

STATE  
OF  
REPAIR

ARCHITECTURES  
FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC  
PUBLIC

LIAM  
HARVEY



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**[fig1]**  
Image of the West facing facade of the Houses  
of Parliament building, as seen from Government  
Avenue within The Company's Gardens, Cape Town.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

DISSERTATION TITLE: **State of Repair: Architectures for a Democratic Public**  
STUDENT NAME: **Liam Harvey**  
SUPERVISOR NAME: **Alta Steenkamp**

This dissertation is presented as part fulfilment of the degree of Master of Architecture  
(Professional) in the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics, University of Cape Town

Date: **2023/10/26**

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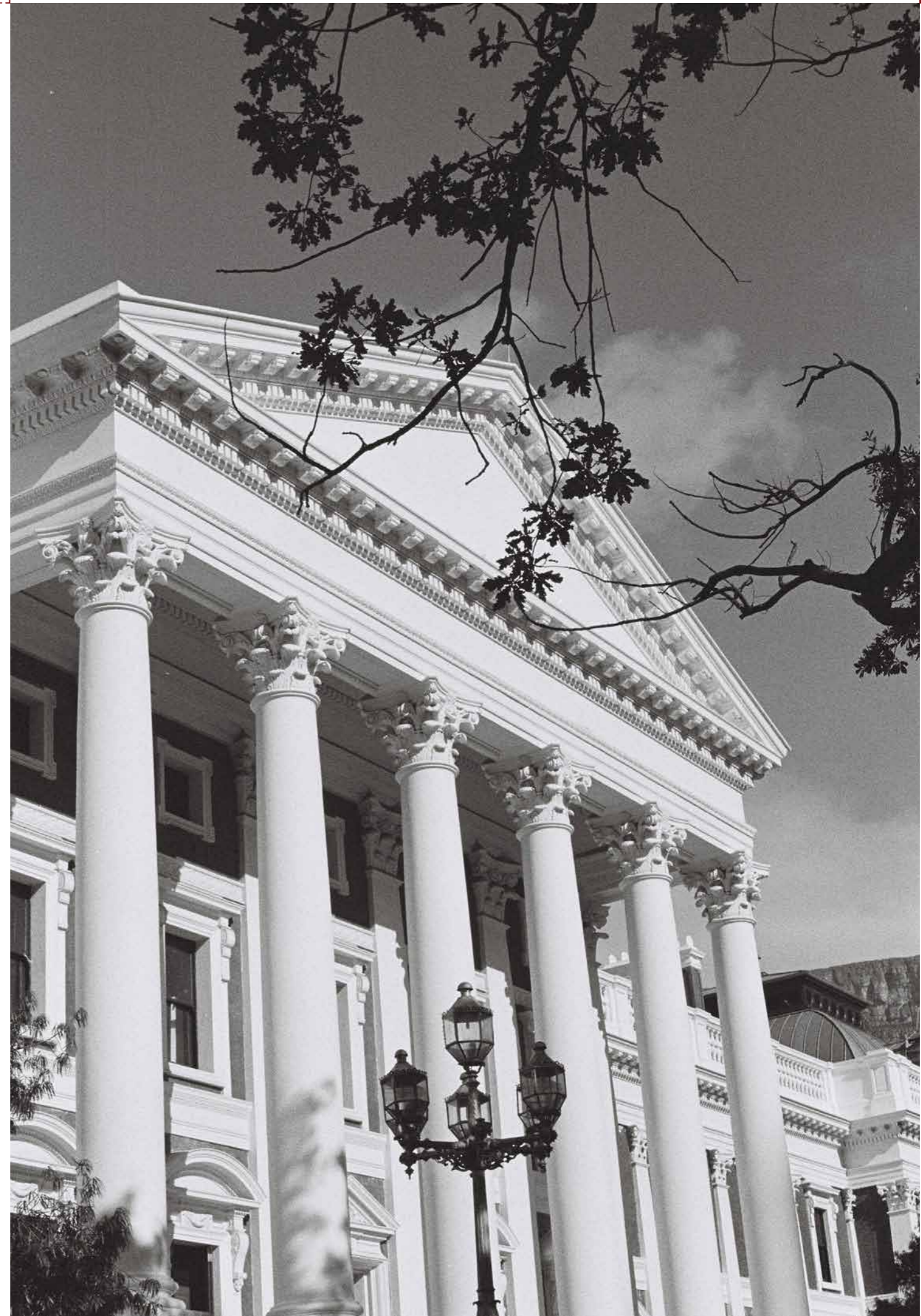
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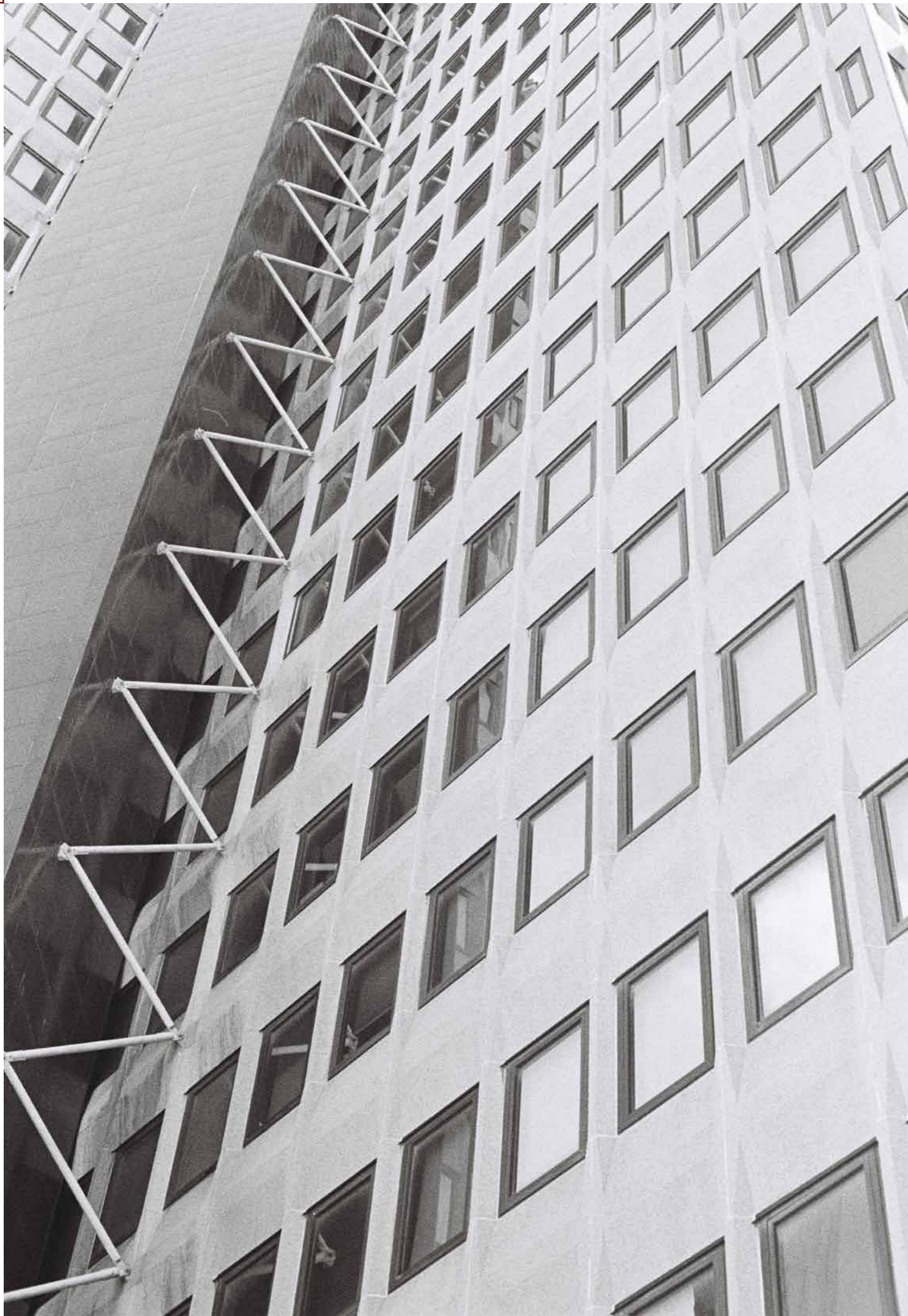
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*For Marya,  
Whom without, I would not be whole.*



[fig2]

Image of the retrofitted staircase of the Parliament Offices building - formerly known as Hendrik Verwoerd Building - as seen from Lelie Street. [Source: Author, 2023]

Power has a multiplicity of manifestations, some overt while others covert. Perhaps it is most visible to the public in the form of architecture. The buildings, precincts, and capitols within which the “powers that be” envelope and exert their authority. These architectures become not only the locus of power exertion, but the symbols by which power and structures of governance are recognized. These structures and symbols present themselves as a part of contemporary society, yet more often than not, they fundamentally exclude the society they claim to stand for and represent. This exclusion is administered by both the physical arrangement and iconography associated with architectures of governance.

In the South African context, this contradiction is evinced in the securitisation and separation of colonial state architectures which have been reclaimed as architectures of democracy through socio-political revolution. These structures have been stripped of their function as centres of autocratic governance embodied by white supremacy and transformed into the buildings within which a functioning representative democracy is administered. Although the powers of coloniality and apartheid have been dismantled and destroyed, the symbolism of these divisive regimes has yet to be stripped from our architectures of democracy. This symbolism persists due to the architectural elements of which these buildings are constructed but equally through the fundamentally exclusive nature of the arrangement and spatiality of these buildings.

South African society has gone through a complex and hard-fought revolution. It is high time that the spaces and places that represent the leadership of this society - which many fought and died for - come to reflect that revolution, and the South African people as a whole. The architectures of our democracy need not be enclaves of privatised power but rather open and engaging public spaces. Spaces which forthrightly allow the constituents of our democracy a direct connection to the form and administration of our nation.

Architecture, as a visual communicator of power, therefore, carries weight for democratic representation of democratic ideals. Thus, this paper investigates how South African architectures of democracy can undergo a *state of repair* to become truly public and indisputably democratic. As such, the following manifesto is drafted;

[fig3]  
The reality the icon hides - photographic collage.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



I AM FIRMLY OF THE BELIEF THAT ACCESS TO AND THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC SPACE IS FUNDAMENTAL TO A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRACY.

NOWHERE SHOULD THAT BE MORE EVIDENT THAN IN AND AROUND THOSE ARCHITECTURES WHICH HOUSE THE STRUCTURES OF OUR DEMOCRACY.

ARCHITECTURES WHICH MUST BE RADICALLY TRANSFORMED TO REPRESENT THE SOCIETY FOR WHOM THEY STAND.

**[fig4]**  
The National Assembly building, as seen through  
the fence bounding Plein Street.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

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PART 1

THEORY 3

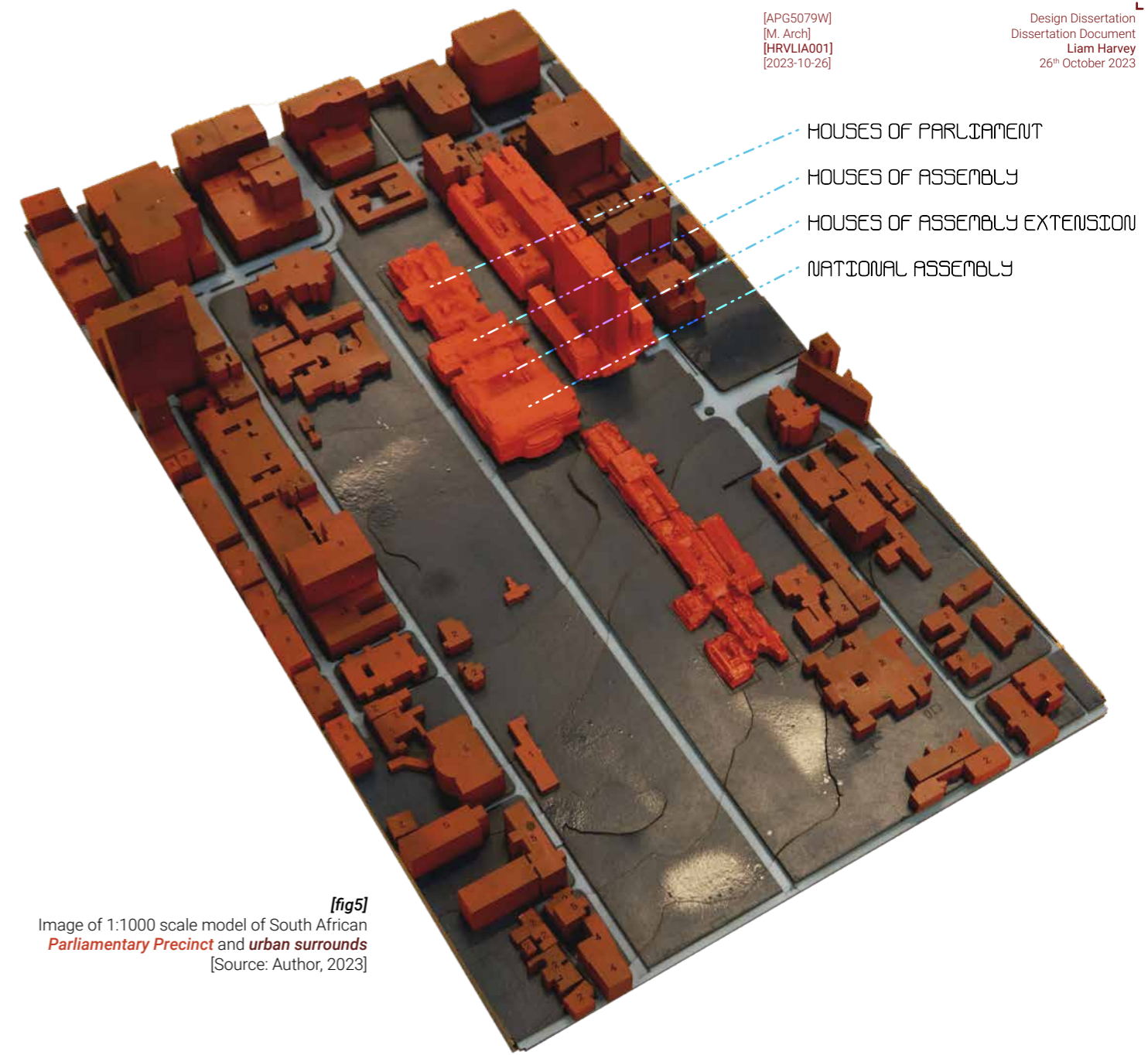
TECHNOLOGY

CONTEXTUALISATION

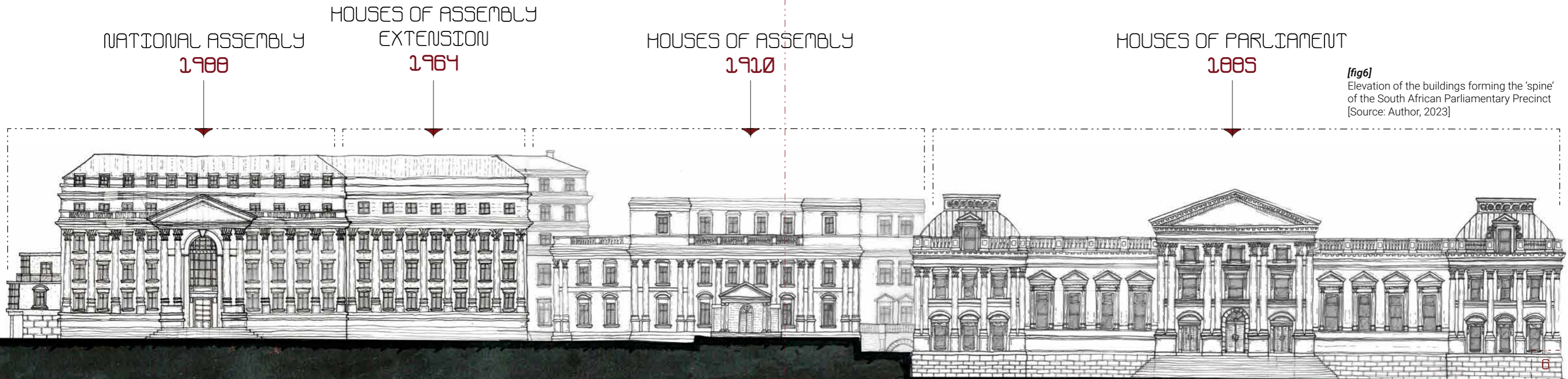
Conceptually, the South African Parliamentary Precinct in Cape Town can be seen to be in a state of disrepair, both metaphorically and physically. Metaphorically, this precinct and its many functioning parliamentary buildings have not been mended to strip them of their direct reference to empire, colonisation, and apartheid. Physically, substantial portions of the National Assembly building and the Houses of Assembly remain disused due to fire damage sustained in 2021 - which has since necessitated extensive repair.

This precinct consists of a wide array of government buildings which provide primary and secondary functions to parliamentary processes. This collection of buildings owes its origins to Tuynhuys - formerly known as Government House - which was constructed by The Dutch East India Company in 1682. Throughout South Africa's history, various forms of governance and parliamentary arrangements have been housed in buildings across the complex. At present, the South African Parliament resides primarily in the Houses of Parliament, the Houses of Assembly and the National Assembly Buildings. These buildings form the "spine" of the precinct which reveals in great detail the history of government and power in South Africa. This "parliamentary spine" can be seen as an allegory of the intimate relationship between architecture and power extant in South African history.

As delineated by [fig6&7] the year of commission and architectural style of these buildings allow one to understand the direct influence that the powers of oppression have had on South African architectures of democracy. This qualitative and quantitative data reflects the reality that the time and form in which these architectures were made reveals the deeply prejudicial history of governance in South Africa. In specific reference to the aforementioned parliamentary spine, governance has been shaped by and represented through the buildings within which it took place. Respectively, this precinct is the culmination of architectural commissions by; British colonial powers, The Union of South Africa governed by both British and Afrikaner Nationalist powers, and lastly by the architects of apartheid; The National Party. For the majority of its history, these buildings have been host to the perpetrators of racial and spatial injustice predicated by white supremacy. These institutions politically and physically have left an everlasting mark on the shape and development of contemporary, democratic South Africa. Thus, these precepts bring into question the syntactical fitness of this parliamentary precinct as a foundational architecture of democracy in post-apartheid South Africa.

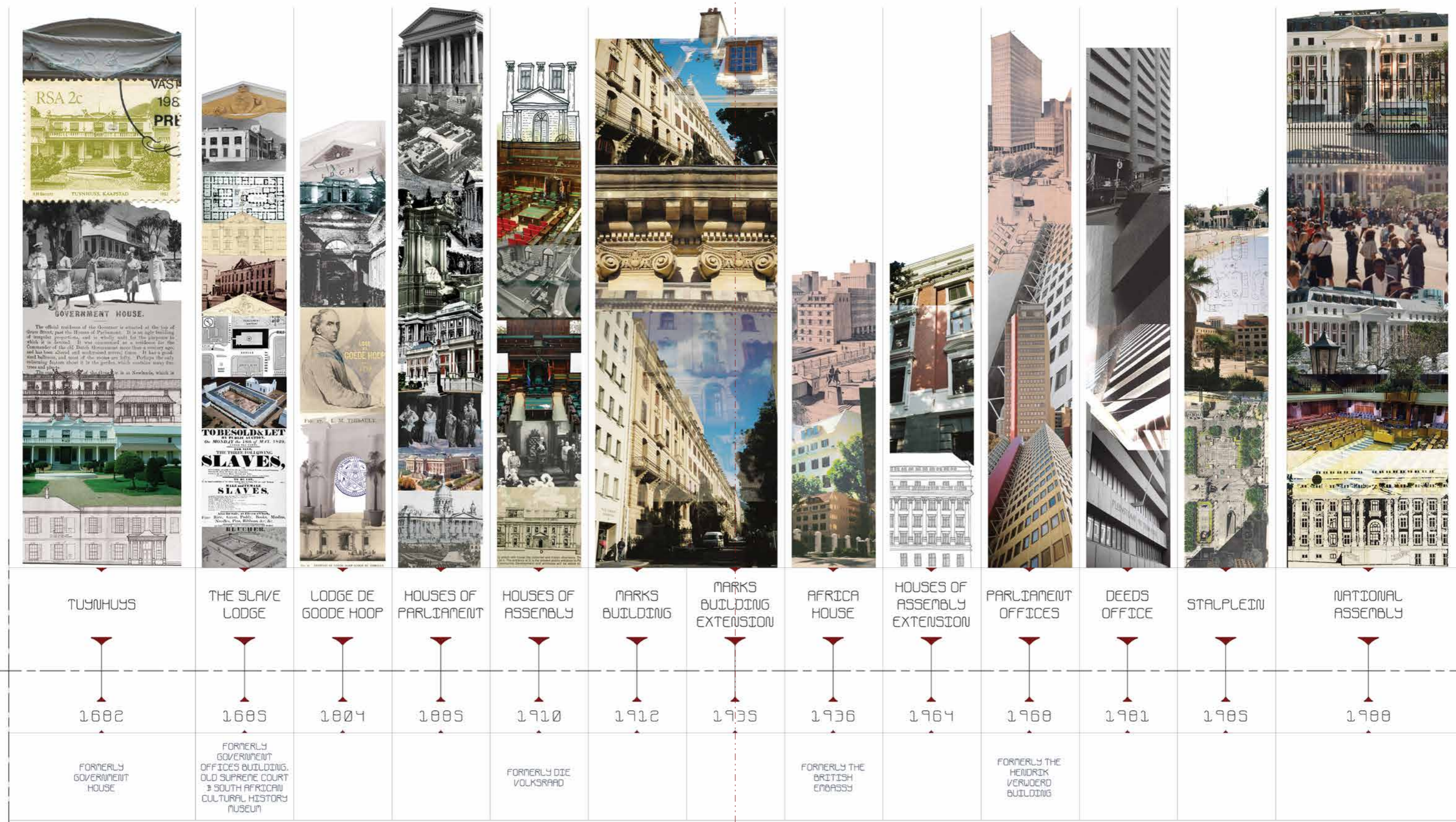


[fig5]  
Image of 1:1000 scale model of South African  
*Parliamentary Precinct* and *urban surrounds*  
[Source: Author, 2023]



[fig6]  
Elevation of the buildings forming the 'spine'  
of the South African Parliamentary Precinct  
[Source: Author, 2023]

[fig7]  
 Collaged timeline of the architectures of the South  
 African Parliamentary Precinct, Cape Town  
 [Source: Author, 2023]





**[fig8]**

Louis Botha, the first prime minister of the Union of South Africa. A man who fought vehemently to deny the political rights of Black South Africans to cast votes in elections or serve as members of Parliament - now emboldened in bronze and seated proudly in front of our parliament. A travesty of parliamentary representation.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

As structures devoted to providing space for political debate and bureaucratic process, the cosmology of these buildings and the spaces they bound centre the relationship between parliamentary architecture and parliamentarians themselves. Do the architectural configurations that the Dutch, British and Afrikaner Nationalist powers developed in this parliamentary precinct - to uphold minority authority - have spatial relevance in South Africa's new representative democracy?

As a place where decisions of national impact are made, the wider body politic must be considered in reference to the built. Decisions made pre-democracy by the minority and contemporarily by those democratically elected fundamentally lack the presence of those whom decisions are made on behalf of - the public. Public engagement and petition is a pivotal piece of the South African parliamentary system, however, it is often overlooked and criminalised in its less formal format - protest. The South African Parliamentary Precinct, or more accurately the gates surrounding and streets bounding it, have functioned as deeply important sites of protest for South Africans. The complexity of these sites of interaction, or a lack thereof, garner questions such as how can these buildings be adequately reconfigured to allow better informal and formal public engagement with happenings that are deeply consequential to the livelihoods of the members of the South African public? How can a sense of democratic accessibility be achieved throughout South Africa's architectures of democracy without compromising the safety and security of governance?

Forms of governance, spatial divisions, and public freedoms, have all evolved throughout South Africa's recent history. Much of its architecture has had to begin to learn to adapt. The structures inherited from previous regimes have not diverted from a sense of stratification between the public and public servants, towards a more inclusive model that reflects the current democratic ideals. How can these institutions achieve a sense of architectural adaptability to utilise the physical assets extant but evolve with the ever-changing society it abuts?

[fig9]

Newspaper clipping and photographic collage of the January 2021 Parliament fire. [Source: Author, 2023]

Further to the representational and spatial disrepair in which these buildings lie - the fire that broke out within the bounds of the South African Parliamentary Precinct on the second of January 2021 has brought untold destruction to spaces fundamental to the functioning of our democracy.

This fire which 'gutted parts of our parliamentary complex' is steeped in controversy due to the ongoing investigation into its causes - which laid waste to the National Assembly and Houses of Assembly buildings (Daily Dispatch, 2022). An investigation which has been labelled by the defence of the accused as an act of 'scapegoating' and state-sanctioned cover-up (Adv. Godla, 2022 as cited in Cruywagen, 2022) whilst prosecutors maintain that this fire was a result of domestic 'terrorism' and politically motivated arson (Al Jazeera, 2022). Nevertheless, the net result of this atrocity - be it the product of violence or negligence - is a parliament and a 'symbol of democracy' which is in a state of clear and extensive physical disrepair (Daily Dispatch, 2022). A state from which our parliament must be reclaimed.

This odious circumstance is not to be seen as the primary catalyst for this research and the resultant architectural design, but instead a physical manifestation of a conceptual and representational circumstance that has been alive and well since the first foundations of this precinct were laid in 1682. Our parliament has been in need of repair long before it caught ablaze. However, what this spectacle has brought about is public awareness of the necessity to repair the South African Parliamentary Precinct. A repair which must not simply replace that which was lost but must develop something new. This repair must manifest in an architecture which does not replicate the pervasive iconographies of state power and political dominion but must represent an open, free, and thriving society. An architecture which is fundamentally for and of the people that it stands to serve.

# Symbol of democracy up in smoke

Arson suspect in court today after flare-up causes further damage to National Assembly building

The fire that gutted parts of our parliamentary complex in Cape Town — some of which dates back to 1884 — has raised several red flags. There have been other serious security breaches in the parliamentary precinct in recent times, with the reported theft of copper pipes and taps, break-ins at various offices and another fire just ten months ago. That one broke out in a committee venue in the Old Assembly wing. Unlike this one, it was quickly detected and contained.

This time the fire was massive, with initial reports suggesting extensive damage to the Old Assembly and newer National Assembly building. To date, there has been little information forthcoming on the building's valuable libraries which house irreplaceable artifacts and documents chronicling the activities of our parliament going back decades.

But a few things have already emerged which should be of enormous concern.

It seems the fire had already taken hold before it was reported. The fire alarms reportedly only went on once the fire department was already on scene. If there are smoke detectors or sprinkler systems throughout the affected areas, it seems they did not kick in.

Parliamentary security appears to have been absent or inattentive. The unions say there have been huge cuts in parliamentary protection services.

It is quite clear from the shabby appearance both inside and outside the beautiful parliamentary complex that general maintenance has long been an issue. The buildings are dirty and neglected and, as this fire demonstrated, potentially dangerous.

Chas been described by the official opposition as a state from which our parliament must be reclaimed.

Public works minister Patricia de Lille will have to answer many questions in the coming week. She reported the fire happened on the second of January, the day after the last report following the last concerns over occupational safety in the parliament.

Parliament is due to open in just over a month. The secretary to parliament, Baby Tyawa, was appointed as acting secretary to parliament after Mgidlana's suspension.

Someone in this chain of responsibility reported that this vast multimillion-rand digitisation project had been satisfactorily completed and this claim was confirmed in various official reports and transmitted to the joint committee.

GroundUp has found no trace of the digitisation effort or the problems recounted in the RRS reports in any documentation sent to the joint committee by parliament officials between 2016 and 2018.

Serrit van Dyk of i-Kno and Smarter Image, said that i-Kno rescanned most of the items that were noted to be of poor quality and the items were presented on hard drives to parliament for further review. He said the scanned images were large due to the quality that parliament required.

Parliament did not have sufficient space on its servers for the images at the time and all the images were located on hard drives supplied by i-Kno.

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Public Works and Infrastructure Minister Patricia De Lille said a preliminary report on the fire would be released on Friday.

"We've brought in a fire expert who will determine exactly where the fire started together with a fire forensic team; their work has also started today. We have been informed by the professional team that we can expect a preliminary report by Friday morning about their preliminary findings," De Lille said.

The cost of repairs would be evaluated by a professional team of engineers who were also focusing on the time-frame of repairs, she said.

ANC parliament chief whip Penny Majodina said: "The upkeep of our deteriorating Parliament is increasing on a daily basis. The facilities are very

old, the building is very old and it needs major renovations."

"Calling for the move of Parliament to Pretoria — that call has been there but the city of Parliament is based on the constitution, so we have to change the constitution first. I think it is important to mention that."

DA chief whip Ntshambi Mazzone who was also on the scene said: "I am very emotional. Parliament has been my home for 12 years, we spend more time here than in our own homes."

The Hawks said the 49-year-old man who was arrested would appear in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court today.

He has been charged with housebreaking, theft and arson, and also charged under the National Key Point Act.

Hawks spokesperson Nomathazo Mhambano said: "The suspect allegedly caught with suspected stolen property after he gained entry to parliamentary precinct in Cape Town unauthorised."

"He was spotted by members of the Protection and Security Service (PSS) when they noticed the building was on fire. The matter was referred to the Hawks' Crimes Against the State (CATS) team for further investigation. The move for his actions is a serious investigation."

The cause of the fire was unknown and the building was not to be handed over to the forensic investigators. However, due to flare-up, this will be delayed.



R E A D I C A L

R E C O N S T R U C T I O N

[fig10]

Image of the granite statue of Queen Victoria which has exhibited the power of empire and colonialism in front of the South African Houses of Parliament since 1890.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

When considering South Africa's social and political revolution through the struggle against apartheid, Lebbeus Wood's conception of war and radical reconstruction offers a useful framework through which to analyse the surviving architectures of oppression in South African cities.

Woods states that 'wherever landscapes are rapidly transformed by [...] new ideologies, there is war' (Woods, 1997:25). South African cities, in their social and political forms have rapidly transformed since the end of apartheid. What has not seen this rapid and progressive transformation is the city in its physical form. Infrastructures, urban centres, rural peripheries, public spaces, and buildings have remained largely unchanged. To this point, Woods denotes that 'what is most important in war is not victory, but survival' (Woods, 1997;25). With this in mind, one could argue that this battle to rid South African society of the fascist ideologies and architectures of empire and oppression, has yet to achieve its full potential. Great progress has been made in the realms of social compositions and political structures but has yet to be extended - to the same degree - to the physical forms of the city. This delay is hypothetically linked to the priority placed on societal and political transformation above physical alterations given the nature of the conflict but also the related logistics of city transformation. For one, the economic and logistic constraints, innate in the transformation of existing city-scale infrastructures and human-scale buildings, are enormous. These constraints were made far worse by the substantial debt incurred by the National Party during apartheid - estimated at '£28 billion' - in its effort to avert sanctions and 'wage [military] war[s]' throughout the southern African region<sup>1</sup> (Action for Southern Africa; The World Development Movement, 1998). This lack of architectural progress and symbolic shifts in spatial dynamics, is not a direct critique of the imperative and successful revolution of South African society but instead serves as context for the contemporary cityscape. However, a war has been waged - of which democracy has been triumphant - but the architectures of autocracy still survive.

<sup>1</sup> This debt, a result of loans taken from 'private banks' by the National Party in the 1980s to 'finance the military and police and otherwise repress the African majority' is a debt that was considered by many - including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) - to be 'odious' and therefore should have been 'written off' (Kremer & Jayachandran, 2003;32). However the African National Congress (ANC) - the post-apartheid revolutionary government - decided to take on this debt to curb 'fear[s] that defaulting would hurt its chances of attracting foreign investment' (Kremer & Jayachandran, 2003;32). This circumstance not only sheds light on the direct economic impact that oppression has had on the efforts of the revolutionary government to transform our society but the strength that empire and colonialism - through modern global capitalist economics - still hold over nations which have successfully revolted against powers of oppression within their national borders.





[fig11]

Image taken through the gates of Tuynhuys along Government Avenue within The Company's Gardens depicting a portion of Tuynhuys's Parterre Garden, the National Assembly building, and the Parliament Offices building. Destruction caused by the fire in 2021 is made evident by the exposure of roof trusses of the National Assembly building. [Source: Author, 2023]

To further contextualise this notion of the necessity for revolutionary architectural repair, Hilton Judin in his introduction to *Falling Monuments Reluctant Ruins: The Persistence of the Past in the Architecture of Apartheid*, asks; 'what are we to do with these buildings, remnants and abandoned sites?' (Judin, 2021:1). This circumstance leaves no South African city excluded and is a question that must be applied to the architectures that represent the functioning and form of our democracy. As the pinnacle of the hierarchical society by which our contemporary neo-liberal state<sup>2</sup> is defined, these spaces offer the opportunity to invert that pyramid and develop 'heterarchies' as ways to subvert and mend the open wounds of the wars waged on South African society by colonialism and apartheid (Woods, 1997:14). Equally, this subversion offers the opportunity to develop new spatialities and forms of citizenship. These places of governance which have a direct lineage and connection to empire, colonialism, and apartheid could instead become sites of 'inspiration, or offer solace of battles won and adversity overcome' (Judin, 2021:1).

Woods's delineation of the diametric relationship between 'reconstruction' and 'radical reconstruction' offers a valuable framework and nomenclature to apply to the South African context (Woods; 1997). However, it requires an important caveat. This caveat lies in the difference in context from which Woods speaks. Woods primarily analyses cities which have experienced extensive physical destruction or damage due to 'war', whereas the South African context does not exhibit the same level of physical destruction as a result of its revolutionary war<sup>3</sup>. Woods encapsulates this difference simply by asking; 'when [cities] are rebuilt, on what form of knowledge will it be, and to what - and whose - ends?' (Woods; 1997; 15).

<sup>2</sup> Conflating the economic policies of contemporary South Africa with the spatialities of governance may seem to be a reductive idea, yet the analogy is used to bring to the fore the deep disconnection between the 'neoliberal policies' developed by our revolutionary government and the 'vast problems created by inequality and poverty' - as a result of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid (Schneider, 2003). Equally, this analogy brings into play the economic theories which oppose neoliberalism in the development of a new society - 'a redistributive society' - which aligns with Woods's tenants of radical reconstruction and the idea of 'free-zones' that look to the redistribution of architectures and space in ways that engage with the processes which caused destruction and create new spatial opportunities despite that destruction (Schneider, 2003) (Woods, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> This paper acknowledges that the struggle against apartheid did have physical manifestations, both in the struggle to dismantle apartheid and to uphold it. Equally, acknowledgment of the importance of destruction in the aid of revolution and the struggle against apartheid is necessary. The physical manifestations of destruction in aid of revolution came primarily through the efforts of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) - the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) - that functioned to carry out 'bombings of military, industrial, civilian and infrastructural sites' in order to destabilise the apartheid government (O'Malley Archives, n.d.). A notable example of this was the 1982 bombing of Koeberg Power Station which was 'designed to hit at the heart of white South Africa and its security apparatus' (van Wyk, 2015). Although there are extensive examples of smaller-scale acts of defiance and acts of oppression through physical destruction, these acts did not reach the extent of destruction that Woods alludes to in his contextualisation of cities that have undergone destruction due to 'war' and thus requires the caveat (Woods, 1997).

[fig12]

Image of the currently hollowed-out National Assembly building - due to fire - with Stalplein, the name given to the securitised square surrounding its front entrance.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

Woods continues to describe [non-radical] reconstruction as a practice defined by two principles; restoration and erasure. Woods frames restoration as the idea that the 'phoenix can rise from its own ashes' - which posits a return to a status quo after destruction without a departure from the circumstances that brought about destruction (Woods; 1997; 15). This tenant allows the reconstruction itself to reclaim the past by suggesting that the architectures that were destroyed should be returned and therefore did not necessitate destruction in the first place. Secondly, erasure; is a process which destroys the opportunity to refer to the memory of 'tragedy and loss' and therefore lays claim to the future by refusing to engage with the reasons for which destruction took place (Woods; 1997; 15). These methods look not only to return directly that which has been destroyed but to create a circumstance in which the truth and memory of the processes which brought about destruction, are relinquished. Herein lies again the important caveat from the South African context. That which has been destroyed has little 'physical' manifestation in reference to South African architectures of governance. The political regimes and forced social structures of colonialism and apartheid were dismantled, but not their architectures. This social and political revolution has been somewhat successful when viewed through the lens of radical reconstruction – as South Africa has constructed a new progressively-evolving society and provides extensive space for the memory and tragedy of the struggle. Despite this, historic architectures remain undestroyed nor reconstructed. This illuminates the stagnation that the physical realm of our society has experienced. Thus, South Africa's society has been radically reconstructed<sup>4</sup> in principle, while our cities have not. This lack of spatial or physical revolution or even the "clean slate" presented by Woods in the context of a destructive war, does not exist in the same form in South African cities that exist in the war-torn cities that Woods analyses.

<sup>4</sup> Although the revolutionary acts in the struggle - and triumph - against apartheid have transformed South African society, the acknowledgment that our society is still extensively without equality and equality is important. This is made evident by the deeply segregated nature of our cities as well as the statistical fact that 'South Africa is the most unequal country in the world, with race playing a determining factor in a society where 10 per cent of the population owns more than 80 per cent of the wealth' (International Center for Transitional Justice, 2022). With that 10 per cent being white people - the demographic group whose benefit was the direct mission of colonialism and apartheid.





[fig13]

Call to action poster produced by the Tripartite Alliance - a coalition of the African National Congress (ANC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) - to resist the operation of a racist parliament during transition negotiations in 1992.

[Source: RIM-UWC Mayibuye Archive Collection, 1992]

This framing offers a valuable contribution to the discourse around the architectures of oppression extant in South African society. Woods separates the ideas of 'reconstruction' and 'radical reconstruction' in part by illuminating the inappropriateness of a return to an architectural object's 'undamaged condition' (Woods, 1997;13). This is valuable as South African architectures of democracy - viewed through a revolutionary lens - can be argued to have always been in a state of disrepair. There has never been a point in which - pre-revolution - that these structures were not tools of oppression. Therefore; to suggest the return to - or the utilisation of - any pre-existing architectures is to suggest the use of a tool of oppression, even if only aesthetically. This thinking eludes to the idea that new forms of governance, politics and societies cannot be truly administered within the architectures that enacted oppression in the first place. These architectures must evolve - continuously so - with the progressive ideas and policies which are the result of the revolutionary government that inhabits them. It is antithetical to this framework to suggest that the politics of change and social progression can be administered from an architecture of an historically oppressive regime. However, to critique this logic - one can argue that revolution occurred independently of the architecture in which it is housed, which is objectively true - as seen in the case of contemporary South African governance functioning in architectures of oppression proves that this is possible. However, this paradox provides an opportunity for the development of new spatialities.

This change in governance has established legitimacy despite the existing architectural systems developed by oppressive powers however, these very same structures have thwarted that revolution's ability to develop new forms of and spaces of governance. These architectures hold our society back from crafting and forming new ways of engagement with the issues of our nation. They confine South African problems to governmental spatialities crafted by Western ideologies of oppression.

These spatialities have prevented the development of a - as Woods frames - non-hierarchical or heterarchical spaces. Spaces which exist within 'an order without symbols' (1997:14). Woods defines these spaces as those that exist without ties to symbol, and therefore order, which create the opportunity for freedoms to be experienced (1997:14). In South Africa this refers to the rights of all citizens to publicly and fruitfully experience space whilst avoiding the symbolism and embodiment of our governance to be reduced to a 'one-layered tableaux<sup>5</sup> embodying the monologic<sup>6</sup>, monomaniac<sup>7</sup> structure of hierarchy' (Woods, 1997;15). To tie order to symbol is to inhibit the ability to evolve. Spatial orders must be developed without a tie to a specific symbol, icon or spatial program. One cannot create an identity through symbols without excluding other identities. These ties destroy the ability of governments to adapt and evolve with time and recalibrate with the society it represents. This is where Woods's (1997) conception of 'free-zones' and 'free space' becomes valuable as it frames the precepts in which this heterarchy can be crafted, spatially.

