mobilisation Water piped to homes Property rates increase Small pox outbreak Economic depression			
1883	Hofmeyer's Afrikaner Bond movement: amalgamation of two parties.			
1884	Salt River Railway workers strike	Houses of Parliament built		
1885				
1886	Discovery of gold Malay cemetery riots	Molteno reservoir	Closure of Muslim cemeteries	



date	events	built	practice	map
1888		Municipal wash houses built on the slopes of Table Mountain Cape Town storm water drainage scheme		
1889		Butchers shambles on beachfront demolished		
1890	Cecil John Rhodes prime minister	Factories built in Woodstock, District Six and Observatory	Pass laws for Black women	
	79000 people	Harbour additions Breakwater prison		
1892	Franchise and Ballot Act: tribalised Africans disqualified from the vote. Dock workers strike	Additions to railway station Commercial Exchange demolished	Only Whites on Supreme Court jury 1000 African disenfranchised	
1893	Plumping system allowing more than one vote abolished			
1894	Glen Grey Act Cape House of Assembly election New tramway company		Labour driven off rural land Segregated schools	

date	events	built	practice	map
1896	Electric trams in Adderley Street	St Georges Cathedral re-built	Segregation on trains	
1897				
	Rhodes pro-British South African league. Afrikaner Bond under Schreiner beats Rhodes Progressive Party in Assembly election.		Liquor law prohibits sale of liquor to 'aboriginal natives.'	 <p data-bbox="954 1142 1062 1165">Thom Map</p>

TRANSITION

1899	Native Location Act		Segregate at circus and theatre	
1900	Native location committee Anglo -Boer War	Green Point Common Prisoner of War Camp		

date	events	built	practice	map
1902	Native Reserve Location Act Founding of the African Peoples Organisation		African residential segregation Pass system introduced for Africans to be allowed to leave the city.	
1904	District Six's Abdullah Abdurahman became town councillor		Segregation in hotels	
1905	School board Act	Victoria Basin additions Cap Town city hall completed.	Segregation in schools enforced	
1909				
1910 SHIFT 3 UNION GOVERNMENT PRACTICE				
1911	Labour Regulation Act			
1912	Rhodes succeeded. ANC founded			
1913	Land Act Land Transfer Act Caledon Code Pass Laws	New Pier/ Adderley Street.	Africans not allowed to own property	
1914	First World War			
1918		University of Cape Town		



date	events	built	practice	map
1920	South African Act Native Affairs Act Clements Kadalie forms the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union(ICU)			
1921	Formation of the Communist Party			
1923	Urban Areas Act			
End of transition				
1924	Herzog prime - minister			
1925	Wage Act Afrikaans declared an official language	Grain elevator in docks		 <p>Goad Map Source: National Library</p>
1930		National Gallery		
1933		Green point Common levelled. Was a vlei/ treasure trove.		
1935				 <p>Goad; Source: National Library</p>

date	events	built	practice	map
1939	Second World War			
1940	First Foreshore development proposals.			
1942	ANC Youth league formed.(Mandela, Sobukwe, Mda, Tambo etc.)			
1943		New Duncan Dock opened		
1947		New Foreshore development building starts.		

1948 MODIFICATION

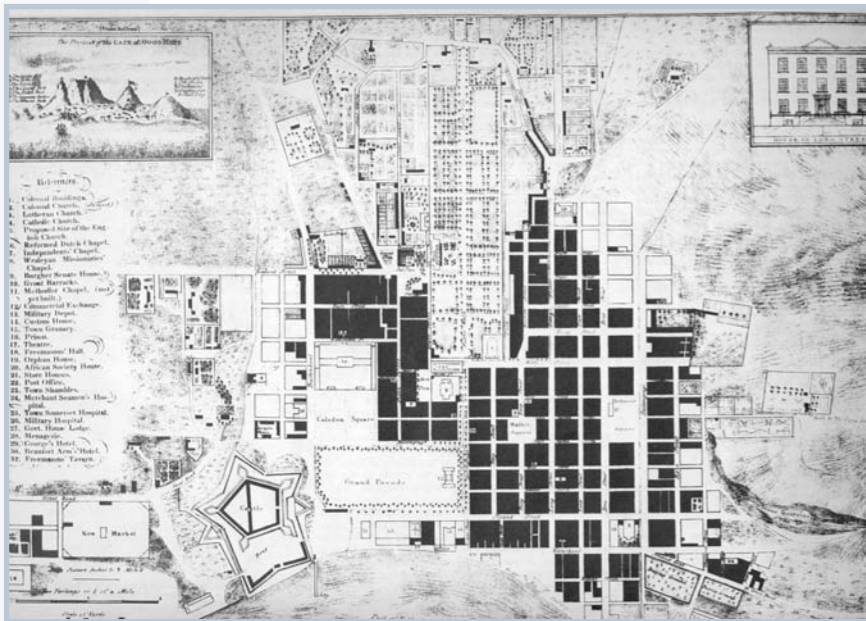
	National Party Government Verwoerd prime-minister		Apartheid	
1949	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act			
1950	Immorality Act Group Areas Suppression of Communism Act Population Registration Act			
1951	Bantu Authorities Act			
1952	Bantu Education Act			
1953	Separate Amenities Act Public Safety Act			
1954	The Congress Alliance Freedom Charter			
1955	Coloured Labour Preference Party			

date	events	built	practice	map
1958	Pass book for African men			
1959	The Group Areas amendment Bill Development of Bantu Self Government Bill Break away Pan-African Congress			
1960	Pass book for women State of emergency Anti pass protests Sharpeville massacre			
1961	Republic			
1962	Starke Committee segregates the city's population on the beaches, pavilions, forests, parks and gardens.			
1963	Shand Committee elevated highway proposal			
1964	Rivonia trial. ten accused of gorilla war fare and promotion of communism			
1965	Mandela defends himself. Mandela and seven others sentenced to life imprisonment, including Walter Sisulu; Govan Mbeki.			
1966	Verwoerd assassinated			
1968		old railway station demolished		

date	events	built	practice	map
1973	General Workers Union formed. Steve Biko banned			
1974				
1975				
				City of Cape Town and Environs.
1976	The Soweto uprising			
1977	Biko murdered by the SAP			
1978	PW Botha prime minister			
TRANSITION				
1983	United Democratic Front			
1984			Tri-cameral parliament	
1985	Student youth based resistance		State of emergency	
1988	Mandela moved to Victor Verster prison from Robben Island			
1989	National Union of Mine workers Mandela writes letter to PW Botha FW de Klerk becomes Prime minister Paris Conference		Released Rivonia trial prisoners hold mass rally in Soweto	
1990	11 February Mandela released from prison. Berlin wall taken down			

date	events	built	practice	map
1992				
SHIFT 4 ANC POWER				
1994	April: ANC achieves power.			

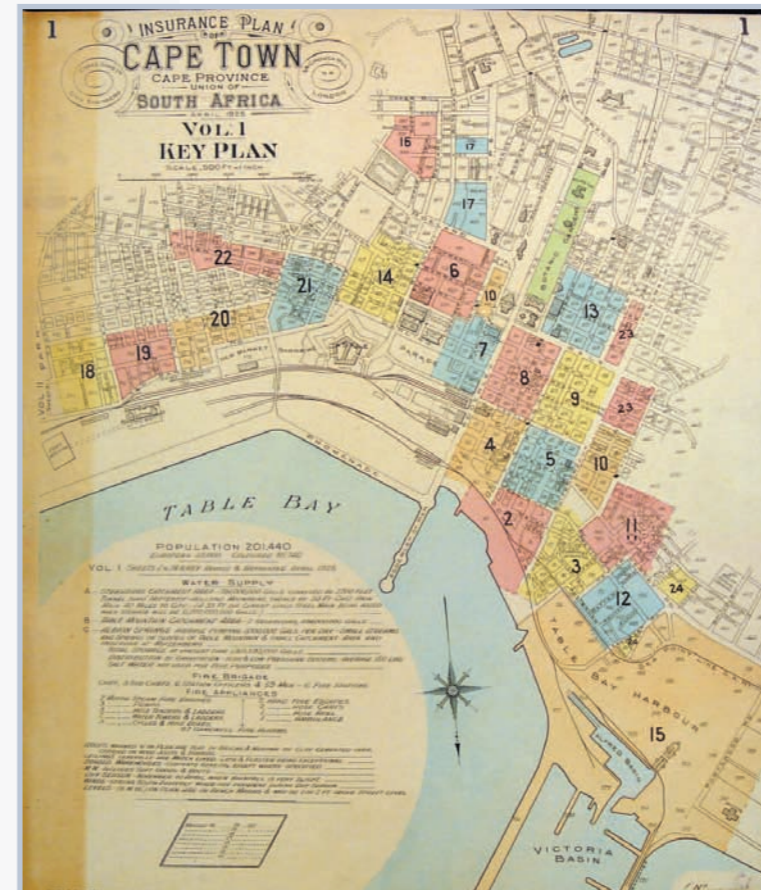
University of Cape Town



27| 1827 Thompsons map
 The graphic representation of street blocks in a solid rendering indicates the concern with mapping a permanent town-like settlement in the landscape. The interpretation finds built form contrasted in representation to the detailed landscaped gardens around the periphery. The names of spaces are no longer Dutch, but English and most names remain the same today.



28|1862 William Barclay Snow: part plan of central town.
 The level of detail in land surveying by this time indicates the concern with bureaucratic systems. Every block of buildings is represented, indicating the separate plots. The practice of mapping institutional buildings is still prevalent. They are all shown, including the new library, St Georges Cathedral, the Commercial Exchange, the Castle, the Military barracks, the Railway, the Gaol, and all the street names. The only trace that remains of the Dutch grachts and rivers is a canal around the Parade ground to the Castle moat. The street network is much more defined than the earlier maps.



29| 1925



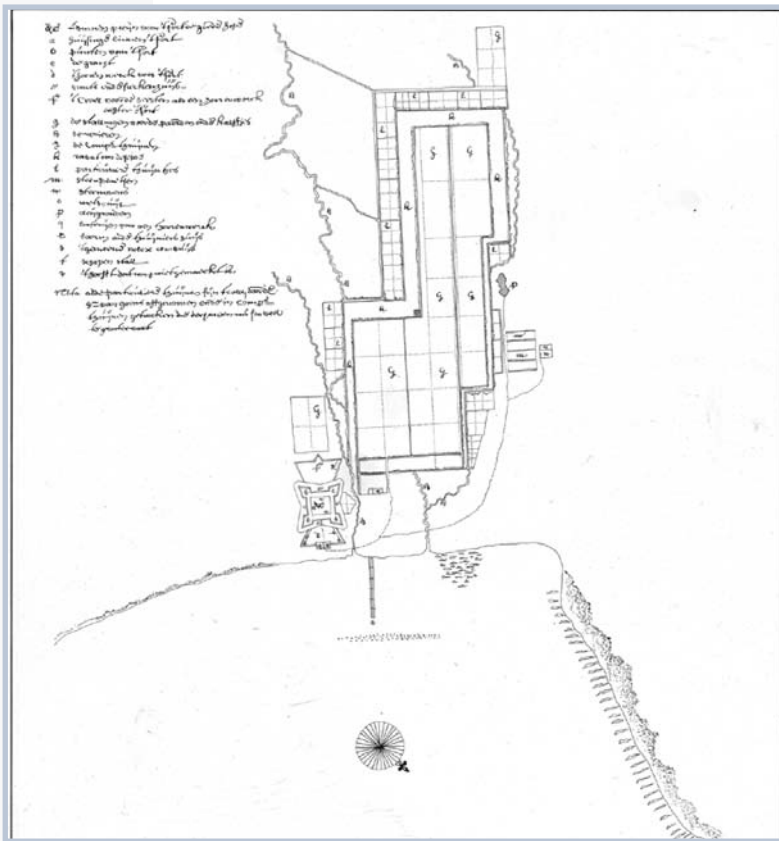
30| 1935

Insurance Plan for Cape Town, Cape Province, Union of South Africa, Volume 1, Key Plan. Drawn by Chase Goad Ltd. Civil Engineers London.

Interesting that with Union and on the eve of Afrikaner nationalism, the connection to Britain was still so strong that the British based firm was employed to draw the insurance maps of the town. These are location maps for the detailed practices that occurred in each and every building in the central town. The numbers on the plan indicate the different city blocks drawn. These are two of a series of maps that were drawn in 1895, 1925, 1935 and 1956. The plans for the extension of the Foreshore area and the new Duncan dock are already indicated in the 1935 map before planning had been officially approved. These maps show clearly the changes that were occurring at this time to the coast line along Table Bay.

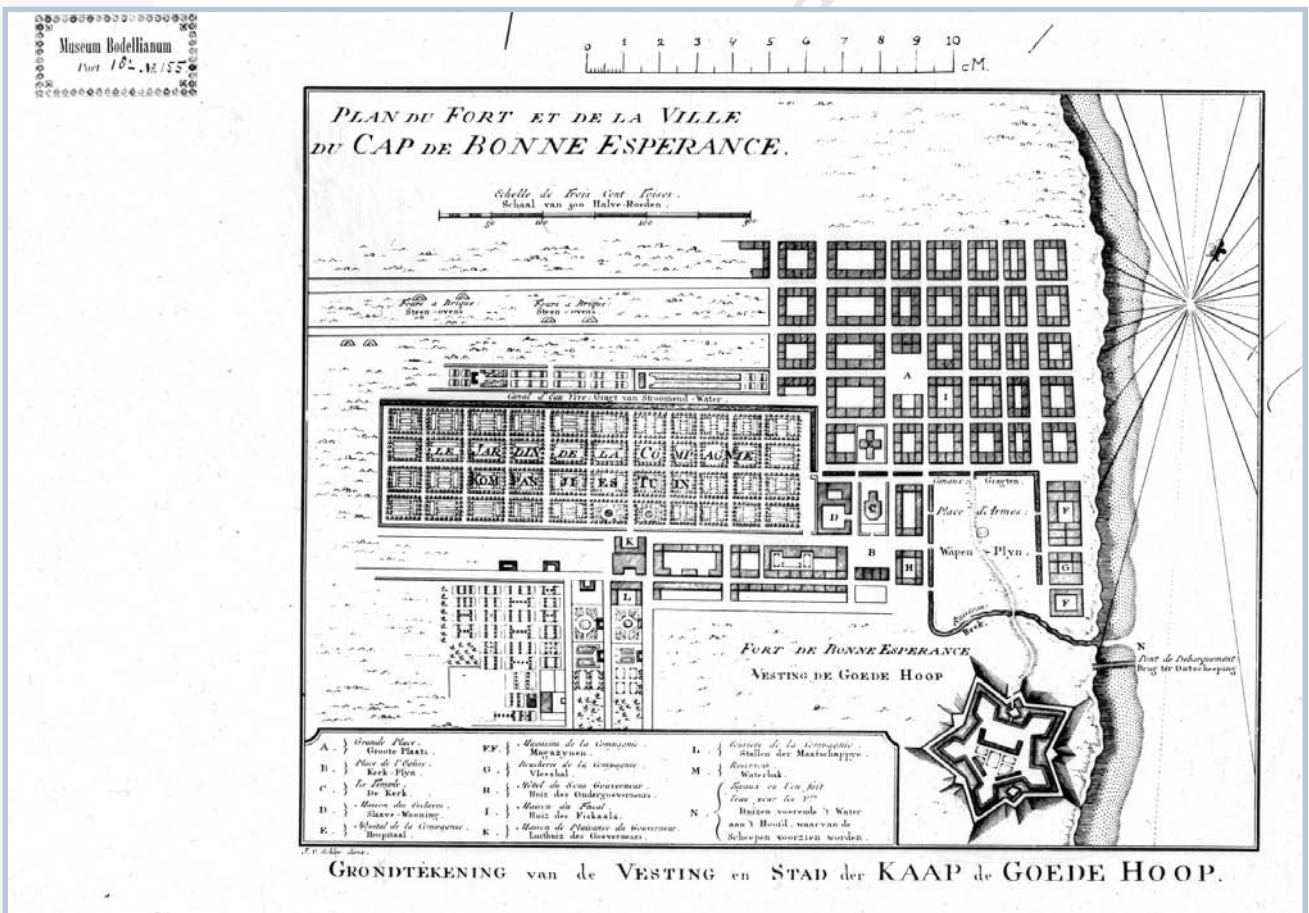
University of Cape Town

Central Cape Town



25| 1660 Unknown Title.
(REDRAWN BY LAND SURVEYORS DEPARTMENT, CAPE TOWN 1979)