Woods (1992) defines 'free-zones' as a 'heterarchy of freespaces; [a] pattern of urban order based on knowledge and performance; [a] system opposing mass culture; [a] subversion of hierarchies'. Concomitantly, Woods (1991) frames 'freespace' - the building block of 'free-zones' - as - 'a construction free of preconceived value, uses or meaning, an element in heterarchy'. These forms of spatiality - at scales ranging from the human to the urban - speak of spaces in which value, meaning, and program are developed through the experience of space itself, as opposed to the hierarchical value applied to spaces which were developed by and perpetrate certain orders. Equally, these forms of space and their formation hold ties to the narrative of spatial production that Henri Lefebvre frames as the 'production of space' (Lefebvre, 1974 as cited in Coleman, 2015). Free spaces look to allow the user - through their participation in the space - to produce that space itself. This is opposed to the user functioning as the product in an ordered space. Ordered space looks to prescribe a certain experience upon a user and therefore results only in an interaction with that space that is deemed satisfactory to the order itself. Herein lies the important contribution to the argument for the development of new spatialities within South African architectures of democracy.

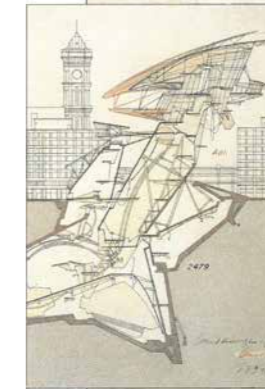
<sup>5</sup> Tableaux is defined by Miriam Webster (2023) as a 'group of models or motionless figures representing a scene from a story or from history' (Oxford Languages, 2023). In this context, Woods uses this term to describe the 'one-layered' nature of the outputs of hierarchy, and their continual recreation throughout history (Woods, 1997;15). Woods uses this paradox to highlight how the multi-layered structure of a hierarchy ultimately only benefits the singular top layer of individuals within that hierarchy, which has been replicated time and time again.

<sup>6</sup> Monologic communication is a form of monologue wherein the individual who is delivering a speech is not impeded or engaged with by the audience who is receiving the speech (Hatcher, 2022). Woods uses this term to highlight the uni-directional nature of communication and power within a hierarchy. Those at the pinnacle of a hierarchy have dominion and power over those below, which removes the agency of those labelled as lower in the hierarchy to engage fully in that communication - or society.

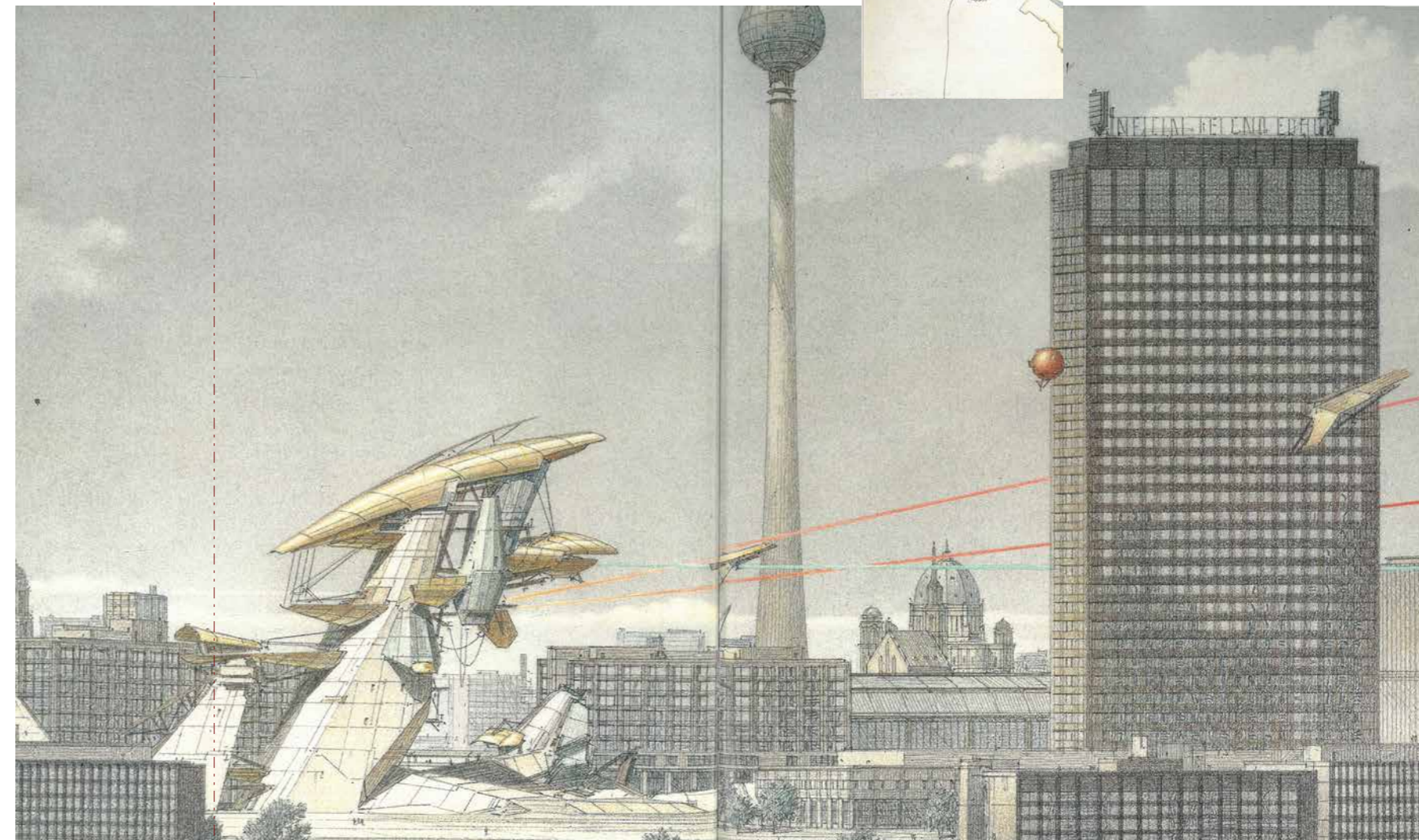
<sup>7</sup> Monomania refers to the 'excessive concentration on a single object or idea' (Merriam-Webster, 2023). In this context, Woods uses this term to comment on the inappropriate attempts to repeatedly establish hierarchies, when their outcomes have always produced the same spatialities and destroyed the opportunity for the development of new and radical spatialities (Woods, 1997).



**[fig14]**  
A collection of drawings describing the spatiality and siting of *Underground Berlin* by Lebbeus Woods, 1992. A speculative project which looked to engage in the 'subversion of an existing authoritarian system of social control accomplished by architectural means' (Woods, 1992; 50)  
[Source: Woods, 1992]



**[fig15]**  
Perspective drawing of *Underground Berlin* by Lebbeus Woods, 1992. A speculative project which looked to engage in the 'subversion of an existing authoritarian system of social control accomplished by architectural means' (Woods, 1992; 50)  
[Source: Woods, 1992]



Governmental spaces which are meant to be in aid of the pursuit of a non-hierarchical society that promotes freedom, equality, and unhindered access to human rights should be spaces which employ spatialities without order. The ordered and regimented nature of the architectures of oppression developed through colonialism and apartheid do not offer this opportunity and instead reinforce ordered spaces which are antithetical to the society our revolution looked to craft. These spaces must be disordered and freed from their production of and representation by oppressive space. Furthermore, Woods's framework suggests that this disordering and freedom cannot be achieved through the aforementioned "clean slate" mentality but must be formed through careful measure and a demonstration of sensitivity to the past which brought about our revolution and the future for which it strives.

As a physical representation of the tenants of radical reconstruction, Günther Domenig's *Documentation Center of the National Socialist Party Rally Grounds* in Nuremberg, Germany comes into the frame. As a primary resource in the case study of this building, Rumiko Handa's (2017) framework of; designation, formal characteristics, physical trace, and momento are synthesised with Wood's (1997) conception of; injection, scab, scar, and new tissue. These criteria are defined in **[glossary1]**.



**[fig16]**  
Unaltered rear facade of the Kongresshalle,  
Nuremberg, Germany.  
[Source: Ison-Stierer, 2010]

**[fig17]**  
Primary entrance into Gunther Domenig's  
radically reconstructed Documentation Centre in  
Nuremberg, Germany  
[Source: Shetty, 2022]



### **[glossary1]**

#### **Designation:**

Handa (2017) defines designation as the process by which buildings that have had a direct role in oppression - or the governance of oppression - are designated as places 'of memory' and are therefore require radical reconstruction (Handa, 2017). This is as opposed to the revitalisation or a reprogramming of the building altogether, in the pursuit of simple reconstruction and therefore achieving; restoration and erasure.

#### **Formal characteristics:**

This criteria of analysis in Handa's (2017) framework emphasises the formal contrast between the existing architecture of oppression, and that which has resulted from the practice of radical reconstruction as a response to destruction. This contrast highlights the necessity of creating self-evident discrepancies between the form of the old and the form of the new (Handa, 2018).

#### **Physical trace:**

Handa (2018) frames physical trace as a method of developing radical reconstruction approaches that express a trace of the physical components of the existing architecture. This criterion revolves around the way in which the new construction interacts with the old. These methods look to avoid erasing the elements of the original architecture which allow the user to engage with histories of oppression whilst still crafting new spatial experiences.

#### **Momento:**

Momento is an artistic or architectural exhibition technique which allows the viewer to recall directly memories or experiences through engagement with spaces. Quasi-momento is a technique which allows individuals to craft a connection to the memories and experiences of others, without having had first-hand experience of the same circumstance.

#### **Injection:**

Woods defines injection as the architectural technique which involves the insertion of architectures 'in spaces voided by destruction' (Woods, 1997;16). This technique looks not to 'fit exactly within the void' but aims to develop 'spaces within spaces' (Woods, 1997;16). An important aspect of this technique is the defiant lack of an 'attempt to reconcile the gaps between what is old and new' (Woods, 1997;16). What is to fill these gaps is 'freespace' - these spaces 'offer a dense matrix of new conditions as an armature for living as fully as possible in the present, for living experimentally' (Woods, 1997;16).

#### **Scab:**

Woods frames the scab as 'the first layer of [radical] reconstruction' (Woods, 1997;16). This is seen as the architectural elements which protect the interior spaces of the damaged or destroyed ruins to offer it shelter 'during its transformation' (Woods, 1997;16). This protection creates an environment for 'freespace' to develop as it allows the voided ruin to become functional in practical terms, thus the spatiality of that space develops through its use and experience - therefore becoming a 'freespace' (Woods, 1992).

#### **Scar:**

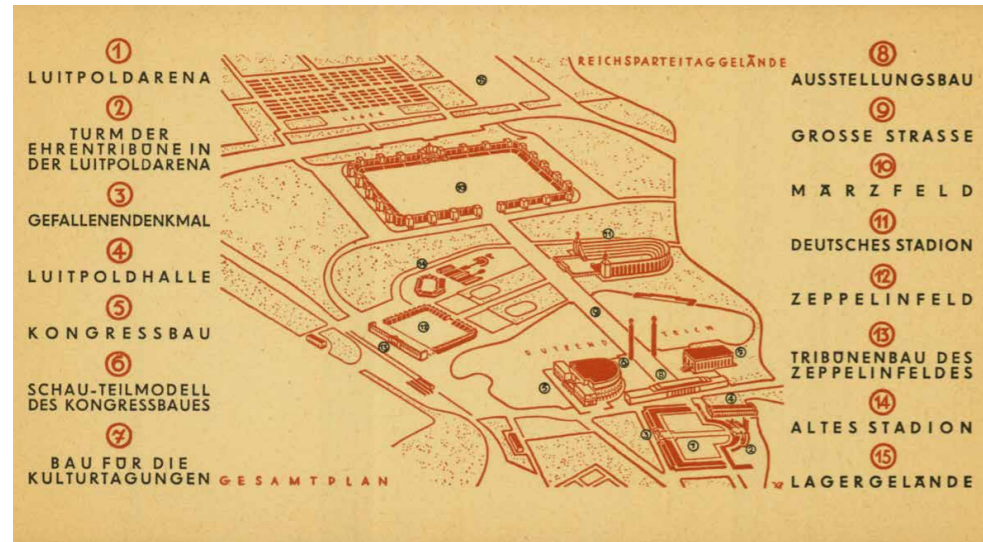
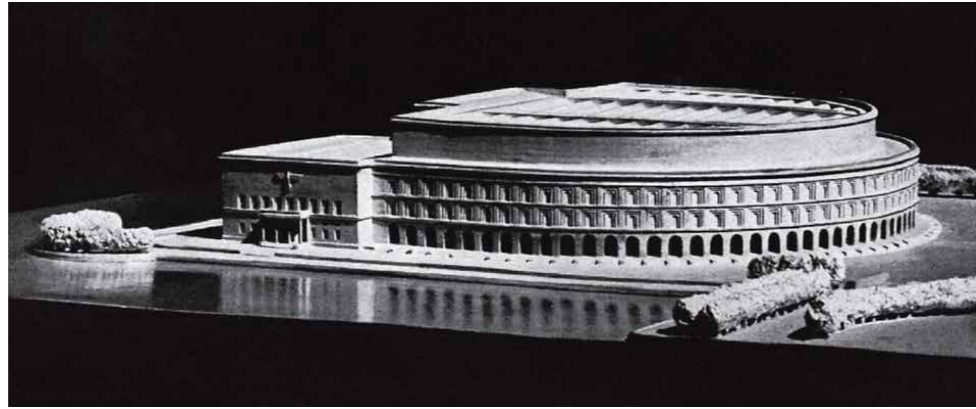
The scar is seen by Woods as a 'deeper level of [radical] reconstruction' as it works to 'fuse[s] the old and the new' (Woods, 1997;16). This technique works to join the old and the new 'without compromising either one in the name of some contextual form of unity' (Woods, 1997;16). This 'mark of pride and of honor' allows the user to understand directly the dissidence between these two architectures and therefore engage with the point of departure - destruction - which allows this amalgamation (Woods, 1997;16).

#### **New tissue:**

Woods frames this as the collective term for new radical architectures which result from the processes of injection, scab, and scar. This framing uses biological nomenclature to elicit an understanding that is innate to the human experience. Radical reconstruction is not a recreation of the old nor is it entirely new. Rather, it is an entity that has developed from the old as a response to a process of destruction or violence, yet has unique characteristics and narrative inherent to it. Like scabs, scars, and new tissue on our skin, these marks reveal histories of destruction but also something new as biologically, the past and present are seen as independent but inherently connected.

[fig18]

Image of a scale model of the proposed Kongresshalle designed by Ludwig and Franz Ruff, 1934.  
[Source: Chorny, 2019]



[fig19]

Drawing of the Reichsparteitagsgelände plan (Nazi Party Rally Grounds) by Albert Speer, 1937.  
[Source: Dokumentationszentrum Reichsparteitagsgelände D0157-03, 1937]



[fig20]

Nazi party rally held in the Zeppelinfeld (Zeppelin Field) in 1935.  
[Source: Chorny, 2019]



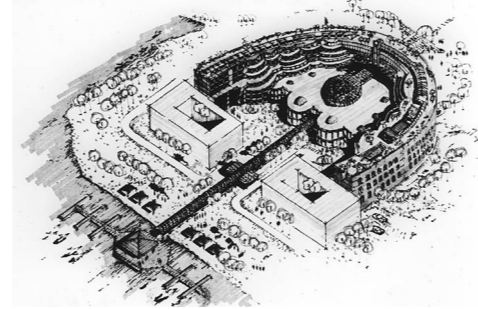
[fig21]

Destruction of Zeppelinfeld collonade in June 1967.  
[Source: Chorny, 2019]

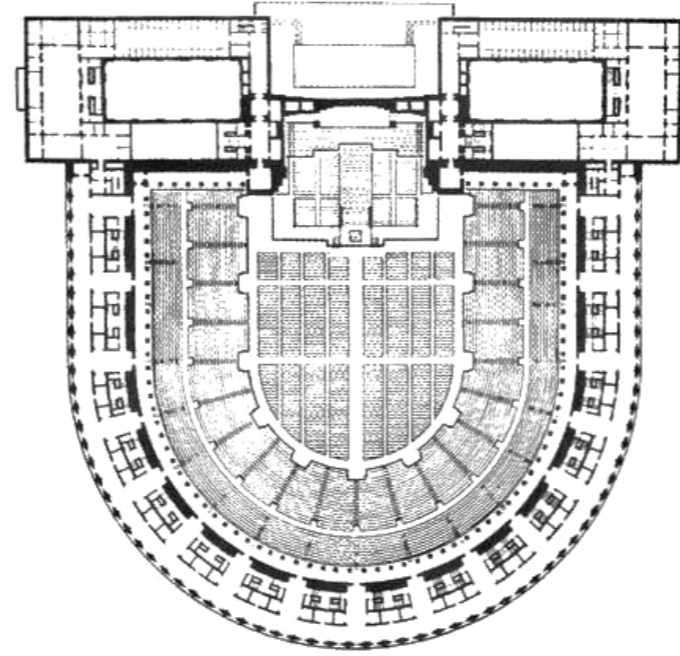
Domenig's Documentation Centre constructed within the derelict National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nazi) Kongresshalle (Congress Hall) [fig18] is an example of a successful effort to radically reconstruct a building within a larger urban system with an 'extremely difficult past' (Handa, 2017). The planned urban system within which this building lies is the Reichsparteitagsgelände - the Nazi party rally grounds - in Nuremberg, Germany. This precinct designed by Adolf Hitler's chief architect - Albert Speer - was to be the 'City of Nazi Party Rallies' and function as the architecture of Nazi 'propaganda and shows of strength' (Nuremberg Municipal Museums, 2023). These buildings and the axial urban plan they form a part of, [fig19] functioned not only as places that produced propaganda and strength in aid of the Nazi party, but were physical manifestations of that propaganda itself. This framing divulges the forms of destruction that these structures can be directly associated with. Firstly, the destruction that these buildings administered on others - the destruction of social fabrics and physical structures throughout Europe as a result of the decidedly evil war campaigns and ideological pursuits of the Nazi party [fig20]. Secondly, those forms of destruction which were brought upon them - the justified and physically meted-out bombing and physical destruction of Nazi buildings by allied forces [fig21]. As a response to this history of the perpetration and reception of destruction, the Documentation Centre looks to engage deeply with the genesis of the Nazi party and 'display its violent consequences' as a way of preventing the obscuration of these facts by the misuse [fig22] or eventual deterioration of structures like these (Handa, 2018;396).

As Handa (2018) outlines, an important part of the process of developing this contemplative reuse of a building directly involved in Nazi propaganda and oppression was that of designation. As such, Handa (2018) argues that the Congress Hall should be viewed as a 'place of memory', as opposed to a site of erasure or obscuration administered by the architectural programming of 'mundane purposes' [fig22]. This re-framing was the first step in a long process towards a 'critical self-reflection' of Nuremberg's involvement in and promotion of fascism both symbolically and historically (Handa, 2018;393).

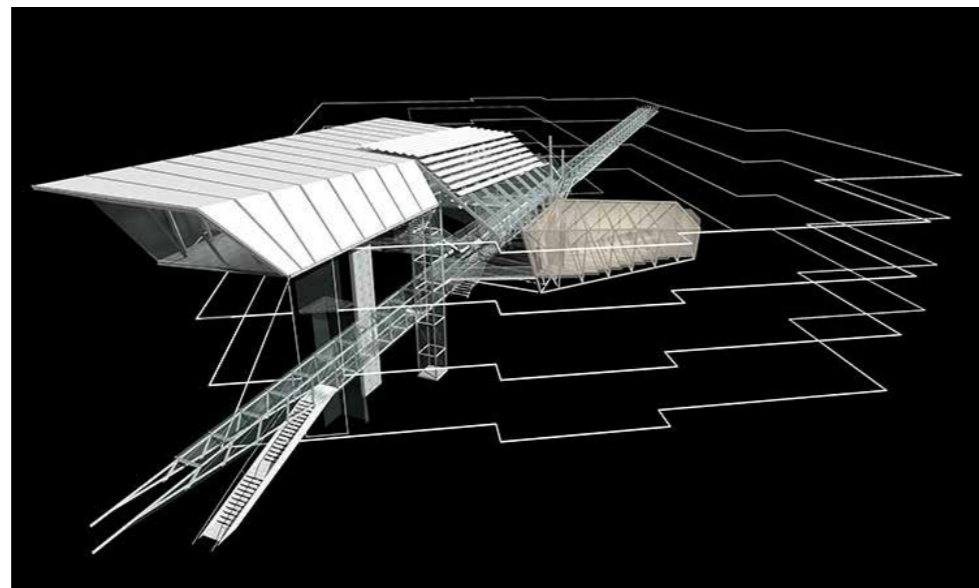
The second element which is fundamental to Domenig's scheme is the distinction between the formal characteristics of the new (the contemplative) - and the formal characteristics of the old (the oppressive). Posited by Handa (2018) as a 'stand against the Nazi past in form', Domenig's 'pfahl' (stake) [fig23] of steel and glass creates new spatialities within a deeply ordered and axial space defined by monumental and domineering materials constrained to 'bilateral symmetry' (Handa, 2017;71). In reference to the 'stake' as the overall 'new tissue' of the building, at a coarse scale, it can be seen to fulfil Woods's criteria of 'injection' as a technique of radical reconstruction (Woods, 1997) (Handa, 2017;71). The citing of Domenig's architectural intention as; 'to drive a stake into the building' substantiates this claim as it eludes to the insertion and creation of new radical space within existing oppressive space [fig24-25] (Handa, 2017;71). These existing spaces are 'voided by destruction' as a result of allied bombing but also due to faltered construction by the Nazi Party (Woods, 1997). And as such, the voided old becomes a site for crafting a radically reconstructed new (Woods, 1997;16).



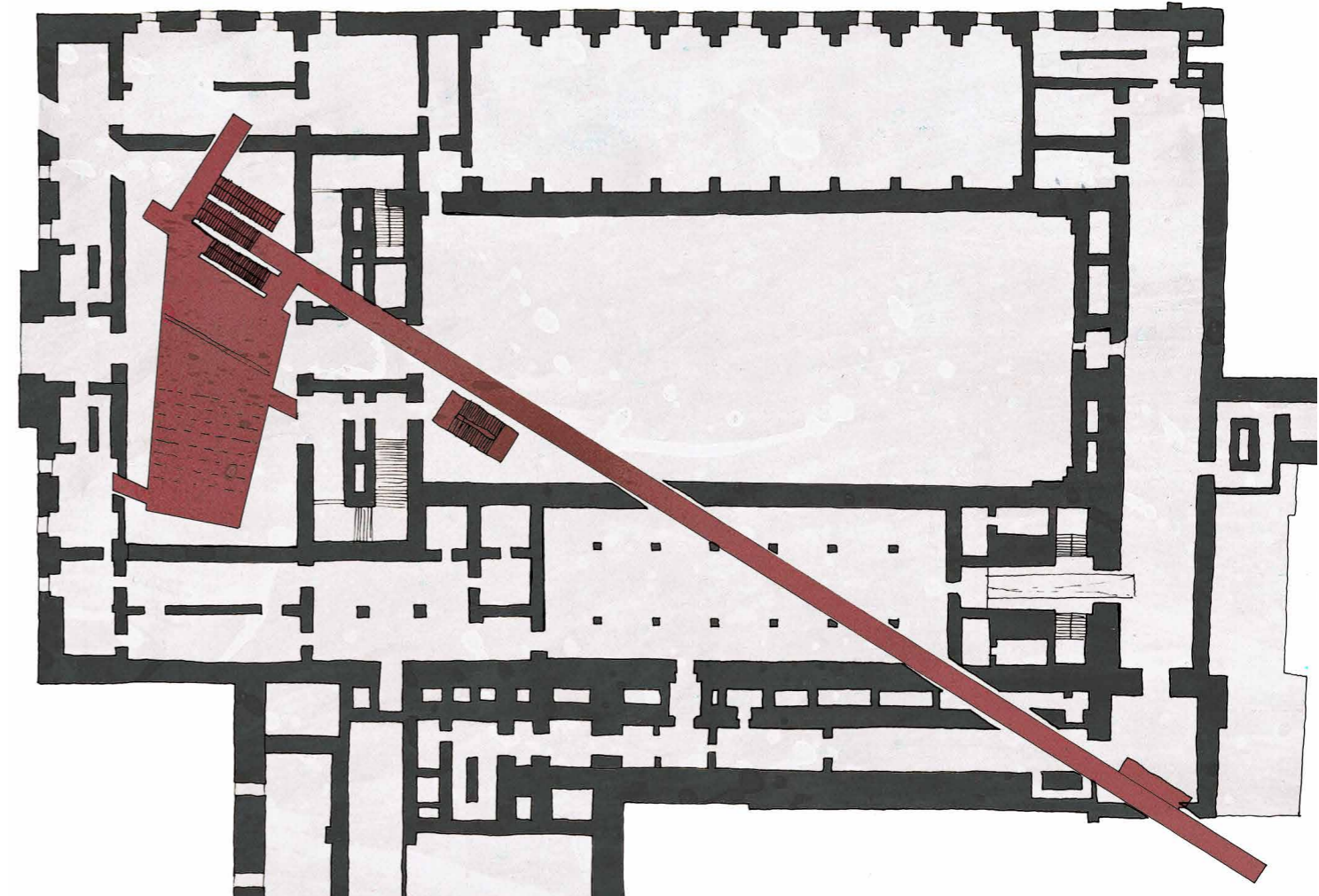
[fig22]  
Sketch design proposal for a leisure and shopping centre within the Congress Hall (1987) which would have worked to erase the history of the structure as the site of the Nazi Congress Hall.  
[Source: Nuremberg Municipal Museums, 2023]



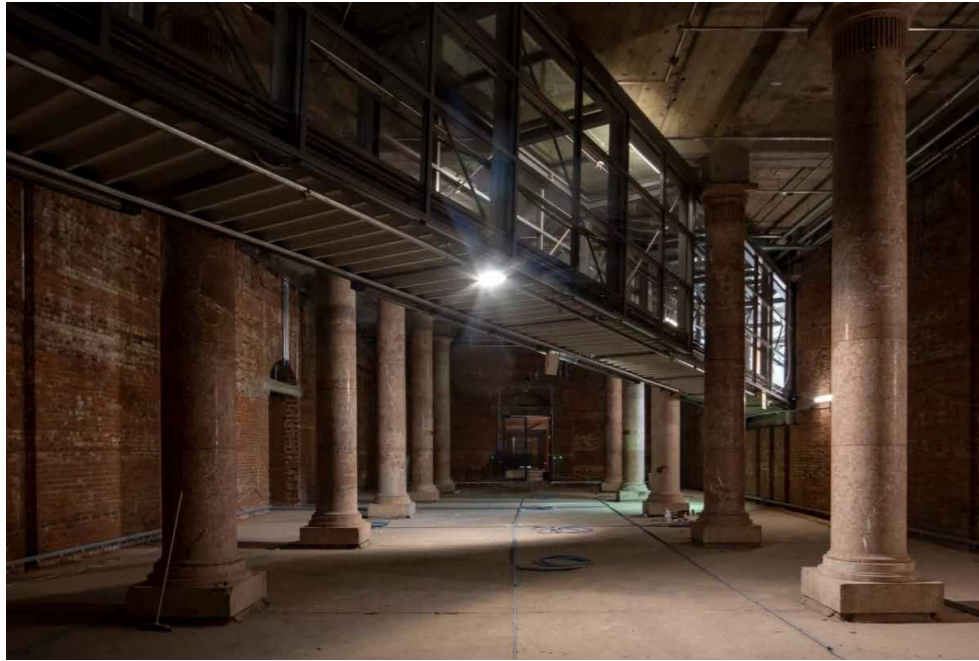
[fig24]  
Proposed design of the Nazi Congress Hall, extracted from 1930s postcard compared to the contemporary state of the Congress Hall. This juxtaposition illustrates the incomplete nature of the building as well as the sensitive insertion of the new Documentation Centre.  
[Source: Chorny, 2019 (L), Nurnberg Kultur, 2006 (R)]



[fig23]  
Perspective rendering describing the interaction between Domenig's puncturing intervention and the axially ordered Congress Hall.  
[Source: Nuremberg Municipal Museums, 2023]

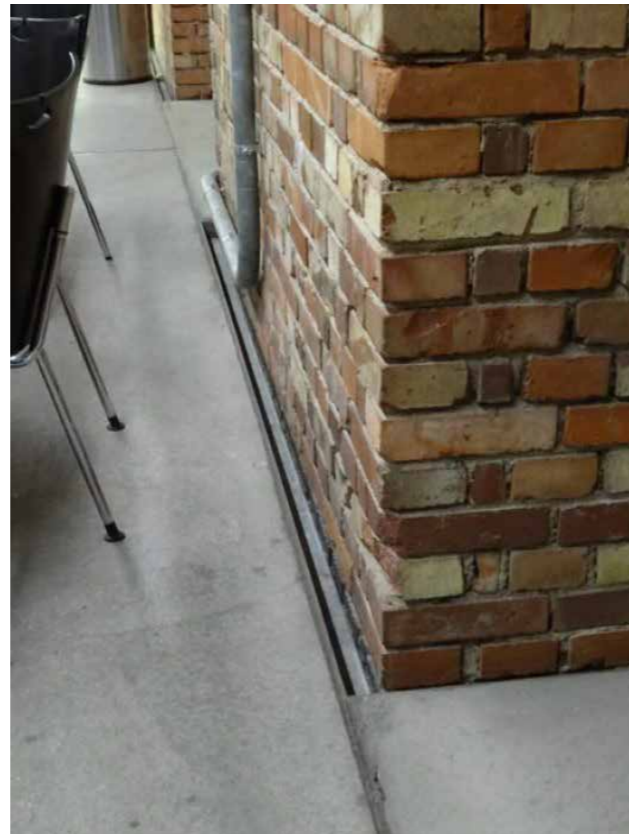


[fig25]  
Plan drawing of Gunther Domenig's pfahl (stake) cutting through the Nazi Congress Hall.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig26]**  
Image of the interior of one of the spaces through which Domenig's stake pierces through.  
[Source: Maurer, 2022]

**[fig27]**  
Image depicting the manifestation of Domenig's approach to 'scab', in reference to the connection between new floor layers and old walls.  
[Source: Handa, 2018]

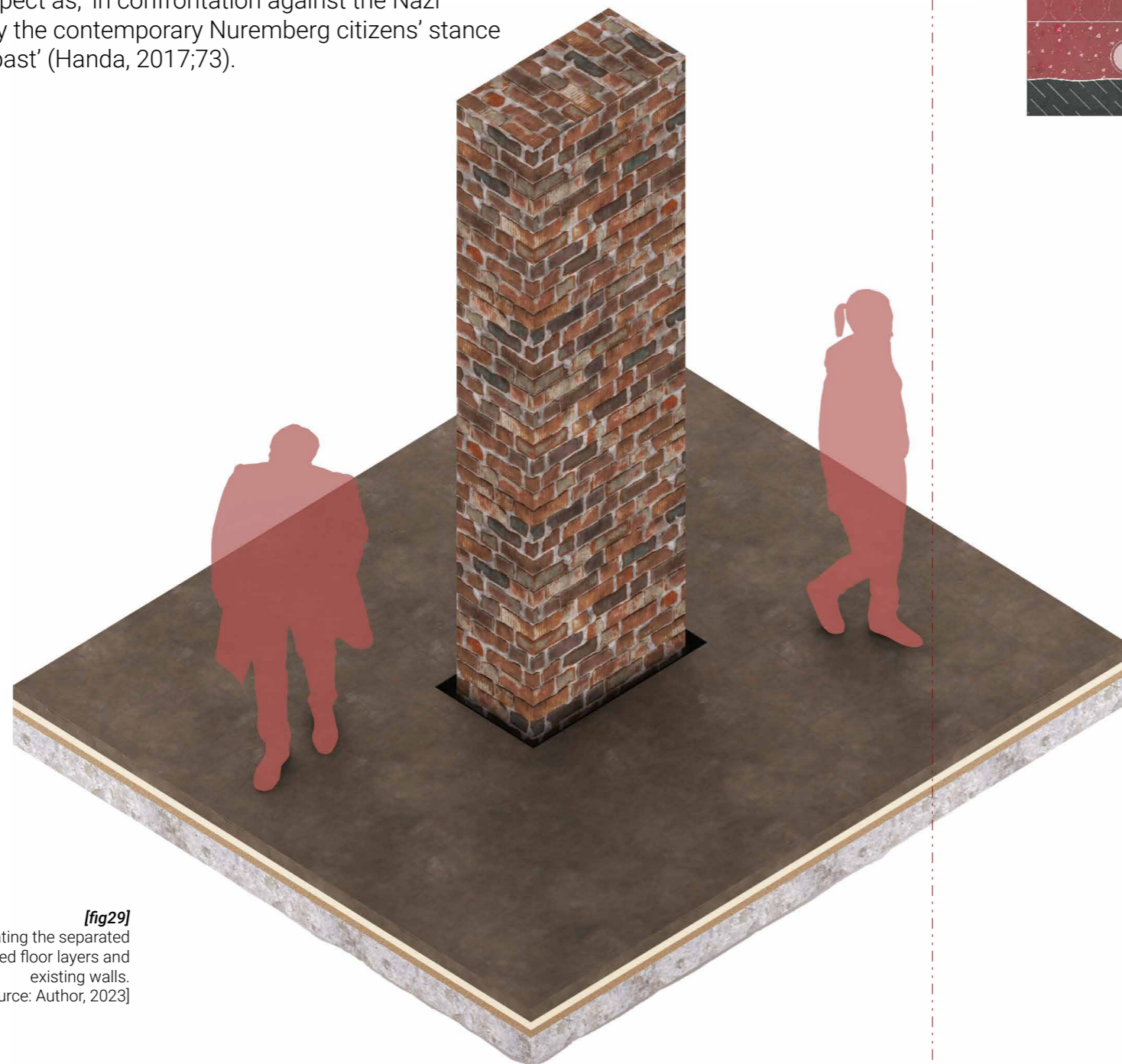


**[fig28]**  
Image showing Domenig's approach to 'scab' as manifested in the insertion of a new stair into an existing wall. Existing layers are cut back in order to allow the new to lay claim to space within the oppressive spatialities of the old.  
[Source: Handa, 2018]

Domenig's newly constructed 'stake' looks not to conjoin spatial arrangements and become seamless with the existing structure but instead disrupt, disconnect and rearrange the existing orders. This disordering of the rational and gridded nature of the existing space allows for the development of new spaces - 'freespaces' - where the viewer is both attached to and disconnected from the history and original purposes of the Congress Hall (Woods, 1992). From this limbo state, wherein the viewer is neither within nor outside of the spaces of oppression, the opportunity for a space 'free of preconceived value' develops (Woods, 1992;142). This space looks not to prescribe value through an asserted ideology or preconceived truth but rather looks to achieve value as a function of the use of the space. Thus, value arises from the weight of individual experience and subjectivity of engagement of the viewer with the space - rather than from an author's universal preconception of iconographic or spatial value. As seen in **[fig26]** this injection allows the viewer to interact with the ruin-like spaces of this building, from a perspective unique to that which would have been experienced by the powers and perpetrators of oppression - placing the viewer into the space but from a unique and contemplative vantage point which inverts historical power dynamics in the favour of the viewer.

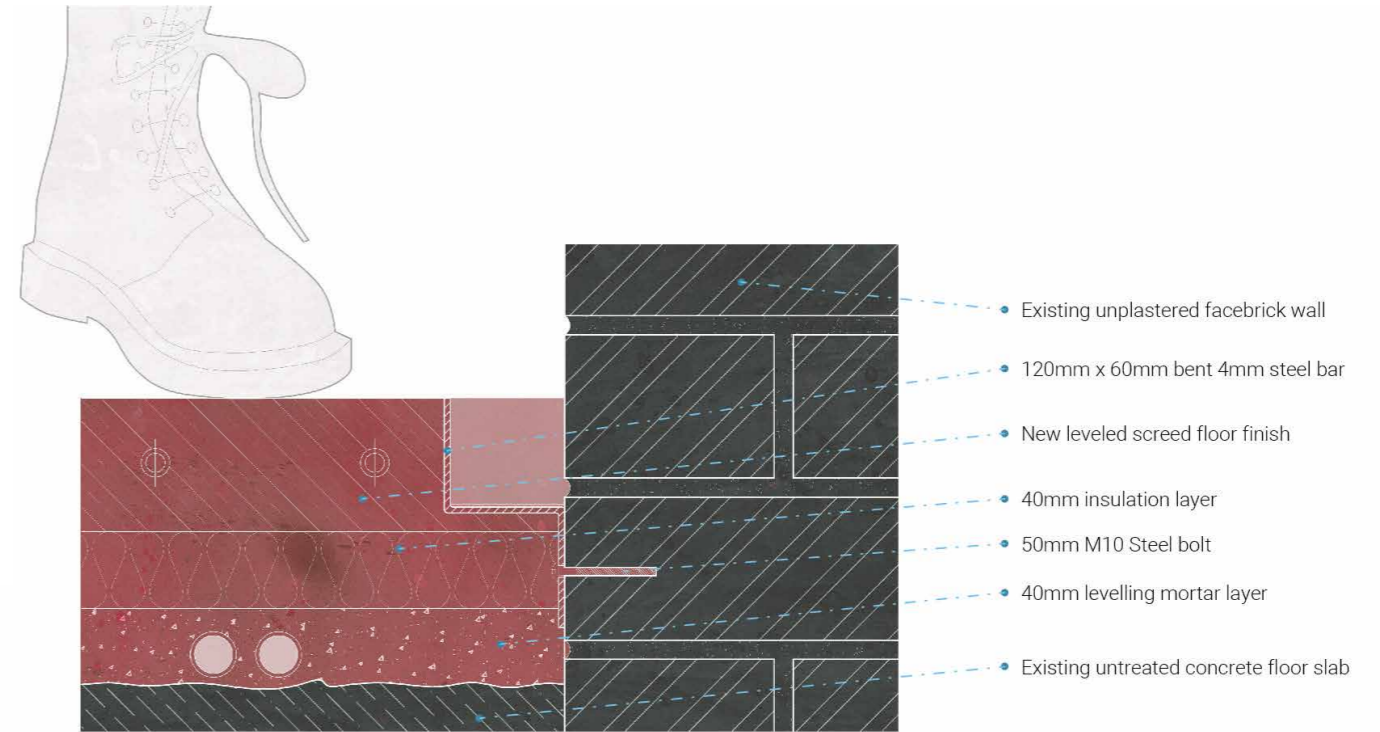
As one delves into the finer details of this intervention, 'scab' as an architectural technique is utilised to negotiate the interaction between the oppressive and the contemplative (Woods, 1997). This is made clear in Domenig's approach to the physical interaction of the materials of the old and the materials of the new. Domenig focused on a 'prohibition to touch' which manifests the metaphorical 'scab' into its architectonic physical form **[fig27-28]** (Handa, 2017;73). An example of this approach reveals itself in Domenig's pragmatic yet sensitive handling of the connection between new floor layers and old walls. Handa (2018;394) describes this technique as; 'displaying existing scars and inflicting new ones'. This framing makes direct reference to the idea that the architectures of the Nazi party themselves inflicted destruction on the social, political, and physical fabrics of Europe - and the world at large - as opposed to separating their ideologies and war efforts from the buildings they built. Equally, Handa (2018) suggests a relationship between the Documentation Centre and the Congress Hall whereby the Documentation Centre need not have deference and outright respect for the old. This would result in the pursuit of simple reconstruction and therefore restoration and erasure. Instead the Documentation Centre develops a sense of agency in its efforts to substantively engage with the histories and spatialities of the Congress Hall.

In reference to the connection between new floor layers and existing walls - the detail which allows it to be defined as a 'scab' was developed through careful consideration of pragmatic concerns to do with the safety of visitors around the existing unfinished and rough concrete floor slabs (Woods, 1997). As visualised through [fig29-31]. Domenig worked to develop a tectonic language which demonstrates a disconnection between the remnants of Nazi architecture, and the radically reconstructed architecture of the Documentation Centre. New floor layers were laid on top of these rough concrete surfaces to level the surface - obscuring the old - however, at the point where the new floor meets the existing walls, a small strip of bent steel explicitly separates the two and thus the old structure is delineated from the new. This separation demonstrates to those that visit the Centre, Domenig's architectural stance. Handa (2017) frames Domenig's architecture in this respect as; 'in confrontation against the Nazi building, and ultimately the contemporary Nuremberg citizens' stance to condemn the Nazi past' (Handa, 2017;73).



[fig29]

Axonometric rendering illustrating the separated nature of newly constructed floor layers and existing walls.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



[fig30]

Annotated detail section drawing of the interaction of new floor layers and existing walls.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

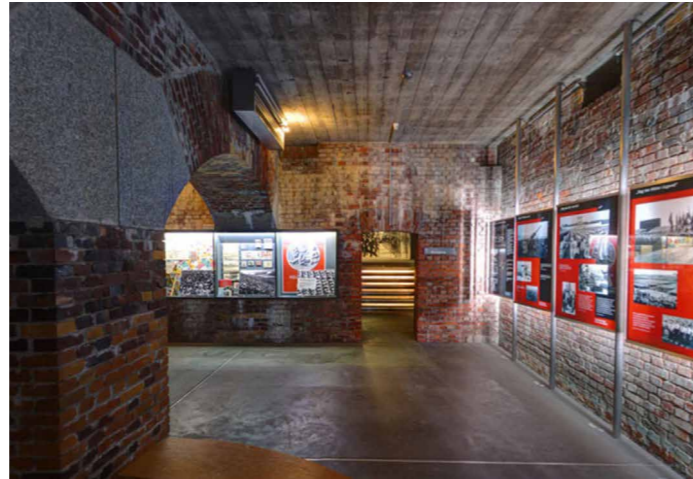


[fig31]

Cut-away rendering illustrating physical separation and materiality of new and old elements.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig32]**  
Image depicting 'the track' which forms an important part of the overall 'stake' through the Congress Hall, exhibiting the curatorially sparse yet transparent nature of 'the track' allowing easy contemplation of the surrounding architectures of oppression.  
[Source: Nuremberg Municipal Museums, 2023]



**[fig33]**  
Image depicting a portion of the permanent exhibition entitled 'Fascination and Terror'. This image highlights the important role curated material and information plays in the transformation of oppressive space.  
[Source: Nuremberg Municipal Museums, 2023]

**[fig34]**  
Image depicting the passage way that the Documentation Centre's architectural and curatorial injection works to utilise as a space of contemplation upon Nazi fascism.  
[Source: Handa, 2017]



**[fig35]**  
Image depicting the protruding brick layers of the existing walls of the Congress Hall which were used to create a spatial and material interaction between the curated materials, the existing architecture, and the viewer.  
[Source: Handa, 2017]



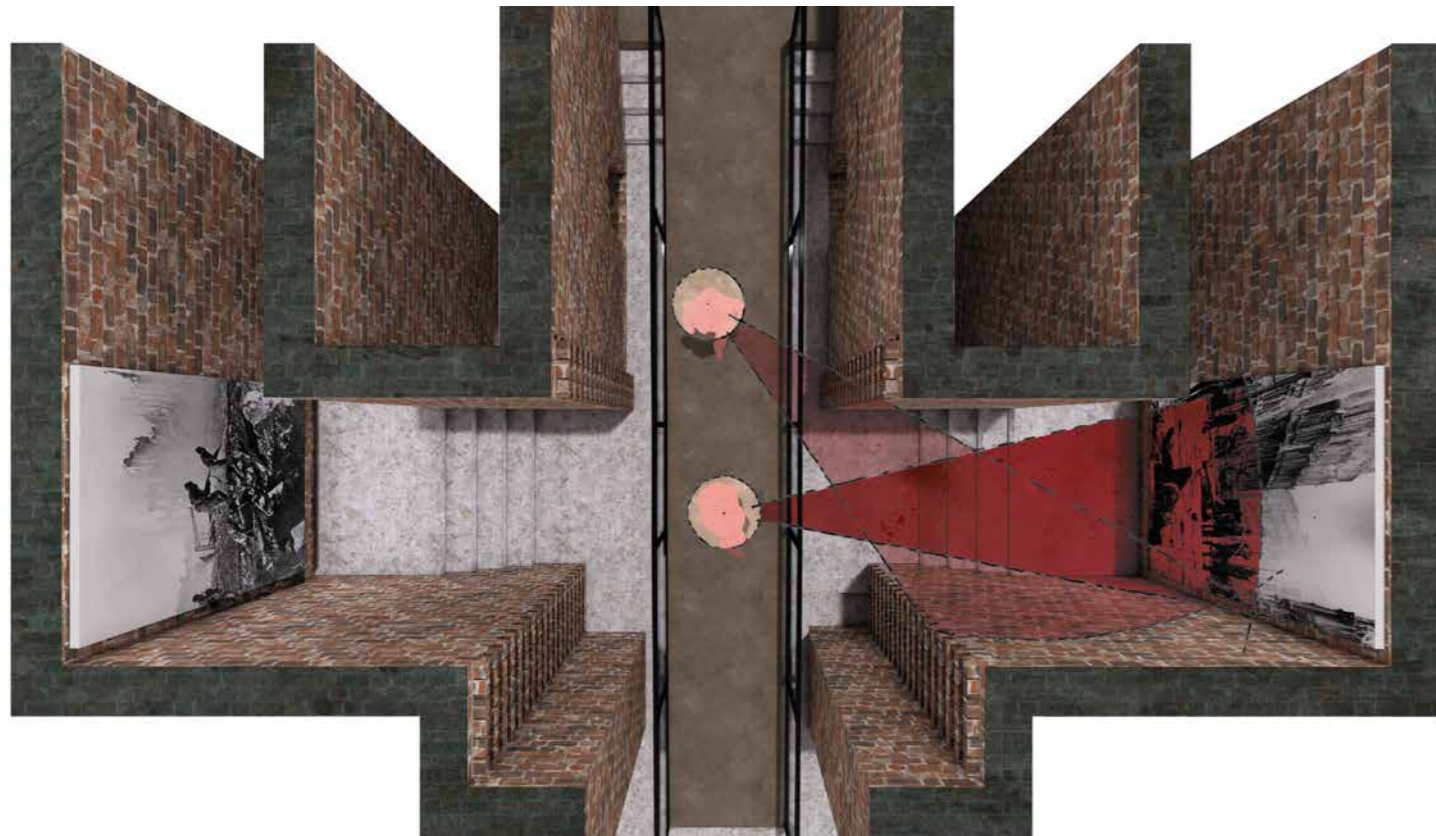
When considering Domenig's Documentation Centre through Handa's (2017) conception of momento and quasi-momento, these curatorial and architectural techniques can be seen to fulfil Woods's (1997) definition of 'scar'. In terms of curatorial efforts, as many of the individuals that may have experienced this building during its operation as a perpetrator of oppression are 'aging or had passed away', an effort was made to video-graphically collect stories from those willing to share their experiences (Handa, 2017;74). These stories are shared throughout the centre to elicit in visitors the aforementioned momentos and quasi-momentos. Gregor Schöllgen, Professor of Modern History at the University of Erlangen worked to collect these stories which would form a part of the permanent exhibition within the Centre, titled 'Fascination and Terror' - revealing the important role that exhibited material plays in the development of this radically reconstructed space (Handa, 2017). The exhibited objects and cultural artifacts gesture toward the 'extremely difficult history' of the Congress Hall, the city of Nuremberg, and Nazism in general. These visual collections play an equally imperative role in radical reconstruction alongside the architectural intervention that Domenig's 'stake' through the Congress Hall plays and thus, should not be left out in the analysis of how the Documentation Centre works to engage with this history **[fig33-34]** (Handa, 2017).

At an architectonic level, to elicit momentos and quasi-momentos - and therefore develop a 'scar' - Domenig emphasises the 'experiential effect' of the existing brick wall details of the Congress Hall **[fig34-35]** (Handa, 2017;74) (Woods, 1997). This isolated example promotes the idea that this technique of quasi-momento and momento function as 'scars' as there is no direct physical effort to conjoin the old and new - as Woods's conception of 'scar' defines - yet the interstitial space created intertwines the new and the old (Woods, 1997).

As one moves through this portion of the Documentation Centre - the viewer arrives at an awkward bunker-like space with raw and heavy materiality. The viewer is separated from the original building by a newly installed ramp which frees the viewer from these oppressive materials and the spaces they bound. This separation of the viewer from the original building creates a dissonance between new and old space and therefore allows the viewer to engage directly with the forms of destruction for which the Nazi party was responsible. Equally, at a detail level, the concealed crevices and heavily textured brickwork of this room are utilised to 'raise[d] the visitor's curiosity' (Handa, 2017;396). Domenig pays specific focus to the protruding and receding layers of brickwork on the corners of these walls, to slowly - yet sharply - reveal images that depict the horrible tragedies perpetrated by the Nazi party. This play of spatial, tectonic and curatorial interaction, therefore, allows the interaction between new and old architectures to 'give out a warning to the future' (Handa, 2017;396). This 'warning' functions as the manifestation of an important role of the Documentation Centre. Without overt or over-simplified reference, this weaving of oppressive and radical spatialities - with the important inclusion of historical photographic material - allows the viewer to understand that without these types of radical and contemplative spaces that engage with the tragedies of fascism, 'the danger of repeating the same grave error is just around the corner' (Handa, 2017;75).

[fig36]

Aerial perspective rendering describing the evolving interaction viewers have with curated photographs of the terror of fascism, as a result of Domenig's spatial intervention.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



[fig37]

Interior perspective rendering depicting the concealment of curated image through the interaction of new and old spatialities.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

[fig38]

Interior perspective rendering depicting how curated images are revealed to viewers as the move through a space crafted from both new and old spatialities  
[Source: Author, 2023]





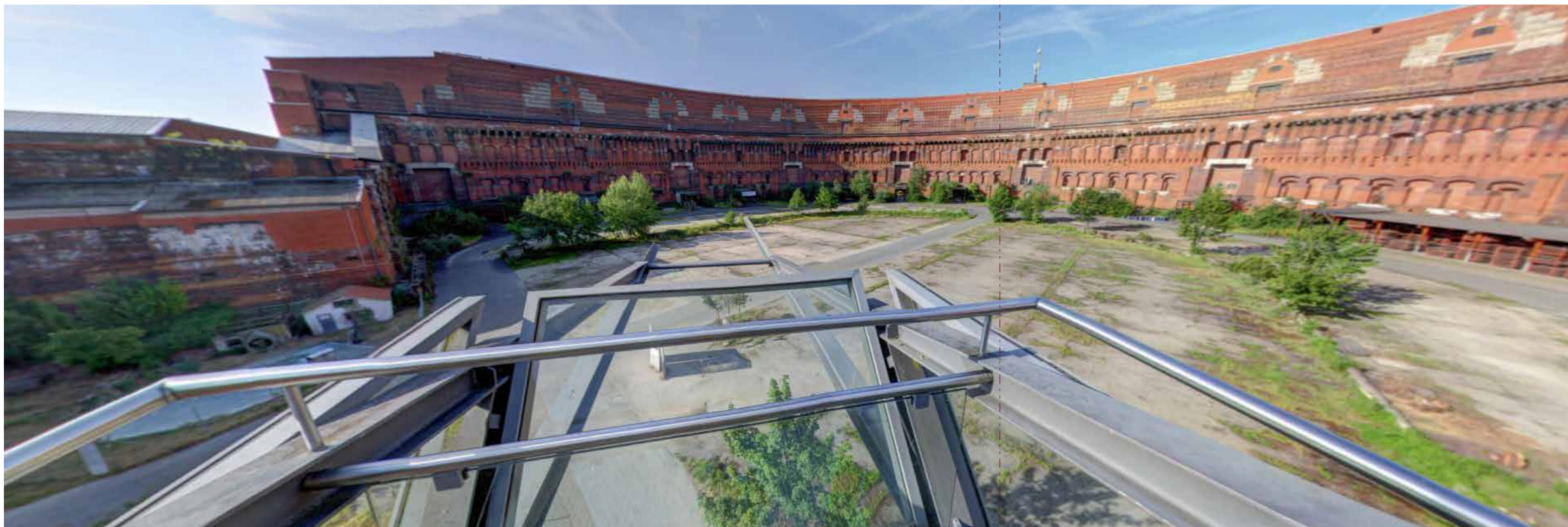
**[fig39 & 40]**  
Images depicting the extruding nature of the new Documentation Centre entrance which; injects into, protrudes out of, and breaks up the ordered and axial nature of the Congress Hall.  
[Source: GuideMate, 2018 (L), HWO, 2018 (R)]



Günther Domenig's Documentation Center of the National Socialist Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg, Germany is an architecture which fulfils the tenants of radical reconstruction by sensitively and sensibly engaging with the processes of destruction. The destruction inflicted by the powers of fascism and the powers opposing fascism alike, with a deeply contemplative investigation of the distinction between those forms of destruction, through architecture. Domenig's Documentation Centre looks not to obscure or hide the evil and harrowing truths that fester in the spaces and materials of the Congress Hall - and the architectures of the Nazi party - but engage with those truths substantively to destroy the chances of their return. This clear 'abhorrence toward the Nazi past', is a deeply important contribution to architectural discourse (Handa, 2018;395), in the context of physical, social and political destruction - as it provides a successful example of how oppressive pasts can be engaged with to ensure just futures.

**[fig41 & 42]**

Images depicting the culmination of Domenig's 'stake' protruding over the space which would have provided space for 50 000 Nazi party members to organise and administer fascism.  
[Source: Nuremberg Municipal Museums, 2023(L), Maurer, 2022 (R)]



I N S U R G E N T

C I T I Z E N S H I P

[fig43]

Image showing the Louis Botha statue which stands in front of the Parliamentary Precinct where Roeland street terminates.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

In considering the lingering iconography and spatiality of empire, coloniality, and apartheid in South Africa's architectures of democracy, James Holston's theories of Insurgent Citizenship offer a pertinent contribution to the unpacking of the position of the public in these spaces.

Primarily, Holston frames insurgent citizenships as a form of social positioning in which individuals are forced to 'claim their right to the city' and fight for their 'right to rights' through acts which subvert the status quo and bring into question the very definition of citizenship within the nation-state (Holston, 2009;245). The employment of the term 'insurgent' is enacted to illustrate the transgressions that marginalised individuals and communities are forced to engage in to develop and sustain their livelihoods (Holston, 2009). Transgressions, in this context, are by no means amoral or overtly anarchical but are necessary due to the exclusionary policies and frameworks that nation-states use to control 'land, labour, and law' (Holston, 2009;255). In the modern nation-state, the definition of who is and who is not a citizen is the determinate by which one is afforded access to and protection by 'rights' (Holston, 2009). Ironically, these often 'nativist, racist, communalist, and elitist' definitions of citizenship are the circumstances which propagate insurgent citizenships - and social revolutions - which disrupt and result in an 'entanglement that corrodes' both forms of citizenship (Holston, 2009). The entrenched citizenship is corroded through the reconstruction and redistribution of rights whilst insurgent citizenships are corroded as they become formalised as a part of a newly formed regime or social order.

In the South African context, the tenants of the apartheid state can be essentialised as a diametric of citizenships; those who were considered citizens in the 'entrenched regime' by the authoritarian state - white individuals - were afforded and protected by state-legislated rights (Holston, 2009;252). Those considered by the authoritarian state as non-citizens - 'Native' and 'Coloured'<sup>8</sup> individuals - were denied rights through legislation and therefore were designated to suffer at the hands of state-sanctioned and state-organised oppression.

<sup>8</sup> These deeply divisive and problematic categorisations were first enacted in the National Party's Population Registration Act, of 1950, which sought to require 'every individual be classified and provided with an official racial category' to administrate the systems by which racial discrimination was dispensed (Pellicer & Ranchhod, 2023). This piece of legislature along with others such as 'The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, of 1949', 'The Group Areas Act, of 1950' and many others were the fundamental legislative tools that the National Party used to develop the 'statutory classification of all people into mutually exclusive racial groups' (Pellicer & Ranchhod, 2023). These categorisations were expanded with an amendment to the legislature in 1959 to include the 'Indian/Asian' categorisation, which worked to further segregate access to and the provision of rights determined by racial categorisation (Pellicer & Ranchhod, 2023). In contemporary, democratic South Africa racial categorisation is used not to define the dispensation of rights and/or oppression but as a population statistic used to measure post-apartheid transformation. These categories include 'Black African, Coloured, Indian or Asian, White, and Other' (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Although these categorisations have not been crafted with the primary objective of administering oppression, they continue to cause a form of statistical harm in which those that do not conform to the categorizations - such as mixed-race individuals - fall within a "statistical gap" and therefore are forced to officially identified as 'Other' or an alternative categorisation - a demeaning task at best.



[fig44.1]

The procession (top)  
[Source: Wits AtoM, 1989]

[fig44.2]

The occupation (middle)  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1986]

[fig44.3]

The placard (bottom)  
[Source: Wits AtoM, 1989]

[fig45]

Aerial image taken during the 2019 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town. Image depicts the clear division of public and civic space along Roeland and Plein streets and the privatised and securitised spaces within the parliamentary precinct. [Source: Kropman, 2019]



[fig46.1]

The procession (top)  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1985]

[fig46.2]

The occupation (middle)  
[Source: Wits AtoM, 1986]

[fig46.3]

The placard (bottom)  
[Source: Wits AtoM, 1983]

When viewed through Holston's framework of Insurgent Citizenships, this prejudicial political, social and economic hegemony crafted by the National Party - and through its system of apartheid - created a social system within which there were citizens and non-citizens. As such, the fight against and struggle to dismantle and destroy apartheid can be seen as a form of insurgent citizenship. The role of anti-apartheid political parties, grass-roots organisations, and resistance movements were vital in the definition of insurgent citizenship and the overall resistance movement of democratic South Africa. Additionally, the informal and everyday resistance against those 'petty apartheid'<sup>9</sup> legislations can be seen as forms of insurgent citizenship which formed an equally important role in the fight against apartheid.

In this fight against oppression, autocracy, and discrimination, a form of insurgent citizenship which played a pivotal role in the dissolution of apartheid is the practice of protest. Protest and its many forms have played a deeply pertinent role in the resistance movement throughout South Africa's history (Du Pisani, et al., 1990). This practice not only works to bring to light the indignations of the public with structures of governance but highlights the entrenched connection between space and power. Protest is defined and dispensed as a right within the - post-apartheid - South African Bill of Rights as the right to 'assembly, demonstration, picket, and petition' (Constitutional Assembly, 1996). This constitutional provision permits 'everyone', 'peacefully and unarmed, to assemble, to demonstrate, to picket and to present petitions' (Constitutional Assembly, 1996). This right, although dispensed in the form of social and political autonomy, is fundamentally tied to the inhabitation of space. A protest or "picket" is a process which demands space and, in part, communicates its moral point through the sheer volume of participants occupying an area and opposing a regime. This spatial occupation works to communicate - to the powers of oppression and democracy alike - an ill with which the public refuses to live. Vale (2008;9) argues that this form of insurgent citizenship 'consists of power moving through space' highlighting not only the importance of the space through which protests move but the subversion of hierarchies of power and therefore the development of 'heterarchies' (Woods, 1997). These heterarchies formed by the 'governed' are used to invert power dynamics within and around spaces which 'house the means of government' (Vale, 2008;13). An inversion through which its occupation and disruption of space allows a message to be delivered to those administering oppression, that cannot be ignored.

<sup>9</sup> 'Petty' or 'klein' apartheid is the term used to refer to the oppressive and segregative legislative measures developed by the National Party which sought to separate Black people and people of colour from white people in the use of public facilities (Kirkby, 2022;54). This 'petty' segregation was written into law primarily by the 'The Separate Amenities Act, of 1953' which 'governed which public goods people could access, depending on their race' (Pellicer & Ranchhod, 2023;3). The 'public goods' restricted spanned across all scales and included elements of civic life such as benches and parks to 'public transport networks and hospitals' (Pellicer & Ranchhod, 2023;3).

[fig47]  
Aerial drawing of the South African Parliamentary Precinct and its urban surrounds. The purple strips demarcate the main routes along which protesters travel whilst petitioning parliament.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

The spaces in which protest is enacted is more often than not those spaces which both represent and fortify the powers of the state. Throughout South African history - and global history at large - architectures which represent governmental power, be it authoritarian or democratic, have served as places of protest and resistance (Du Pisani, et al., 1990). This form of political resistance which continues to serve as a cornerstone of our democracy is a practice which highlights directly the tensive relationship between the South African public and its architectures of democracy. Equally, protests centre the diametric discord between the public - the governed - and those that govern (Vale, 2008). Furthermore, state leadership is seldom present during demonstrations against them and their policies and thus deepening the discord between the two actors. This results in the architectures that represent the governance these individuals engage in, serving as the site in which protest is enacted. Governmental officials have the privilege of fleeing, their buildings do not.

Protest, as a social function, has an intimate relationship with edifice and with the space which surrounds it. These structures and spaces are the conduits through which protest is enacted. Instead of direct engagement with the individuals responsible for oppression - which is often pursued to no avail and results in resistance through organising - protest is held in the physical spaces which represent governmental power. These 'spatial declarations of political control' become the spaces in which that power is resisted, in order to effect change (Vale, 2008;10). To essentialise the notion; the artifice of public engagement by the government inevitably results in the occupation of the edifice. Accessible spaces of governance are therefore a necessary urban element, which in the eye of the public is profoundly important to a process which 'undermine[s] imperial regimes of knowledge and policy ... to detect potentials for different futures' (Holston, 2009;249).

This function, although an inversion of the programmes sought after by the state in their governmental architectures, is a function which is integral to public involvement in governance. For a large majority of the public, protest is the primary practice through which architectures of governance are visited, engaged with, or inhabited. This 'delimit[ation of] the zones for public gathering and defin[ition of] areas of increasingly exclusive privacy' results in the decidedly poor integration of the public in these spaces and, therefore, is the means by which protest becomes the only spatial practice that these spaces offer the public (Vale, 2008;9).



[fig48.1]

The procession (top)  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1989]

[fig48.2]

The occupation (middle)  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1989]

[fig48.3]

The placard (bottom)  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1994]



[fig49]

Photographic collage of images of and the movement associated with the Purple Rain Protest of 1989. South African Police officers used a water canon filled with purple-dyed water to disperse and mark protesters, who would be arrested later if found stained with the purple dye. This protest led to the altering of the Freedom Charters statement of 'The People Shall Govern' to 'The Purple Shall Govern', as an act of solidarity and defiance in the face of the brutality of the apartheid state and its security apparatus. [Source: Author, 2023]

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Design Dissertation  
Dissertation Document  
Liam Harvey  
26<sup>th</sup> October 2023

Herein lies a troubling dissonance. The public - those who are meant to be represented by and advocated for through the existence and function of architectures of democracy - are fundamentally excluded from these spaces in both physical and representational forms. Through the insurgent nature of protest, the exclusive quality of these spaces of governance are exposed. This allows the public to perceive the outline of the status quo and the hierarchy which defines it. A hierarchy which is in deep need of dismantling.

In the analysis of this practice, the interaction between the protester (*the individual*) and the protest (*the collective*) can be architecturally detailed to illuminate and understand how the physical aspects of the places of protest become part of the resistance itself. As such, these subversions of the spatial and tectonic intentions of architectures of democracy are to be analysed through their interaction with; the procession, the occupation, and the placard.

[fig50.1]

The procession (top)  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1982]

[fig50.2]

The occupation (middle)  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1992]

[fig50.3]

The placard (bottom)  
[Source: Wits AtoM, 1989]

[fig51]

Aerial drawing of the portion of the South African Parliamentary Precinct which is engaged with most densely during protests. The **dark purple** strips demarcate the main routes along which protesters travel whilst petitioning parliament and **light purple** lines indicate drawings of the procession, the occupation and the placard to follow.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

TUYNHUYSS

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY EXTENSION

HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

THE PLACARD

THE OCCUPATION

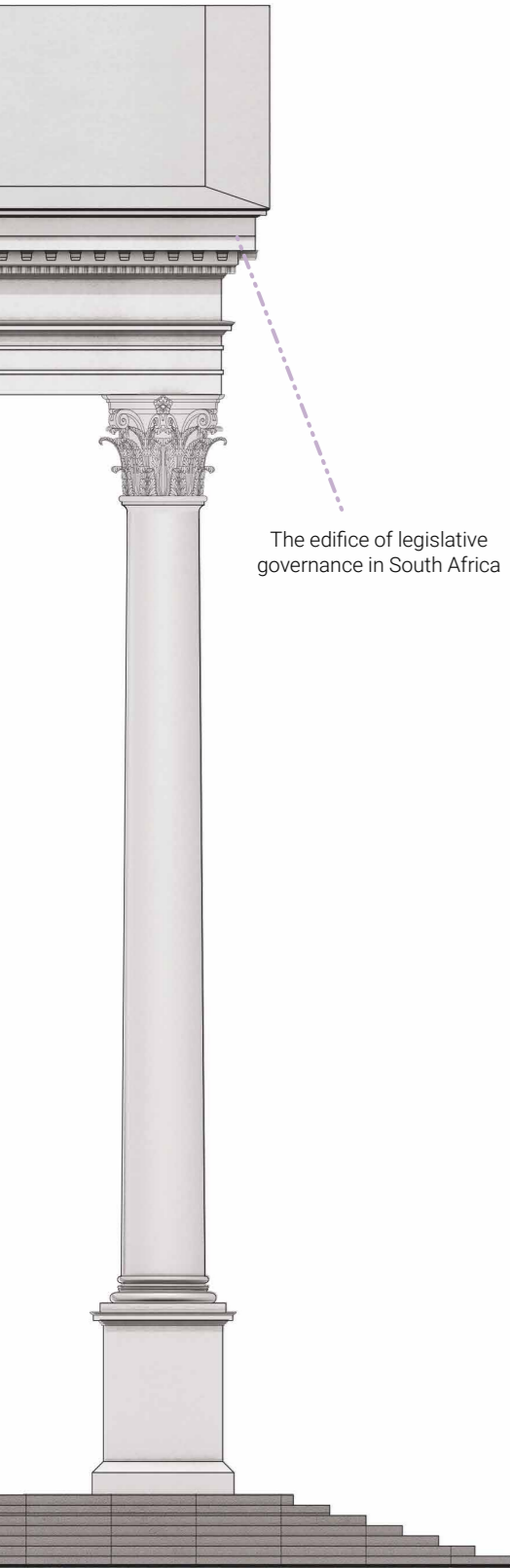
THE PROCESSION



< PLEIN STREET >

< ROELAND STREET >

**[fig52]**  
Rendered section drawing describing the scale and spatial interaction between the procession inhabiting the end of Roeland Street, the Louis Botha statue and the National Assembly portico. [Source: Author, 2023]



The edifice of legislative governance in South Africa



**[fig53.1]**  
Image of the procession organising outside the South African Parliamentary Precinct in Cape Town. [Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2018]



**[fig53.2]**  
Image taken from within the procession during the 2018 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town. [Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2018]



**[fig53.3]**  
The procession gathering along Roeland Street during the 2020 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town. [Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2020]

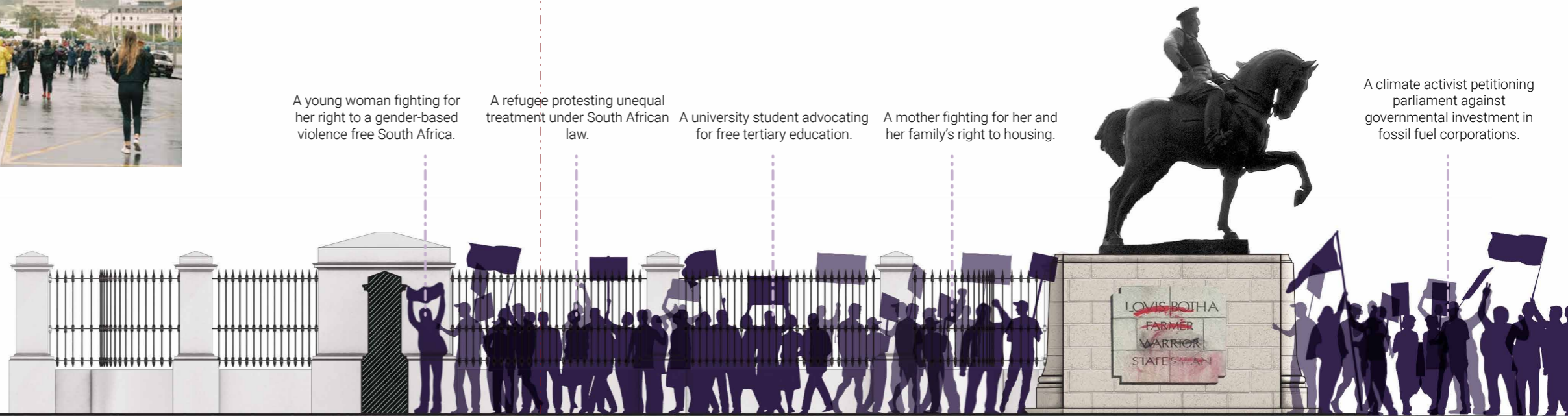
A young woman fighting for her right to a gender-based violence free South Africa.

A refugee protesting unequal treatment under South African law.

A university student advocating for free tertiary education.

A mother fighting for her and her family's right to housing.

A climate activist petitioning parliament against governmental investment in fossil fuel corporations.



The procession - or the collective term for the arrangement of protesters in a linear fashion along urban routes - is the aspect of protest which causes disruption through resistance at the largest scale in reference to space. This conglomeration of members of the public united in cause, looks to bring attention to social, economic and political polemics through the mass inhabitation of spaces which represent and constitute the state. As seen through **[fig45 & 47]**, in the context of the South African Parliamentary Precinct in Cape Town; Roeland Street and Plein Street are the primary spaces of occupation by the procession during a protest which aims to petition parliament. This occupation by the procession is a method of protest which looks to bring to the government's attention an issue which the public feels is untenable - through mass inhabitation. This mass inhabitation of public and civic space is a means of spatial disruption which not only communicates to the government that change must be effected, but brings to the fore the boundary between what is considered public space and what by all intents and purposes is private.

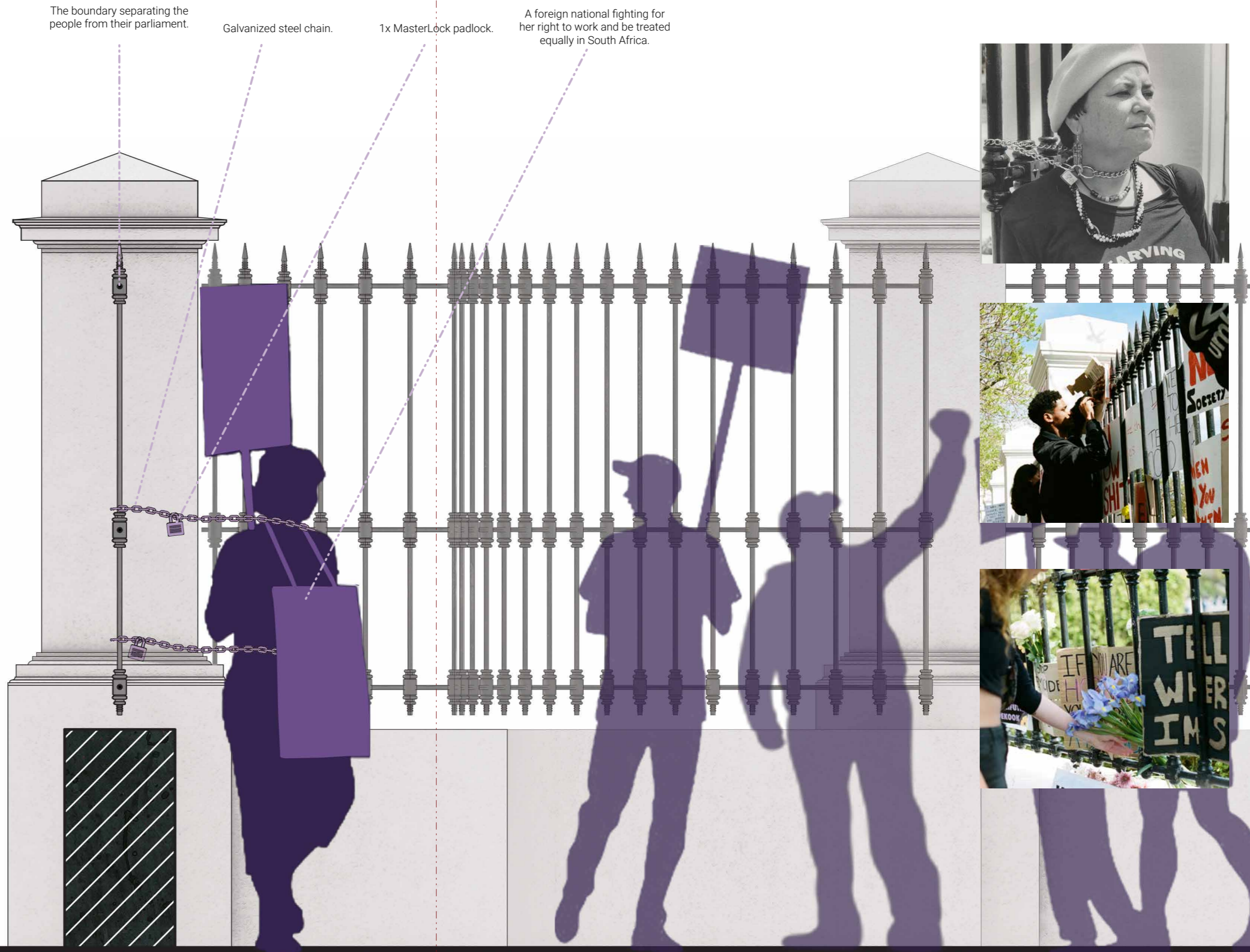
Highlighted explicitly by **[fig45]**, one can delineate clearly the division between what is considered to be land and space upon which the public can gather, and that which the public must be kept from - often by force. This division and lack of public integration in the South African Parliamentary Precinct results in the architectural elements which form the boundaries and structures of this precinct to become the physical elements upon which resistance is enacted. These elements including the fences and pillars of the boundary wall which separates the parliamentary precinct from its people and the representational vestiges of colonialism and apartheid, cast in bronze (The Louis Botha Memorial Statue), become both physically and visually enrolled in the practice of protest - through spatial and representational subversion.

As represented by **[fig53]** below, those engaging in protest occupy the spaces outside of and around the parliamentary precinct, therefore, they are fundamentally separated from it. During protest the interior parliamentary space is heavily securitised and surveilled by state police to ensure that those protesting are kept where the state deems public. This tension, through its architectural detailing highlights explicitly the necessity for better public space within and around our architectures of democracy which can facilitate and encourage protest. Equally, this analysis illuminates the importance of the provision of large, open public spaces within parliamentary precincts, to allow protesters to gather, organise, and resist oppression and in doing so operationalise their constitutional rights.

At the human scale, the occupation of architectures of democracy is enacted both by physical presence through the procession and in some cases through the subversion of dividing architectures - such as boundary walls and fences. By binding oneself to these divisive structures, the protester and the architectures of oppression become one. Highlighting not only that the public should be a part of its parliament but that this integration - of protestor and symbol of oppression - in the presiding context, must be taken through an insurgence of citizenship.

This practice of conjoining ones' body to the structures which represent oppression works to resist the physically and representationally exclusive nature of the securitised parliamentary precinct. In chaining and locking oneself to the gates of the parliamentary precinct, a protester cannot be removed - unless through serious physical force - from the space which they choose to occupy. This semi-permanent form of occupation within the procession brings attention to the seriousness of the issues presented. Equally this action refutes the premise that protesters may be forcibly removed from a space and architecture which is fundamentally embroiled in the administration and legislation of their lives.

This radical subversion of governmental space further illuminates the necessity of the public to be integrated and represented in the architectures of democracy. The public should not have to precariously occupy governmental space, their presence should be welcomed, provisioned for, and celebrated.



**[fig54]**  
Rendered Section drawing through the boundary wall and fence of the South African Parliamentary Precinct depicting and annotating the practice of occupation.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

**[fig55.1]** (top)  
Image depicting a mother protesting the incarceration of her son due to apartheid legislation  
[Source: UCT Digital Libraries, 1990]

**[fig55.2]** (middle)  
Subversion of the boundary of parliament through physical occupation during the 2019 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town  
[Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2019]

**[fig55.3]** (bottom)  
Subversion of the boundary of parliament through physical occupation during the 2019 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town  
[Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2019]

The edifice of legislative  
governance in South Africa



[fig56]  
Rendered elevation drawing depicting the shear scale of the National Assembly facade and its boundaries in comparison to the individual protester.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

[fig57.1] (top)  
Placards held during the 2020 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town (top)  
[Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2020]

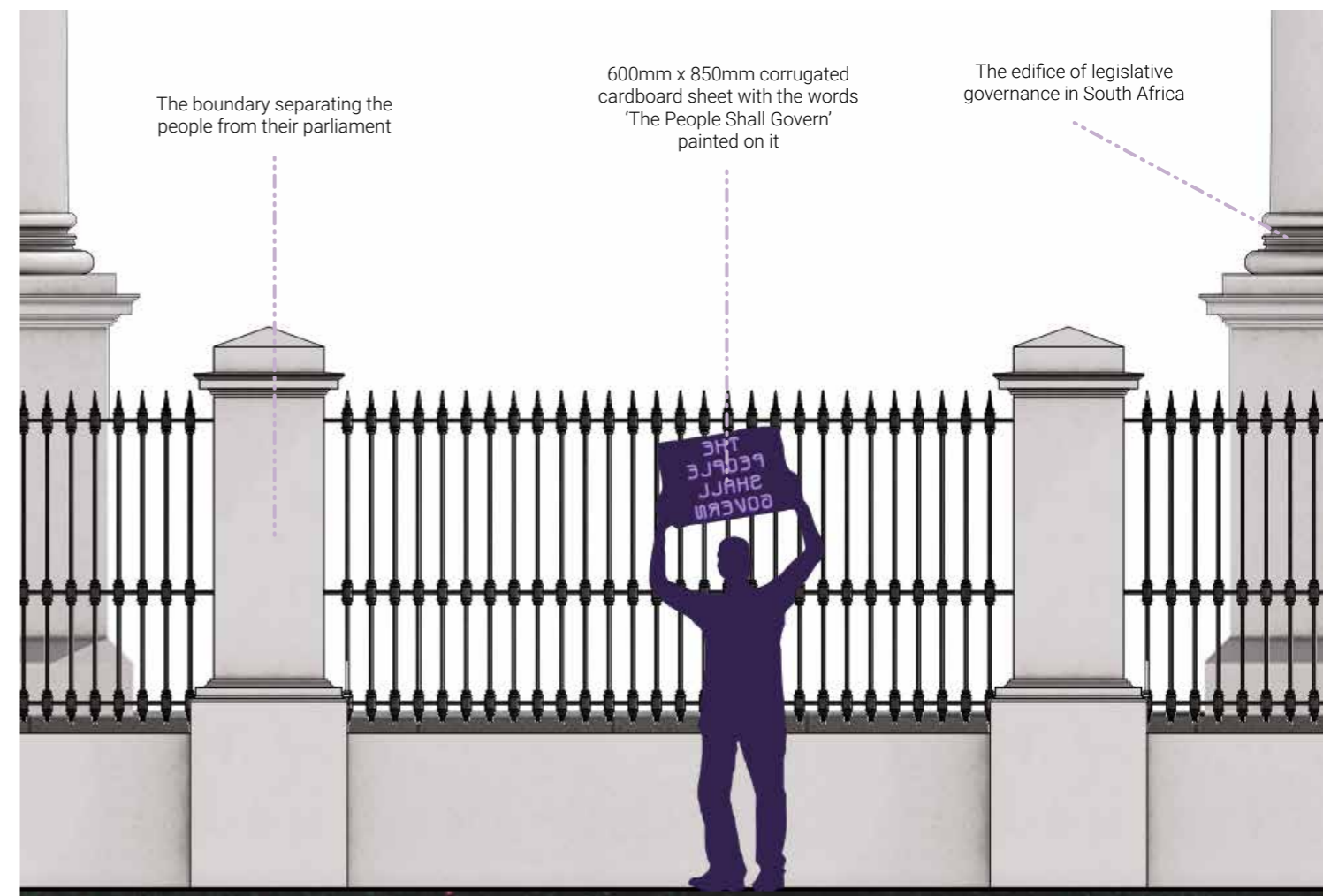
[fig57.2] (middle)  
Placard held during the 2020 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town (top)  
[Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2020]

[fig57.3] (bottom)  
Placard held during the 2019 anti-GBV protest in Cape Town (top)  
[Source: Daniels-Harvey, 2019]

Due to the extensive physical chasm between the public and the architecture of governance - and those that govern - another visually provocative performative action used by protesters is the placard. Like the chain it assists with the occupation of space and communication of resistance sentiments. As a revolutionary form of communication the placard is enacted to state explicitly what is being fought against or fought for. These messages inscribed on readily available materials are the visual manner in which the public communicates both with the governmental edifice and its members.

The many forms the placard may take look to deliver succinct messages which both empower the public and direct the government. These messages are the means by which a protest or movement can be engaged with form afar to identify the exact circumstances which are being resisted. Equally, the placard often becomes the artefact by which protest movements are remembered. Protest are often identified through historic or contemporary images - by what is painted or written on the placards that jut out amongst the procession. Thus, the visual nature of the placard creates a lasting and powerful call-to-action.