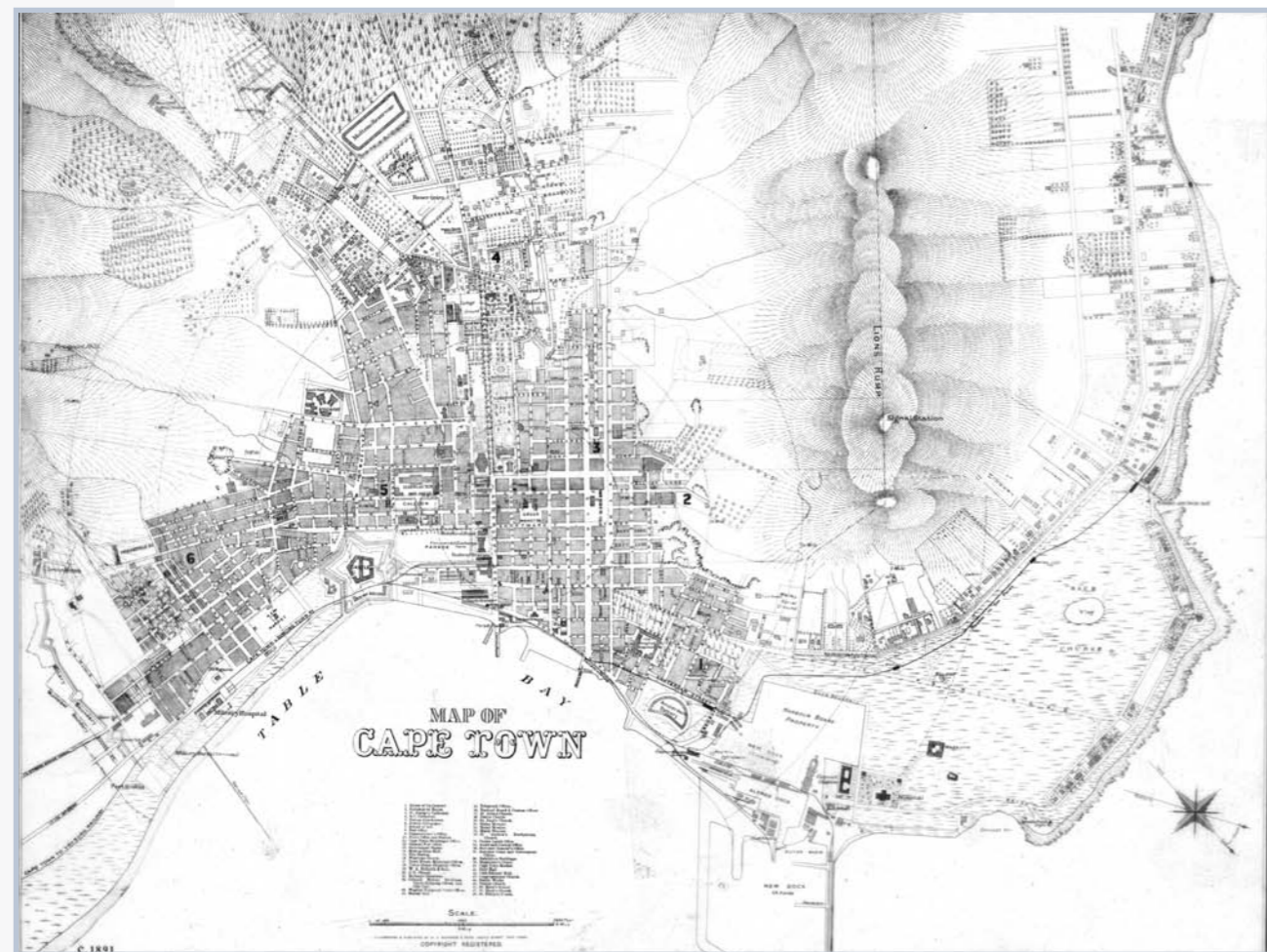
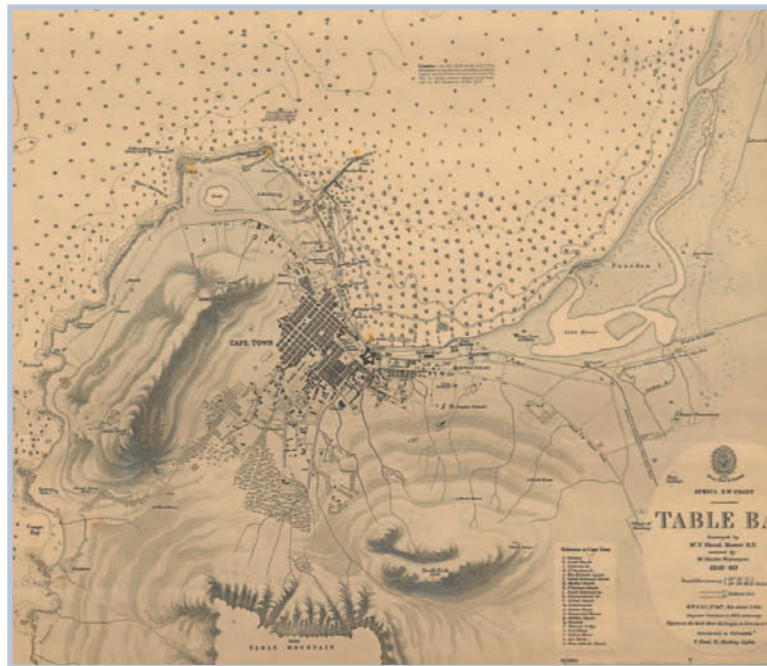
This is one of the earliest garden diagrams and shows the physical relationship between, Fort, garden and coastline. The map represents the practice of agriculture in the garden and social practice within the fort. The water channels, known as grachts set up definitive boundary lines around the garden that define VOC property. The close proximity of Fort to coast line and the jetty seems to indicate that in disembarking from a ship one could have entered the Fort in safety. This was probably relevant in that the Dutch were 'occupying land' in an 'un-tamed wilderness' populated by many indigenous tribes.



26| Unknown date. Grondtekening van der vesting en stad der Kaap de Goede Hoop.
This map shows the development of the settlement. The Castle depicted, and where the Fort was once, is now an open piece of land called 'wapen plein'. All the components of the VOC institutional structure is drawn, including Grootte Plaats, Kerke Plein, the stables, the butchery, the Fiscal, the weapons store, the slave lodge and the church. This map represents an assertion of VOC power in the landscape.

21| 1858 Table Bay Charty Map

This map shows the importance of the relationship between the location of the town in relation to the sea and merchant shipping as a practice and agency for trade. All the depths below sea level are charted on the map. The institutional buildings are shown, indicating the growth of the settlement into a town. The former Company garden is now called the Botanical garden. The site of the original fort is called Prince Alfred Square. The practice of dropping a ball to indicate twelve noon time everyday is noted on the map as well as that of firing a canon at 1pm everyday from Imhoff battery. Defence strategies are all represented in the form of forts and batteries. The names of the mountains and their heights are indicated. The breakwater has been built, as well as the railway line and station.



22|1891 Map of Cape Town

This illustrates that forty years later under British rule, some major changes had taken place in the development of the town. The main development illustrated in this map is that of District Six, defined by a definite boundary on the east. These are the still in-tact 'French lines' built during Dutch rule.



23| 1974/75 City of Cape Town and Environs

This map is drawn in the office of the property section, land survey branch, City of Cape Town. This is a layered map. It appears that the original was drawn without the Group Areas information. Subsequently the Group areas Acts are inscribed onto the map, including the Principal Act 1955 that proclaimed occupation and ownership according to race. Most areas in the city are proclaimed White. There is a Coloured area called Schooner Kloof, adjacent to the Malay quarter. District 6 was proclaimed White in 1966 11.02.1966 and de-proclaimed to Coloured in 1983. (after the buildings in the area had been flattened)The June 1991 government gazette is stuck on and indicates the repeal of Act 36 1966 and arrangements in respect of the repeal of group areas and free settlement areas. The defensive strategy of apartheid was to proclaim the city White up to the old city boundary, being the old defence lines built in the Dutch period.

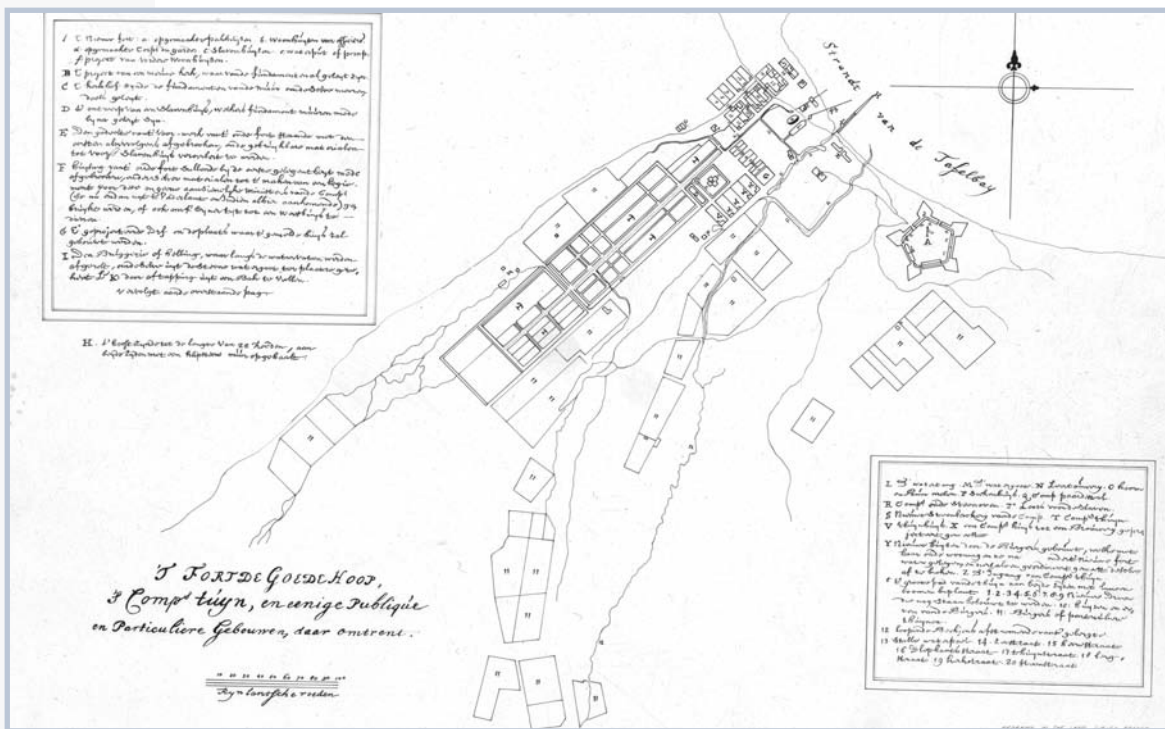


24|1947 Foreshore Joint technical committee map

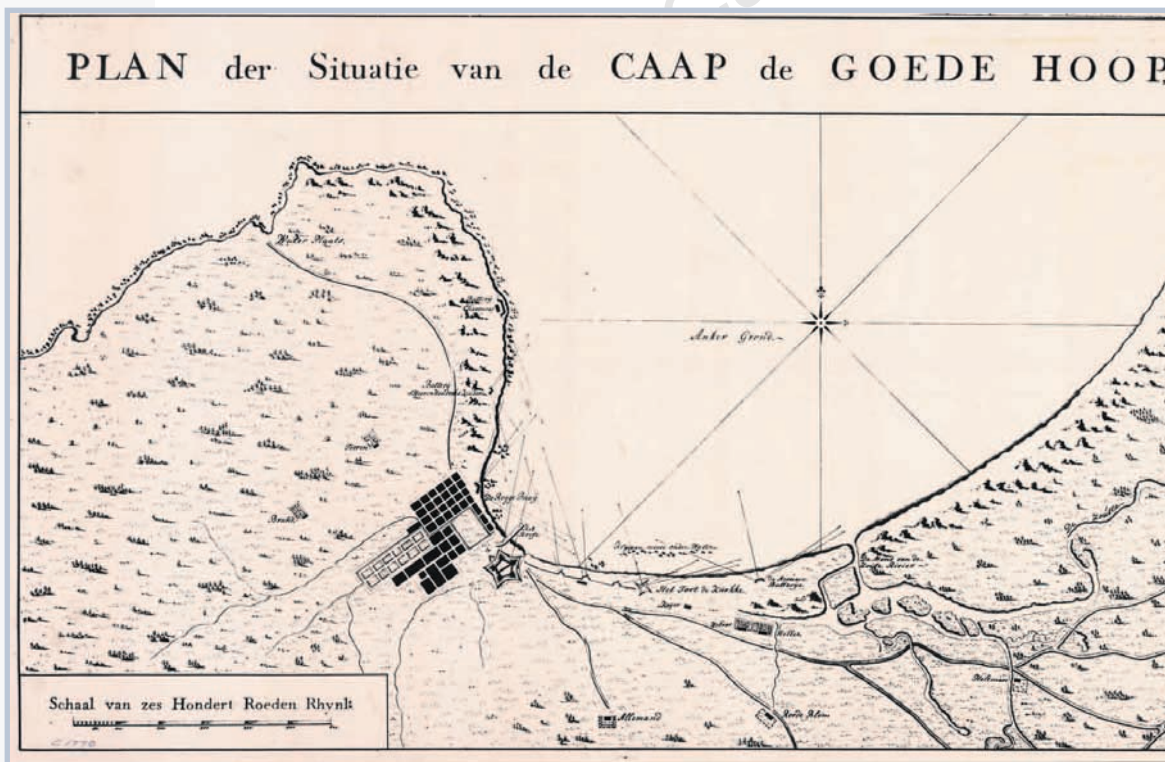
This is one of the maps proposed for the development of the Foreshore; however it was not built exactly according to this plan. What is important is that the main ideas, including the monumental approach from the new highway cutting through District Six into town was built, as well as the highway that separates the city from the sea. Modernist in its articulation, this plan represents the planning paradigm of its time.

University of Cape Town

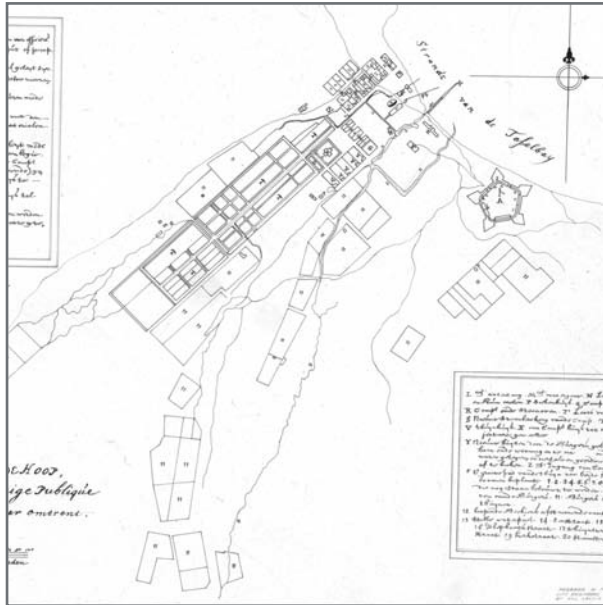
Larger Settlement Landscape



19| 1693 T' Fort de Goede Hoop. The Company's garden, the public spaces, VOC buildings and private plots are indicated. The map represents gardening as a dominant practice. The rivers are clearly an important element for the settlement as they are indicated and it is clear that the initial setting out of the garden was determined by the position of these rivers. The new castle has been built, and where the fort used to be is now open land; however a portion of the original mud fort sea-facing wall is still drawn.



20| 1770 PLAN der Situatie de Caap de GOEDE HOOP. This map indicates the social formation of a defensive settlement in that it represents the Dutch fortifications. At this scale the map represents the contradiction of vulnerability and power in the context of the Dutch colonial settlement. Place names include the anchoring ground referred to as 'Ankergrond' indicating the importance of the Bay for shipping. Table Bay is referred to as 'Roggebaai' and the Forts are drawn along the sealine, including fort Knokke. The Salt River mouth is shown in detail as a maze of rivers that provided a form of natural boundary for the initial settlement.