This artefact is the medium through which protesters can express their views and demands as an individual whilst still forming a part of a movement. They allow individuality whilst equally developing solidarity. The spatial divide between the governed and the governing creates the necessity for these communication devices to be utilised and illuminate the necessity for the provision of space in which the public can voice their concerns readily to the powers of democracy. This form of communication is a deeply pertinent and necessary element of protest - and therefore democracy - but should not be the only method by which the public can communicate with their government.



As delineated by Holston's framework, insurgent citizenship is a means by which space is subverted in order to reconstruct the provision of and definition of state-sanctioned rights. As a physical manifestation of insurgent citizenship, protest is a tool by which insurgent citizenship can be asserted and therefore contested. This relationship and the spatial consequences that ensue foster an environment whereby marginalized people have a means to demand a more progressive and inclusive societal structuring.

When applied to the South African Parliamentary Precinct, this framework illuminates the position that protest has played in the subversion of the architectures of colonialism and apartheid - which resulted in a democratic inversion. However, this inversion has not resulted in a spatial reconstruction, only a political and social one. The South African public as a whole is now constitutionally permitted to petition and protest at our parliament, yet the spatial engagement that the public is afforded has not been altered. Those that govern and those that are governed are still constitutively divided, both during formalised protest action and during the everyday informal inhabitation of the city. The South African Parliamentary precinct - and South African architectures of democracy as a whole - need to be reconstructed and reconstituted in order to provide for, permit, and celebrate the practice of protest and welcome the assertion of ones citizenship. A reconstruction that stands true to the demand of the Congress of the People<sup>10</sup> in the Freedom Charter of 1955 that insists that 'The People Shall Govern' (South African History Online, 2023).

10 The Congress of the People sought to 'unite most of the liberation forces in South Africa' (South African History Online, 2023). These forces included but were not limited to; the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), the South African Coloured People's Congress (SACPC), the South African Congress of Democrats (SACD) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU)' (South African History Online, 2023)



[fig58]

The reality the icon hides - photographic collage.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

P U B L I C

R E P R E S E N T A T I O N

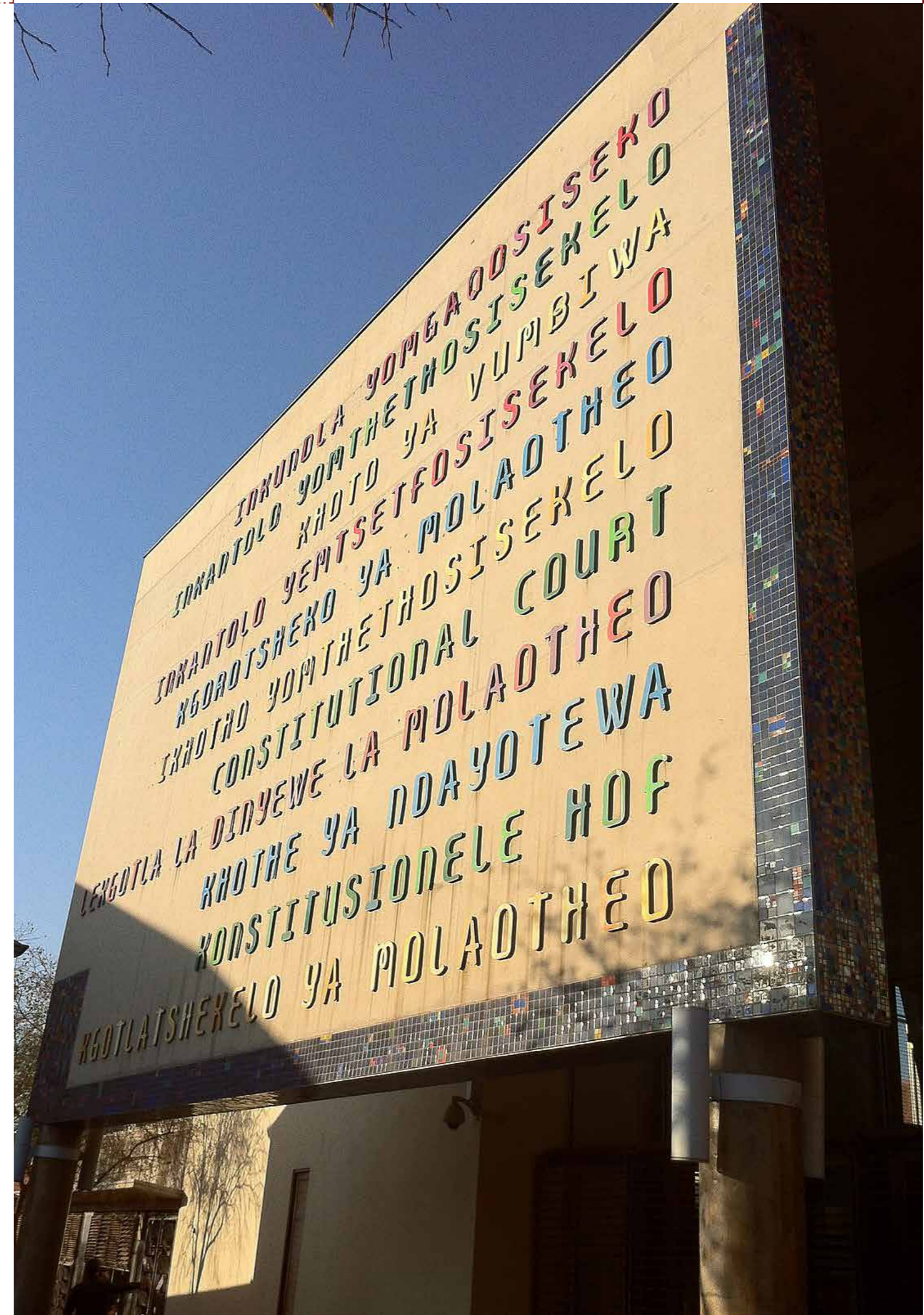
[fig59]

The Eastern facade of the Constitutional Court which has the words 'Constitutional Court' mounted on it in all 11 official written South African languages. [Source: Grigas, 2013]

In Johnathan Noble's conclusion to his analysis of the Constitutional Court building in Johannesburg, South Africa in his book; *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White Skin, Black Masks*, a salient point is made in reference to the place of the public in the architectures of South African democracy.

Formed through Claude Leforts's defence of human rights, Noble (2016;152) presents the idea that 'the formation of social rights is twinned with the emergence of a public political space, a space of public discussion and debate.' This space which Lefort expands as a space that 'individuals are both products and the instigators of' eludes to the profound importance of the representation of the public in spaces of democracy. Without the direct and explicit representation of our 'democratic society' within spaces of democracy, such space is no more than an impostor in a society defined by 'multiplicity' and 'diversity' (Noble, 2016;136). As such, through Noble's analysis of the Constitutional Court building, and the Constitutional Hill precinct, public representation as an integral aspect of the development of post-apartheid architectures of democracy will be unpacked. Equally, this public representation which is achieved through various aspects of the Constitutional Hill scheme will be delineated to inform the ways in which public representation can serve as a constitutive element in the radical reconstruction of the South African Parliamentary Precinct. This precedent is poignant in the context of this research due to its democratic significance as well as its sensitive handling of the deeply oppressive history of imprisonment on this site. A site defined as 'a place of punishment' as it served as 'Johannesburg's main place of incarceration for eight decades' (Arup, 2005;22).

As a prelude to Noble's analysis, the subtitle of his book; *White Skin, Black Masks* is unpacked to elucidate the role that Frantz Fanon's seminal 'study of colonised subjectivity' in Fanon's book *Black Skin, White Masks* plays in the engagement Noble undertakes with 'post-apartheid public design' (Noble, 2016;1). Fanon's 'non-essentialist theories of race, culture and identity' provides Noble with the theoretical structure for his analysis of the 'visionary quality of new [South African] architecture' (Noble, 2016;1). This analysis is undertaken with a focus on architecture's relationship to the hegemonic and oppressive forms of architectural expression and the 'repressed (African) forms of architectural expression' (Noble, 2016;1). Equally, Noble's 'glean[ing]' and alteration of Fanon's title to 'White Skin, Black Mask', brings to the fore the position that 'white architects' have held in the development of an 'African persona in design' - a direct vestige of apartheid-era educational oppressions which restricted the access of Black people and people of colour to universities and has therefore resulted in an over-representation of seasoned white architects in the construction industry, in comparison to all other demographic groups (Noble, 2016;1). Noble further expands upon the 'destructive legacy of colonial and apartheid rule' that has left the South African public without a 'reference to a new public architecture' (Noble, 2016;1). Thus, this circumstance has allowed South Africans to ponder 'fundamental questions of their personal and collective belonging' resulting in the 'experiment[ation] of new forms of political imagination' (Noble, 2016;1).





**[fig60]**  
Image of the lower North and East facades of the Constitutional Court Building.  
[Source: Arup, 2023]

Constitutional Hill, as a physical manifestation of the new South African Constitution which 'brought to close a long and bitter struggle to establish constitutional democracy in South Africa' (Currie & de Waal, 2005;7 as cited in Noble, 2016;113) brings into question the position of the 'representation of identities, culture and subjugated histories' in architecture (Noble, 2016;2). Concurrently, these aspects of the development of public representation in public buildings have worked to change 'our conception of architecture' (Noble, 2016;2). This process, of recreating a sense of South African identity within public architecture is expanded upon by Noble to include 'theories of post-colonial subjectivity' (Noble, 2016;3). These theories work to engage with the 'fluid process of identification' as opposed to the often reductive process of assigning a universal identity to a space within a society which is decidedly 'plural' and therefore 'highly differentiated' (Noble, 2016;3). A universalised identity or 'homogenising concept[s]' which Noble cites as 'the idea of an "African Style", or of some unified conception of "African Architecture"' (Noble, 2016;3).

In the avoidance of purveying an 'African expression' which is received as 'kitsch', the Constitutional Court building is seen to be 'African by analogy' - as uncovered by Noble (2016) during the adjudication of entries in the international design competition for the Constitutional Court building (Davey, 2006, as cited in Noble, 2016;122). OMMUS - the architects behind the winning entry - achieve this analogy through 'symbolic resonances', 'inside/outside relations' and 'the sculptural, accumulative nature of the building' (Davey, 2006, as cited in Noble, 2016;122). Techniques which are in direct opposition to the 'conventional iconograph[ies] of power' that are prevalent across many democratically reclaimed architectures of governance in South Africa (Noble, 2016). This search for an architectural expression of South African constitutional democracy which foregoes the classic and neo-classic architectural elements popularly associated with institutional power such as 'variance[s] of Roman columns' was engaged in to 'establish something ... we could feel was ours' (Sachs, 2004, as cited in Noble, 2016;117). Equally, the composition of this building as a 'diversity of different forms' is cited by Davey (2004 as cited in Noble, 2016;122) to physically represent the social form of post-apartheid 'South African society'. Through this democratic and therefore publicly inclusive process of arriving at a suitable expression of a constitution hard-fought for, OMMUS's winning entry - and the resulting construction - is focused around the use of an 'array of complex reference[s]' as opposed to the 'dominance of a single symbol' (Damstra, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;122).



**[fig61]**  
The Constitutional Court building as seen from the old Fort ramparts.  
[Source: GoLegal, 2017]

The two chief strategies which OMMUS used to 'articulate the democratic, participatory intentions' of this building include the integration of; 'singular processional object buildings' and 'buildings continuous with landscape, access and context' (OMMUS, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;134).

In the former case, 'singular processional object buildings' - such as the 'Court foyer' and the 'Court chamber' are used to illustrate a sense of 'gravitas, pre-eminence, grandeur and solitude' (Arup, 2005;25) (OMMUS, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;134). This effort to achieve a sense of 'pre-eminence' in the legal stature and the physical form of the Constitutional Court is carefully mediated to avoid the replication of colonial or imperial spatialities (Noble, 2016;134). Spatialities that through their divisive nature, only communicate institutional rigour to the public, not involve them in the foundations of that rigour. This mediation is implemented through the reticence to develop a 'monumental form' through 'Eurocentric grand-solids' and instead present 'African grandeur' through a building of 'great voids' (OMMUS, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;134). 'Voids' which are 'physically experienced' not merely 'seen from a distance' (OMMUS, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;134). The experience of the user - and therefore the public - is instrumental in garnering this sense of spatial and institutional grandeur. Equally, these spaces are formed with a clear focus on 'accessibility' to the public in spatial, representational and physical forms (Noble, 2016;122). Not only are proceedings in the Court chamber 'conducted in public', but extensive space is provided in and around this institution which allow users to 'sit, stand, chat, linger or move on', thus providing the public with spatial agency within a building tasked with upholding their democratic and constitutional agency in South Africa (Arup,2005;25) (OMMUS, 1998 as cited in Noble, 2016;131). This inclusive spatial nuance is accomplished through the implicit involvement of the public in the production of this space. An effort which is in direct opposition to colonial and imperial forms of architectural expression which generate formability through iconography and distance from the public.

This strategy, used by OMMUS to craft these spaces elucidates their architectural focus on the inclusion of the public in an architecture fundamental to their democracy. The narrative and aesthetic of the public are not excluded nor obscured in the physical manifestations of democracy but celebrated. The 'gravitas' of this building is thus achieved through the "power of the people" - as opposed to the power of the institution itself (OMMUS, 1998 as cited in Noble, 2016;131). These spaces look not to lay claim to power in the eyes of the public through architectural iconography and symbolic expression, but instead by the direct involvement of the public in the development of and contribution to an institution charged with upholding constitutional democracy.

[fig62]

The lively and publicly inhabited foyer of the Constitutional Court chamber.  
[Source: Constitutional Hill, 2023]



[fig63]

Interior of the Constitutional Court chamber during proceedings.  
[Source: Bodiat, 2021]

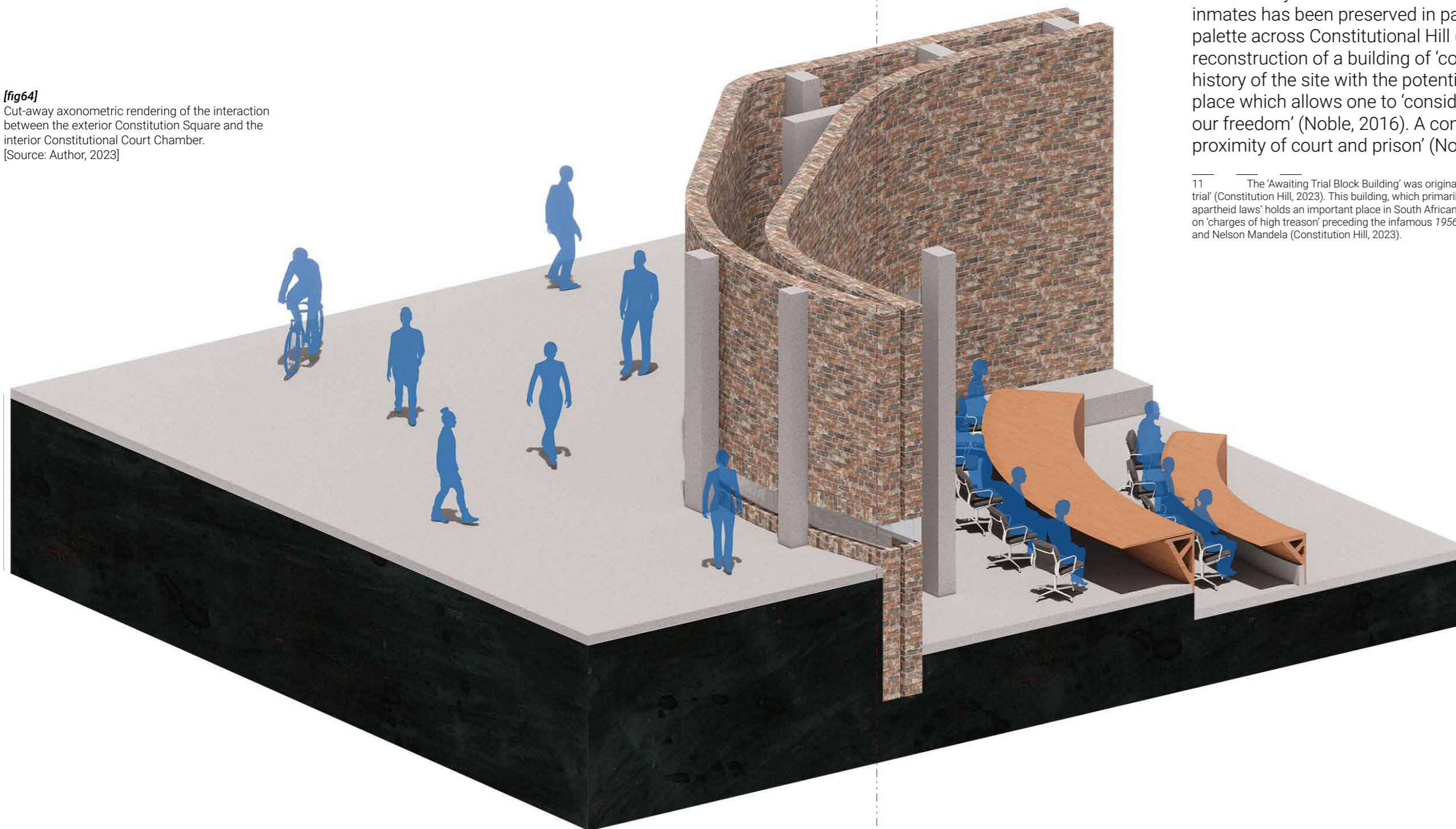


A technical detail which elucidates OMMUS's articulation of the 'democratic, participatory intentions of this building' within the 'singular processional object buildings' aforementioned, manifests in the bounding walls of the Court chamber (OMMUS, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;134). In particular, a less obvious yet nonetheless important example of this articulation can be found in the small strip of glazing which runs along the wall behind the judge's benches.

This curvilinear wall is constructed of bricks which were reclaimed from the demolished 'Awaiting Trial Block Building'<sup>11</sup> - a building which sat on the site of the new Constitutional Court building, and has a decidedly harrowing history (Noble, 2016;140). This building which was 'horribly overcrowded' and was marked by 'brutal[ity]' between inmates has been preserved in part and reconstituted as a material palette across Constitutional Hill (Arup, 2005;22). This radical reconstruction of a building of 'confinement' works to juxtapose the history of the site with the potential future of Constitutional Hill as a place which allows one to 'consider the fundamental constitution of our freedom' (Noble, 2016). A consideration which is 'built upon the proximity of court and prison' (Noble, 2016;153).

<sup>11</sup> The 'Awaiting Trial Block Building' was originally built in 1928 to 'house black prisoners who were awaiting trial' (Constitution Hill, 2023). This building, which primarily incarcerated Black men 'for transgressing a range of apartheid laws' holds an important place in South African history as it was the building in which '156 activists' were held on 'charges of high treason' preceding the infamous 1956 *Treason Trial* which included Robert Sobukwe, Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela (Constitution Hill, 2023).

**[fig64]**  
Cut-away axonometric rendering of the interaction between the exterior Constitution Square and the interior Constitutional Court Chamber.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

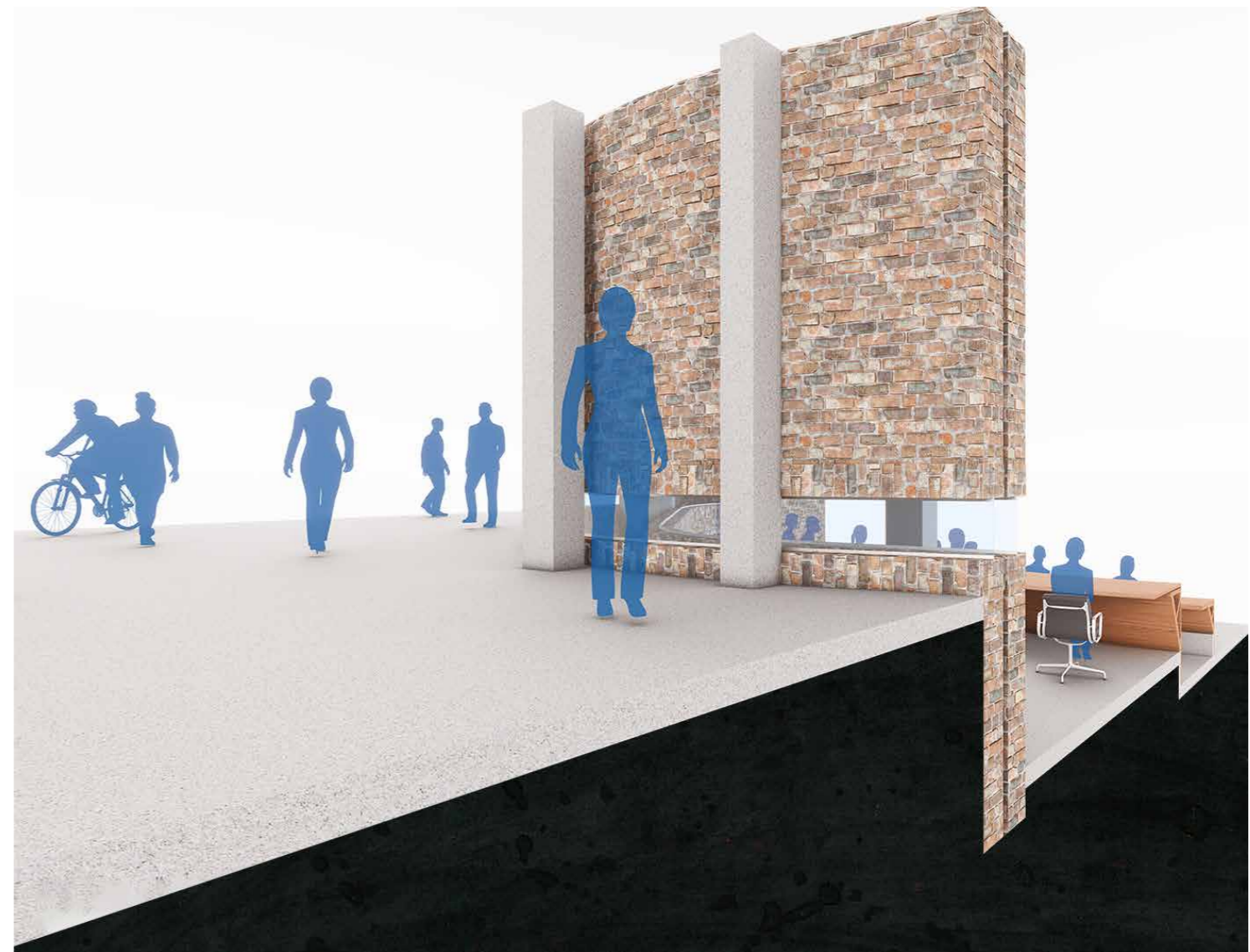


The glazing in this reconstituted wall is a simultaneous puncture in the fabric of oppressive detainment and constitutional freedom. This puncture operates on a symbolic level to communicate the transformation of South African society since the end of apartheid. An architecture of oppression has been radically reconstructed to physically and metaphorically form the spaces which are legislatively charged with the eradication of oppression and the development of a free and 'new society' (Nobe, 2016;119). Equally, the visual connection between the interior of the court chamber and the bounding Constitution Square creates a connection between legislators and ordinary citizens as members of the public, one and the same. This strip of glazing which is placed just above ground level on the exterior of the building and at eye level within the court chamber allows the mundane and everyday movements of individuals of the public around the exterior of the court to infiltrate the interior of this space. Thus, the public becomes both metaphorically and visually represented within a space in which decisions are made on their behalf through their important role in the production of the space. This play of vertical levels between legislators and citizens works not to place judges "below" the people but emphasises the foundational work these legislators do in the upholding of our democracy and therefore our everyday lives.

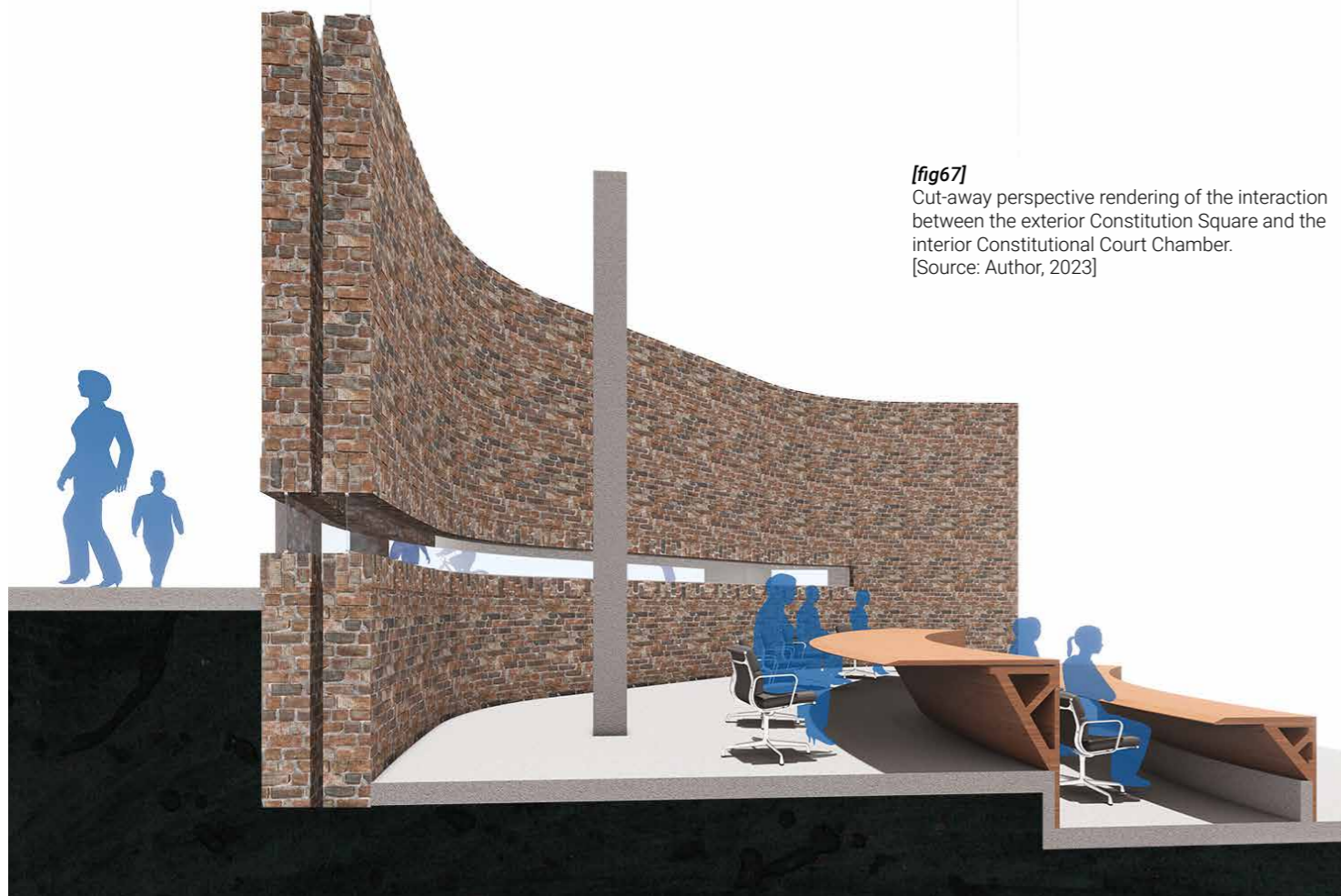
**[fig65]**  
Interior rendering which depicts the opening in the court chamber wall allowing visual access to the exterior Constitution Square.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig66]**  
Cut-away perspective rendering of the interaction between the exterior Constitution Square and the interior Constitutional Court Chamber.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig67]**  
Cut-away perspective rendering of the interaction between the exterior Constitution Square and the interior Constitutional Court Chamber.  
[Source: Author, 2023]





[fig68]

Interior image of the 'exhibition arcade' leading up to the court foyer.  
[Source: Arup, 2023]

In OMMUS's effort to create 'buildings continuous with landscape, access and context' which equally communicate the progressive intentions of the building, the notion of public representation and direct involvement in architectures of democracy is explored further (OMMUS, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;134).

The design of the 'exhibition arcade' and the 'Great African Stairs' work to include the public through their physical presence, visual representation and unadulterated access (Arup, 2005;24). These two linear spaces which run parallel to each other create what Noble (2016;136) terms as 'double spatialisation'. A 'double spatialisation' which is explored through the 'spatial continuity' of these spaces between indoor and outdoor spaces, and the 'public and private realms' (Noble, 2016;136). Through a celebration instead of obscuration of the landscape upon which this building is built, these spaces are formed primarily by terraced stairways and ramps which bring the user either up towards the court foyer or down towards the 'public auditorium' and 'reference library' (Arup, 2005;24). In the physical inclusion of the public in a spatially ambiguous manner - conjoining interior, exterior, private and public, visually and physically - members of the public are afforded an implicit connection with and involvement in the Constitutional Court building. A connection allowed to develop independent of a formal desire to attend a court chamber preceding or any sort of pre-determined 'need for arrival' (Noble, 2016;139). In terms of visual representation, the leading function of the 'exhibition arcade' is to exhibit and house a portion of The Constitutional Court Art Collection which is composed of 'predominantly South African artworks' which operate as a 'visual interface between art and justice for the public' (Constitutional Court Trust, 2023). This collection looks not to replicate the classical separation between art and the architecture which exhibits art, and therefore these crafted elements are considered "integrated components" rather than decorations' of the architecture (Makin & Masojade, 2005 as cited in Noble, 2016;142). These elements - such as Lewis Levin and Patrick Rorke's sunscreens - are used throughout the building to serve aesthetic and pragmatic functions in aid of an inclusive spatiality. Levin and Rorke's screens 'act as security bars' whilst equally serving as 'the visual threshold between the gallery interior and the Great African Steps outside' (Noble, 2016;145). Additionally, the patterning and engravings on the surface of these screens work to 'narrativise the surface' (Noble, 2016;146). The patterns developed by Levin reference the ethno-mathematics of 'traditional African Beadwork' whilst the engraving drawn by Rorke includes portraits which 'represent personal stories of ordinary people' in reference to the public 'perceptions of the court' (Noble, 2016;149).



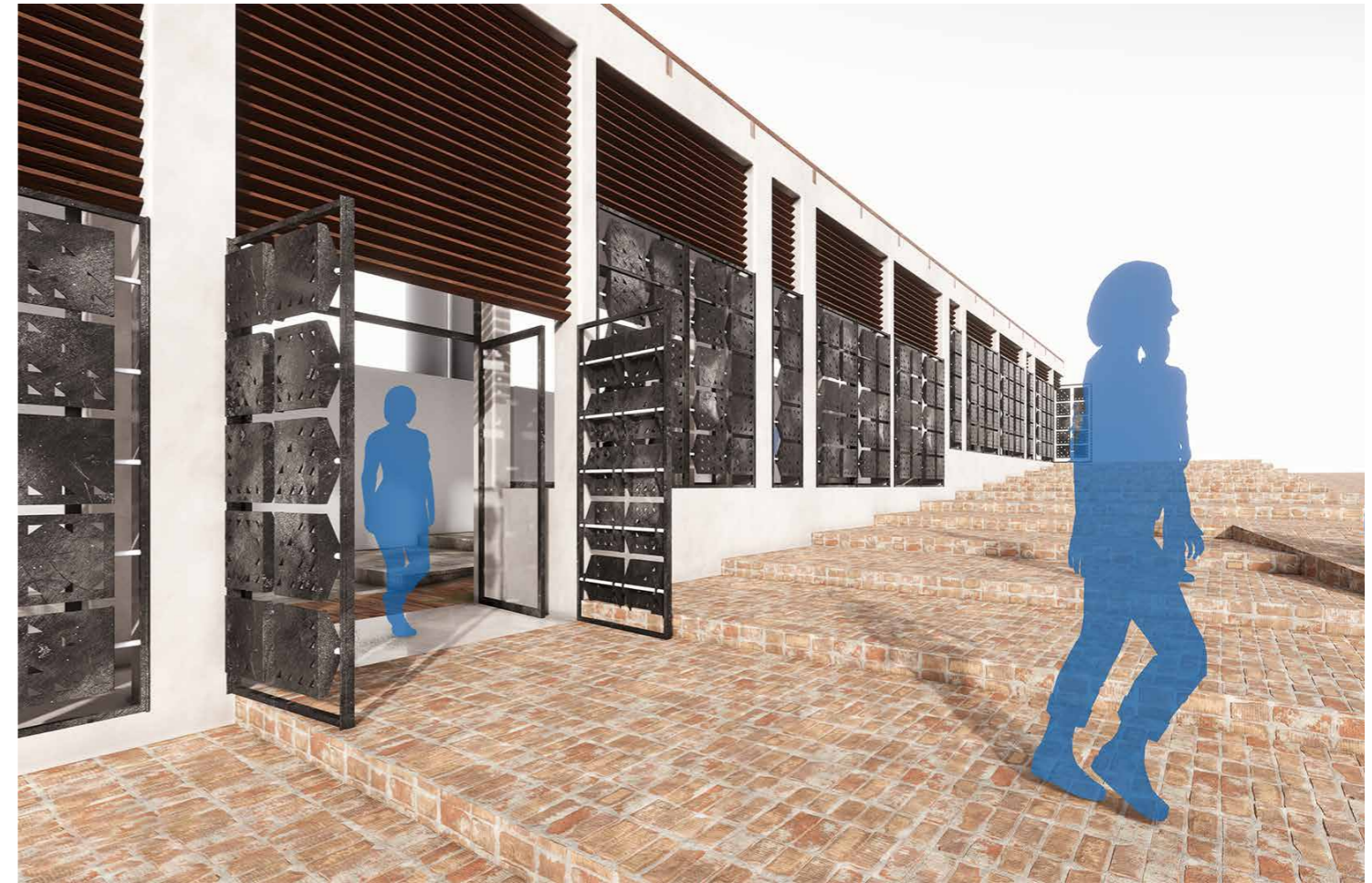
[fig69]

Image depicting the Great African Stairs.  
[Source: Constitutional Hill, 2023]

Additionally, through the careful mediation of the steep site, the public's physical access to these spaces is considered sensitively. The Grand African Stairs and the Exhibition Arcade have been carefully detailed to provide universal access throughout their 'terraced decline' (Noble, 2016;139). This is achieved through the inclusion of ramps which decline parallel to the exhibition arcade steps, allowing all members of the public to inhabit and experience this space equally. Correspondingly, the rectilinear terracing of the African Grand Stairs - also formed of reclaimed bricks from the Awaiting Trial Block - are interspersed with curvilinear ramps which allow those with physical disabilities and those without to traverse this path in a varied and non-descriptive manner.

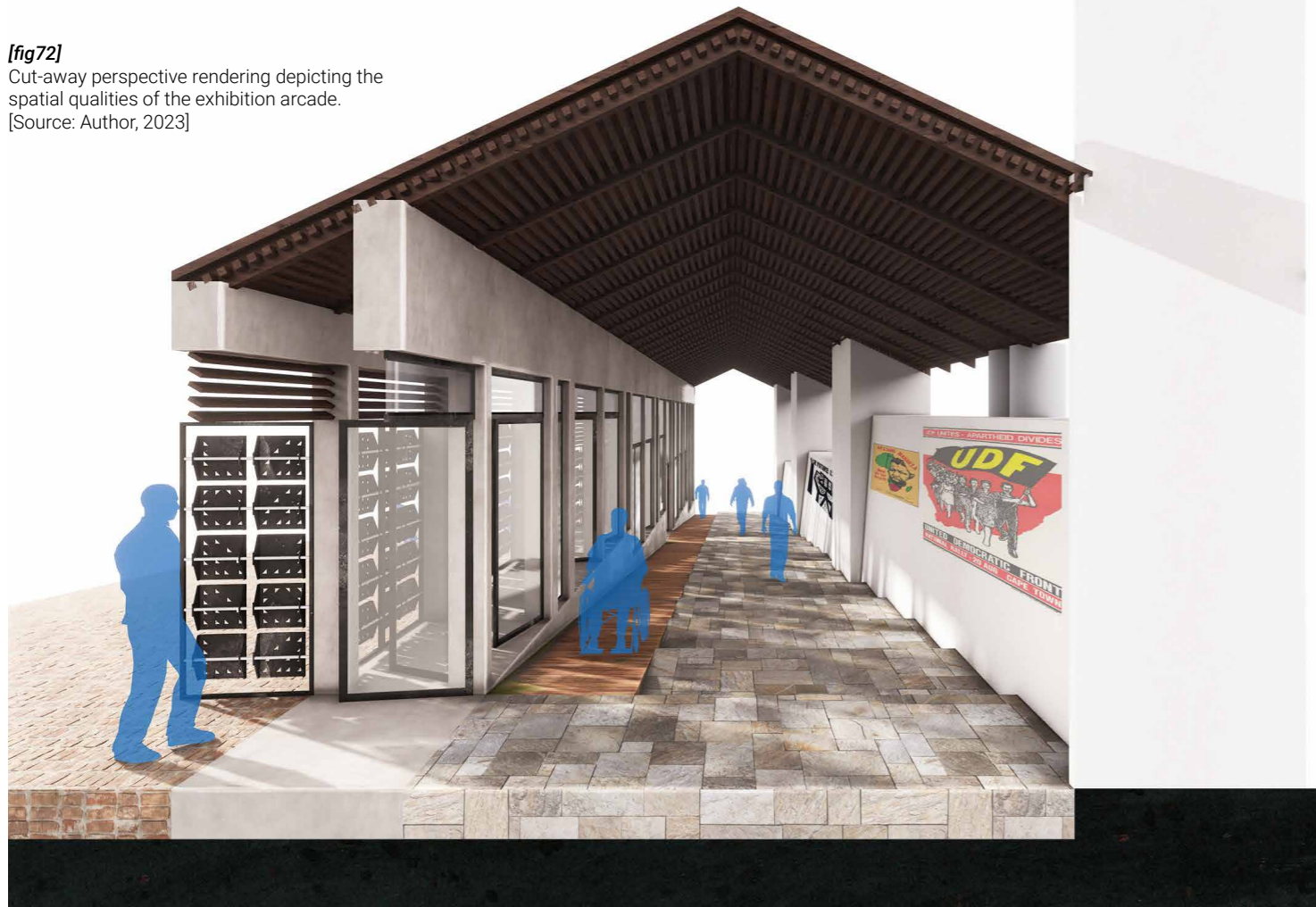
As seen through **fig[70-72]** the 'double spatialisation' of these spaces is negotiated through the interplay of openings, shading and material palettes.

**[fig70]**  
Rendering depicting the multi-functionality of sunscreen panels as threshold mediators and interior sun shades.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig71]**  
Interior rendering depicting the connection between interior and exterior spaces  
[Source: Author, 2023]

**[fig72]**  
Cut-away perspective rendering depicting the spatial qualities of the exhibition arcade.  
[Source: Author, 2023]





[fig73]

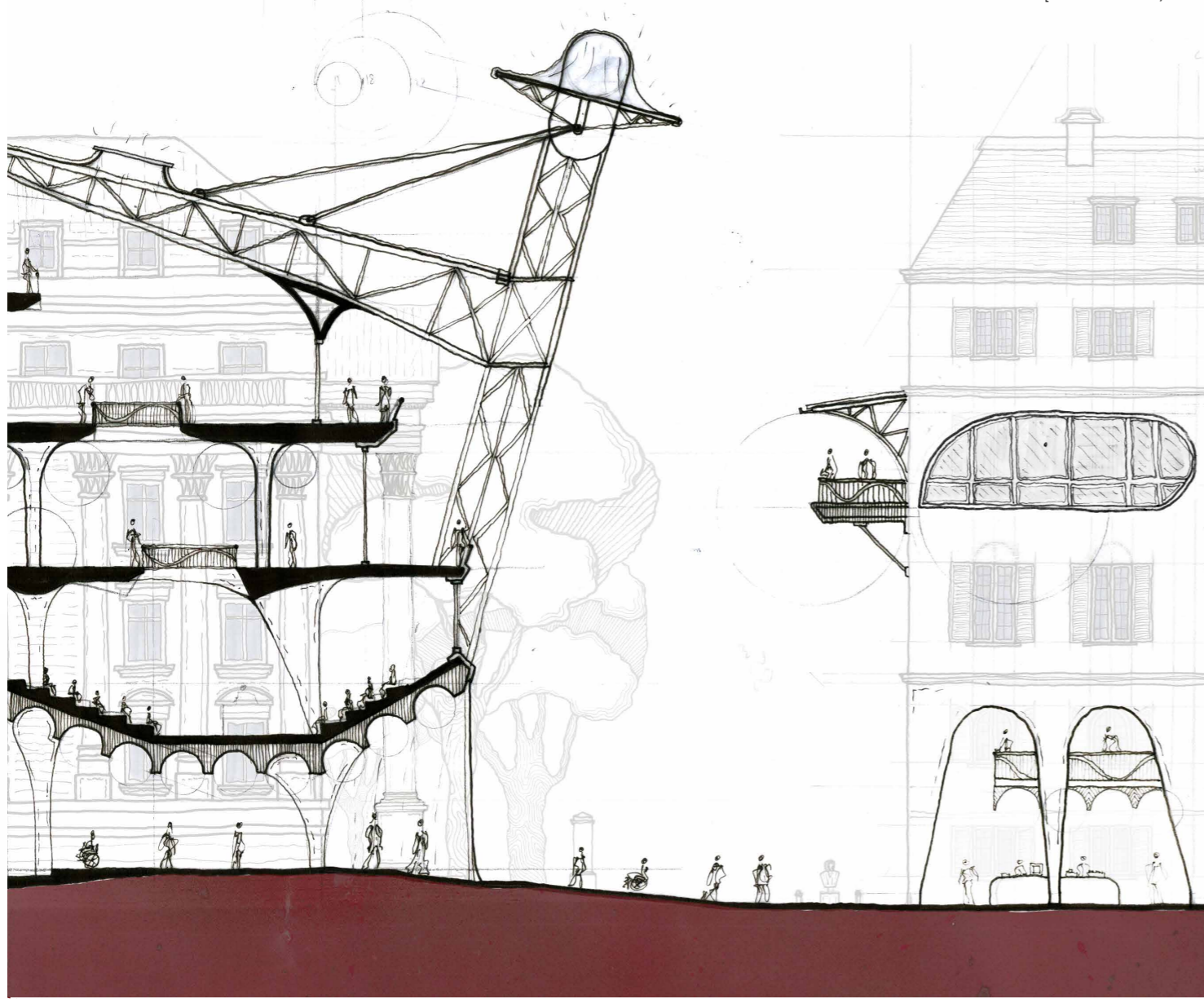
Image of the Southern textured and curved facade of the Constitutional Court.  
[Source: André-Pierre, 2007]

South Africa's Constitutional Court has fundamentally changed the manner in which our architectures of democracy can and should be designed. Throughout and deeply engrained in the rudiments of this building, the public voice and presence are clear. This architecture of democracy truly is of its democracy. It does not conform to 'conventional symbols of power', but instead 'dethrones' these symbols through its garnering of symbolic power via the constituents which grant it that power in the first place - the public (Noble, 2016;153). As a pivotal example of post-apartheid public architecture, The Constitutional Court building - and Constitutional Hill as a precinct - brings to the fore that there are, without a doubt, manners in which architecture and space can work as a mediator of oppressive pasts whilst aiding in the development of progressive futures. The past is not obscured or erased in this precinct, nor is it co-opted or rewritten. The truth of imperial, colonial and apartheid oppression rings throughout this precinct, yet without a tone of finality. This truth is displayed as a point of departure. A place from which South African society has progressed, and a place which we must continually work together to keep in the past. Work that through, acts of public representation in and radical reconstructions of the architectures that do not represent nor benefit our contemporary society, can become truly part of that society.

WAYS OF FORWARD

[fig74]

Sectional and elevational sketch design drawing of a radically reconstructed South African Parliament. This drawing works to suggest ways in which the public can become represented in their architectures of governance through spatial reconceptualisation, physical presence, and architectural aesthetics. In particular, this drawing focuses on the South East facade of Africa House and a section cutting through the South East facade and entrance lobby of the National Assembly Building, adjacent to Parliament Street. [Source: Author, 2023]

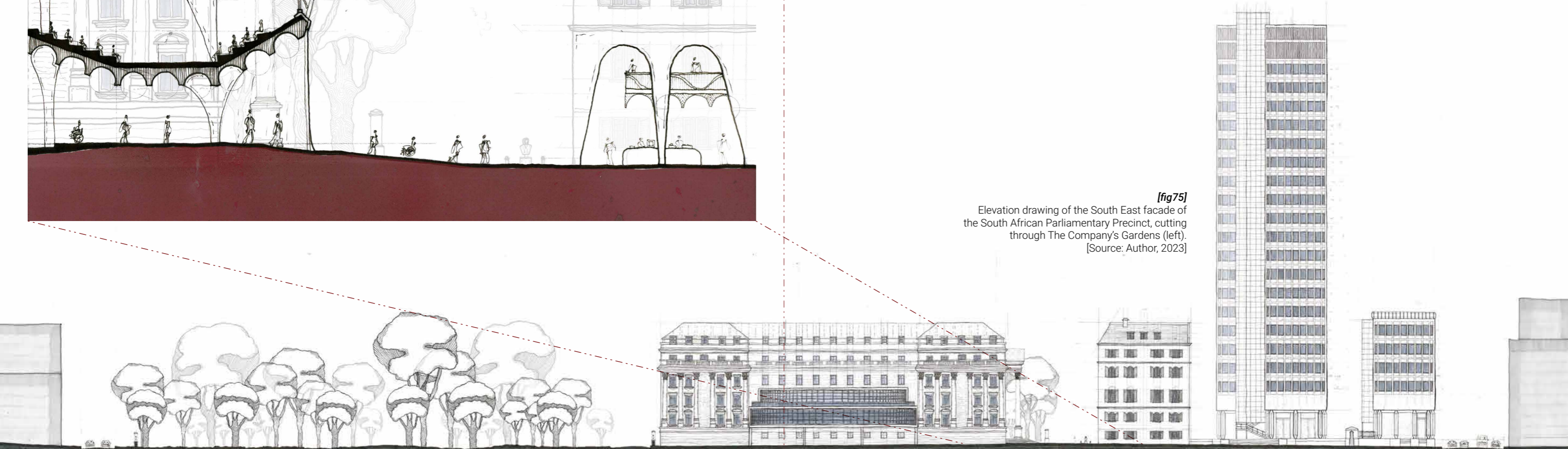


South African architectures of democracy are physically and spatially marred by the violent and brutal histories of empire, colonialism and apartheid, yet they need not be defined by these histories. The precincts, buildings, and spaces which are charged with the advocacy for the South African people through our constitutional democracy must be radically reconstructed and reconfigured to allow those histories to stay in the past. We must develop an architecture of governance which engages and deals with this history sensitively but primarily is an architecture which is of its people. We cannot leave these structures as they are. To do so would deny the people their right to an open and free society.

These places are not representative nor inclusive of our society, and as such they must be reconstituted to deal with the complex history of our country, but equally provide space for the development of progressive and inclusive futures for South Africans. Our architectures of democracy must relinquish their reliance on iconography and symbols of power to garner respect from their people. Instead, these institutions must earn respect in the hearts and minds of the people through the peoples' direct involvement and representation in the edifice which defines our leadership. The right to freedom and democratic representation in South Africa was a hard-fought battle that transformed our society radically, and as such it is high time that the architectures that represent and uphold that revolution; represent, express, and celebrate that radical transformation.

[fig75]

Elevation drawing of the South East facade of the South African Parliamentary Precinct, cutting through The Company's Gardens (left). [Source: Author, 2023]



PART 02

ARCHITECTURAL

REALISATION

[fig76]

Perspective sketch of a new Parliamentary Precinct  
for South Africa.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



In translating the theoretical and technological precepts delineated in Part 01 into an architectural response, the following drawings work to illustrate the core philosophies and concepts behind a radically reconstructed South African Parliament.

The process that has culminated in these architectural representations has been one which has been defined by a reciprocal relationship between pragmatism and idealism. Concerns about the practical operation of a key governmental architecture have been balanced by the ideals involved in developing an architecture which interprets our constitution in a way that centres the experience of the public, not the parliamentarian. A privileging of the public experience and inhabitation of space has been mediated by the imperative that places of governance must operate efficiently and without unnecessary obstruction.

This process has been one which has worked not to be inhibited by the practical reasons which have been in part a driving force in the exclusion of citizens from their places of government. Instead, this process has worked to see these practicalities as design informants which when interpreted through a new lens, allow the public to truly become centred in the processes of their democracy.

What has been primary in this research and its resultant architectural manifestation is nonetheless the experience of the public. Although practical informants have defined and shaped the architecture to adequately meet the requirements of our constitution and the laws which govern our parliament, those requirements are filtered to develop a response which creates new and progressive spaces for both the governed and the governing.

To assimilate these ideals into an architectural response, the key theoretical ideas unpacked in Part 01 were converted into concise architectural concepts which have been guiding forces in all design decisions.

Although these proclamations of spatial requirements for South Africa's new parliament can be conceptually isolated, they are not to be seen as siloed concepts. Instead, they are the parts that form the whole. A whole which could not and should not manifest without its constituent parts.

Further to the conversion of these philosophies into concepts, are graphic representations of how these ideas can become architectural responses in the context of the South African Parliamentary Precinct. In the following pages, these diagrams work to illustrate the existing circumstances which prevail in the precinct and how these circumstances can be overcome through the application of these three conceptual approaches.

RADICAL  
RECONSTRUCTION

INHABITATION & RESPATIALISATION  
OF THE POLITICAL RUIN

INSURGENT  
CITIZENSHIP

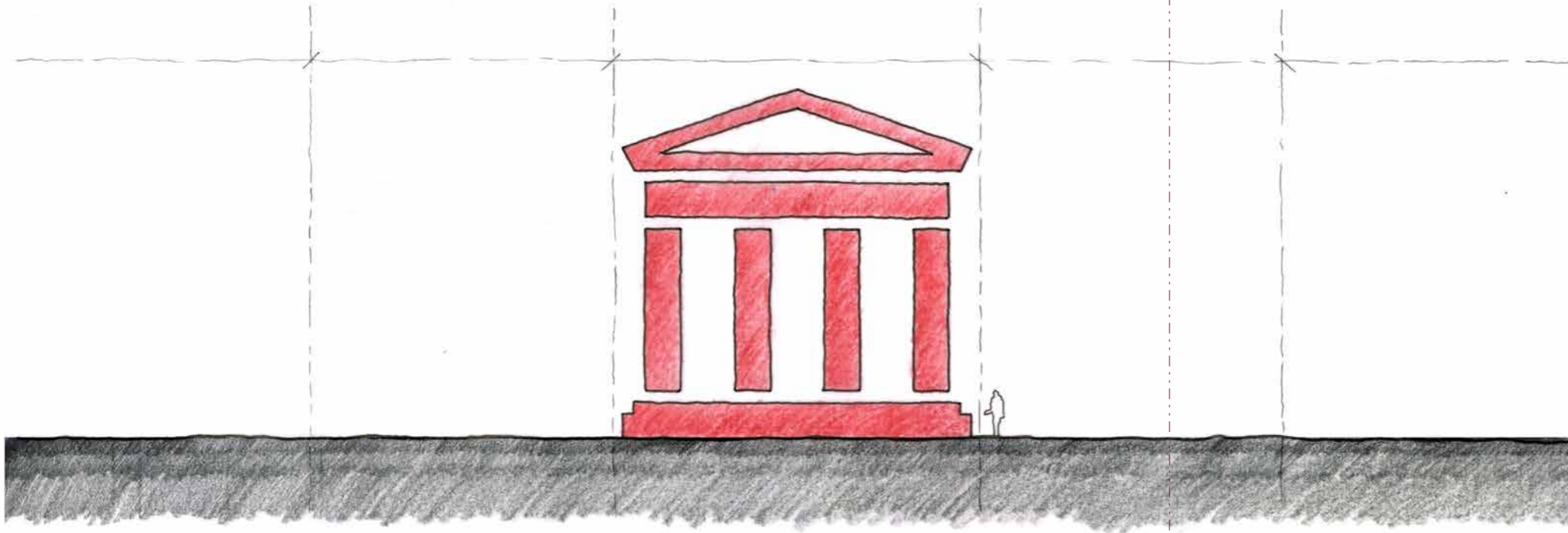
SPACES FOR PROTEST WITH IMMEDIATE  
PROXIMITY TO PARLIAMENTARIANS

PUBLIC  
REPRESENTATION

UNINHIBITED PUBLIC PLANE

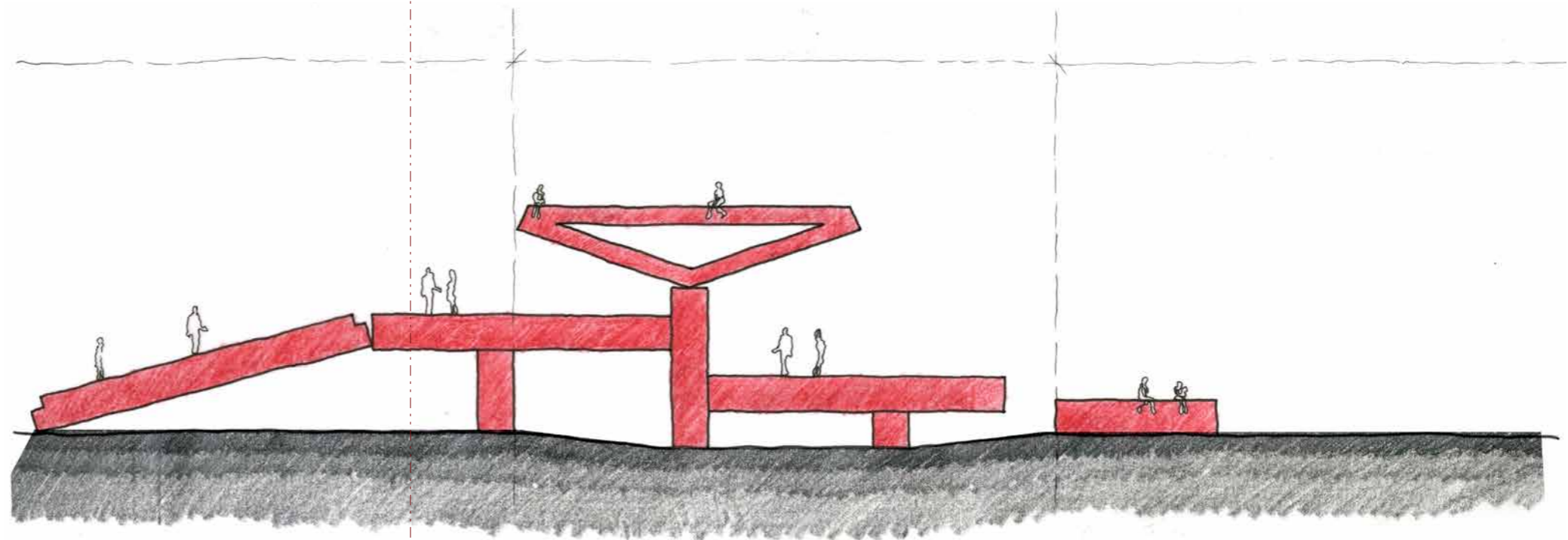
[fig77]  
Theoretical precepts conceptualised.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

# RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

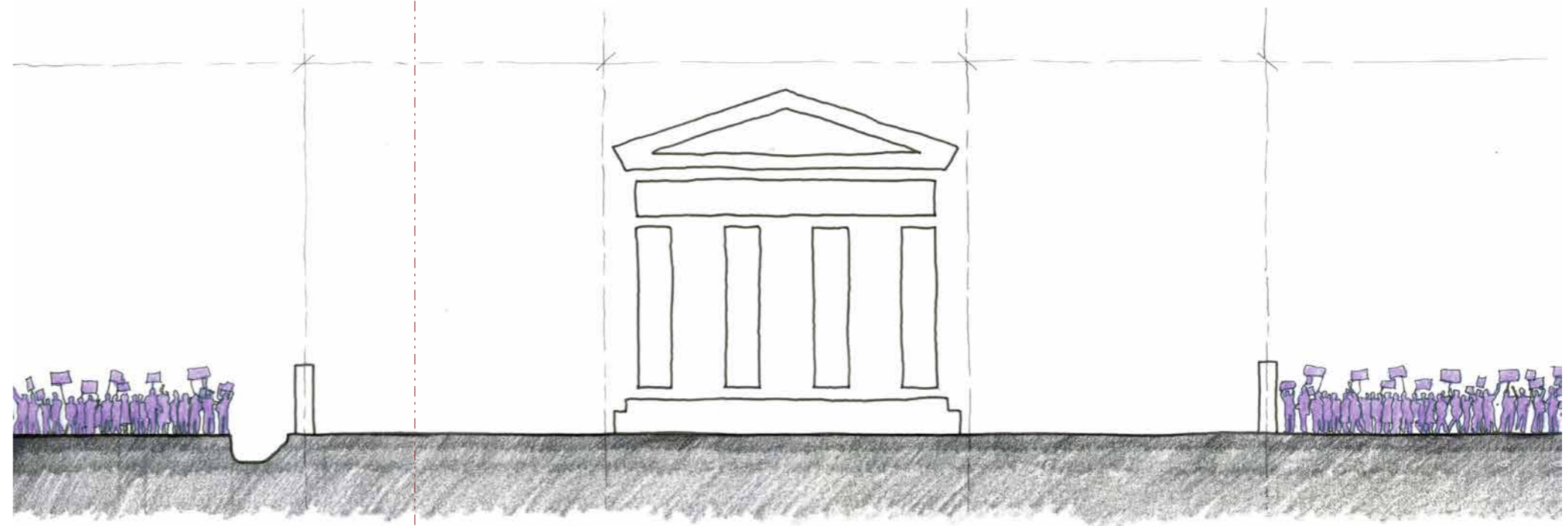


**[fig78]**  
Tenants of Radical Reconstruction applied to the  
South African Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

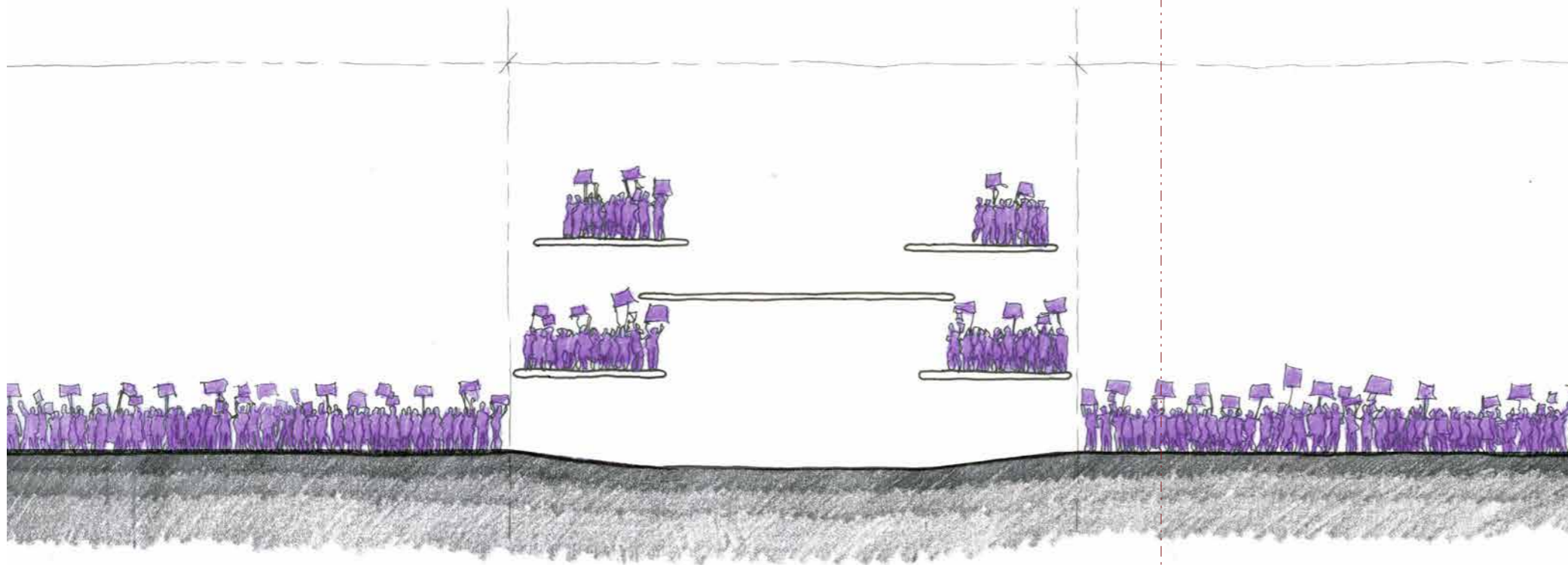
INHABITATION &  
RESPATIALISATION OF THE  
POLITICAL RUIN



# INSURGENT CITIZENSHIP

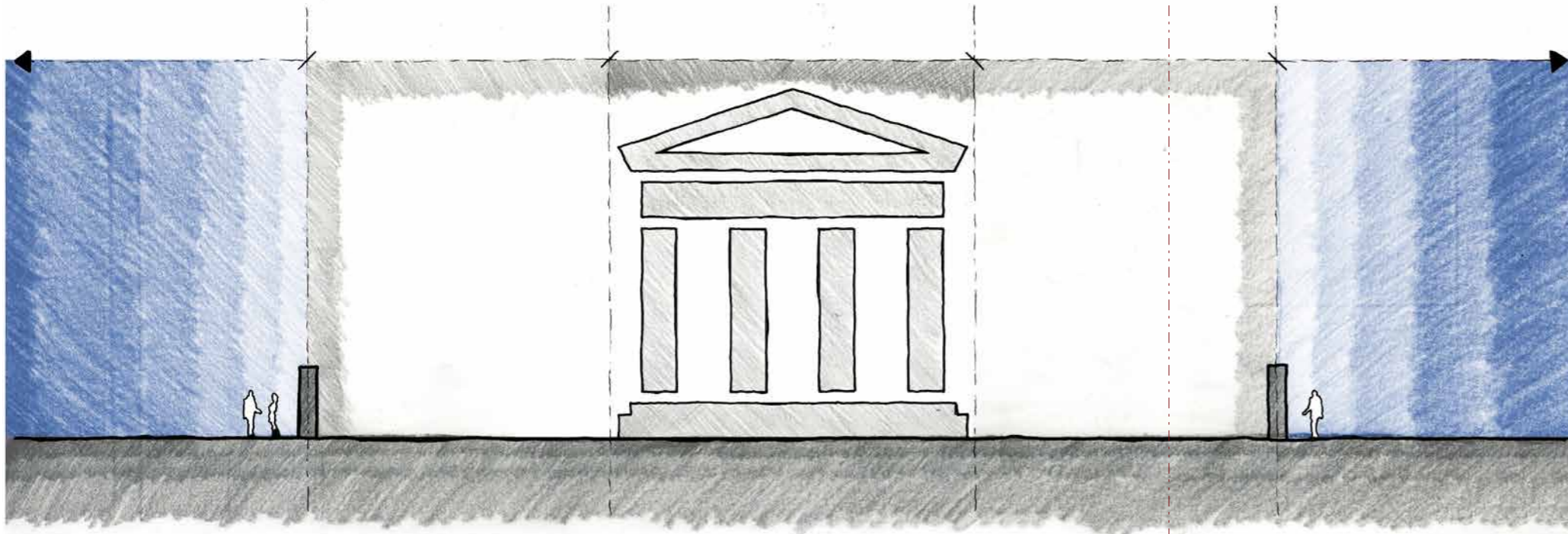


**[fig79]**  
Tenants of Insurgent Citizenship applied to the  
South African Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

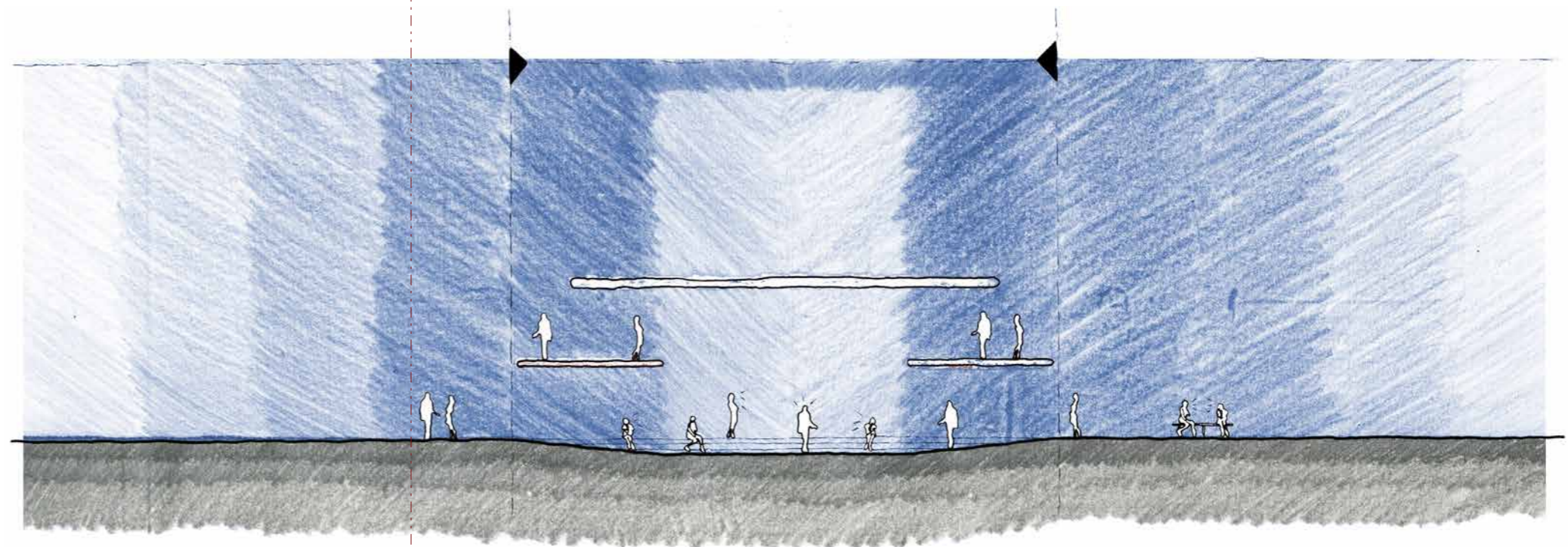


SPACES FOR PROTEST WITH  
IMMEDIATE PROXIMITY TO  
PARLIAMENTARIANS

# PUBLIC REPRESENTATION



**[fig80]**  
Tenants of Public Representation applied to the South African Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



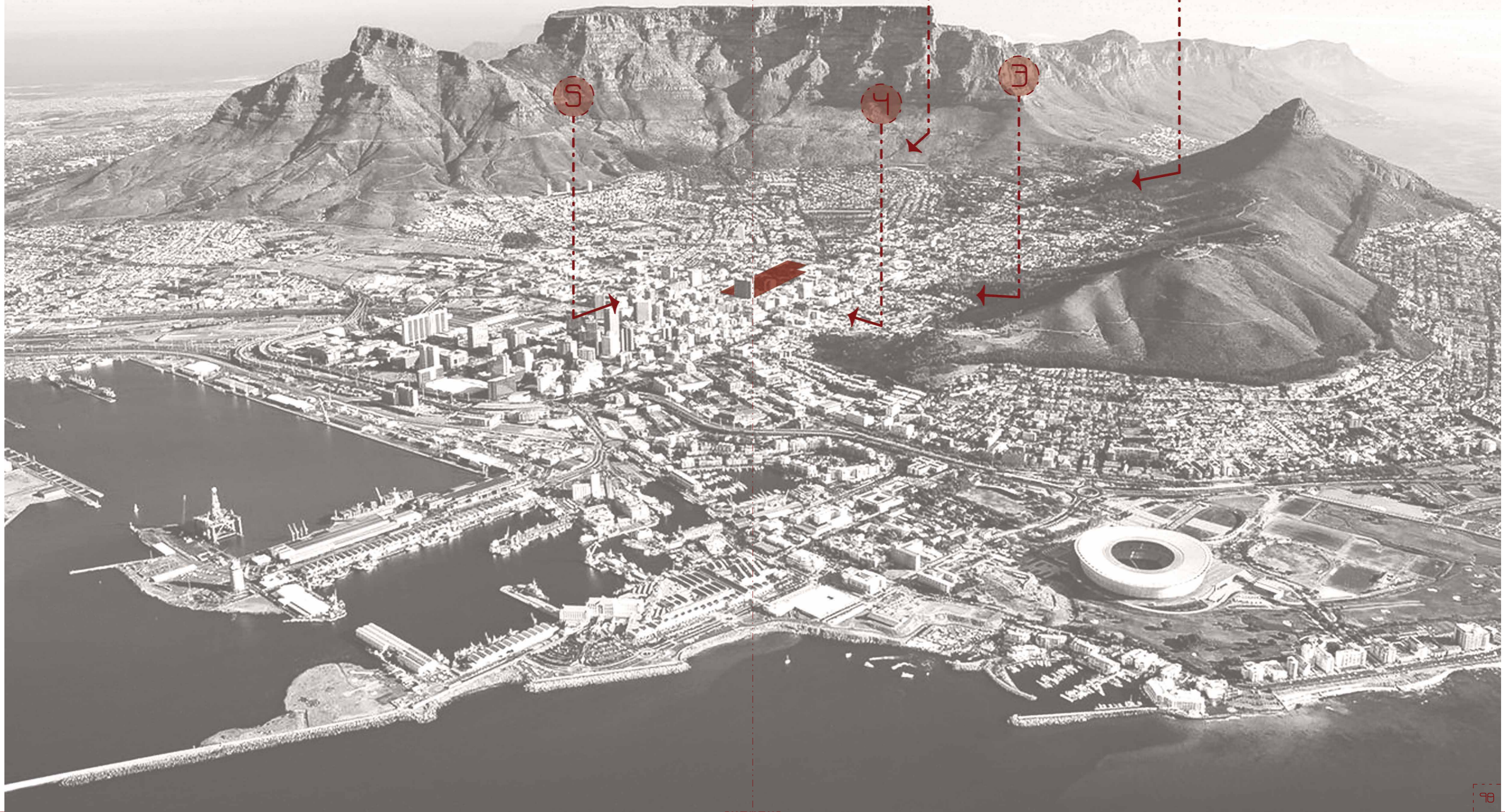
## UNINHIBITED PUBLIC PLANE

S I T E

DELINEATION

To further elucidate the context in which the South African Parliamentary Precinct resides, the following images and drawings work to illustrate the prominent and central position that the precinct holds within Cape Town's urban fabric. Equally, significant architectures and urban elements are denoted in the following aerial drawings.

**[fig81]**  
Aerial image of Cape Town illustrating location of Parliamentary Precinct and perspective from which images were taken.  
[Source: Strongin, 2018]



**[fig82]**

Photograph of Cape Town from Tafelberg Road illustrating position of Parliamentary Precinct within the urban fabric.

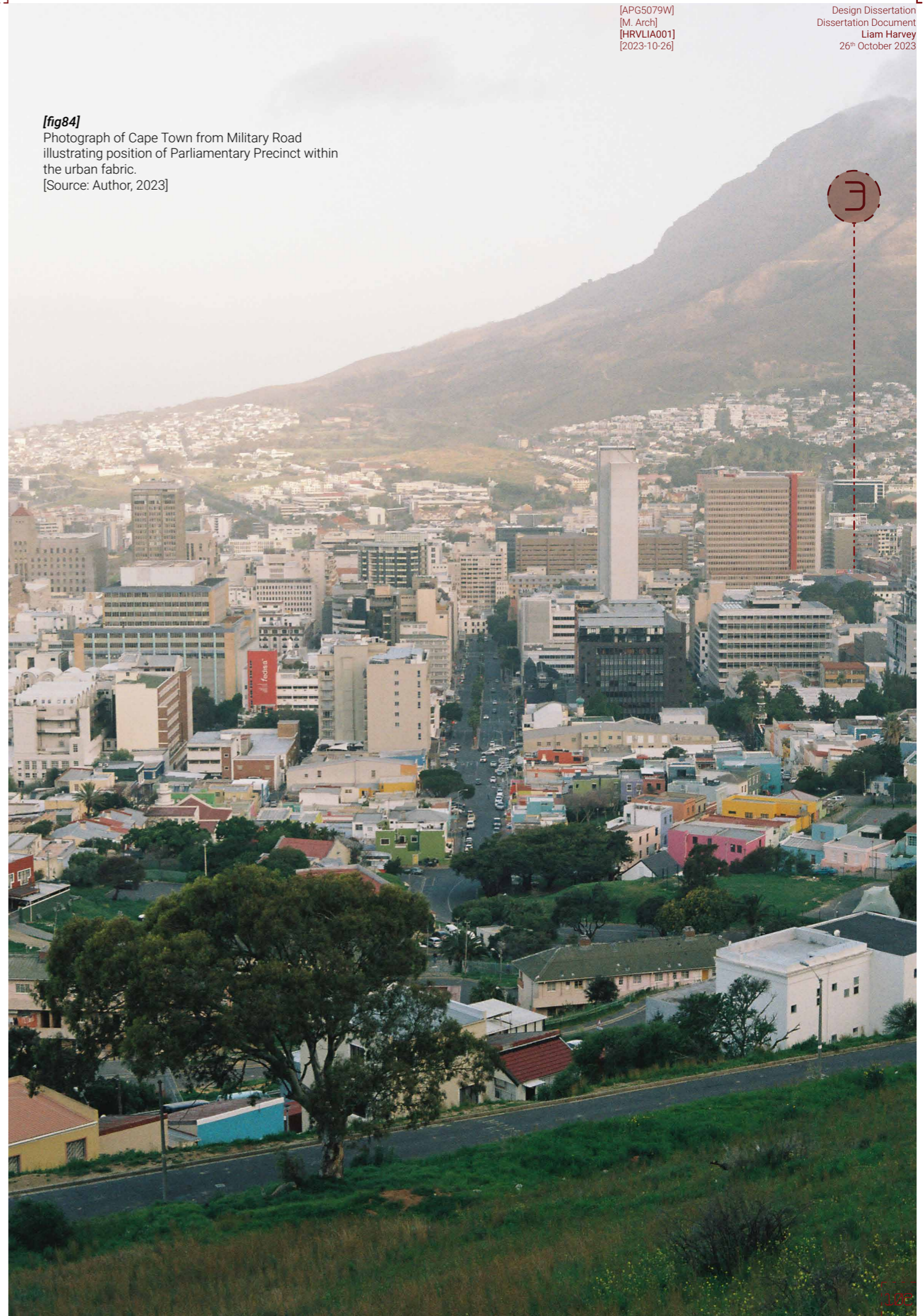
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig83]**  
Photograph of Cape Town from Signal Hill illustrating position of Parliamentary Precinct within the urban fabric.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

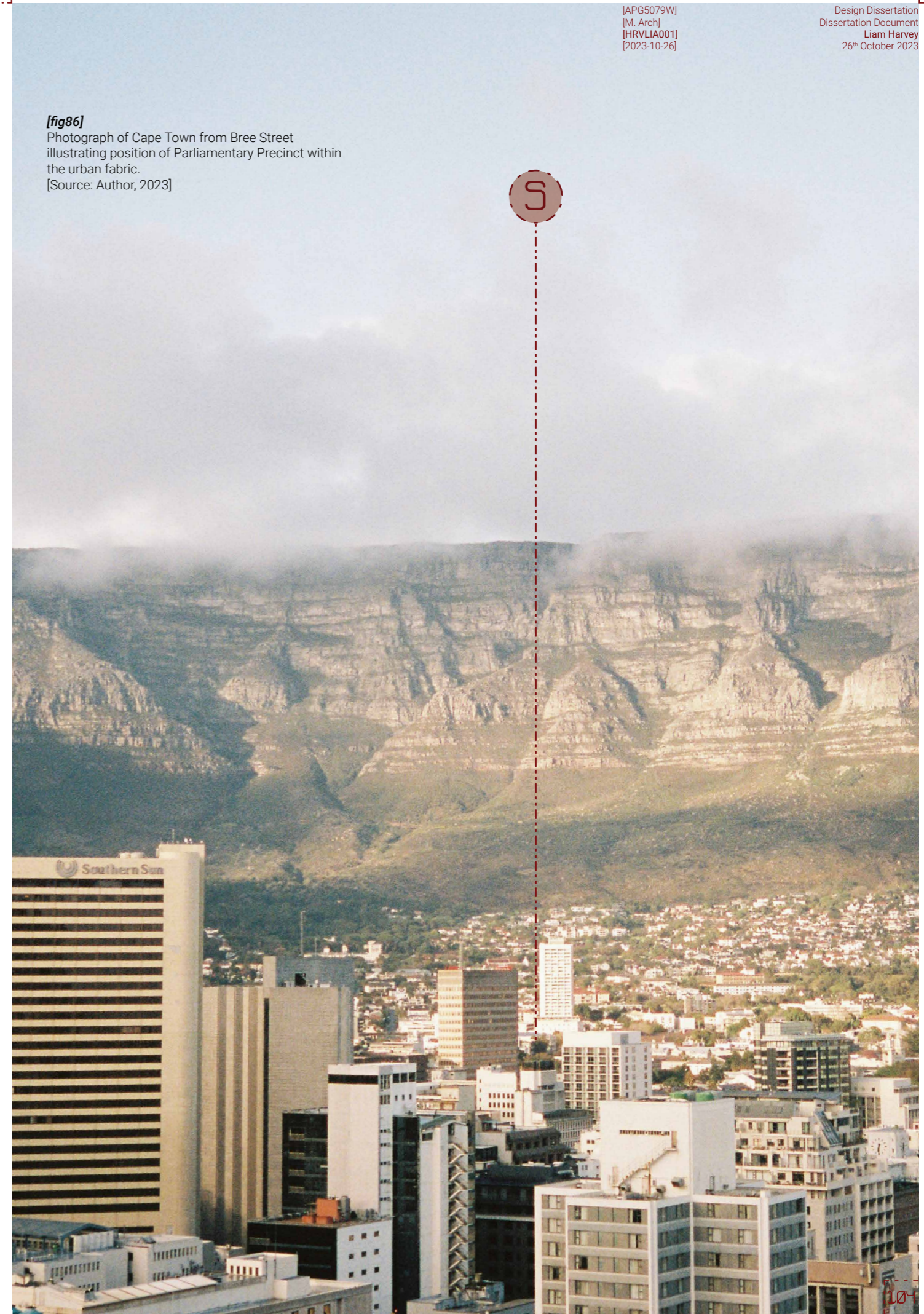


**[fig84]**  
Photograph of Cape Town from Military Road illustrating position of Parliamentary Precinct within the urban fabric.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

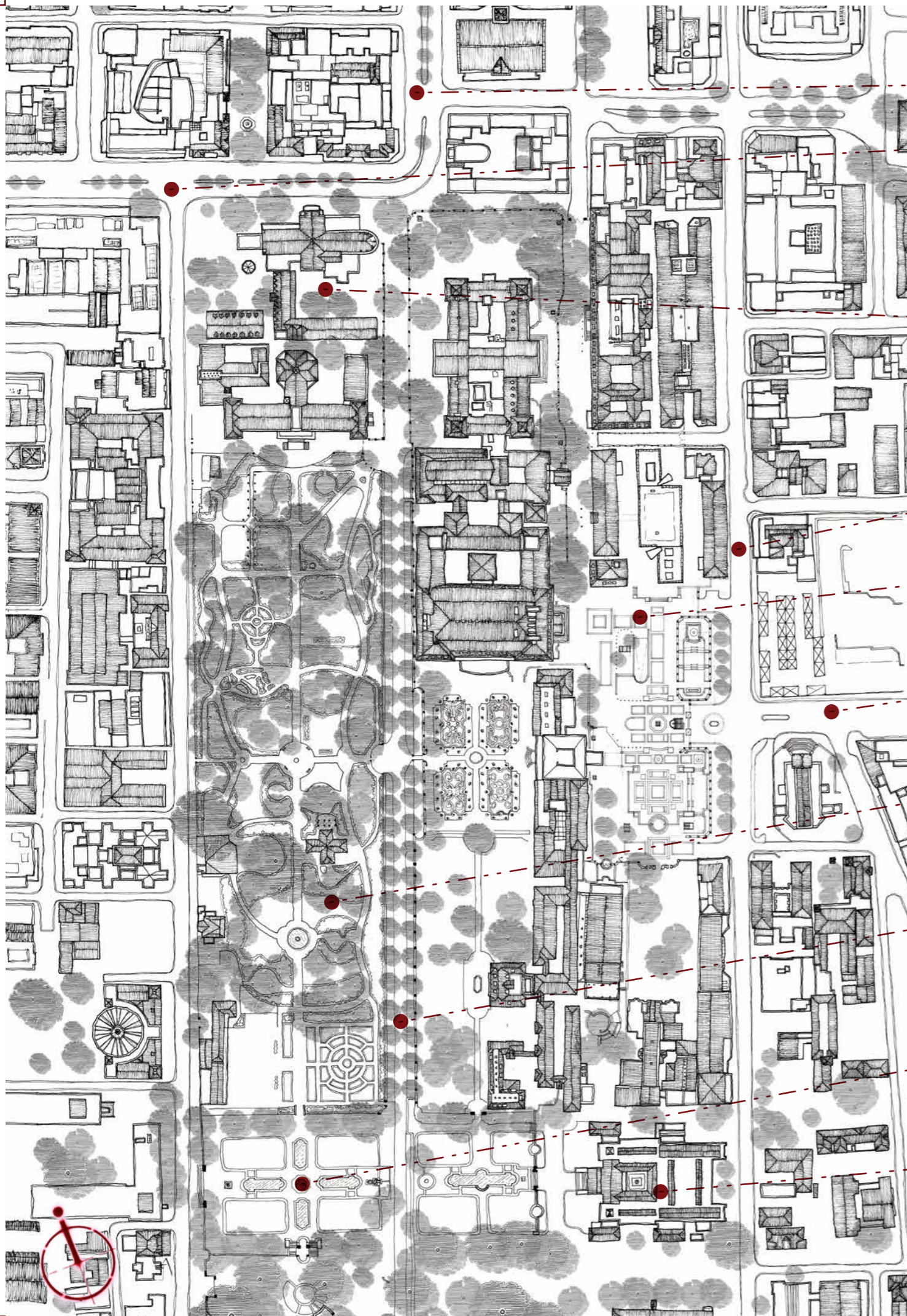




**[fig85]**  
Photograph of Cape Town from upper Bo Kaap illustrating position of Parliamentary Precinct within the urban fabric.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig86]**  
Photograph of Cape Town from Bree Street illustrating position of Parliamentary Precinct within the urban fabric.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