T Fort de Goede Hoop c1693. detail

Shift 1

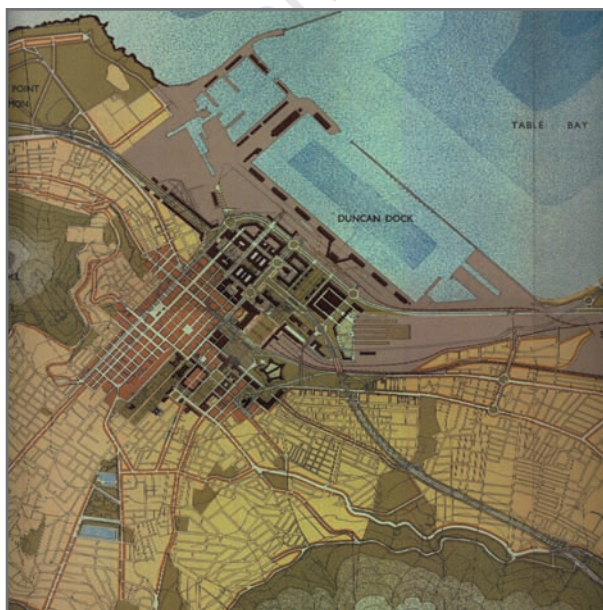
1652



Table Bay Charty Map, c1858 - detail

Shift 2

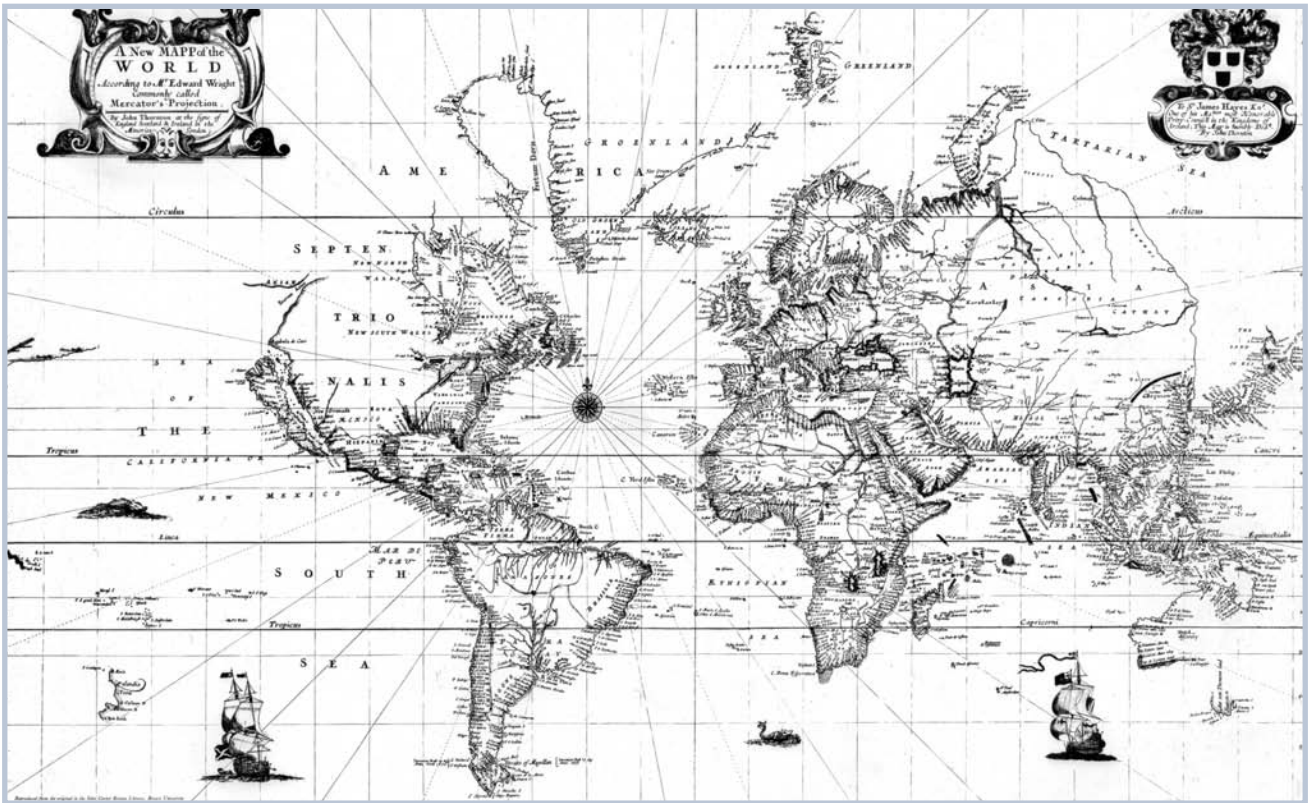
1806



Foreshore Joint Technical Committee Map, c1947- detail

Shift 3

1910



1 | A New Map of the World, 1683



2 | Africae nova descriptio, Amsterdam, ca 1635-1662. 3. W.J.Blaeu



3 | The Cape Peninsula by Terence McNally, 1970's



4 | Monomatapia. 1700



5 | Nieuwe Kaart van Caap der Goede Hoop, by Francois Valentyn



6 | The Landing of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape by Charles Davidson Bell, 1852



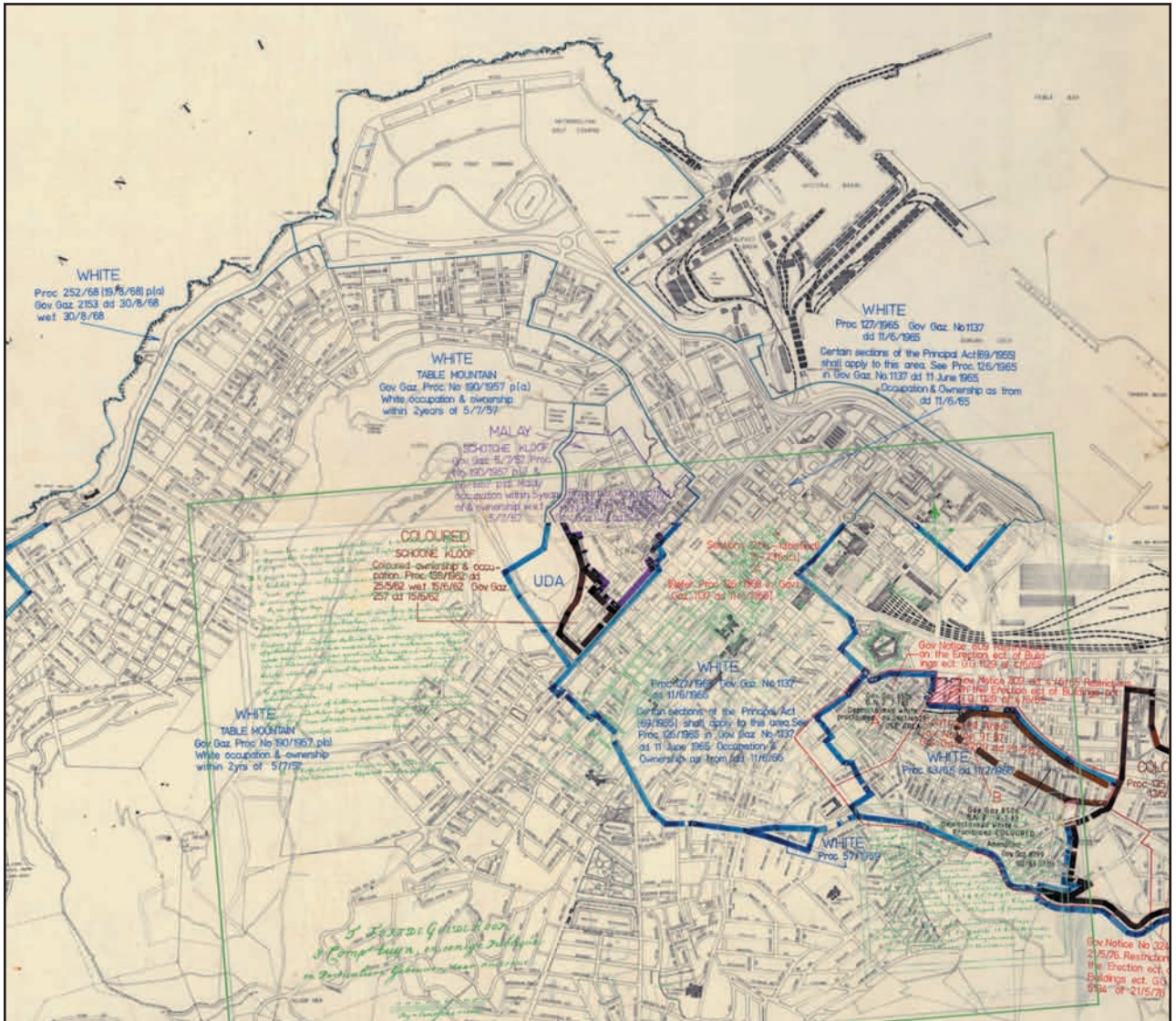
7 | Khoi-San Huts and Livestock. Peter. Kolbe, 1676 – 1726



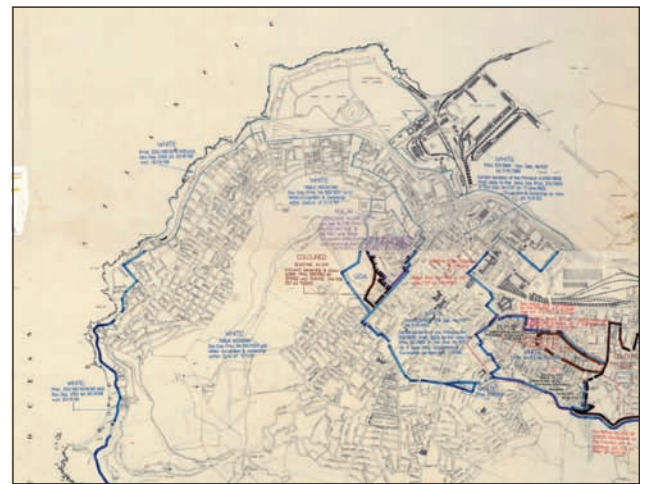
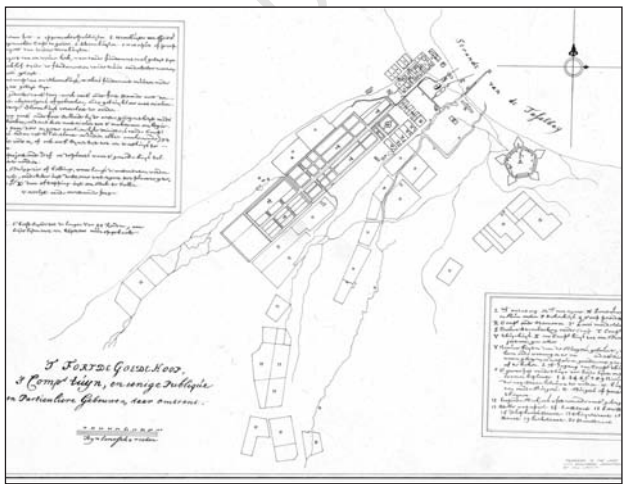
8 | Cecil John Rhodes at 'Groote Schuur'



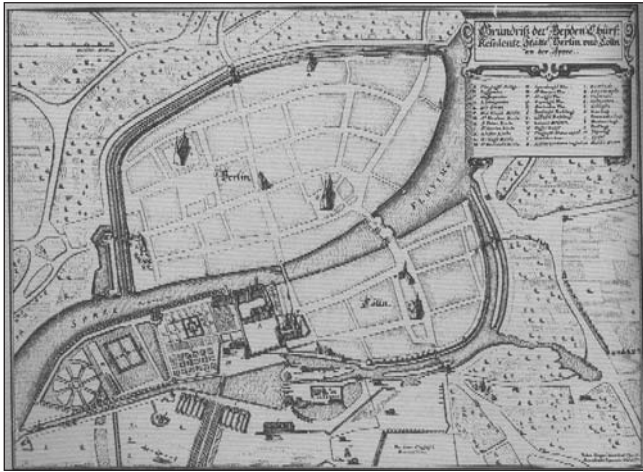
9 | Second new year, Coons, Caledon Street



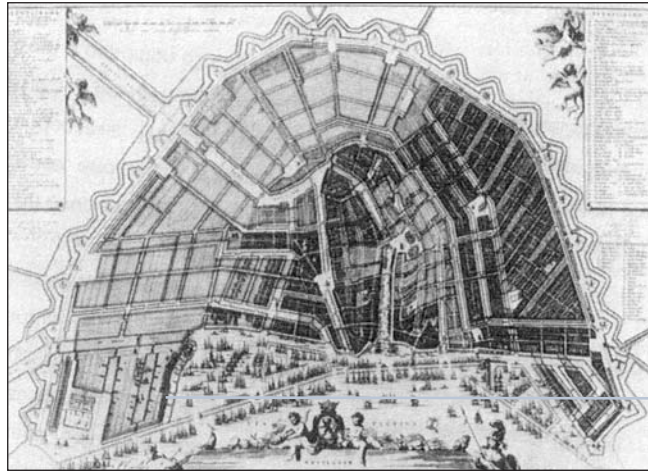
10 | TFort de Goede Hoop, 1693, superimposed over City of Cape Town and environs map. 1974/75



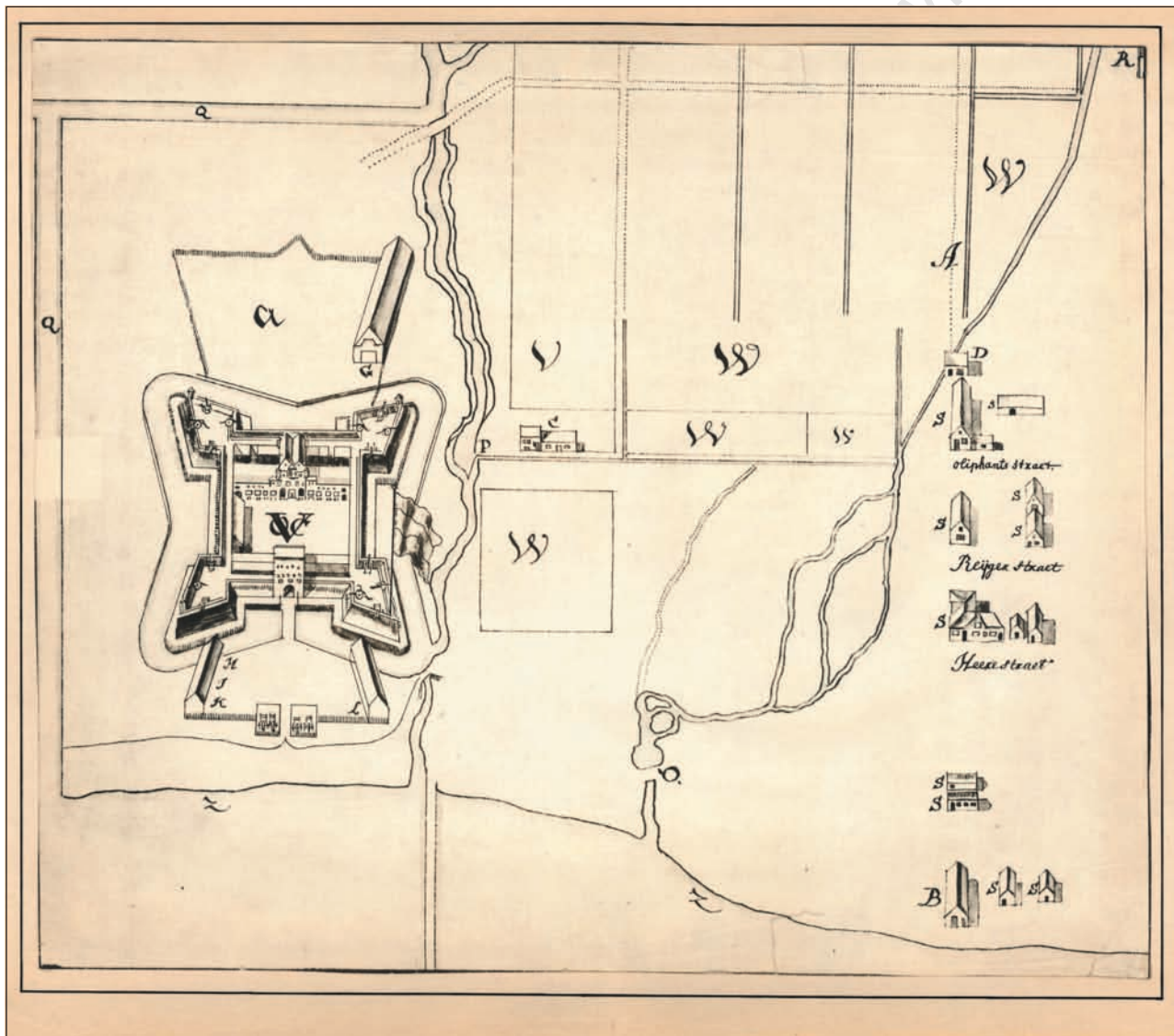
TFort de Goede Hoop, 1693 City of Cape Town and environs map. 1974/75



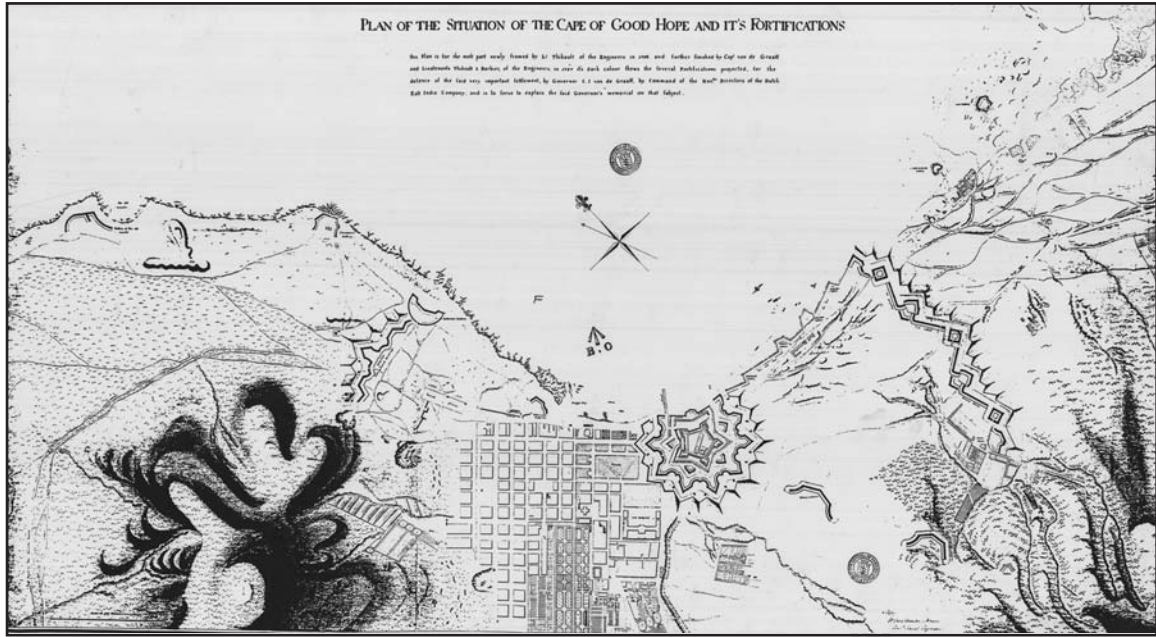
11 | Johann Gregor map Berlin 1652.



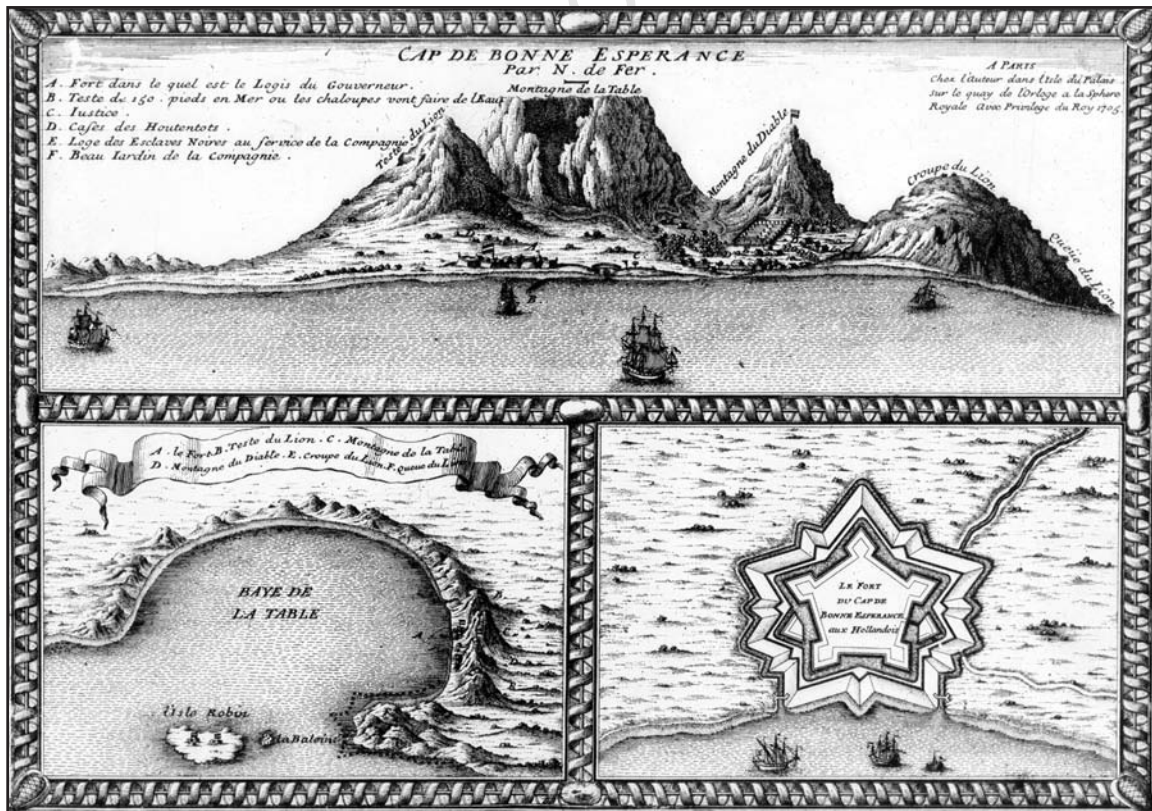
12 | Daniel Stalpaert, Amstelodami veteris et nouissimae ubris. 1670



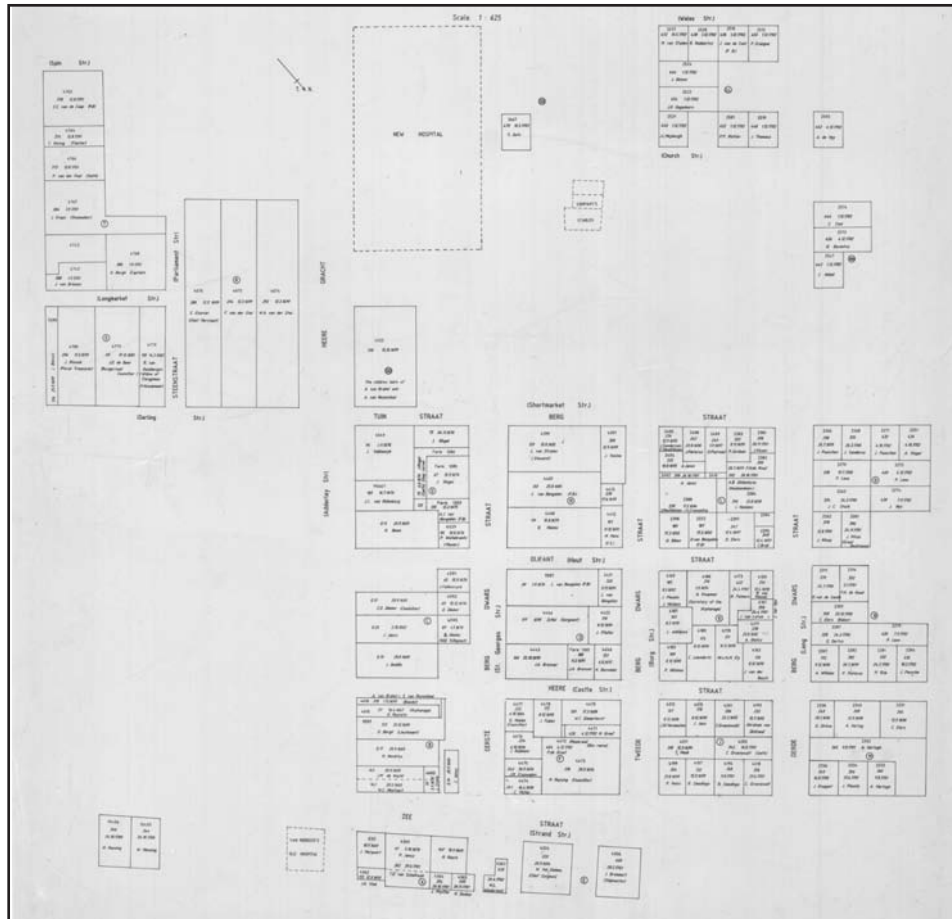
13 | VOC Fort 1660



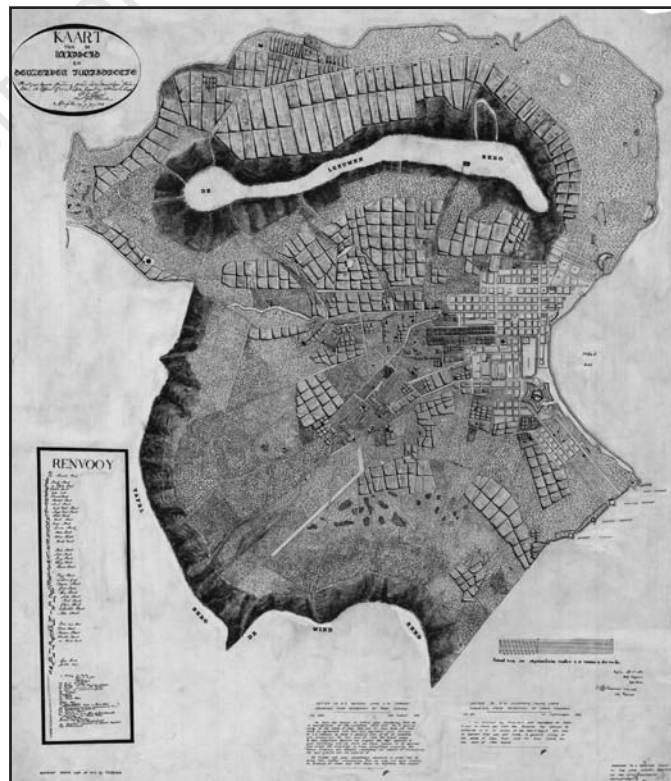
14 | Plan of the situation of the Cape of Good Hope and its fortifications. c.1786



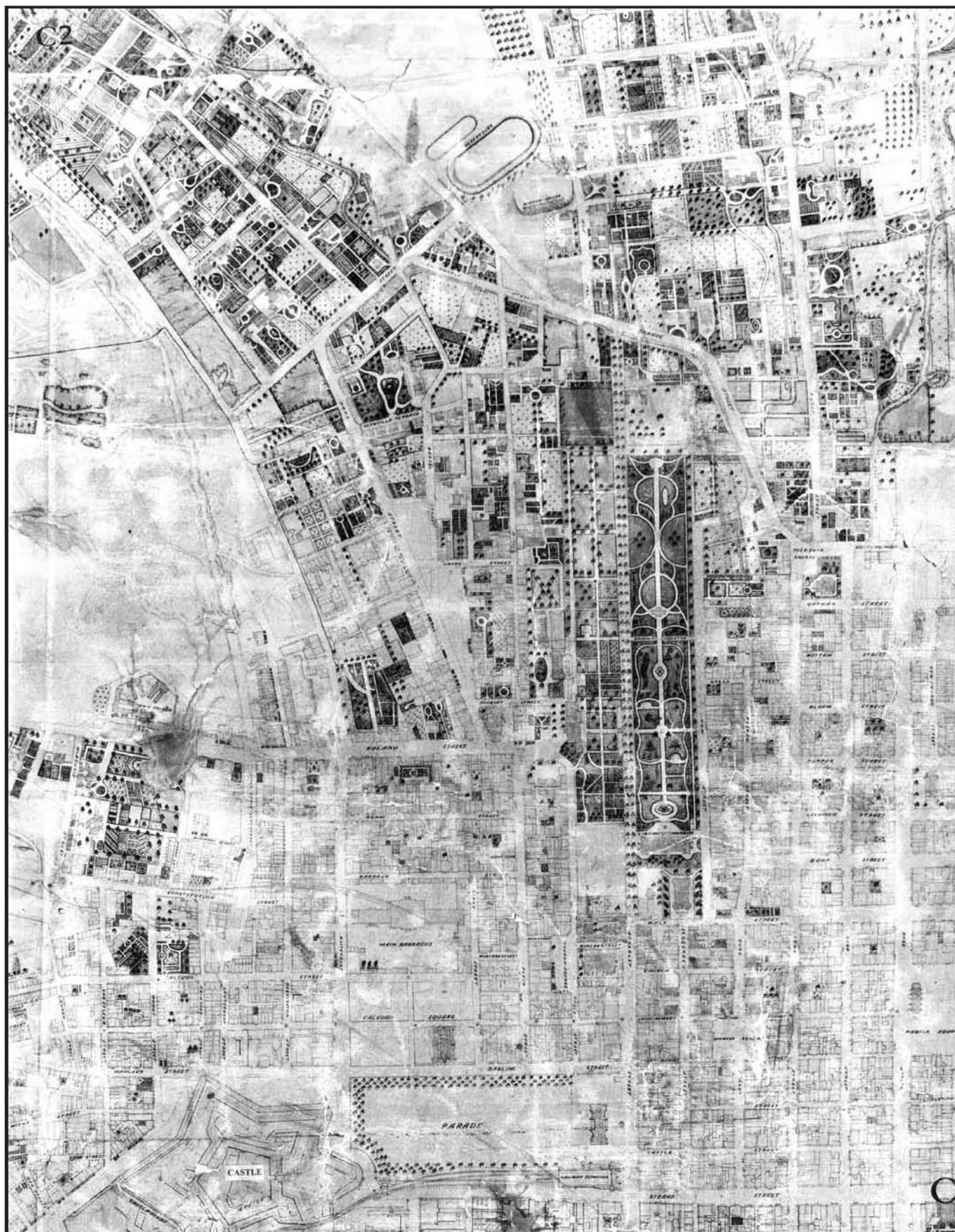
15 | Cap de Bonne Esperance, 1705



16 | Plan Tafel Valley. c1657. depicting original grants



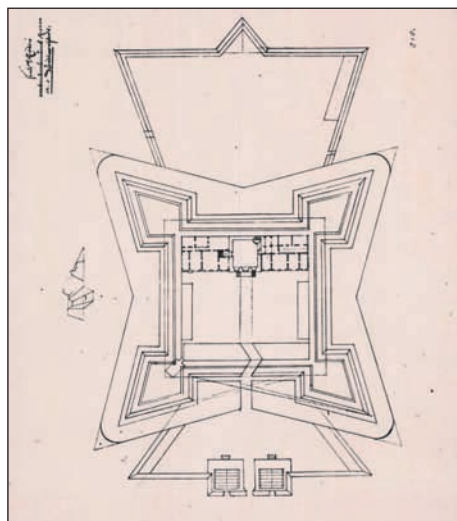
17 | Kart van der Kaapsad. drawn by Eleman, P.G., c1819