● < ADDERLEY STREET >

● < WALE STREET >

● ST GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL

● < PLEIN STREET >

● SOUTH AFRICAN  
PARLIAMENTARY  
PRECINCT

● < ROELAND STREET >

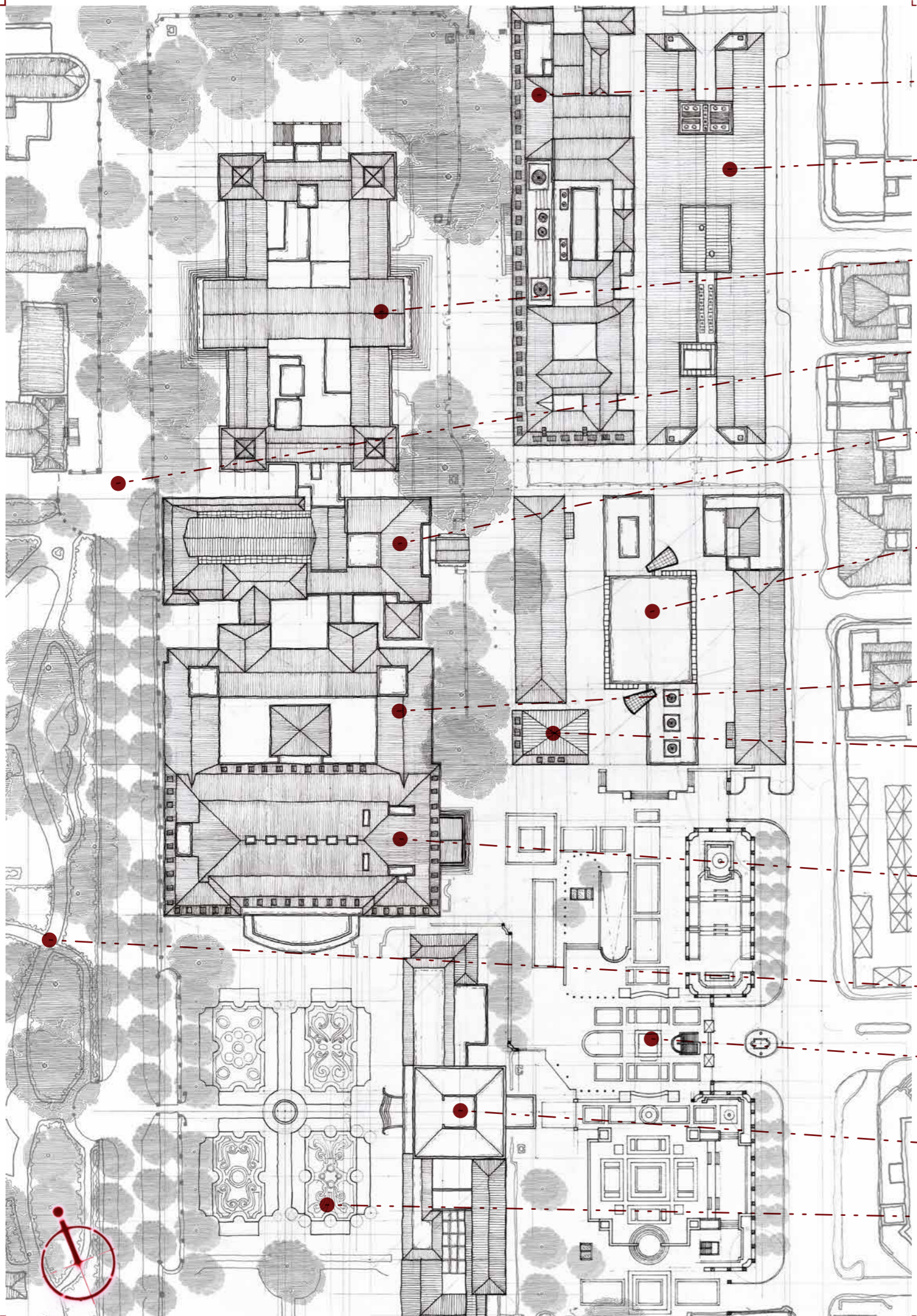
● THE COMPANY'S GARDENS

● < GOVERNMENT AVENUE >

● DELVILLE WOOD WAR  
MEMORIAL

● SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL  
GALLERY

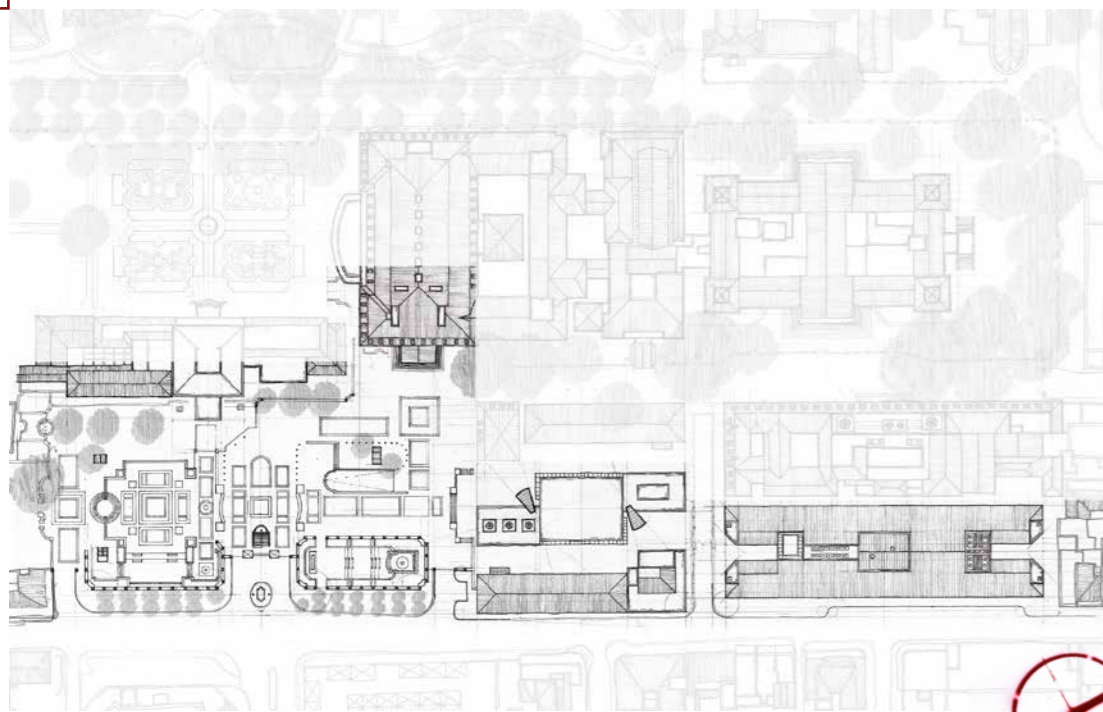
[fig87]  
1:1000 Aerial Drawing of the South African  
Parliamentary Precinct and its urban surrounds.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



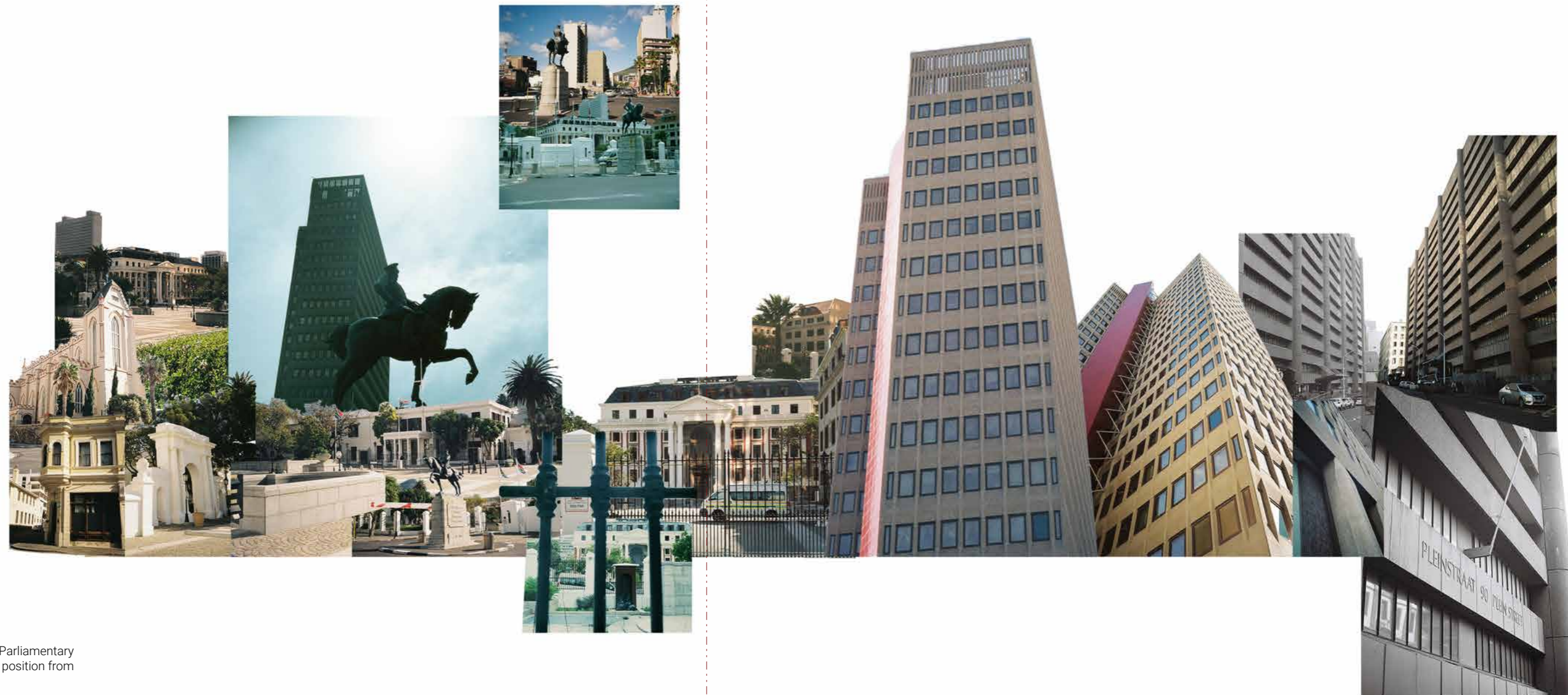
- MARKS BUILDING
- DEEDS OFFICE
- HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT
- GOVERNMENT AVENUE
- HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY
- PARLIAMENTARY OFFICES
- HOUSES OF ASSEMBLY (EXTENSION)
- AFRICA HOUSE
- **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**
- THE COMPANY'S GARDENS
- **STALPLEIN**
- TUYNHUIS
- PARTERRE GARDENS

**[fig88]**  
1:500 Aerial Drawing of the South African  
Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

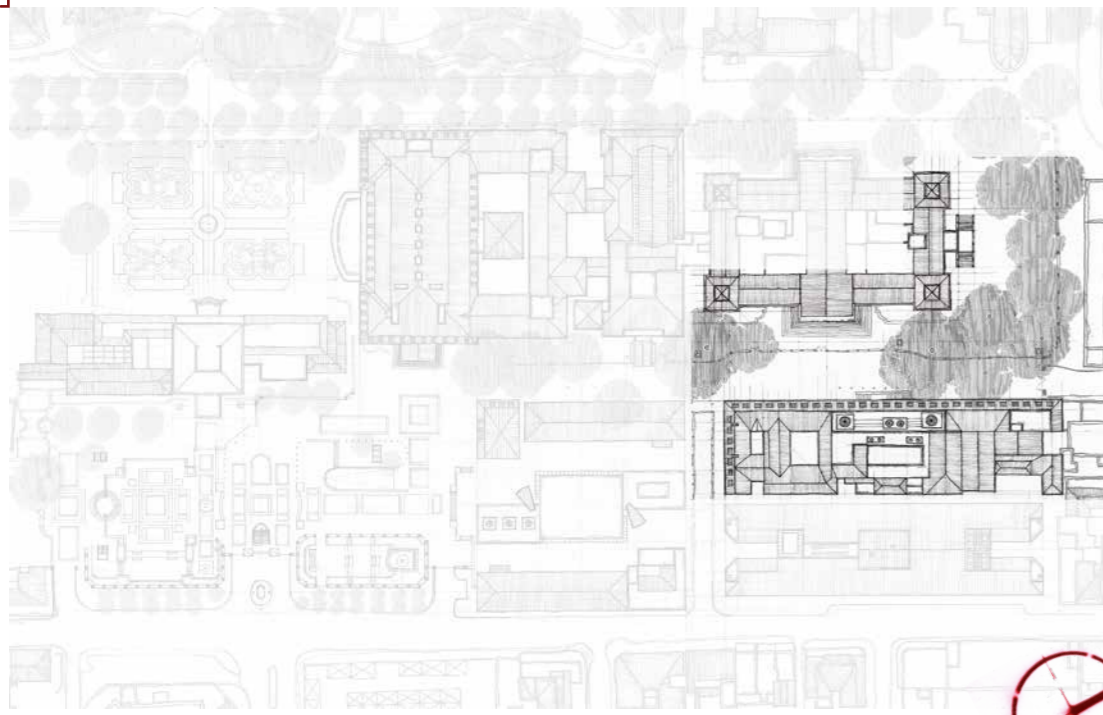




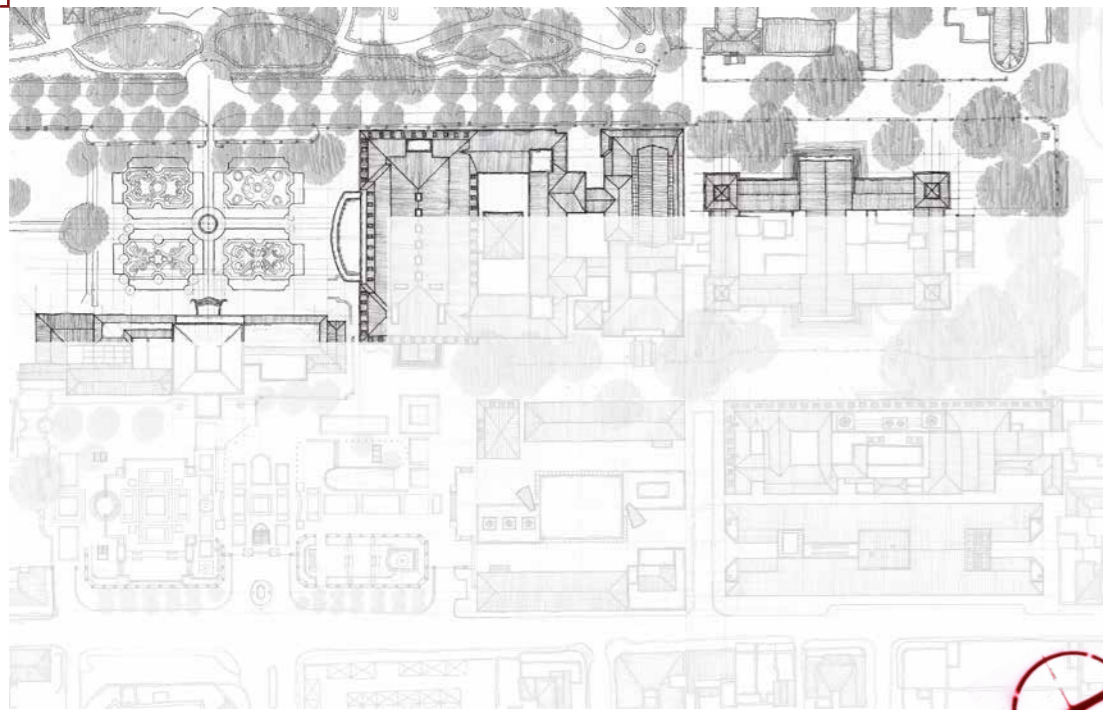
The following photographic collages were developed to bring an abstract quality to the description of the site. The collected images are arranged in correspondence with their position within and around the precinct to allow the viewer to experience the site as if they were walking along it and through it - as the author did. These collages equally work to describe the architectural character of the site and expose its artefactual nature. As traced by earlier descriptions of the history of the site, the periods within which these buildings were designed and constructed have deeply meaningful political and social significance and therefore should be read as artefacts of their time. Artefacts which through architectural analysis reveal deep ties to political representation and symbolism. Equally, this framing of these buildings as artefacts further entrenches the idea that a transformation in architectural space and representation has failed to take place within this precinct - although radical social and political transformation has.



**[fig89]**  
Visual mapping of South African Parliamentary Precinct with key plan illustrating position from which images were taken.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



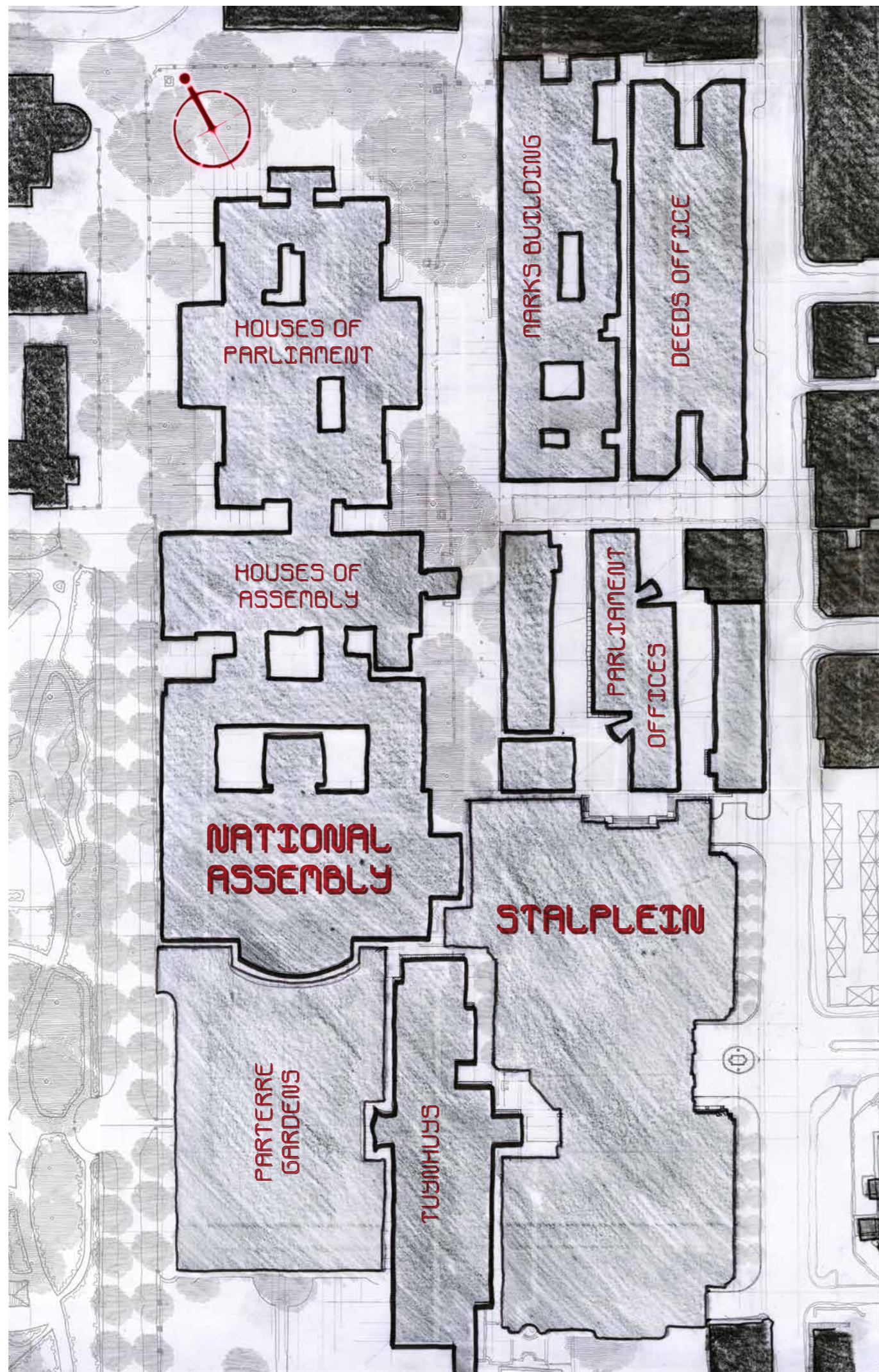
[fig90]  
Visual mapping of South African Parliamentary  
Precinct with key plan illustrating position from  
which images were taken.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



[fig91]  
Visual mapping of South African Parliamentary Precinct with key plan illustrating position from which images were taken.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

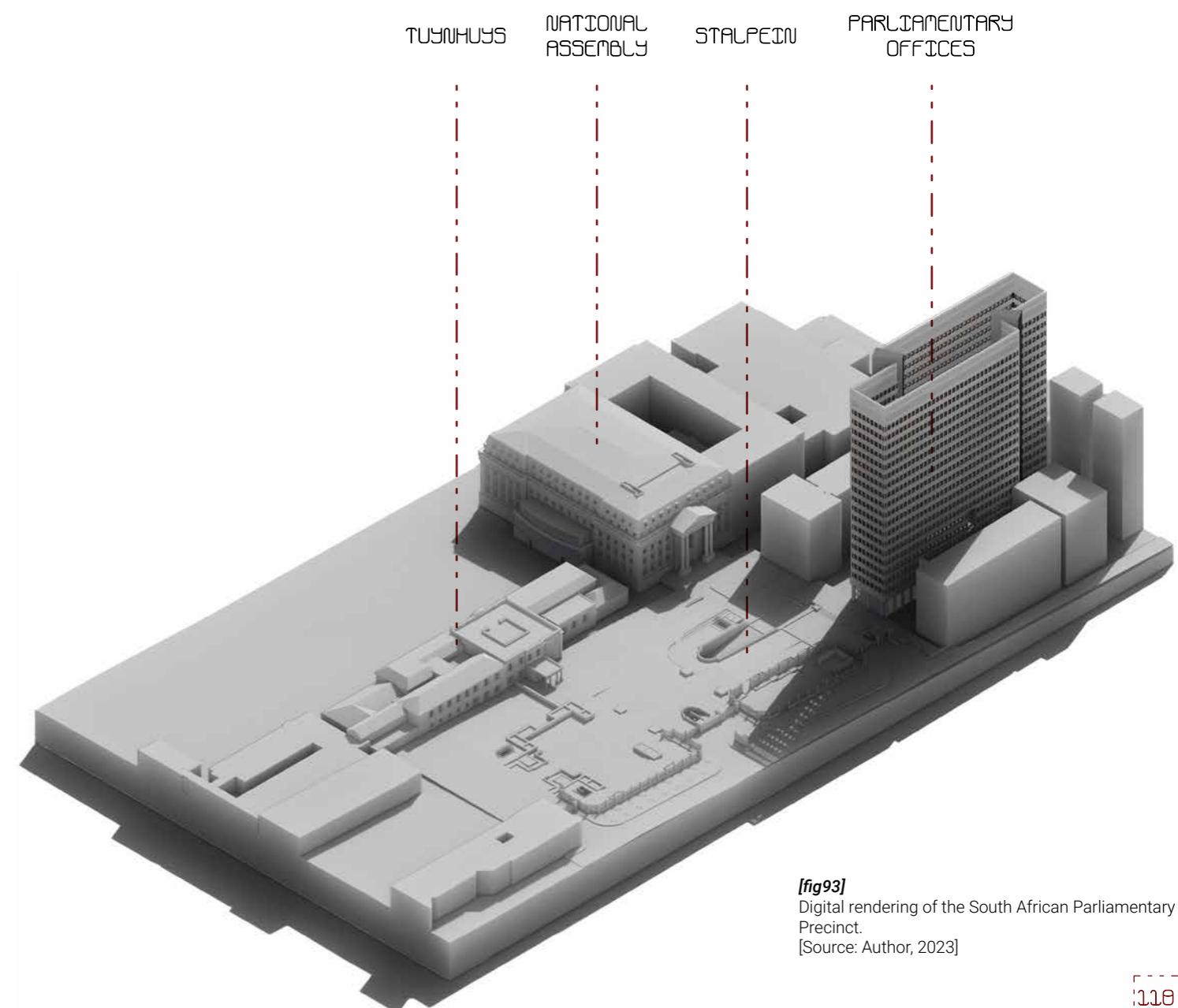
S I T E

A N A L Y S I S

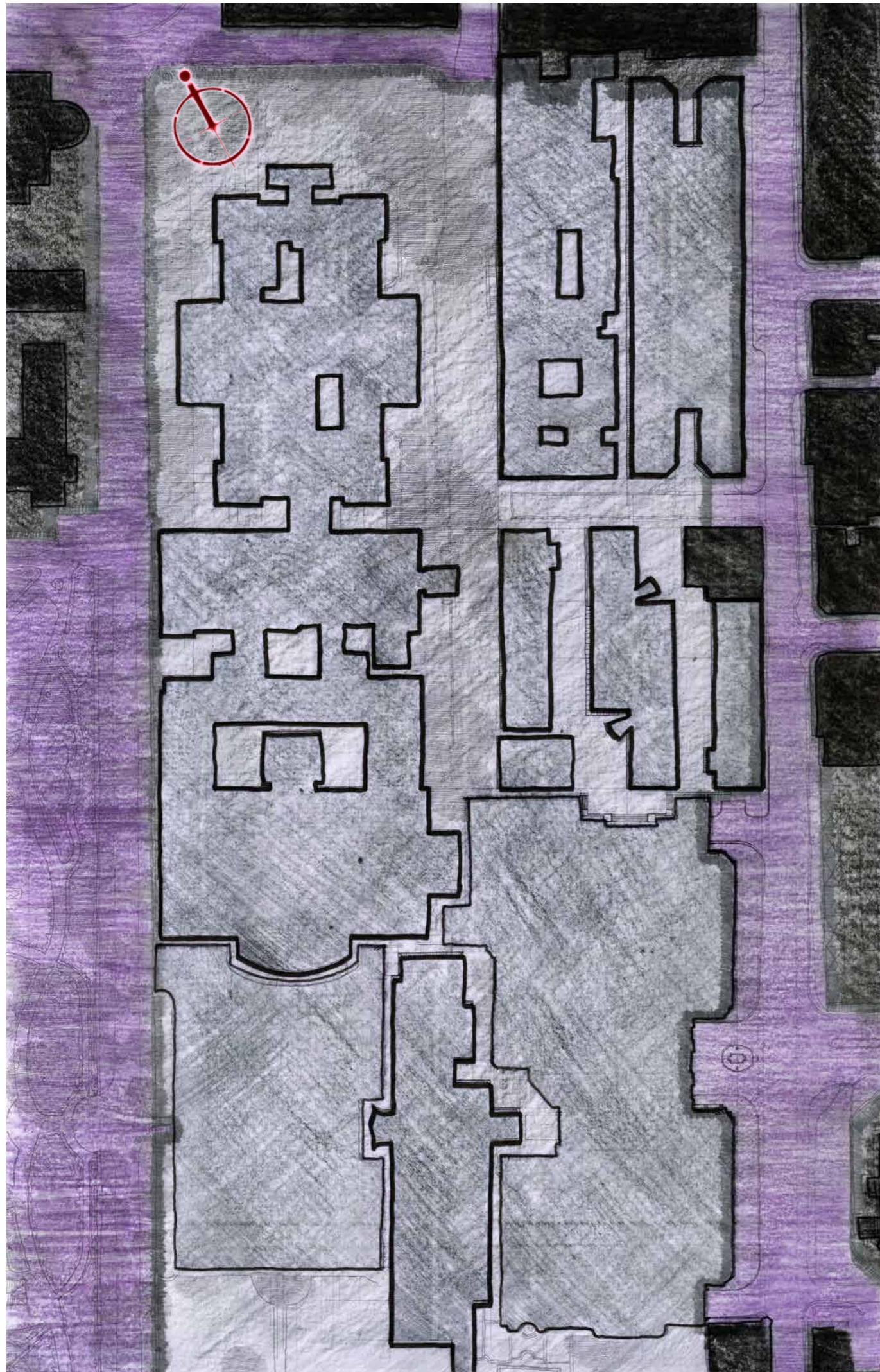


**[fig92]**  
Figure ground plan drawing of the South African Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

As this precinct is more deeply analysed as an urban entity and a collection of architectures, the siloed nature of the site is further exposed. As illustrated by **[fig92]** this precinct has essentially become a peninsula within the city whose border can be defined not only by its fences and moats but equally by where civic life in Cape Town is and isn't allowed to take place freely.



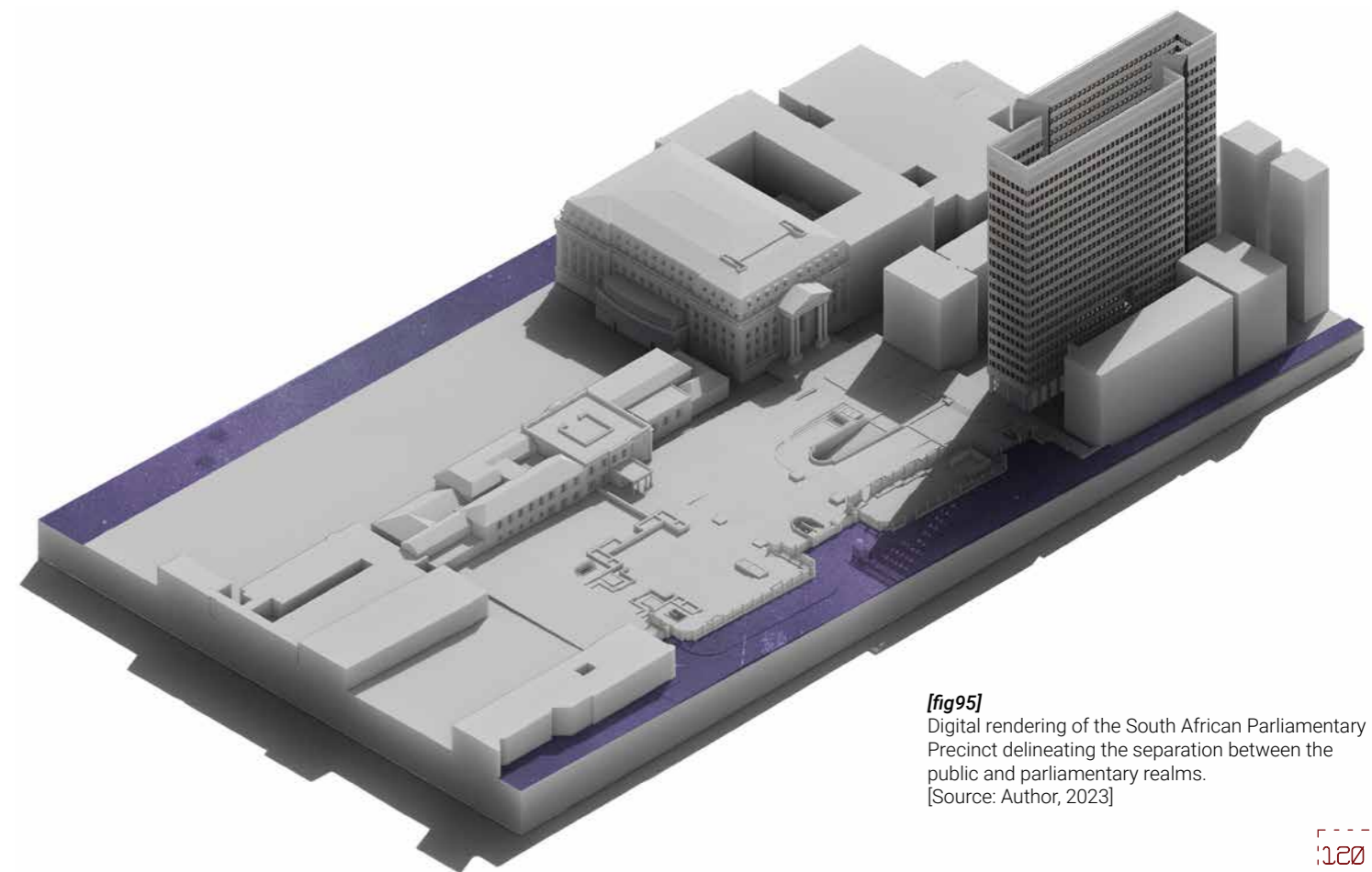
**[fig93]**  
Digital rendering of the South African Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig94]**

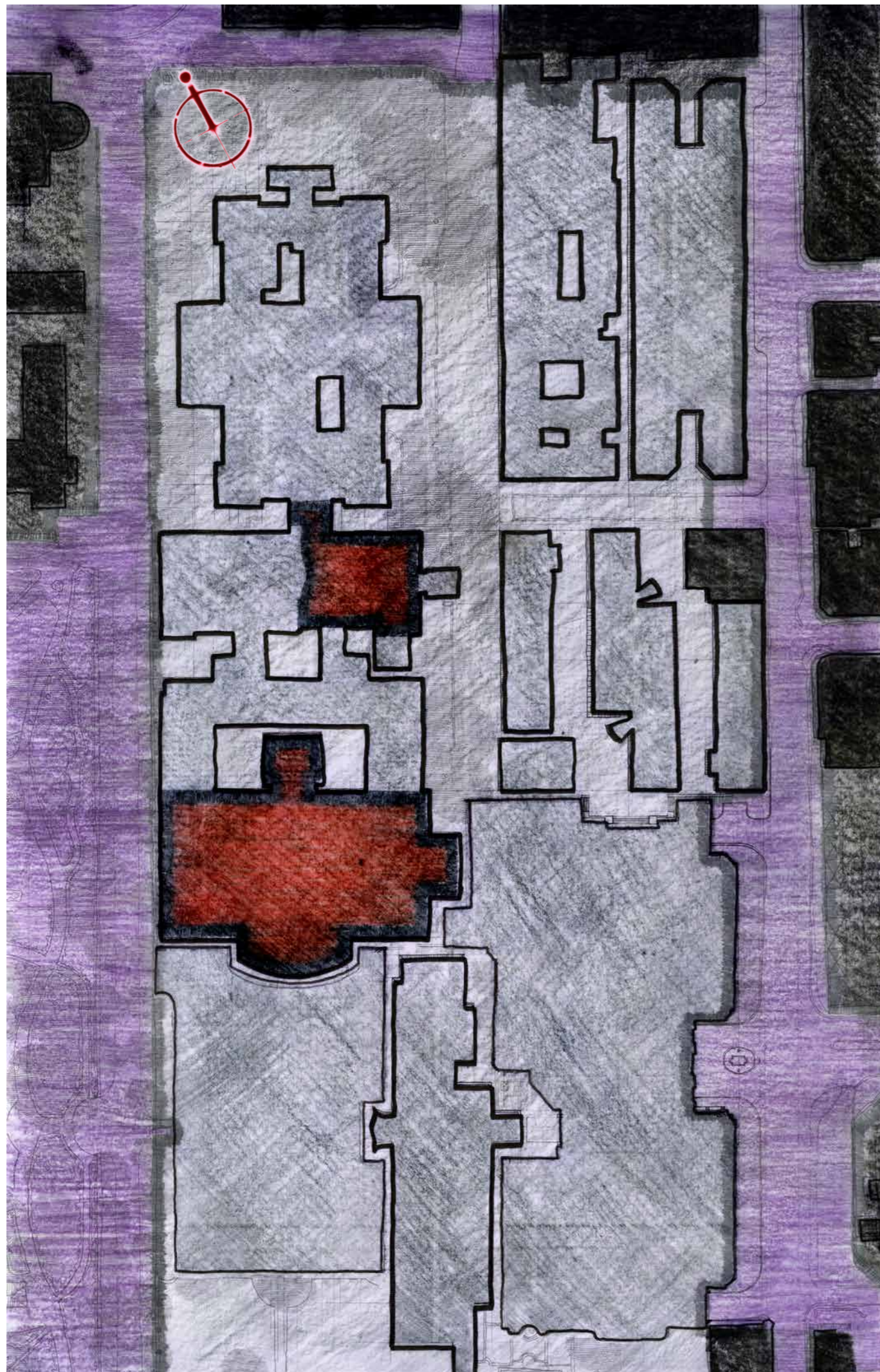
Figure ground plan drawing of the South African Parliamentary Precinct delineating the separation between the public and parliamentary realms.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

This drawing and rendering allows one to understand clearly the division between civic Cape Town and parliamentary Cape Town. The South African Parliamentary Precinct is decidedly in Cape Town, yet Cape Town is by no means integrated into the South African Parliamentary Precinct. Delineated by the purple hatching, civic life that chooses to take place within this sliver of the city is restricted to the borders of the precinct and has no opportunity to ingress. This enforced division therefore renders our Parliament inaccessible and spatially abstract to the public. We have no physical engagement with the precinct besides with its borders and therefore any power or respect that this precinct garners from the public is through symbol, not lived and shared experience.