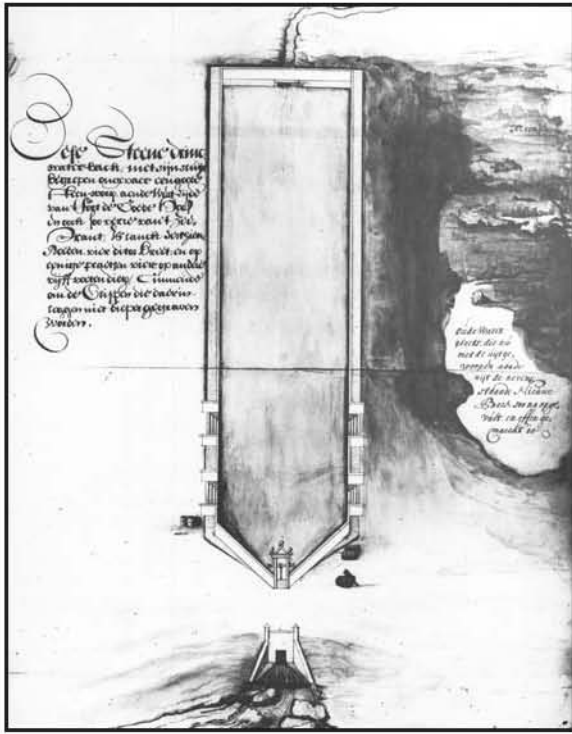
18 | Alexander Wilson map, c1860. part portion



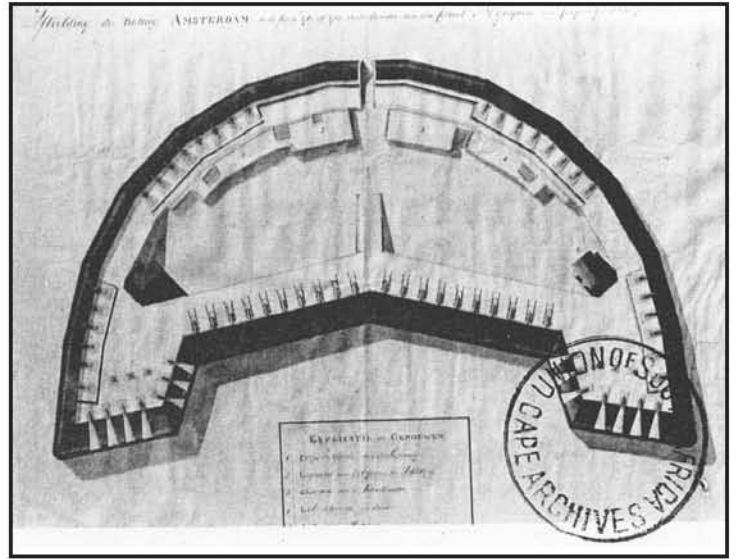
37 | 'Cap de bone Esperance' by Allain Mallet, French, c.1683



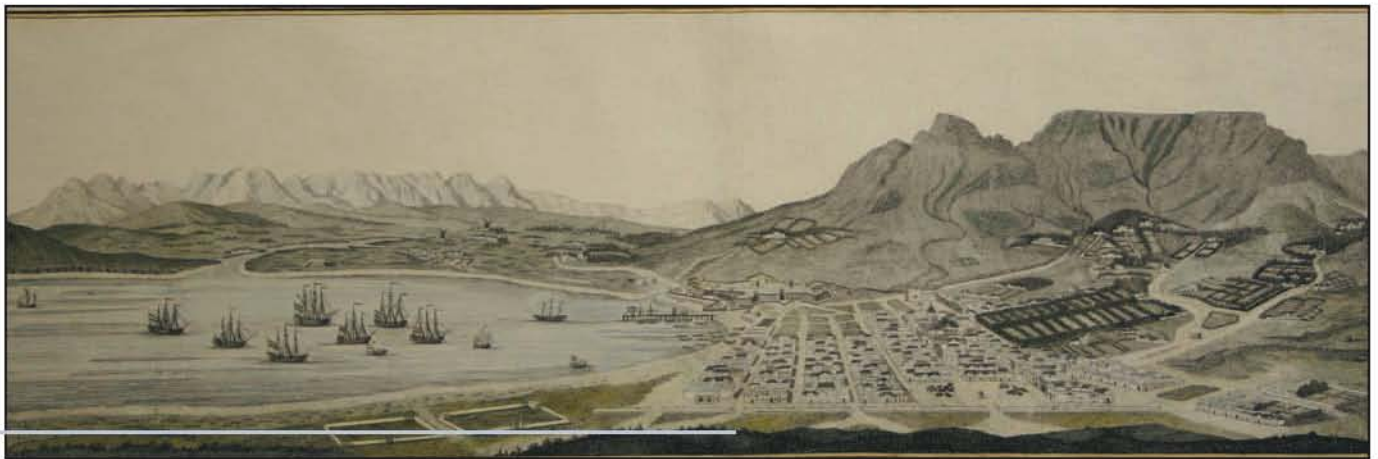
38 | Cape Fort Plan. c1670



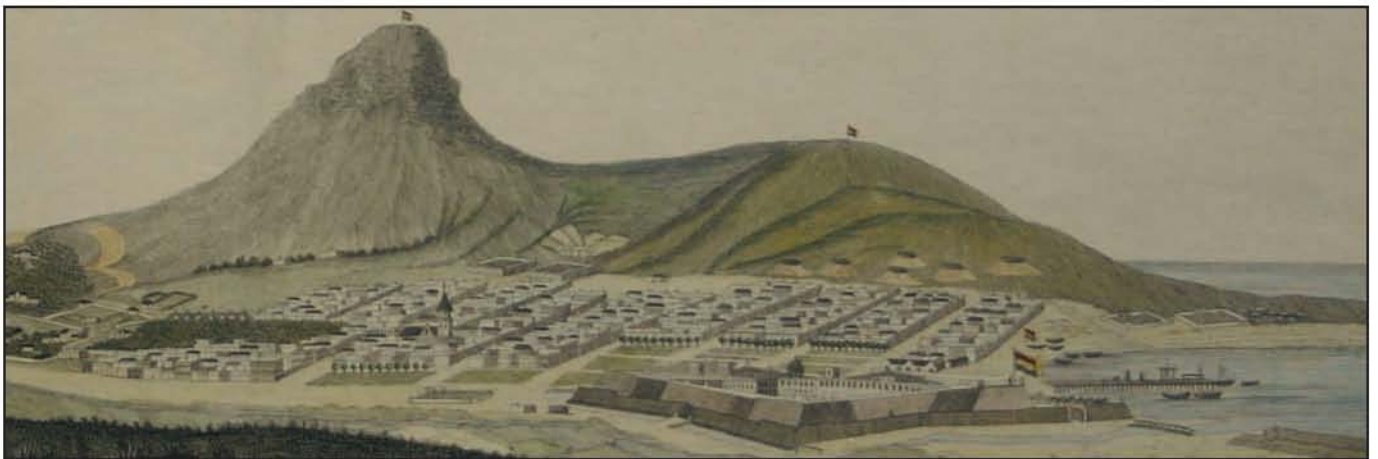
39 | Fort Reservoir Plan. c1683



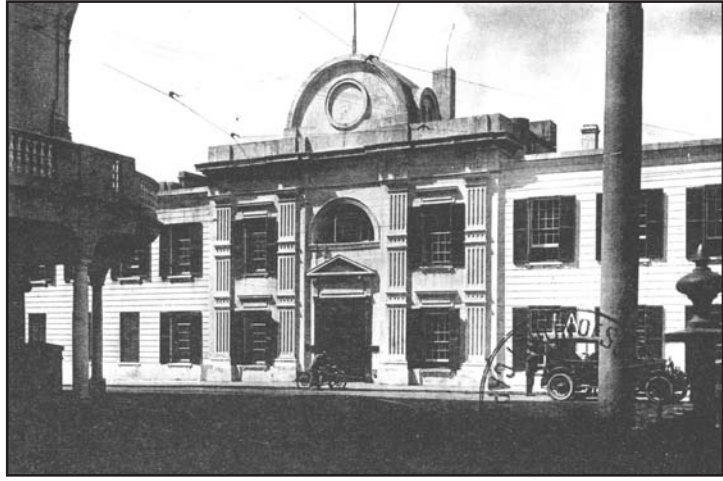
40 | Amsterdam Battery



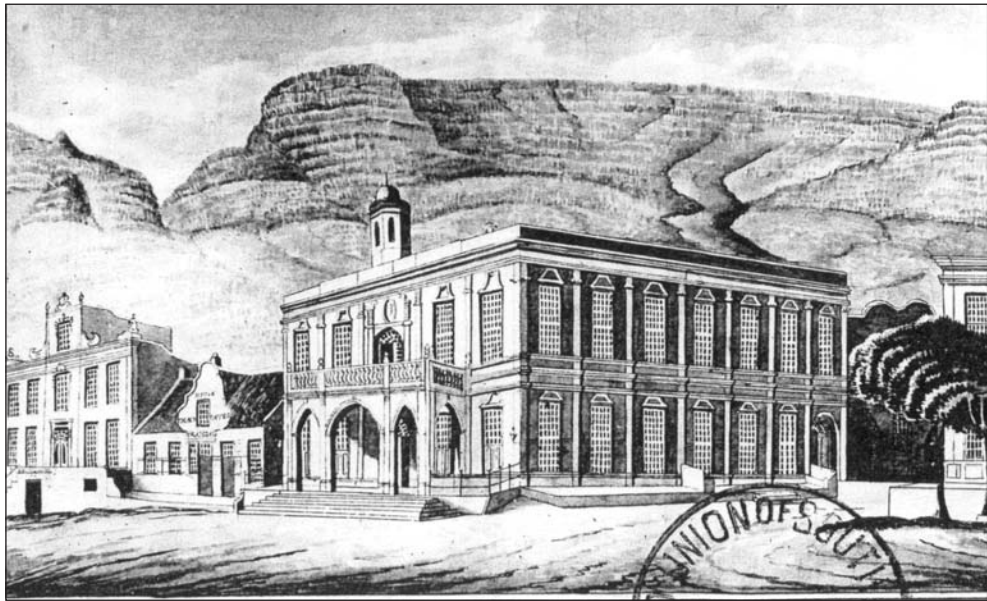
41 | 'Vue de Cap Le Bon-esperance. de l'Oeust'. 2007



42 | Detail from 'Vue de Cap Le Bon-esperance. de l'Est.'



43 | Old Supreme Court, now Cultural History Museum, converted from old Slave Lodge



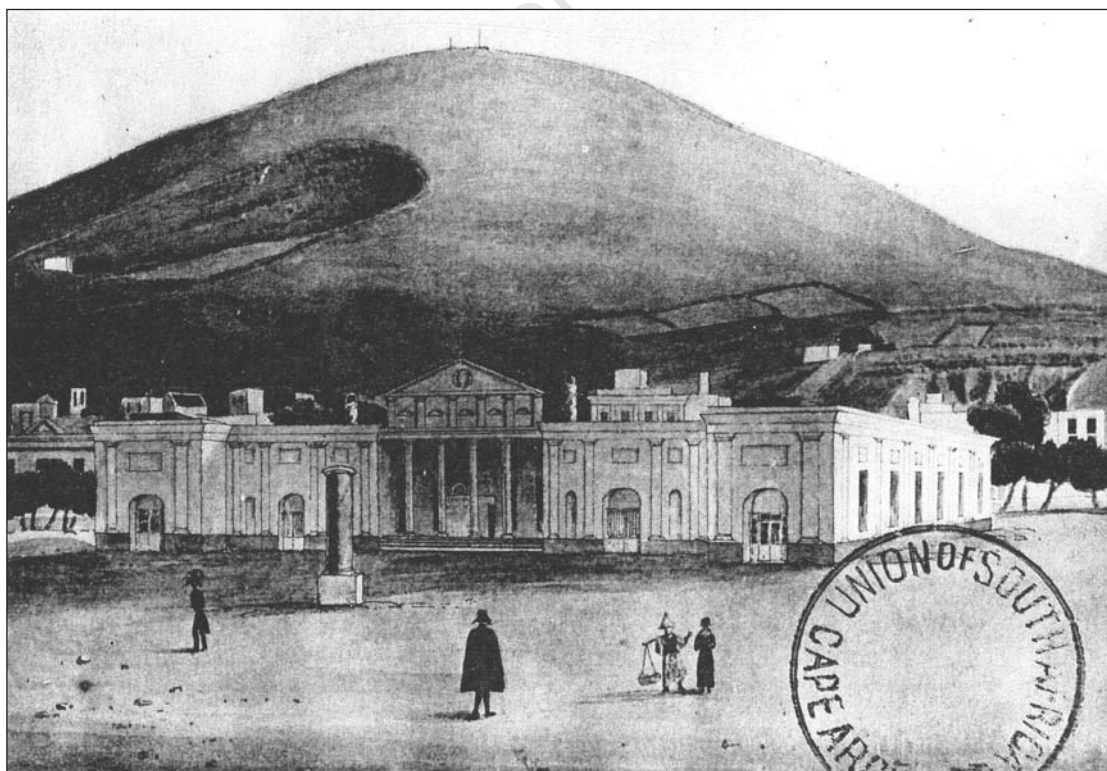
44 | Old Town House, Green Market Square, Cape Town



45 | Dutch Reform Church, Cape Town



46 | Panoramic view of Cape Town, details from 1808, by Josephus Jones



47 | Commercial Exchange Building



48 | View of Rogge Bay fish market Cape Town



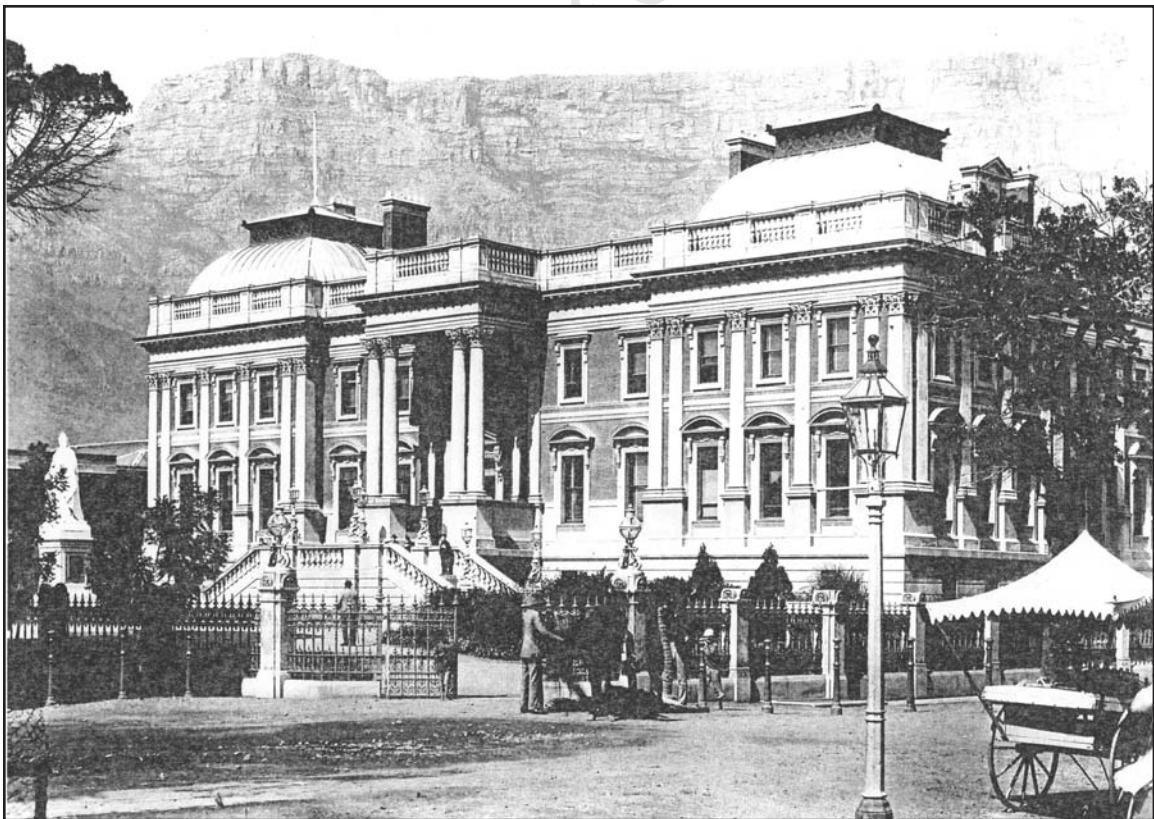
49 | Prince Alfred inaugurating Table Bay Breakwater, 1860



50 | Cape Town showing City Hall and Parade



51 | City Hall, Darling Street, Cape Town



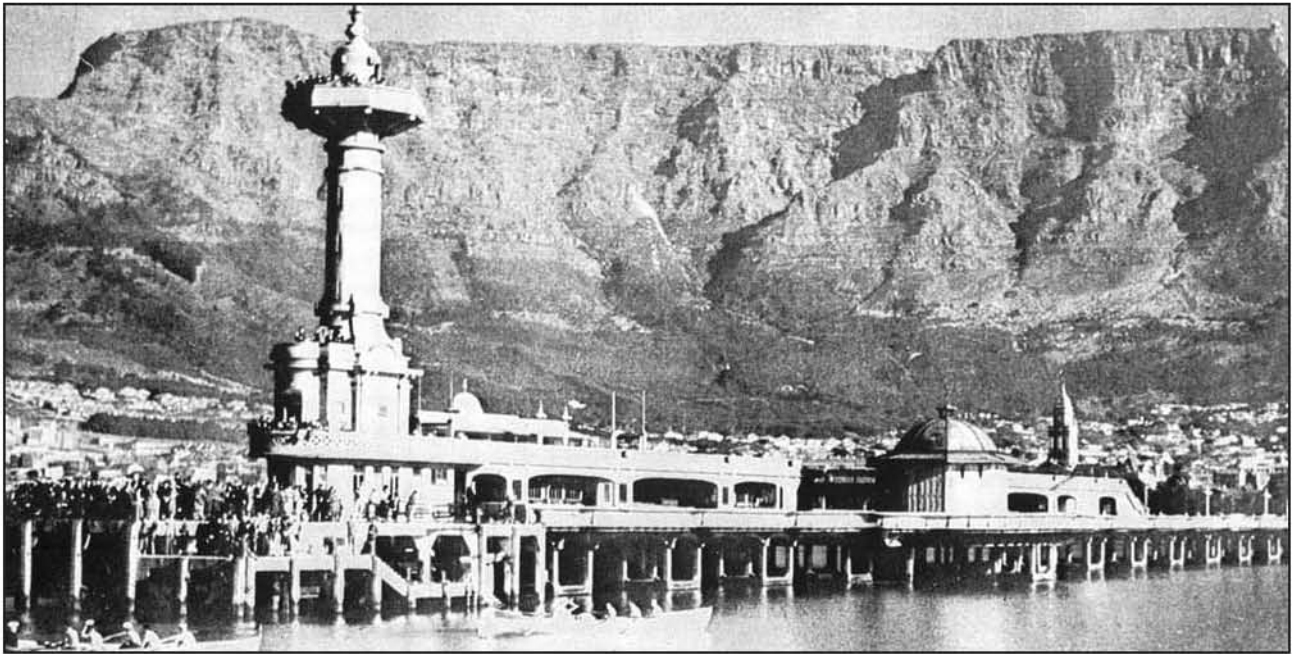
52 | Houses of Parliament, Cape Town



53 | Standard Bank



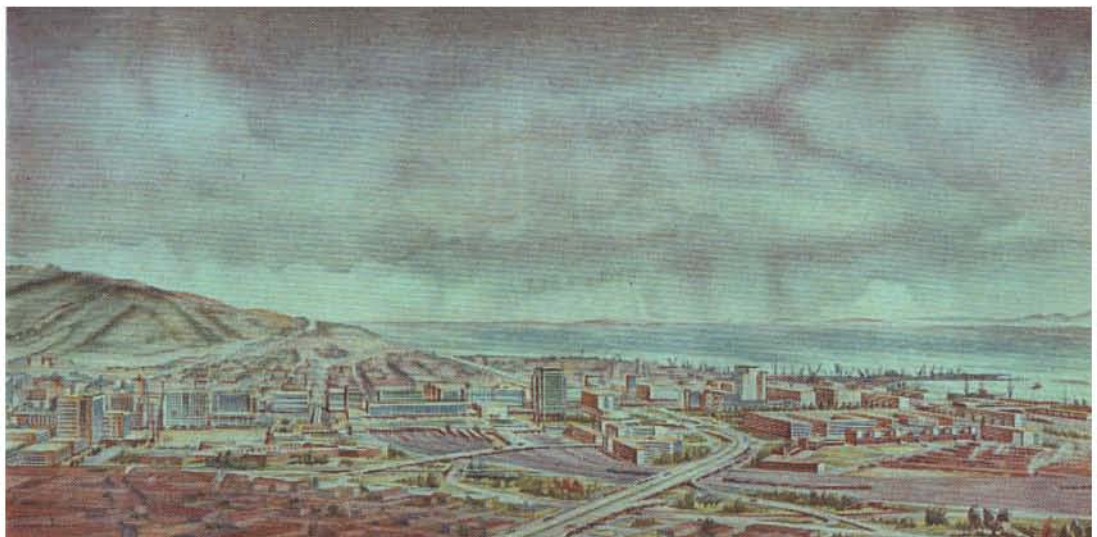
54 | Railway Station



55 | above The Municipal Pier and Promenade, and below left, its demolition



56 | Reclaimed Land. Foreshore, Cape Town



57 | The magnificent painting of the Cape Town of the future



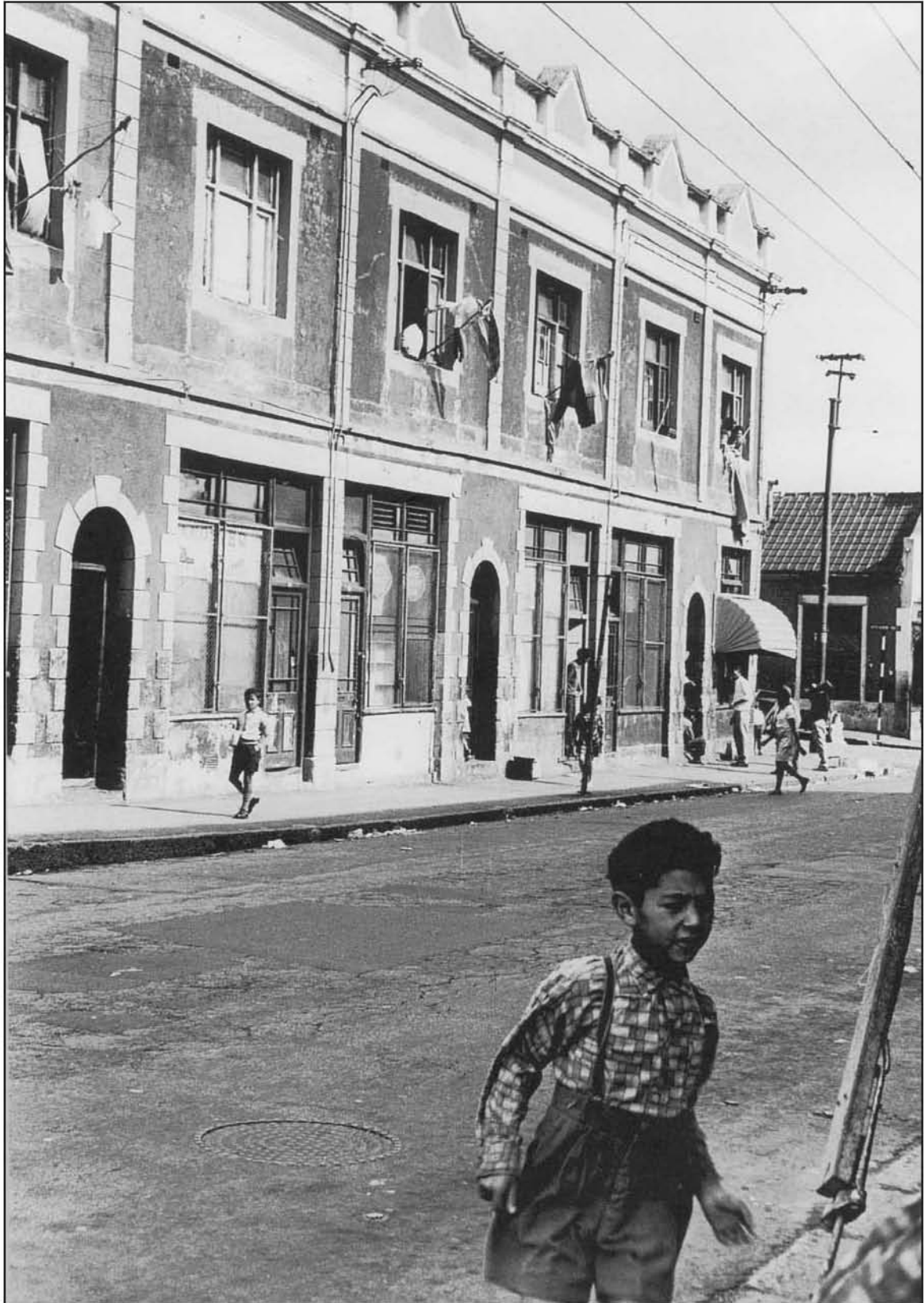
58 | The Heerengracht, 1963



59 | Civic Centre, 1970s



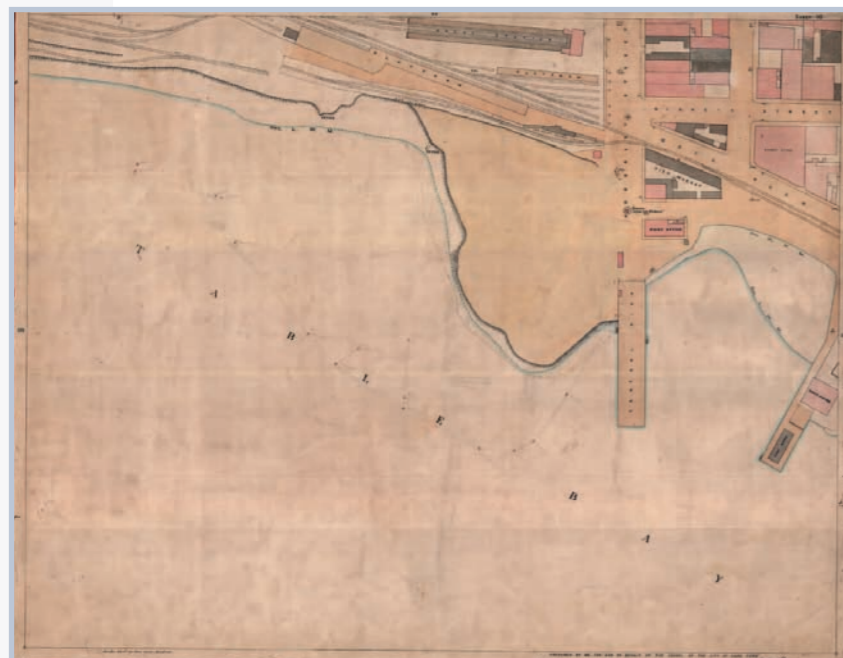
60 | Rope skipping in upper Ashley Street



61 | Community street life in District 6

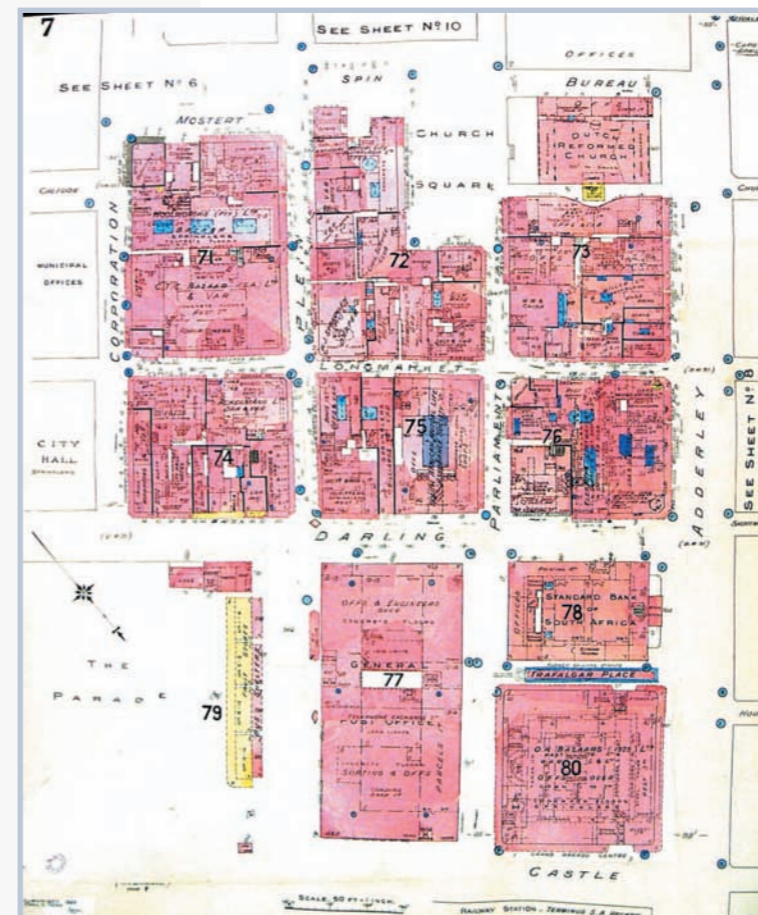
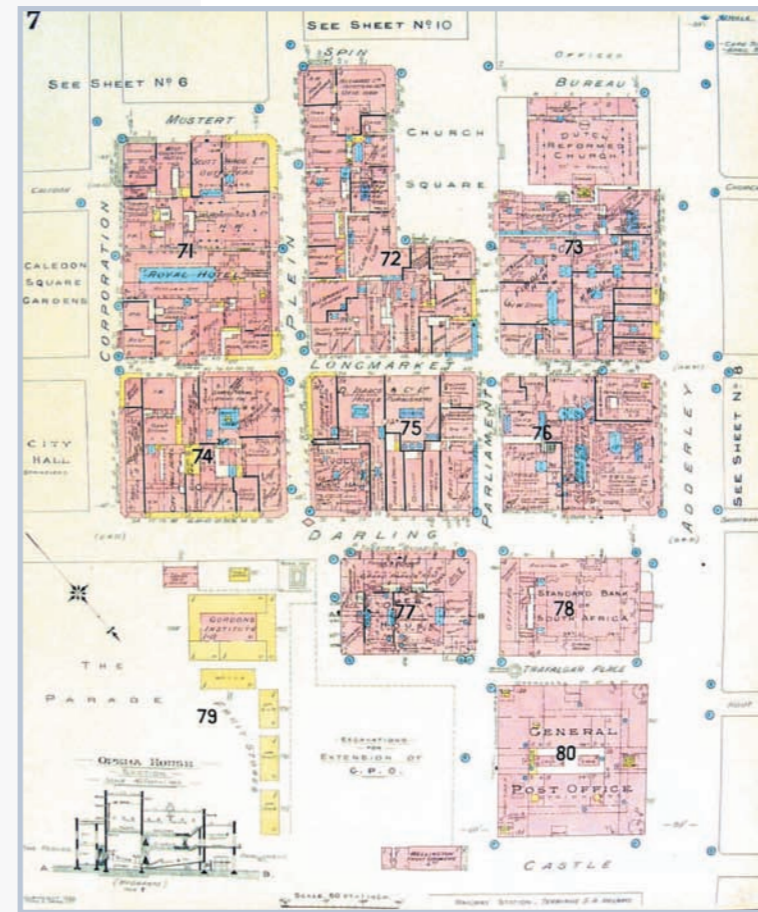


62 | Before and after demolition



33| 34| 1898, Walter Thom survey map. Part portion 99.

This map shows how by this time the Commercial Exchange had been demolished and replaced by the new General Post Office, and the new Standard Bank. The Opera House is also shown behind the bank building. The harbour board office is indicated and the railway lines have increased. The tram lines, town hall and volunteer drill hall complete the definition of boundary around the Parade ground. The extension of the central pier, the fish market and the statue of van Riebeeck are all indicated.