**[fig95]**

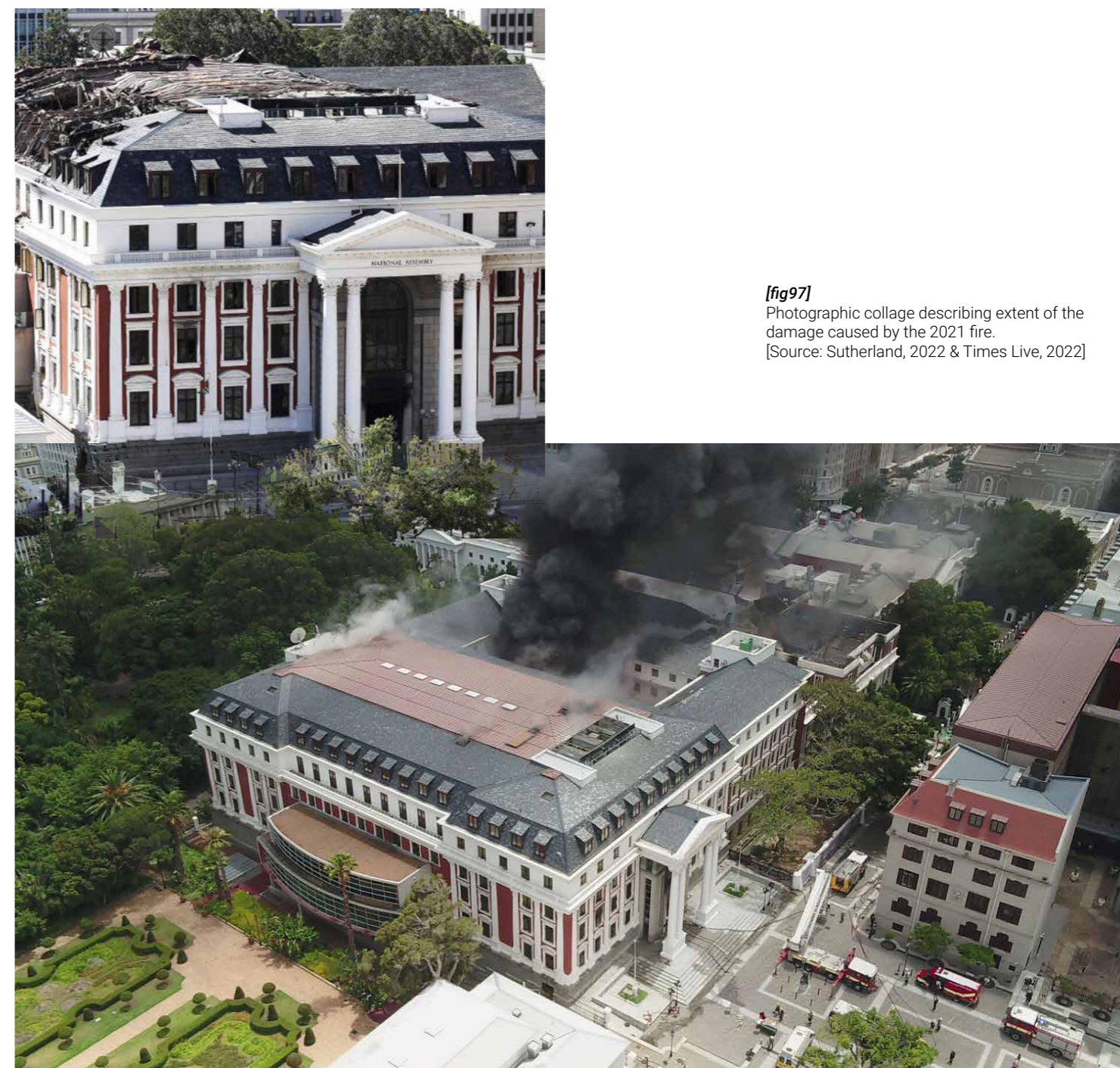
Digital rendering of the South African Parliamentary Precinct delineating the separation between the public and parliamentary realms.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



[fig96]

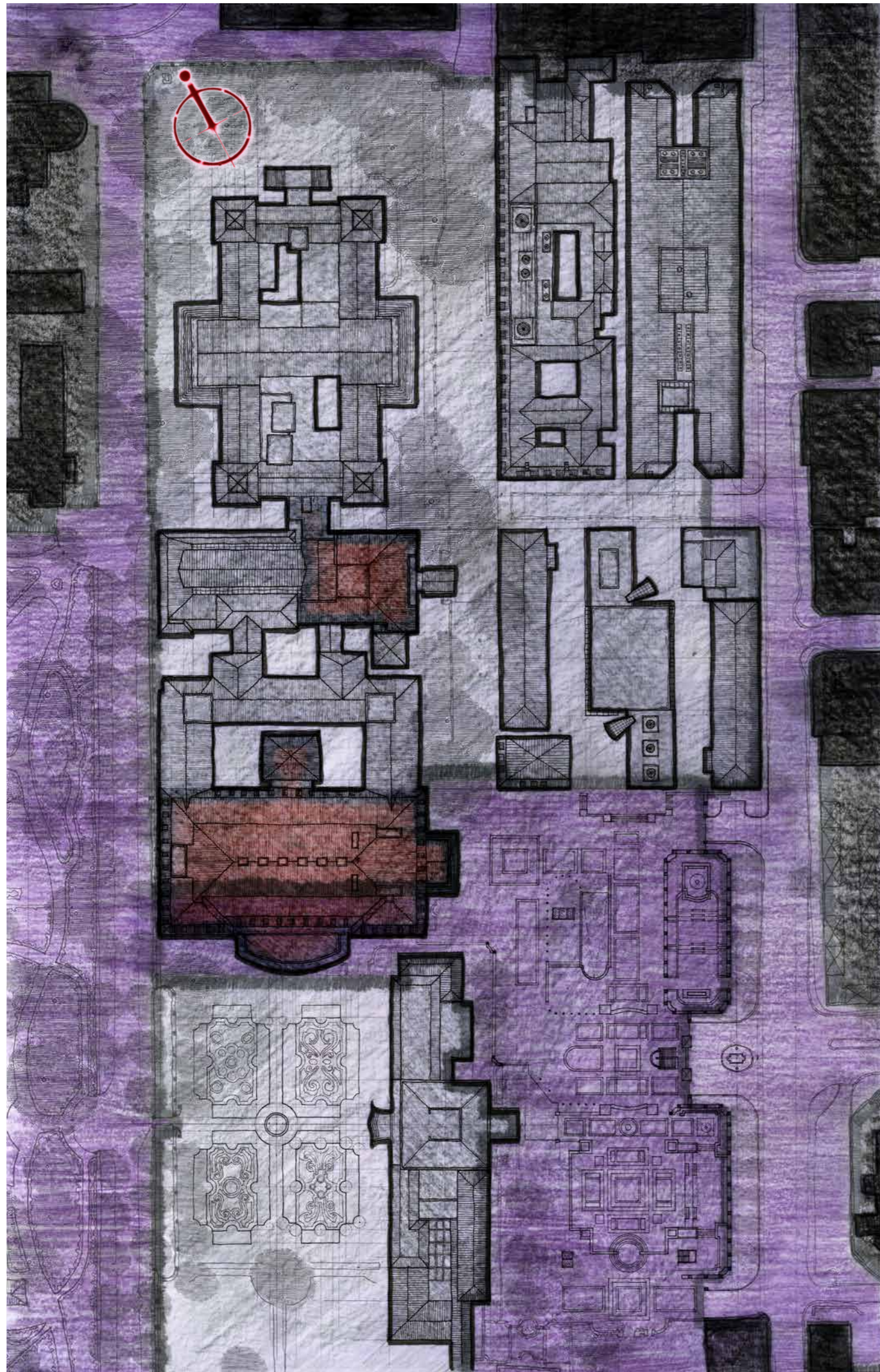
Figure ground plan drawing of the South African Parliamentary Precinct demarcating the buildings which were damaged in the 2021 fire.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

These symbols which our Parliament rely upon to communicate stability, governance, and democracy are not only entirely separate from the public in physicality and representation but now lie in a state of disrepair. As highlighted by [fig97] the Houses of Assembly and National Assembly Buildings currently lie in ruin. As an image of democracy within urban Cape Town - and South Africa as a whole - these buildings have for a long time communicated a message which is incongruent with the contemporary form of the South African public. Now that they have been destroyed, these ruins further illustrate the necessity of this precinct to be radically reconstructed.



[fig97]

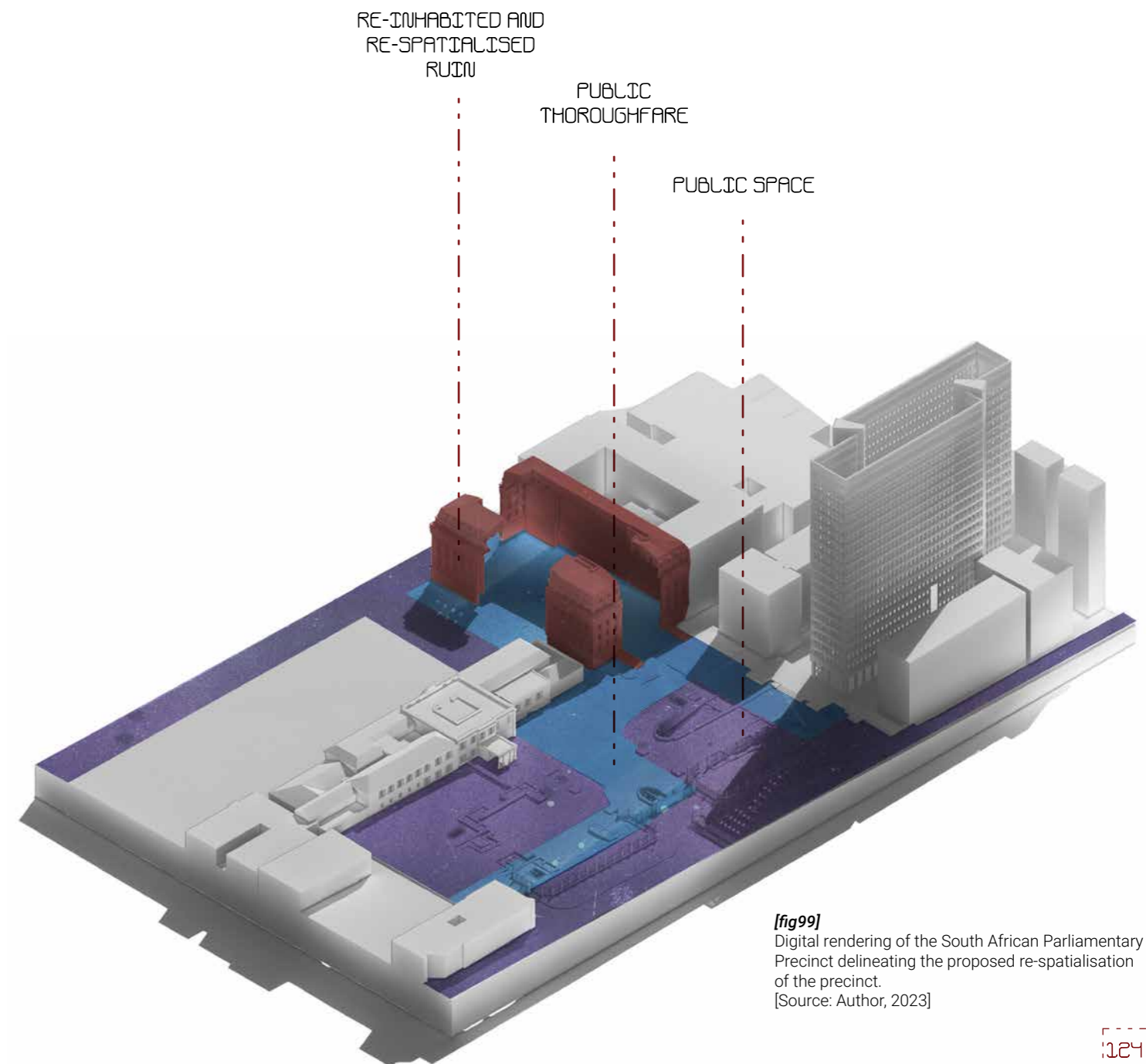
Photographic collage describing extent of the damage caused by the 2021 fire.  
[Source: Sutherland, 2022 & Times Live, 2022]



[fig98]

Figure ground plan drawing of the South African Parliamentary Precinct illustrating the desired public routes and spaces throughout the precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

To achieve this, the drawings below attempt to sketch the margins of a new parliamentary precinct for South Africa. These drawings describe an uninhibited public thoroughfare throughout the site which engages with the ruins of a defeated political regime and creates the canvas upon which the new and successful democratic dispensation of South Africa can thrive.



[fig99]

Digital rendering of the South African Parliamentary Precinct delineating the proposed re-spatialisation of the precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

**[fig100]**  
Sketch site plan illustrating site spatial planning  
approach iteration 01.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

In response to the analysis of the South African Parliamentary Precinct as a site for architectural intervention, the following programmes were arrived at;

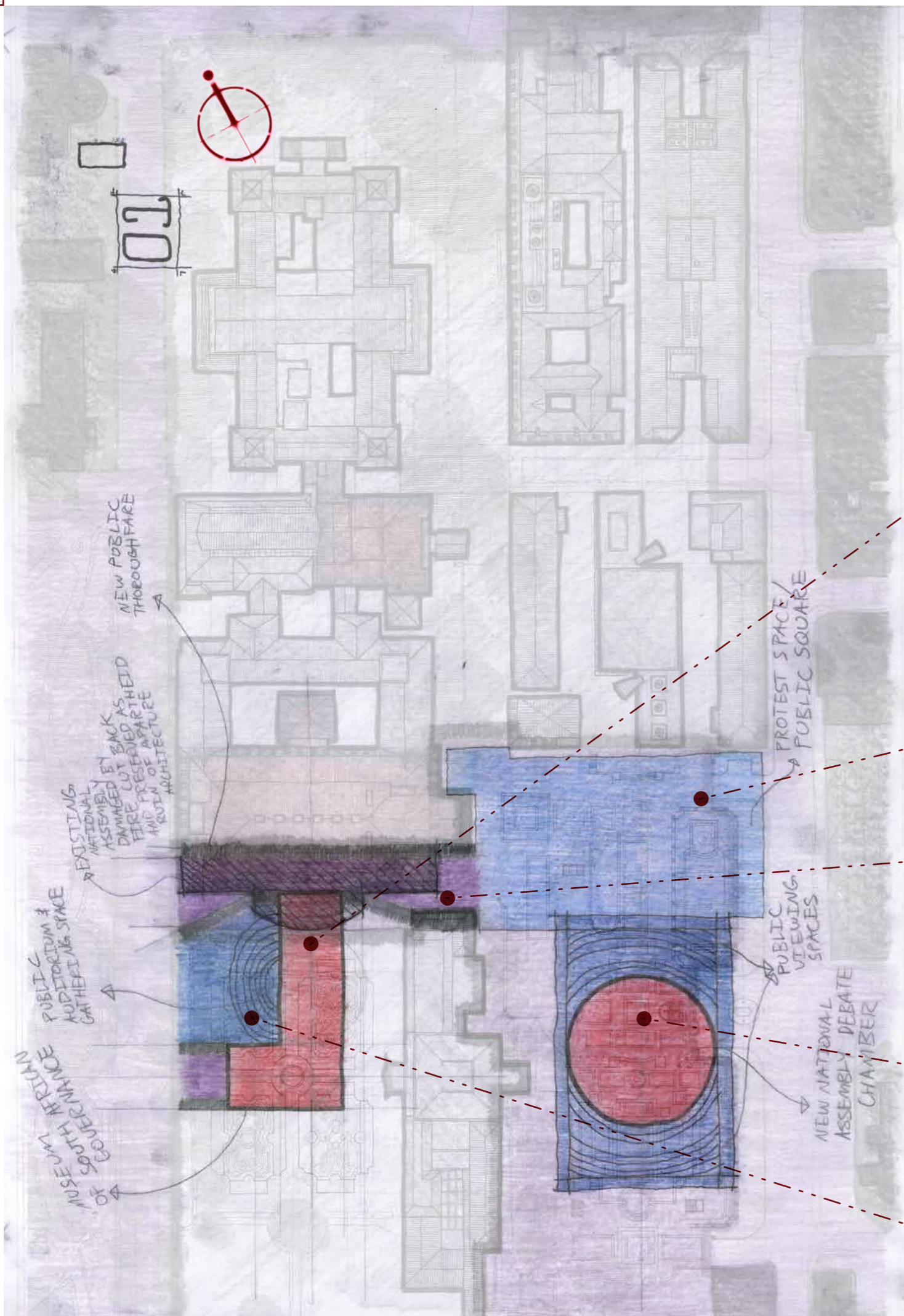
- A new National Assembly to replace the assembly space lost in the 2021 fire and house a minimum of 500 delegates. This number of seats is derived from the combination of the number of delegates of the National Assembly body (400 members) and the National Council of Provinces body (100 members). This occupancy requirement is to allow for plenary debates which happen between the NA and NCOP that have previously not been able to include all members. This was due to the fact that the original National Assembly auditorium was only designed to seat 400 delegates.

- A museum of South African Governance which would delineate to visitors the various forms and types of governance that South Africa has experienced throughout history. This space would also serve as a space to celebrate and reflect on the triumphant struggle to defeat and dismantle apartheid and its divisive governmental structures.

- Open-air public auditoriums which can be used for political rallies, organising, and public events.

- Open and unobstructed spaces for a protest that allows members of the public to demonstrate with greater proximity to the inner workings of their democracy.

- A public thoroughfare route through the precinct which will connect The Company's Gardens on the East with Plein Street on the West.



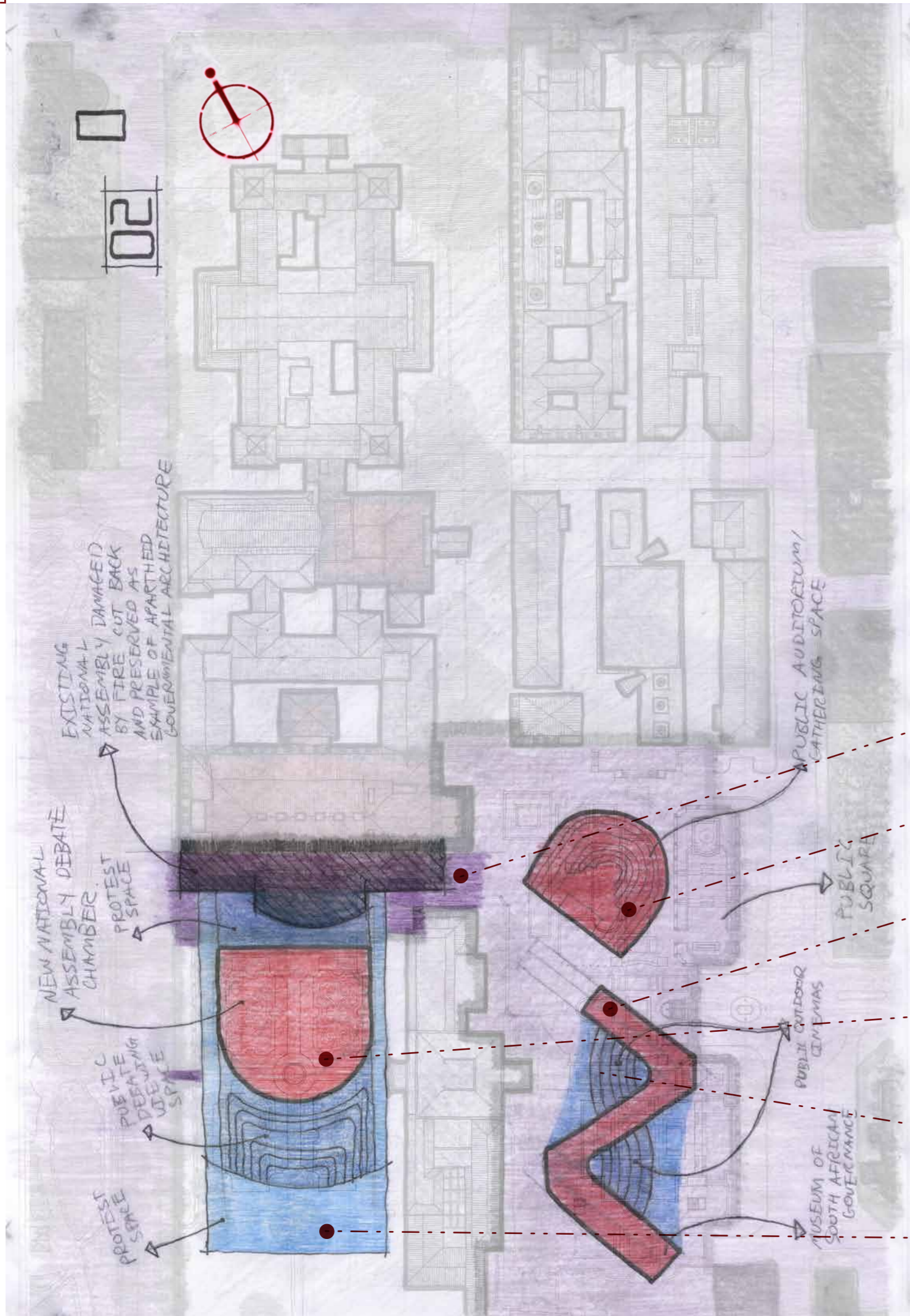
MUSEUM OF SOUTH  
AFRICAN GOVERNANCE

PROTEST SPACE

OPEN PUBLIC  
THOROUGHFARE

NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

PUBLIC  
AUDITORIUMS



[fig101]  
Sketch site plan illustrating site spatial planning approach iteration 02.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

After designating the required governmental and public functions of the site, the following iterations of spatial planning were undertaken.

- OPEN PUBLIC THOROUGHFARE
- PUBLIC AUDITORIUMS
- MUSEUM OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNANCE
- NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
- PUBLIC AUDITORIUMS
- PROTEST SPACE

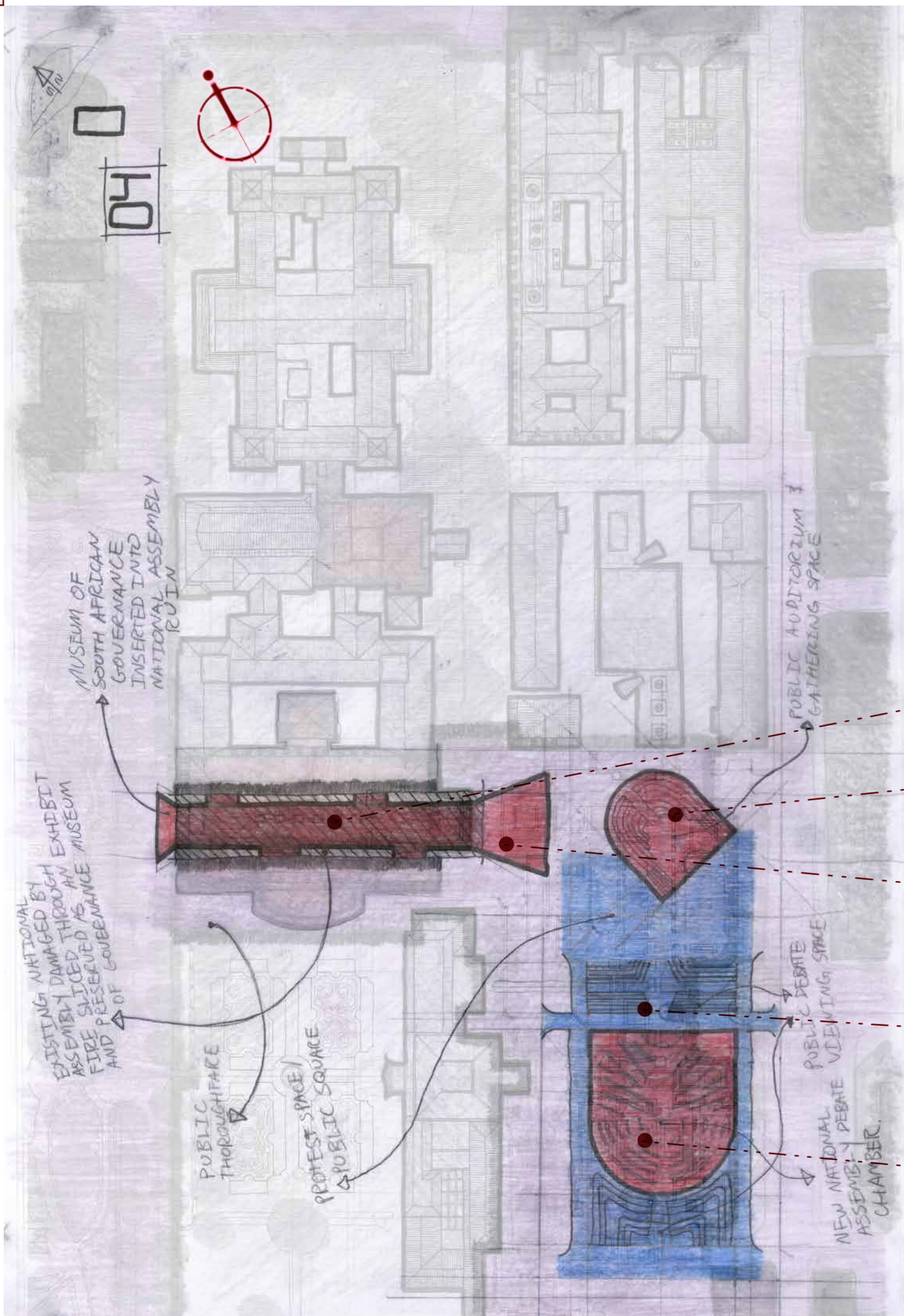


[fig103]  
Sketch site plan illustrating site spatial planning  
approach iteration 04.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

The result from these iterations was the adjacent site plan sketch which places the New National Assembly on the existing Stalplein, with large open public spaces adjoining which will double as protest space. An open-air public auditor adjoins this public space to create a connection between public and governmental gatherings.

To create a public thoroughfare across the site as well as make use of the ruin of the National Assembly building, The Museum of South African Governance is inserted into the ruin with a public thoroughfare running underneath it. This overlapping of space works to activate the ground plane of the museum whilst creating an interesting and covered passage from The Company's Gardens into the parliamentary precinct.

This sketch plan is not the final arrangement of the proposed scheme, yet reflects the frame around which further design work was built.



OPEN PUBLIC THOROUGHFARE

PUBLIC AUDITORIUMS

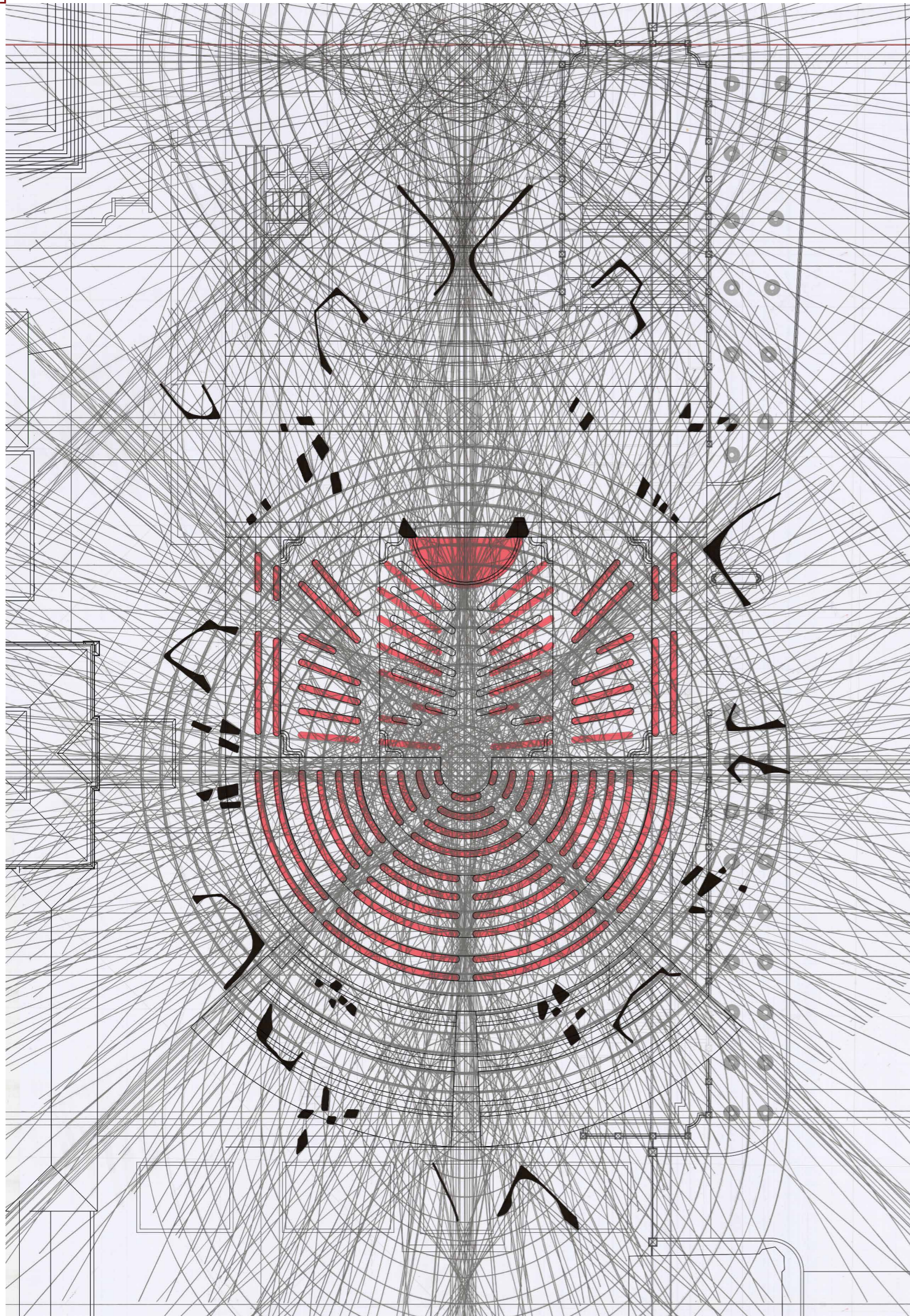
MUSEUM OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNANCE

PROTEST SPACE

NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

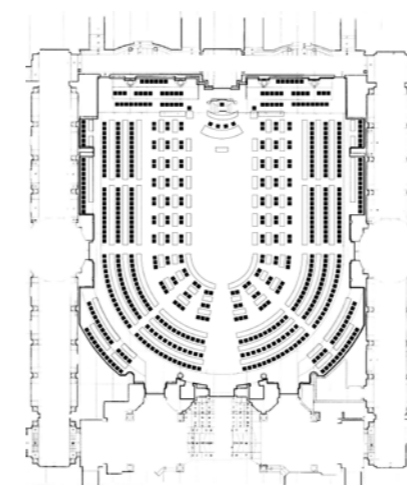
D E S I G N

D E V E L O P M E N T



**[fig104]**  
Ground floor plan sketch illustrating connection between arrangement of debate chamber seating and exterior structural walls and columns through the expansion of the seating grid.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

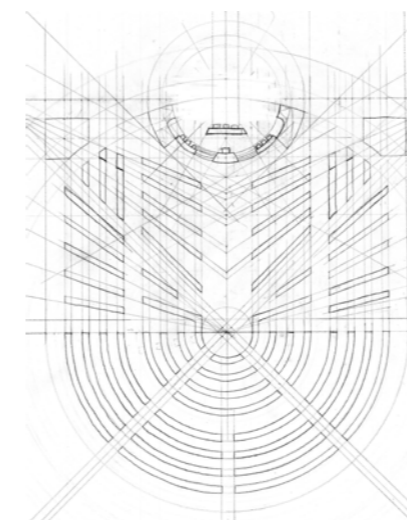
In an attempt to move away from the formal precepts of the existing National Assembly building, an investigation into the arrangement of the debate chamber was made. As seen by **[fig105]** the existing National Assembly debate chamber was designed in a 'horseshoe' arrangement. This layout of parliamentary seating allows for the focus on the Speaker of the National Assembly, a wholly appropriate arrangement for the form of our government. However, that which is inappropriate and anti-democratic about this arrangement is the adversarial arrangement that is fostered by the linear edges of the horseshoe. At least half of the parliamentarians that sit in this chamber are seated directly across from each other, thus placing them in a position which fosters contention as opposed to conversation.



To resign this adversarial arrangement, a process of deconstruction was undertaken to develop a layout which allowed all parliamentarians to be focused on the speaker whilst avoiding any members sitting directly across from one another. This allows members to sit next to each other as opposed to across from one another. This re-spatialisation looks to foster healthy, democratic debate which results in compromise and the most equitable solution being arrived at. This is as opposed to an adversarial debate in which only one participant proves triumphant. Through this architectural intervention, debate is made unhindered and productive, and therefore avoids partisanship.

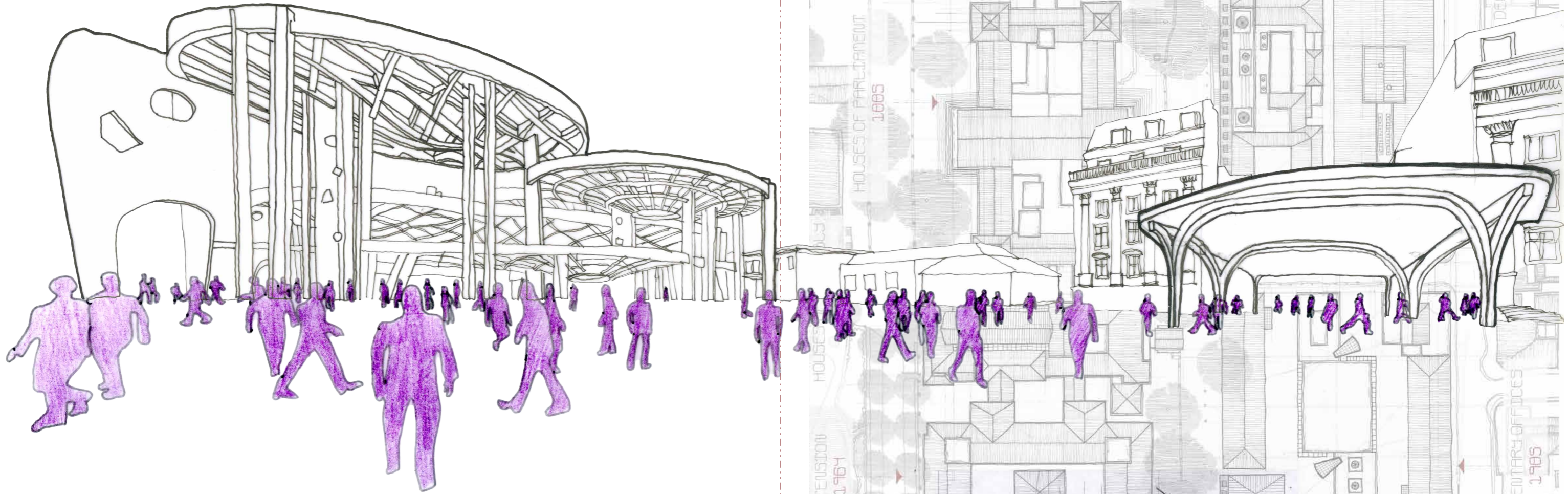


Using this deconstruction of the debate chamber, the form and arrangement of the structure and envelope of the New National Assembly begins to develop **[fig104]**.



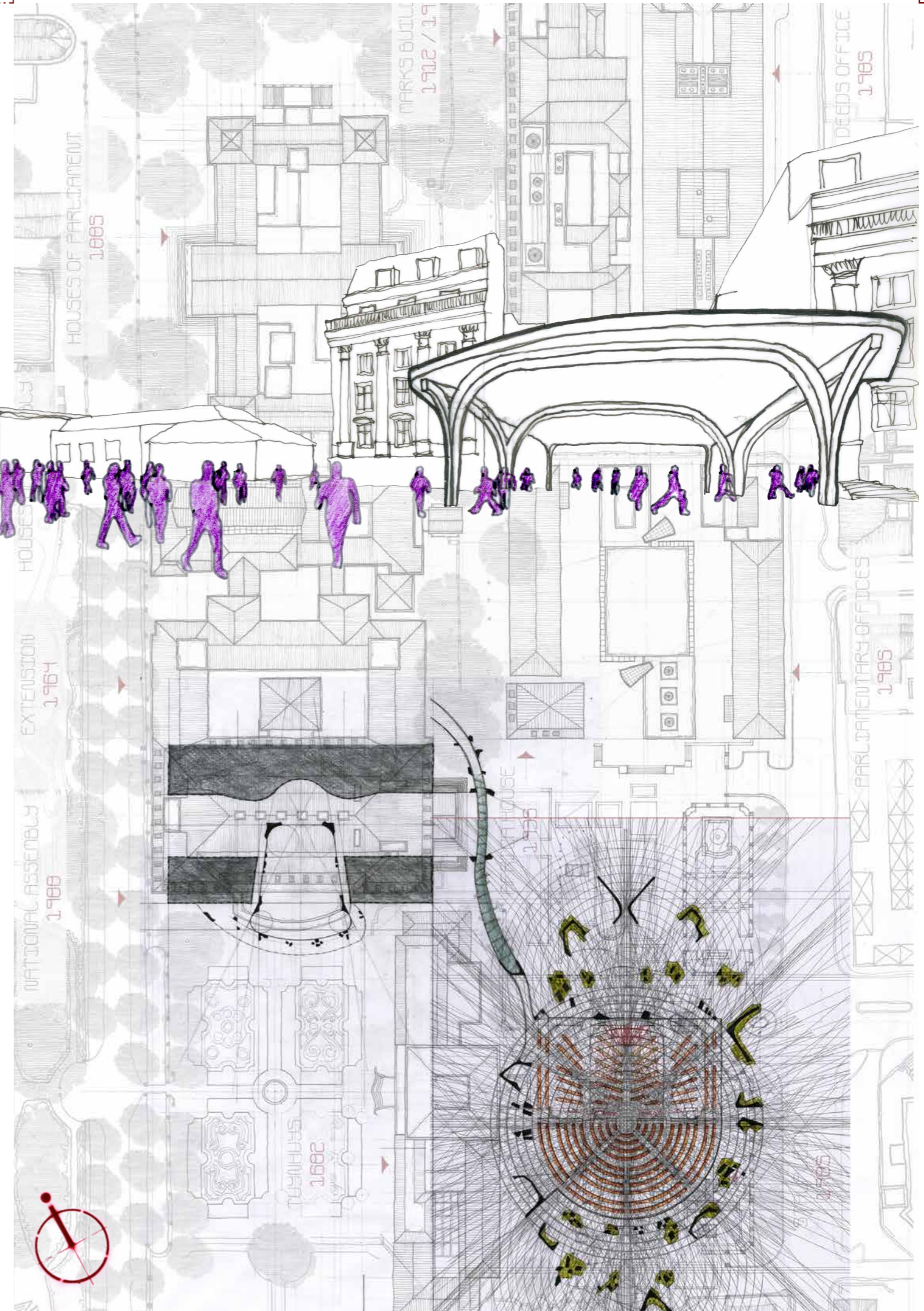
**[fig105]**  
National Assembly debate chamber layout iterations.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

[fig106]  
Perspective drawing of the proposed New  
Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

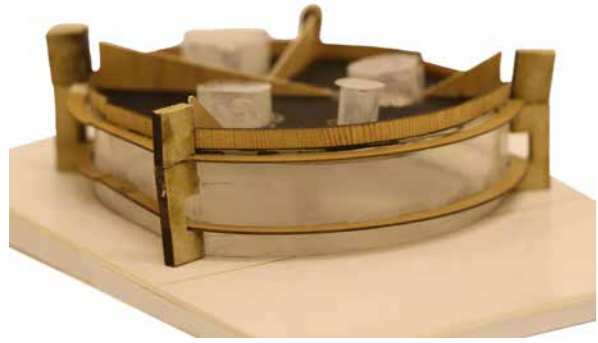


To foster a physical yet abstract connection between the interior of the New National Assembly auditorium and the exterior public routes and spaces, the deconstructed grid of the parliamentary seating arrangement was used to inform the placement and form of the architecture surrounding it. This process resulted in the placement of seemingly organic structural columns and walls that serve a representational purpose. These elements in their disparate nature work to form a whole. A whole that is more than a sum of its parts, where each part is fundamental to the operation of that whole. This architectural approach is used to represent the form of our democracy. A whole which is much more than a sum of its parts, yet formed of a diversity of parts. The diversity of the South African public - and therefore its democratic constituents - is what makes that democracy both sound and strong. A diverse nation means a diverse set of ideals. Ideals that when combined can offer solutions to problems from the national to domestic scale which are the most equitable and applicable. As such, the architecture of the building in which such decisions are made must reflect these disparate yet contiguous ideals.