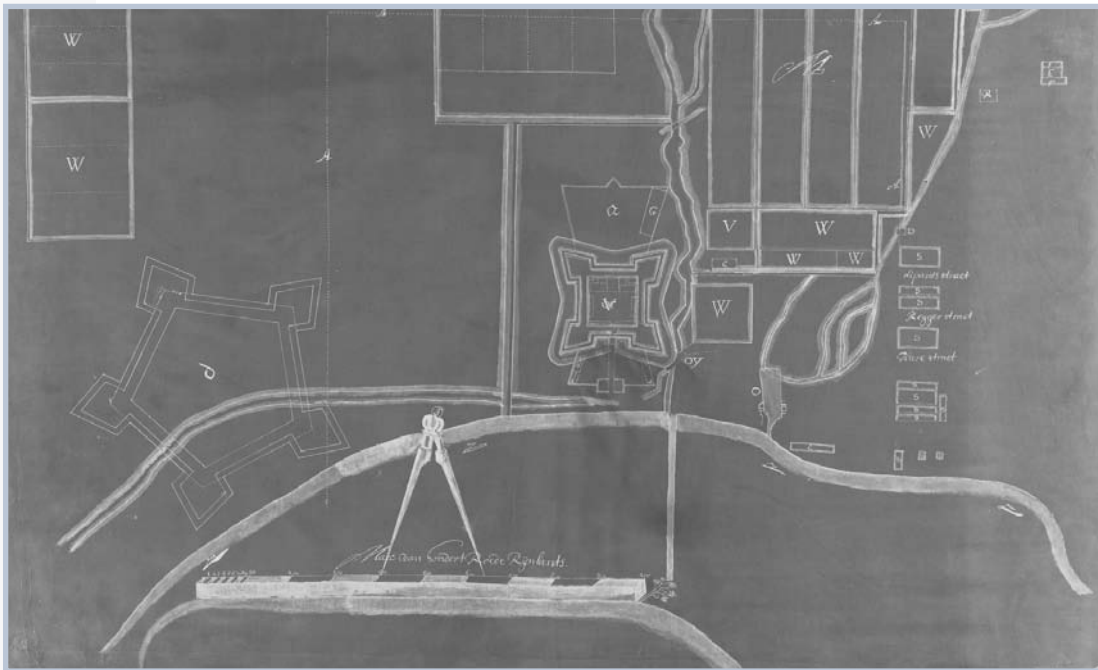


35| 36| Goad Plans. Cape Town 1925 and 1956. pg. 7. The Grand Parade.

These are the detailed maps that relate to the location maps described in 28 and 29. Being maps for fire insurance, all salt water and fresh water points in the city are marked. The 1925 map shows a Boer War monument at the bottom of Parliament street. The Gordons Institute and a rest room occupy the space at the bottom of Plein Street on the Parade ground. Fruit stores and the premises of Wellington Fruit Growers are shown. Trafalgar Place is also indicated, being a narrow thoroughfare between the post office building and the General Post Office. The 1956 map shows the new OK Bazaars building on the corner of Strand and Adderley Street on the site of the old railway station. The General Post Office has been extended and bus shelters, fruit stores, lavatories and rest rooms have been built on the Parade ground; thus reducing the size of the open space.

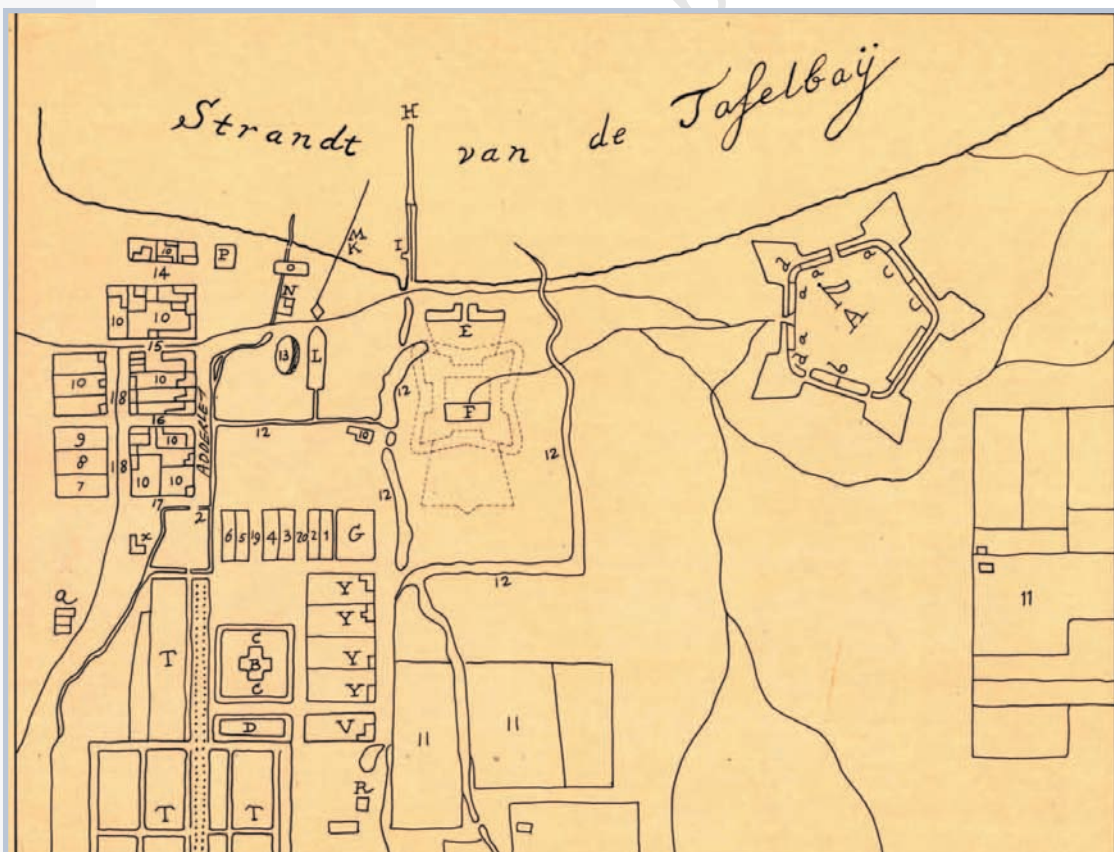
University of Cape Town

Prime Site



31| 1665 UNKNOWN TITLE

The map represents the Castle and the old Fort as dominant. A portion of the VOC garden is shown; however, the scale of the two buildings and garden indicate concern with the coastline and control of this area of land. This could have been a planning map for the new Castle that was only built in 1674. The first houses are indicated, showing the practice of people living outside the fort. The water reservoir that was built in 1663 is drawn. This is one of the earliest maps indicating street names. (Olipants straat, Reyger straat, Heere straat)



32|1693 Map of Strandt, Tafelbaai, 1693

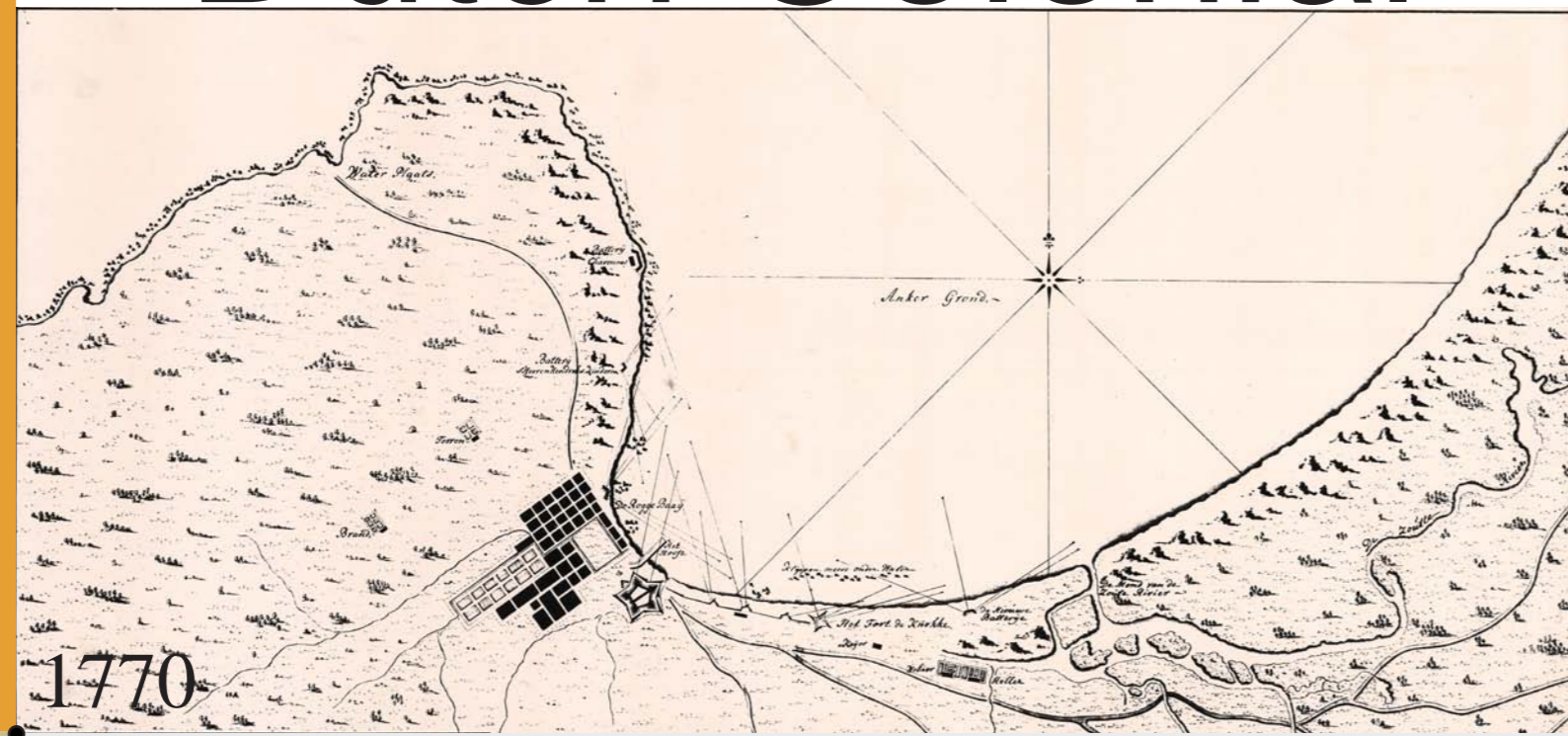
This map shows private property, the church and the Castle. The relationship of the old Fort in the context of the new Castle is also shown in this map. The development of houses around the church and near the beach is represented. This map indicates the way buildings fit into landscape, that is, between rivers, representing a connection with the landscape through the necessity for drinking water both for the settlement and to supply passing ships and for irrigation.

Origins



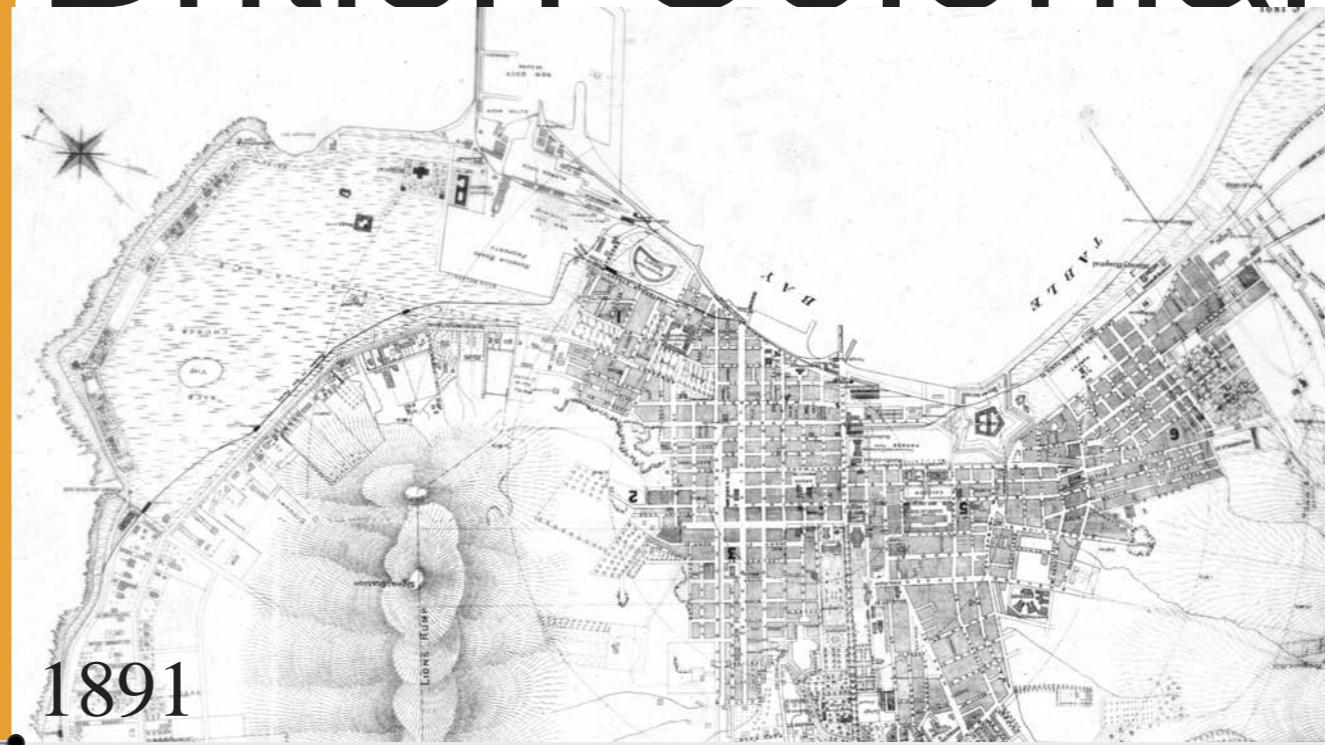
Occupation of Land
Shift one
Trade
Agriculture

Dutch Colonial



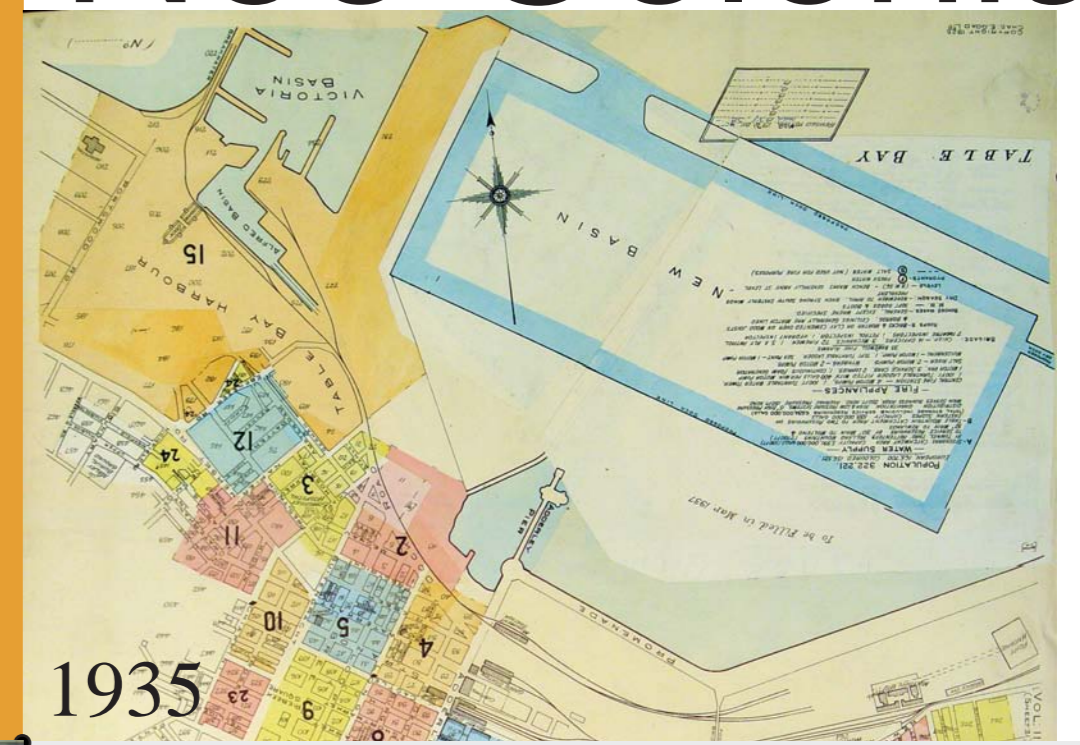
Wage Labour
Shift Two
Commerce

British Colonial



Boer War
Shift Three
Land Act

Neo Colonial



MAPS

PRACTICES

BUILT ENVIRONMENT

CHARACTERISTICS

SOCIAL

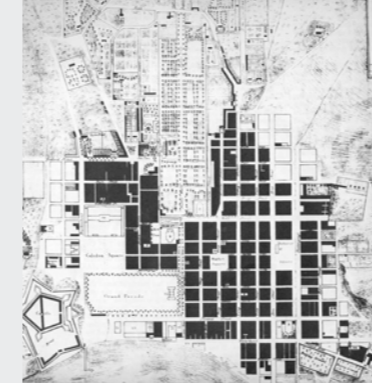
PASTORAL



SLAVERY

VOC LAWS

RELIGION

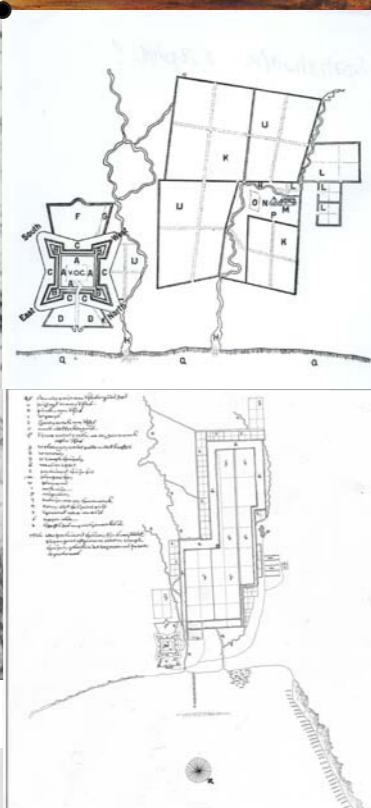


MERCHANT TRADE
PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT

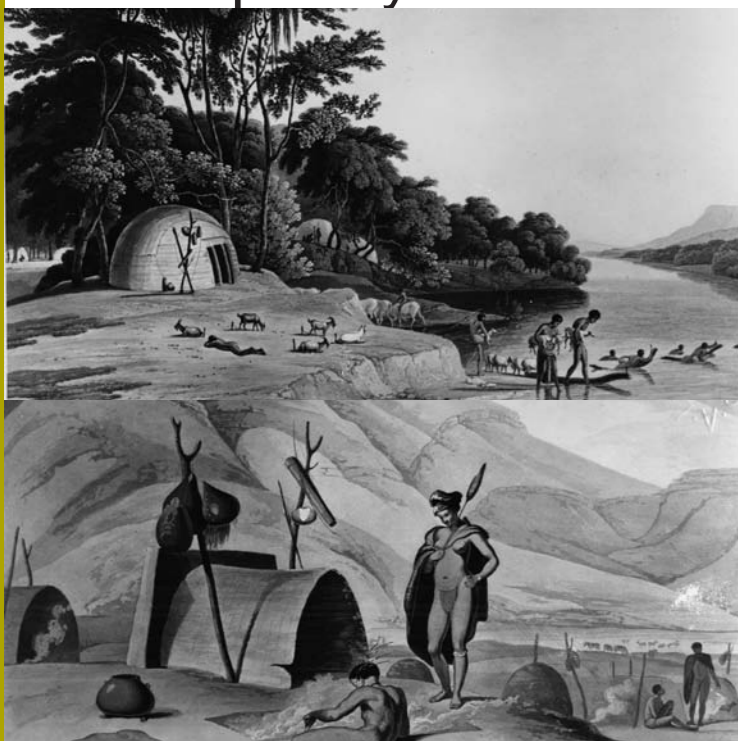
FORESHORE DEVELOPMENT
GROUP AREAS ACT



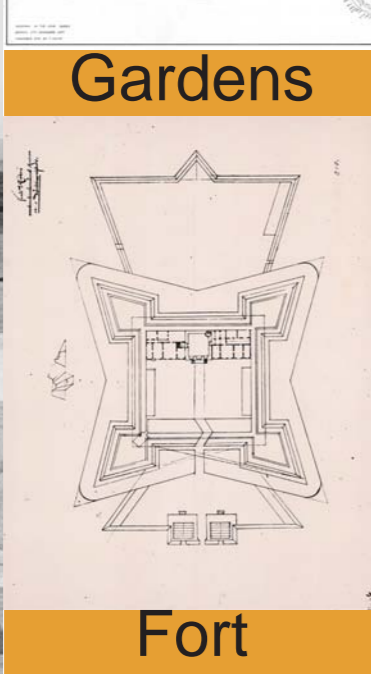
Temporary Shelter



Gardens



Khoisan Dwellings



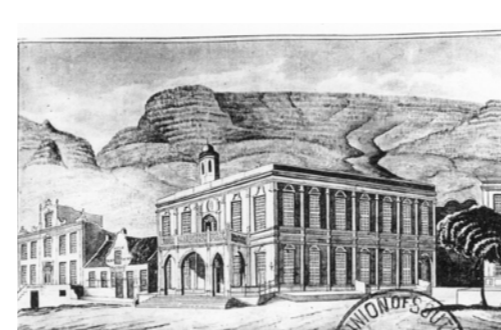
Fort



Old Slave Lodge
(as renovated by British for their Bureau)



Grootte Kerk



Town House



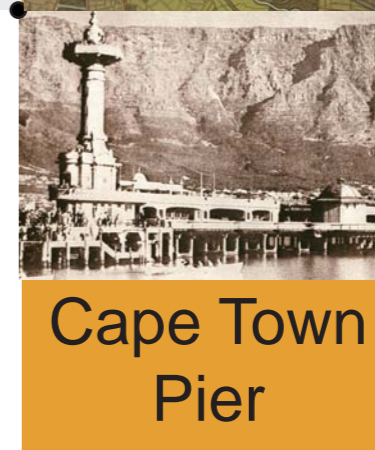
African Theatre



Church Square



Standard Bank



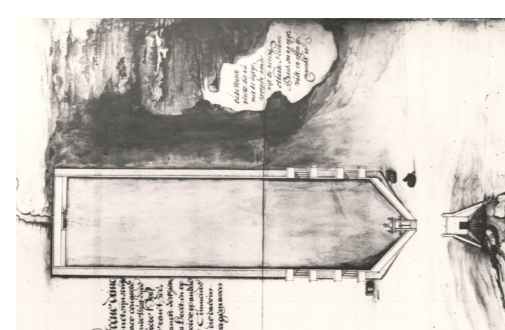
Cape Town Pier



BP Centre



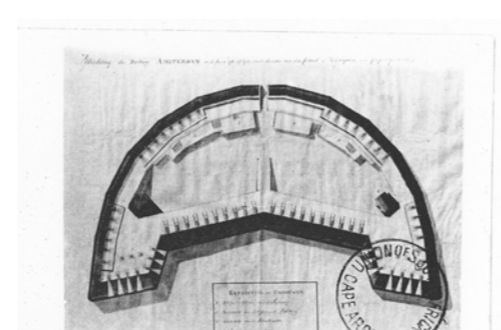
Civic Centre



Water Reservoir



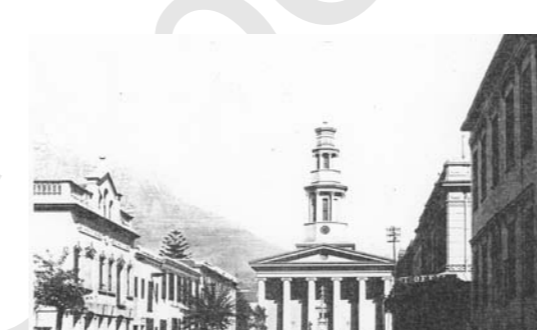
Stone Castle



Amsterdam Battery



Commercial Exchange



St Georges Cathedral



House of Parliament



Greenpoint Prisoner of War Camp



Golden Acre



Woolworths



Governor's House



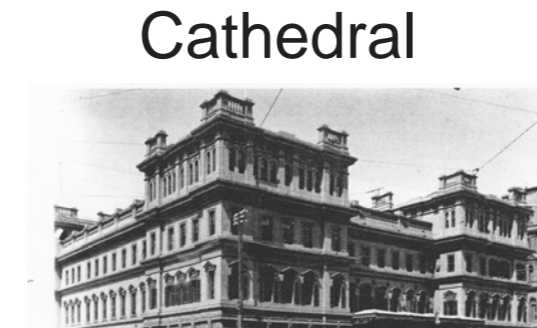
Greenmarket Square



Castle



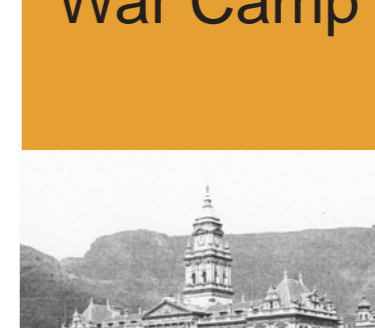
Military



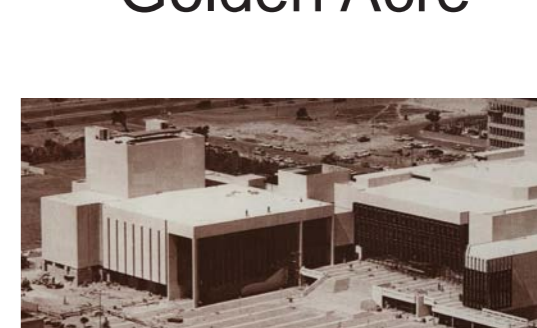
Railway Station



Library



City Hall



Nico Malan Theatre



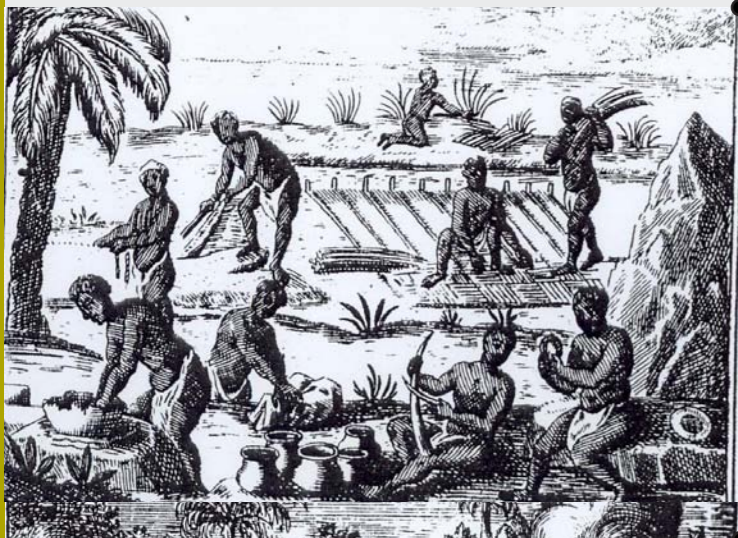
District Six

NOMADIC

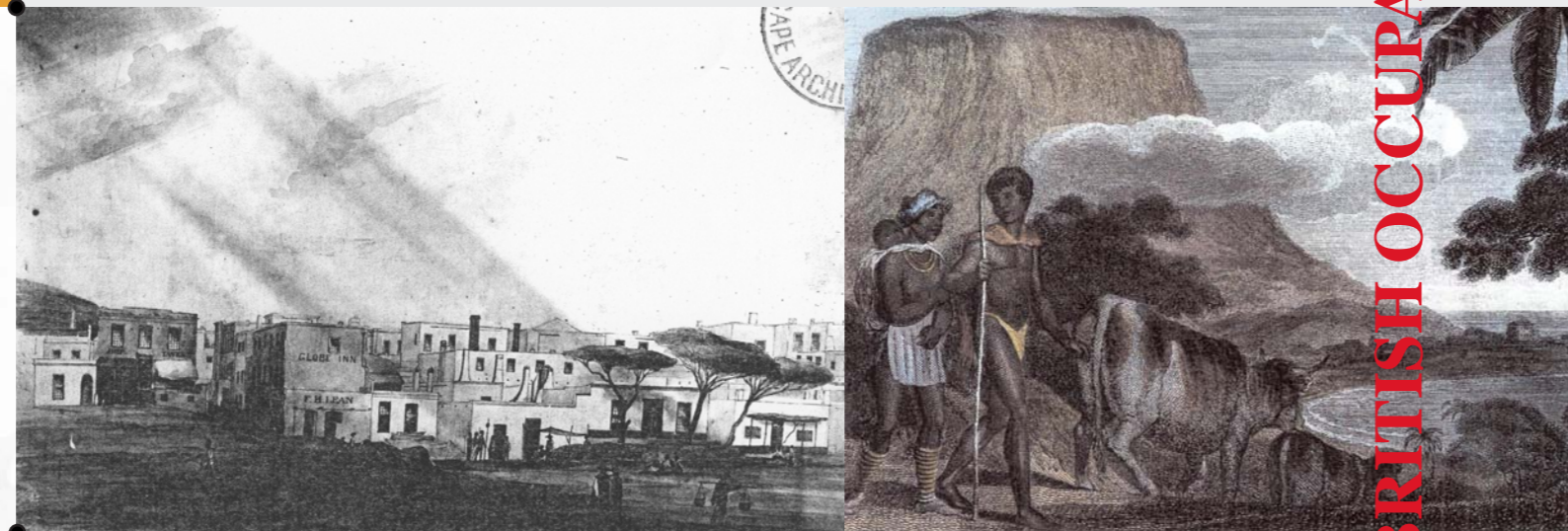
DEFENCE

SEGREGATION

ALIENATION



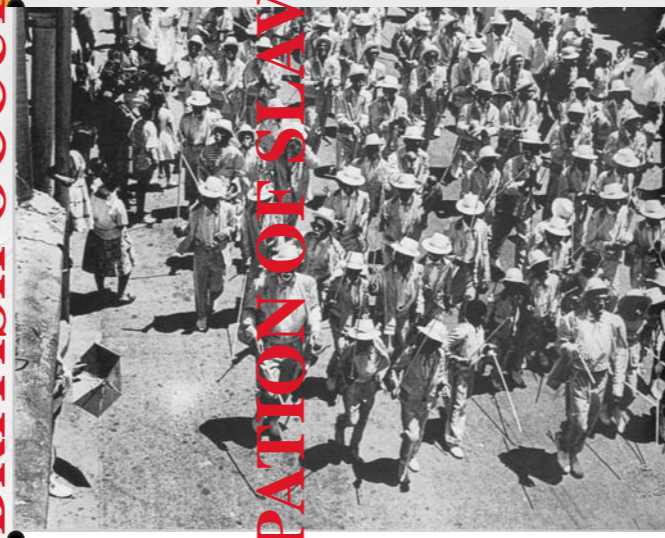
1652 DUTCH OCCUPATION



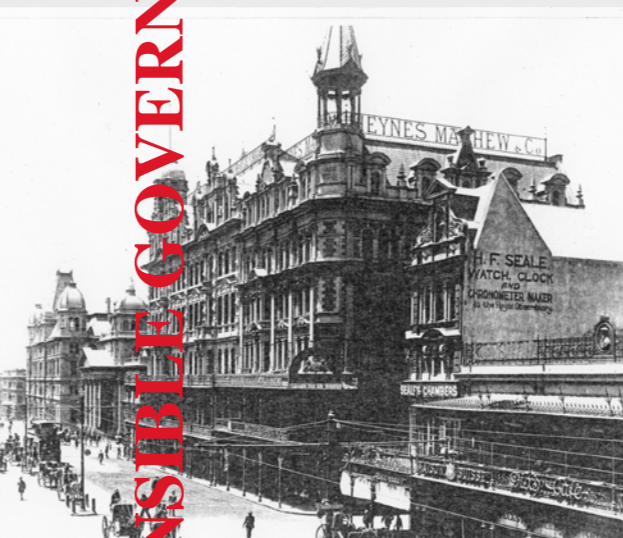
1795 FIRST BRITISH OCCUPATION



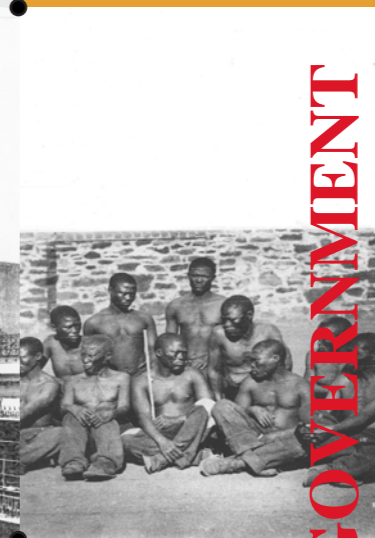
1806 SECOND BRITISH OCCUPATION



1838 EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES



1872 RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT



1910 UNION GOVERNMENT



District Six

1948 APARTHEID

1994 Democracy

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1700

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1800

NINETEENTH CENTURY

1900

TWENTIETH CENTURY

2000