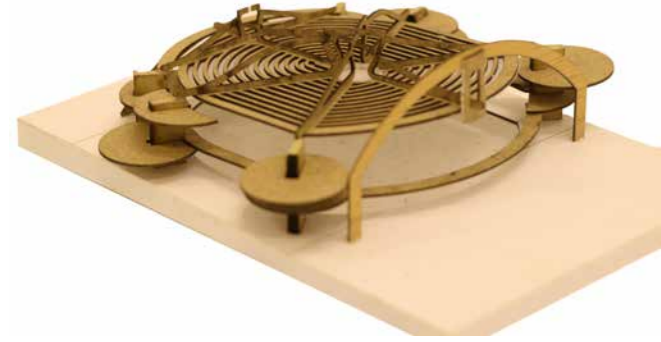
[fig107]  
1:500 Site plan of South African Parliamentary  
precinct with ground floor plan sketch drawings of  
the New National Assembly and Museum of South  
African Governance.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig108]**  
Images of physical models made in search of formal resolution for the New National Assembly building.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



ITERATION 01



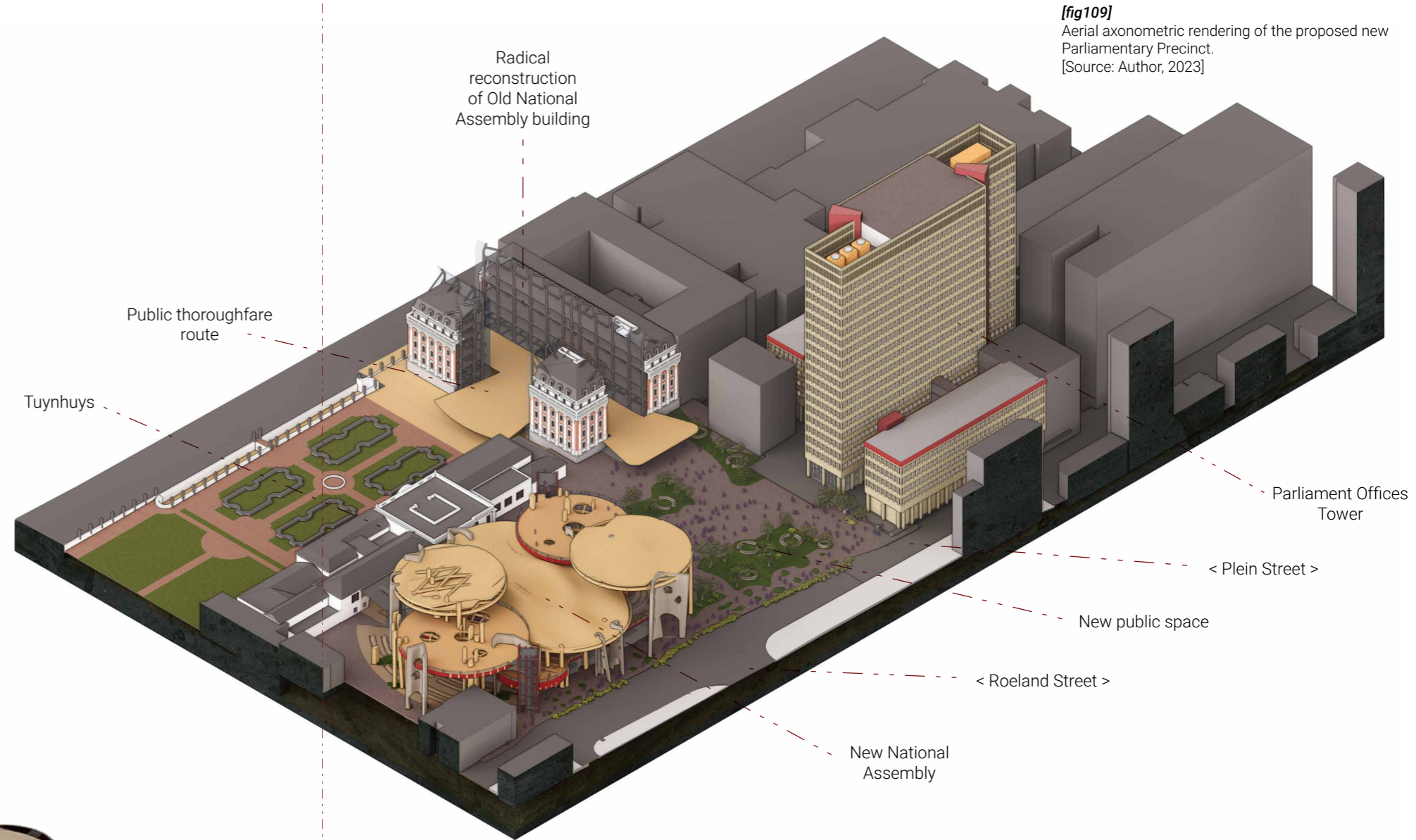
ITERATION 02



ITERATION 03



ITERATION 04



**[fig109]**  
Aerial axonometric rendering of the proposed new Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

In developing an appropriate form for the New National Assembly an iterative process of model-making and 3D modeling was undertaken. What has underpinned this process is looking for an enclosure that can span over the large auditorium space while avoiding a monumental and heavy form. This has resulted in multiple iterations which externalise vertical structural supports to avoid any obstruction of views within the auditorium. An important breakthrough arrived in iteration 03 **[fig108]** wherein the idea of a set of 'floating' discs representing the ever-presence of governance within public life emerged. These discs work not to represent the power of governance or cast dominion in the same way that classical arrangements like the old National Assembly do. This abstraction works to suggest that governance is the element of South African life that gives licensure to and provides protection of the freedoms of public and private life. A presence which is both welcomed and celebrated as an important part of our collective experience as South Africans.

**[fig110]**  
Exploded axonometric rendering of the constituent parts of the New National Assembly Building.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



THE HOVERING PRESENCE  
OF GOVERNANCE.

That which gives license to and provides  
protections for public and private South African  
life.



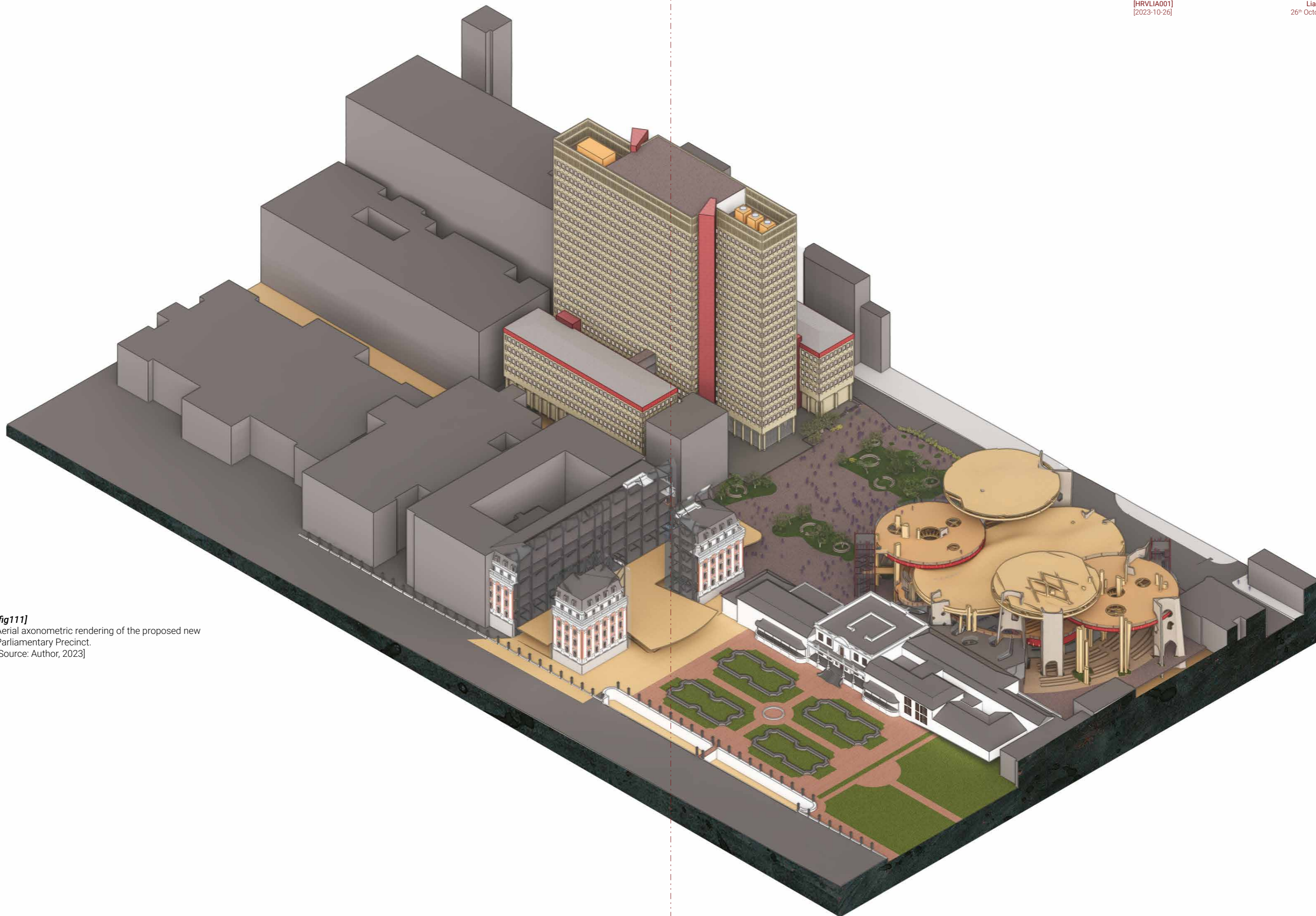
THE STRENGTH OF THE  
COLLECTIVE AND THE  
POWER OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

The constituents of our democracy - the public -  
which give that democracy legitimacy and keep  
the legislation of that democracy in check.

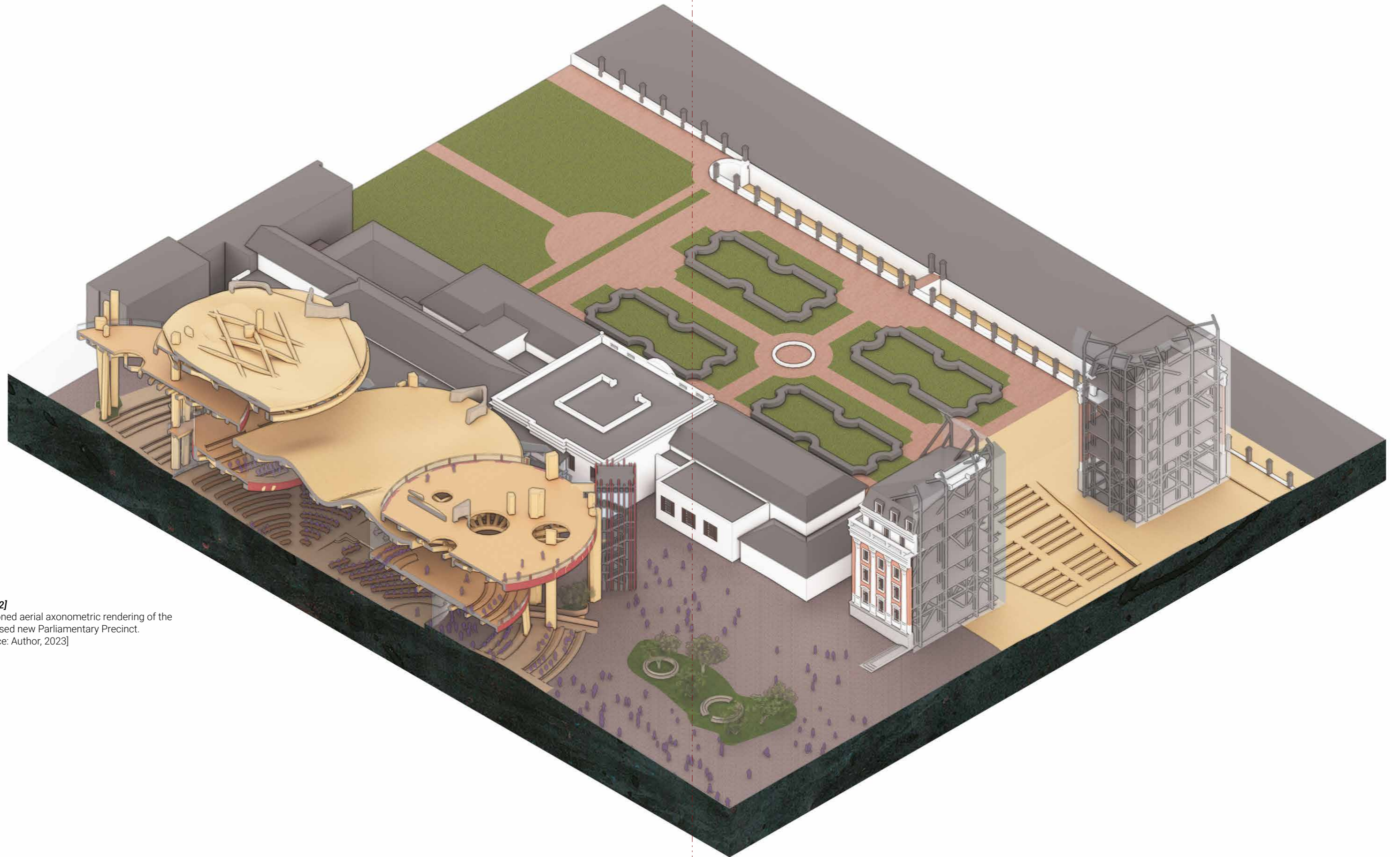


THE PHYSICAL  
MANIFESTATION OF SOUTH  
AFRICA - ITS LAND.

A natural environment which is both cherished  
and celebrated by its public. A space which  
the public has unfettered connection with and  
involvement in.

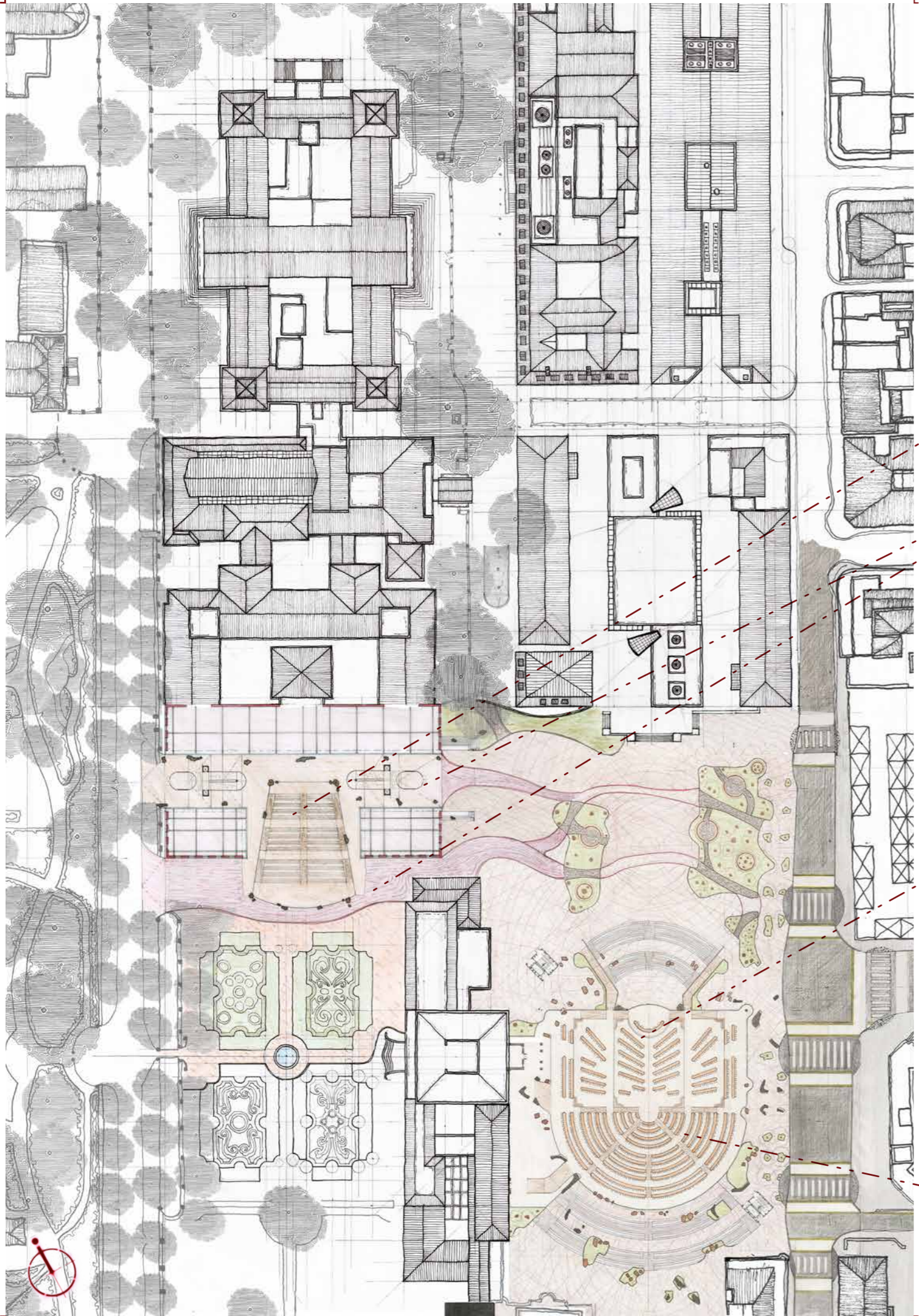


**[fig111]**  
Aerial axonometric rendering of the proposed new  
Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig112]**  
Sectioned aerial axonometric rendering of the  
proposed new Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

[fig113]  
1.500 ground floor site plan drawing of the  
proposed new Parliamentary Precinct  
[Source: Author, 2023]



PUBLIC  
AUDITORIUM

PUBLIC  
THOROUGHFARE

NEW NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY DEBATE  
AUDITORIUM

DECONSTRUCTED  
SEATING GRID

[fig114]  
1.200 ground floor plan drawing of the proposed New  
National Assembly Building as its adjacent spaces.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

PUBLIC SEATING &  
PROTEST SPACE

MAIN ENTRANCES

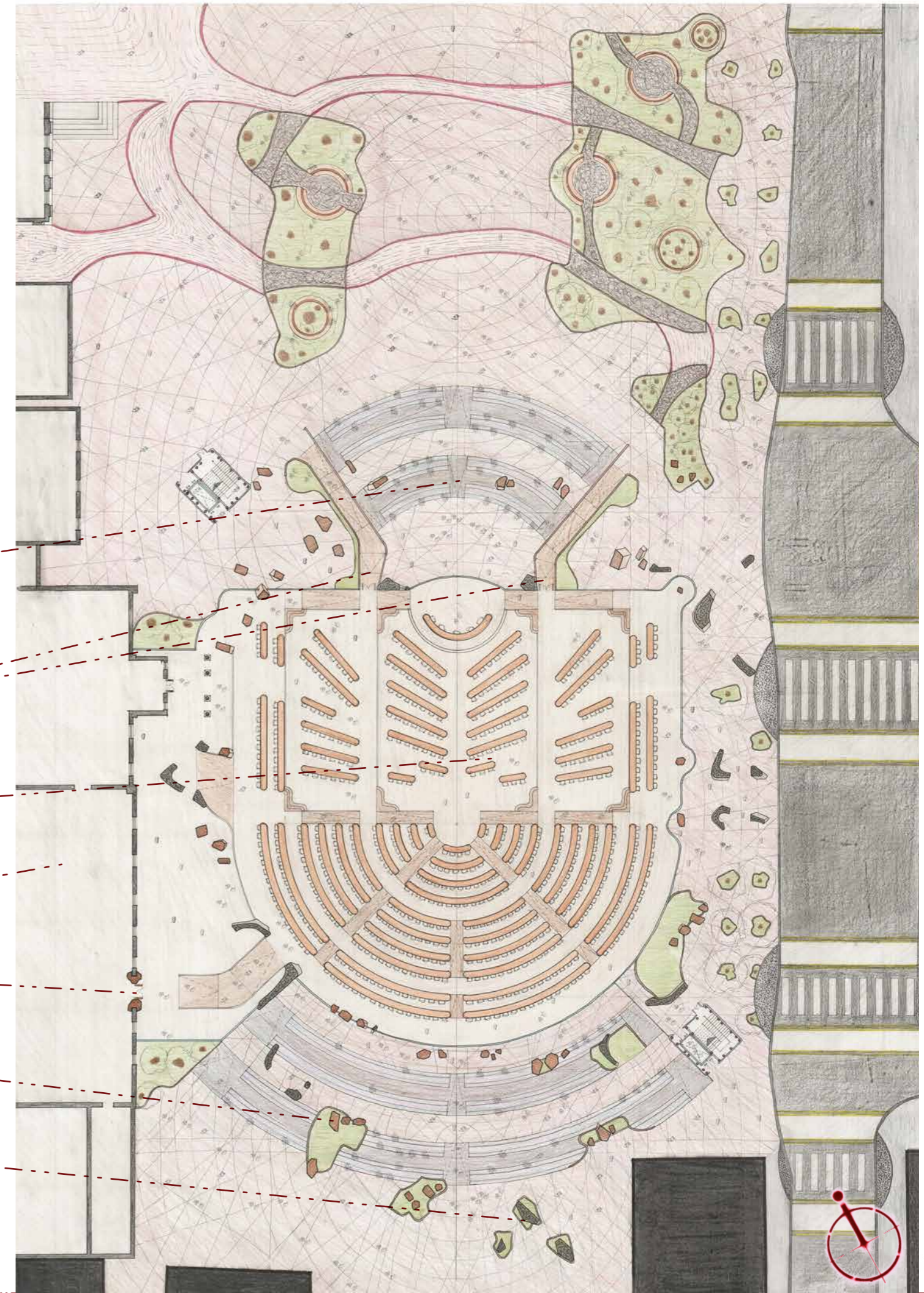
NEW NATIONAL  
ASSEMBLY DEBATE  
AUDITORIUM

TUYNHUYS

SECONDARY  
SECURED ENTRANCE

STRUCTURAL  
COLUMNS  
(GLULAMINATED TIMBER)

STRUCTURAL WALLS  
(REINFORCED CONCRETE)





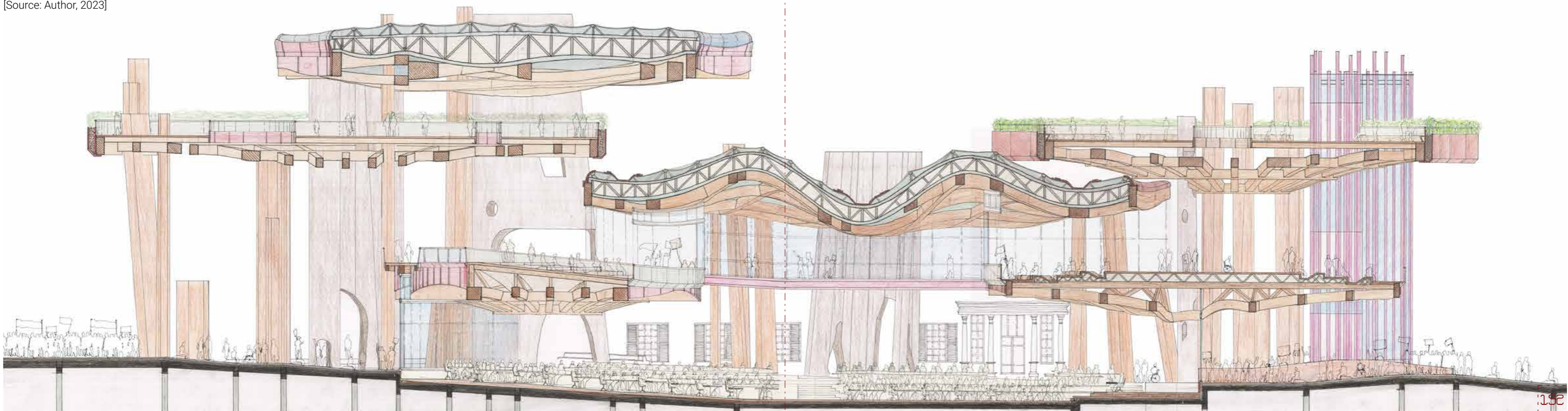
**[fig115]**  
Interior perspective rendering describing the spatial experience of members of the public watching a parliamentary debate from the first floor gallery.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

Besides the work that these buildings do to represent the South African public and uphold our constitutional democracy, the primary goal of this architecture is to physically include the public. For too long our architectures of democracy have not included us, and as such this New National Assembly works to right this course.

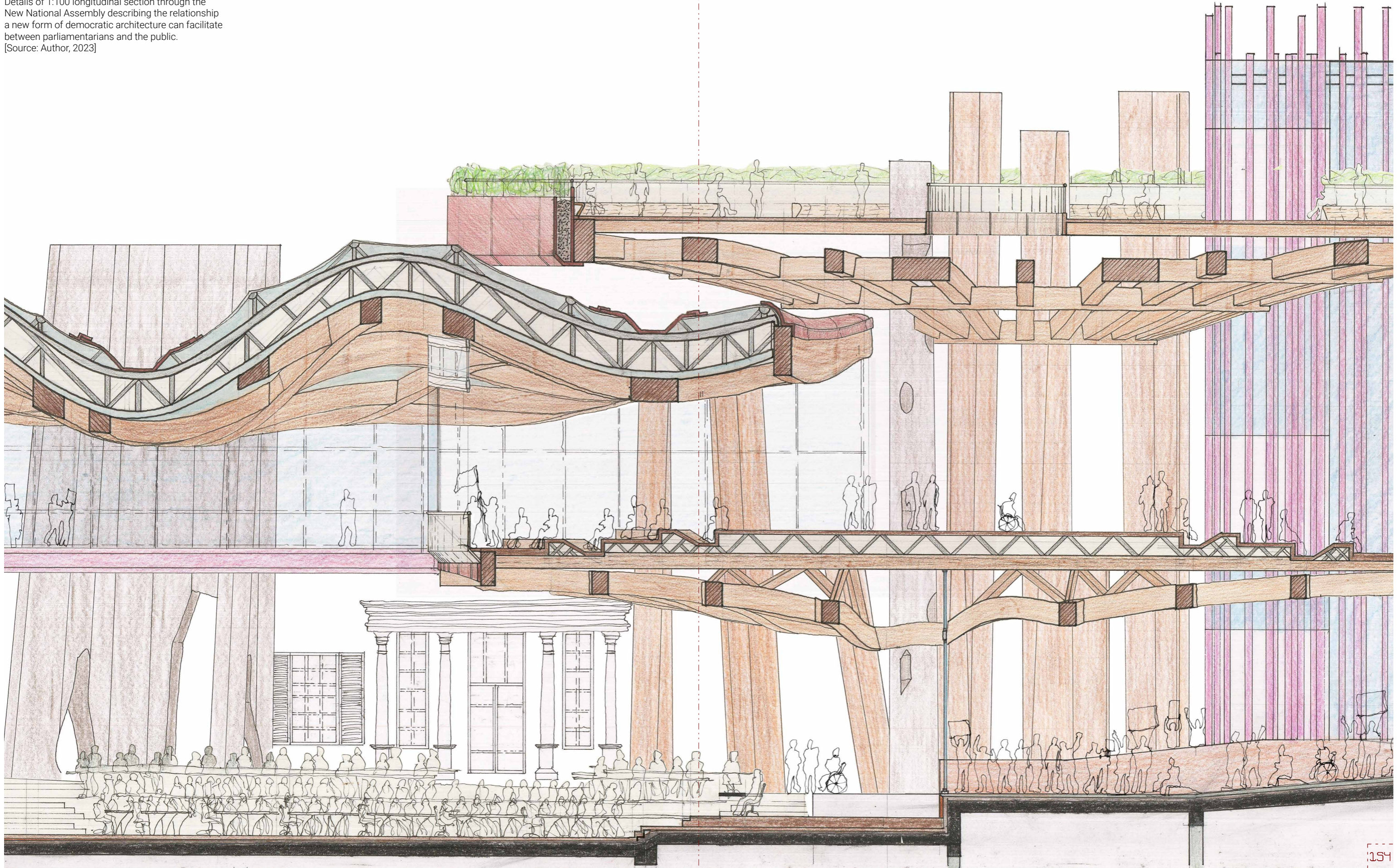
Primary to the spatial experience of this building are open, comfortable, and universally accessible spaces for the public to view parliamentary debates and physically inhabit the spaces which are fundamental to the functioning of our democracy. These spaces allow public proximity to parliamentarians and parliamentary processes. This connection is mediated to ensure the safety and security of governance but fosters the type of transparency in governance that our constitution enshrines. Equally, the contiguity of public spaces and spaces of governance allows for protest and petition - a fundamental tool in the development of a progressive society - to take place in spaces which can directly affect governance. This allows protest to be enacted with a direct physical connection to the spaces and people who can make meaningful legislative changes to our country.

Spaces which centre the public whilst improving governmental processes are the spaces which our parliament is fundamentally in need of. These types of spaces will allow our parliament to become truly of the people as opposed to on behalf of the people.

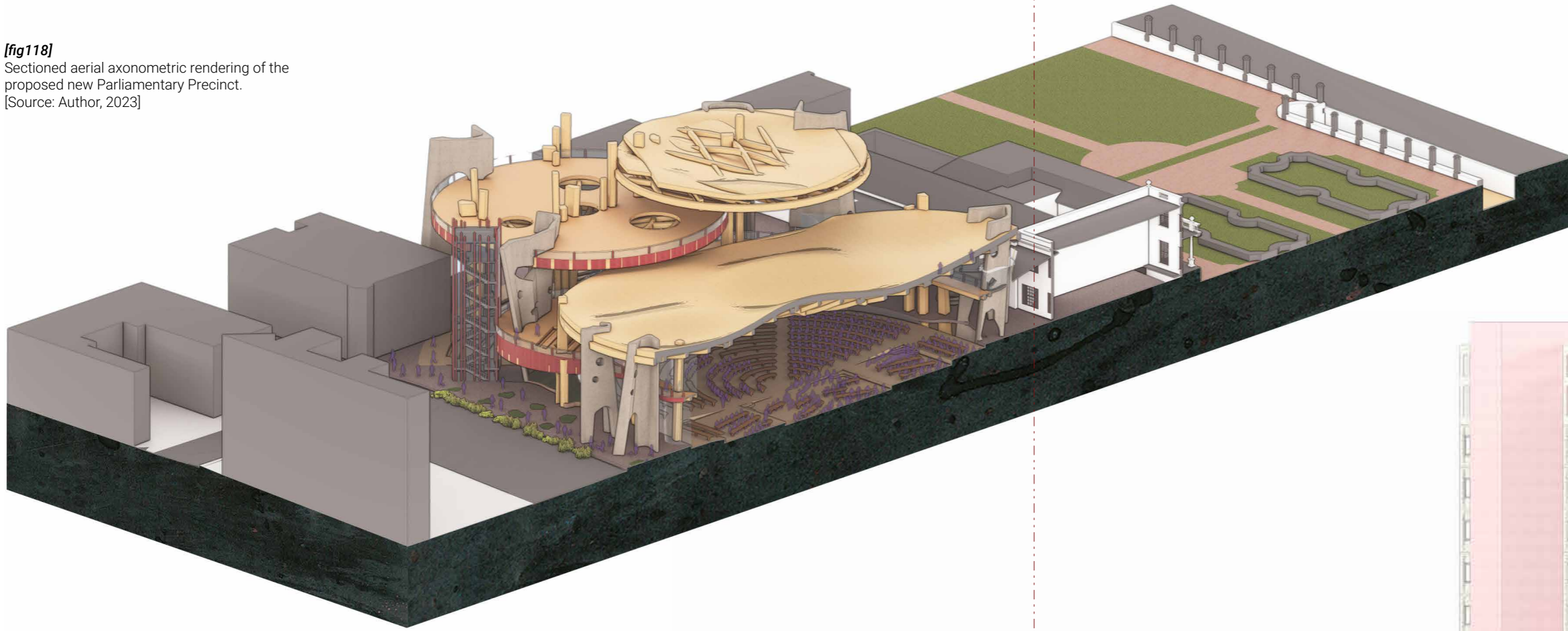
**[fig116]**  
1:100 longitudinal section through the New National Assembly describing the relationship a new form of democratic architecture can facilitate between parliamentarians and the public.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



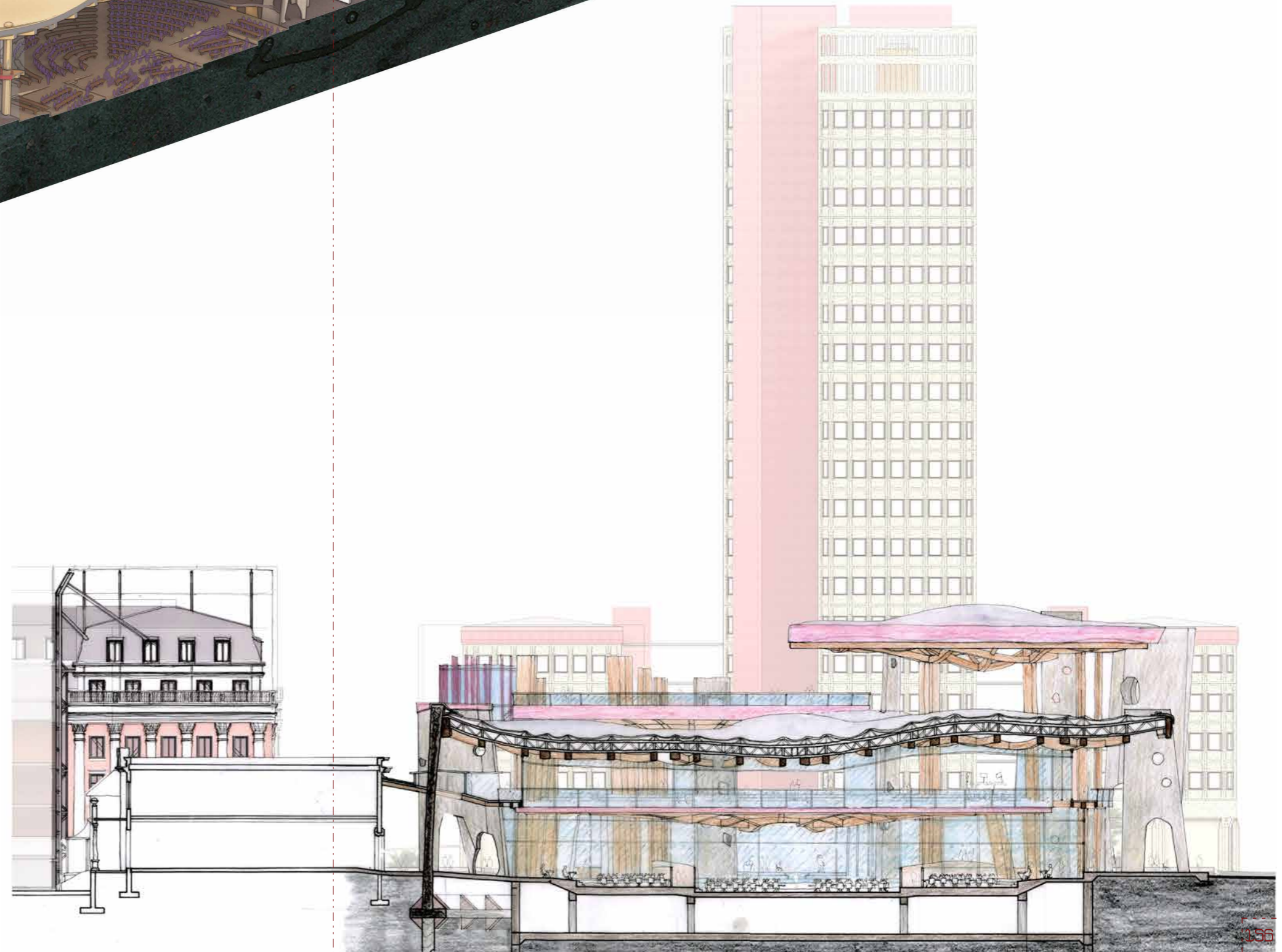
**[fig117]**  
Details of 1:100 longitudinal section through the  
New National Assembly describing the relationship  
a new form of democratic architecture can facilitate  
between parliamentarians and the public.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig118]**  
Sectioned aerial axonometric rendering of the proposed new Parliamentary Precinct.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



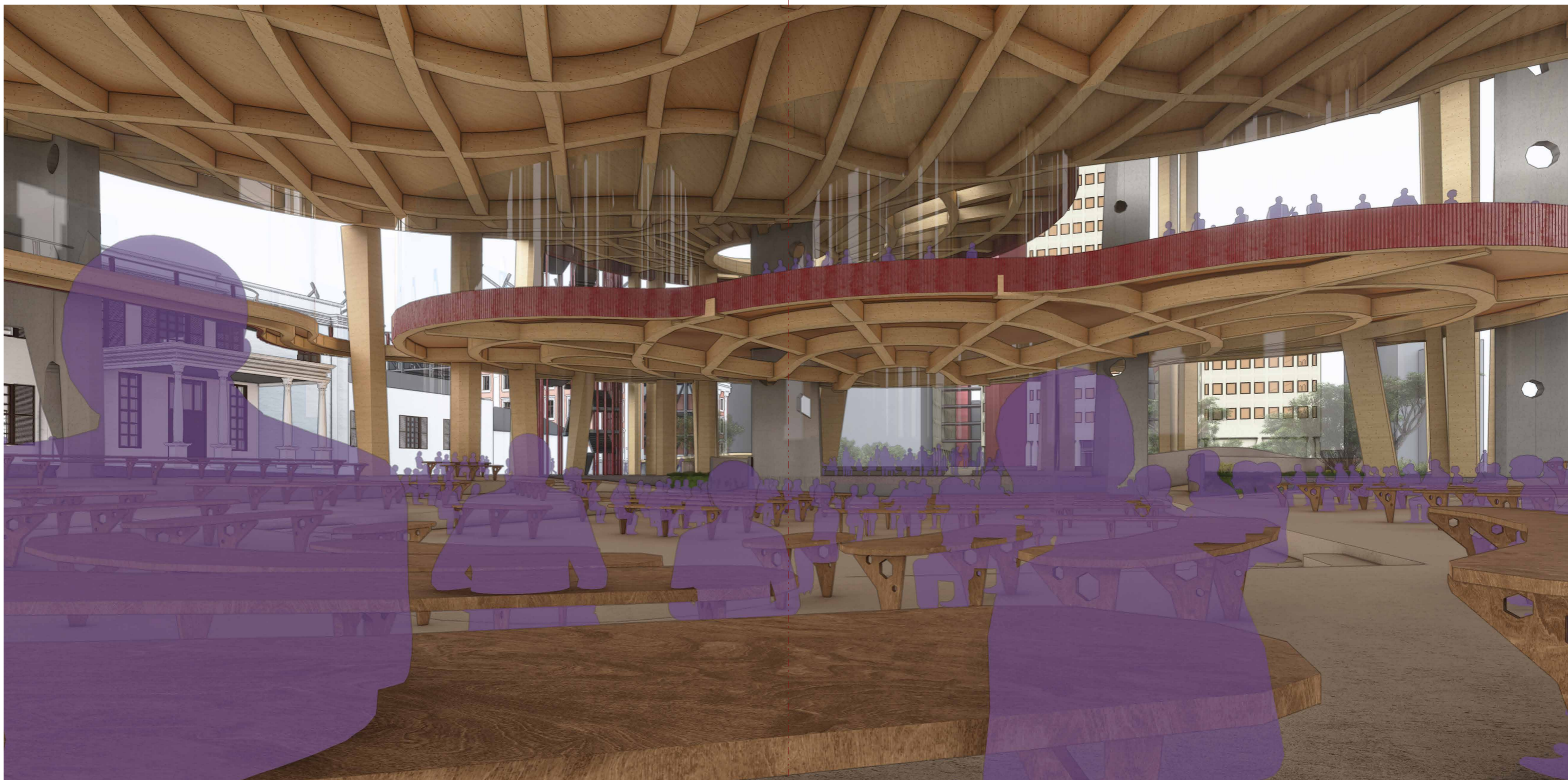
**[fig119]**  
1:200 cross section through the New National Assembly describing its connection to the existing Tuynhuys building.  
[Source: Author, 2023]





**[fig120]**  
Rendering of the primary elevation of the New  
National Assembly.  
[Source: Author, 2023]

**[fig121]**  
Interior perspective rendering describing the spatial  
experience of parliamentarians during a debate.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



[fig122]

Exterior perspective rendering describing the spatial experience of members of the public watching a parliamentary debate from the ground floor gallery. [Source: Author, 2023]



**[fig123]**  
Rendering of newly established public space adjacent to the New National Assembly and the public route running through the Old National Assembly building.  
[Source: Author, 2023]



In its form, arrangement, and materiality this New National Assembly within a re-spatialised parliamentary precinct is not seen as a finality. Instead this project should be read as an intention. An intention which has worked to develop and consider methods through which the objectives of our constitution can be fulfilled to their true potential, through architecture. In specific, the potential that our constitution enshrines for our architectures of democracy to be for and of the public.

As sections 59 and 72 of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Constitutional Assembly, 1996) state; 'The National Assembly [and The National Council of Provinces] must facilitate public involvement in the legislative and other processes of the Council and its committees'. In the opinion of the author, the current state of the architectures of our parliament do only the bare minimum to satisfy these requirements and therefore are in great need of repair.

It is an undeniable fact that *the people* now govern. Let it be such that those who are governed become radically included in the architectures of their democracy.

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## PRE-SCREENING QUESTIONNAIRE OUTCOME LETTER

STU-EBE-2023-PSQ000632

2023/09/11

Dear Liam Harvey,

Your Ethics pre-screening questionnaire (PSQ) has been evaluated by your departmental ethics representative. Based on the information supplied in your PSQ, it has been determined that you do not need to make a full ethics application for the research project in question.

You may proceed with your research project titled:

State of Repair: Architectures for a Democratic Public

Please note that should aspect(s) of your current project change, you should submit a new PSQ in order to determine whether the changed aspects increase the ethical risks of your project. It may be the case that project changes could require a full ethics application and review process.

Regards,

Faculty Research Ethics Committee

**ROELAND STREET**

 **Cape Town** 



**Parliament** 

 **(M3) Muizenberg**

