OF PLACE AND PLAYMAKING: WORKING WITH EVERYDAY CITY SPACES THROUGH THEATRE AND PERFORMANCE

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'But communication takes place on the limit, or on the common limits where we are exposed and where it exposes us.' (Nancy, 2008: 62)

DEDICATION

For Sara Matchett and Nicholas Dallas

ABSTRACT

OF PLACE AND PLAYMAKING: WORKING WITH EVERYDAY CITY SPACES THROUGH THEATRE AND PERFORMANCE

By Alexandra Halligey

This thesis proposes theatre and performance as tools for understanding the relational emergence of city spaces. It responds to two related urban studies calls. The first is for fine-grained ethnographies of the everyday to learn what city spaces might be becoming in order to strategise how to support these becomings. The second falls under the 'cultural turn' in urban thinking: what artistic projects might offer an everyday urbanism. Through an everyday urban lens, the work asserts the performativity of daily actions in constructing space, but also the affectual qualities that daily city life produces. These affectually charged, spatial constructions through the interrelation of daily activity are what make spaces become places, places that are temporary and always evolving. This thesis draws a link between everyday placemaking practices and the artistic practice of playmaking to propose theatre and performance as a way of learning about city spaces, actively engaging with this knowledge and broadcasting it. It argues that theatre and performance staged in the sites it seeks to know and in concert with city dwellers has the capacity to facilitate an embodied, but reflective experience of what it is to be continually implicated as a city dweller in spatial – and therefore place – construction through daily actions.

The work takes as its primary focus a year-long participatory theatre and performance project run in the Johannesburg inner city suburbs of Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl, resulting in a 'site-specific' play performed in the streets of the area. The practical component to the study is contextualized within the broader landscape of Johannesburg public art interventions over the last 15 years and specifically in relation to two other Johannesburg-based participatory public art projects: Terry Kurgan's *Hotel Yeoville* and a series of public art commissions managed by The Trinity Session. The research uses Tim Ingold's notion of corresponding with materiality in order to know as a methodology in service of understanding cities through their relational construction. This phronetic approach – knowing through doing – is applied to interpreting Kurgan's and The Trinity Session's work and to both the making of the theatre project in Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl and the writing of this thesis.

The study takes place at the intersection between urban studies, theatre and performance studies and public art. It draws together the socially-engaged concerns and considerations of all three fields to propose theatre and performance as a public art form offering a mode of productive, robust engagement with the contemporary urban moment.

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Firstly, this project is indebted to Sara Matchett for casting me in *Breathing spaces* in 2005 and to Nicholas Dallas for describing and then lending me *The practice of everyday life* in 2009. The two happenings combined into my conceiving the project and they have informed my research process throughout. *Breathing spaces* was Sara's final Master's piece and a Mothertongue production – a cross-community professional theatre project created with ten women from Darling for the *Voorkamer Fees* and performed site-specifically in three of the women's homes. Nicholas's introduction to *The practice of everyday life* gave me the language to articulate what excited me about Sara's process and how I wanted to work in a similar way in a densely-urban context.

I owe many more thanks besides:

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

REFERENCING NOTE: All e-book sources are referenced only by author and date for in-text citations as recommended by the UCT Author-date Reference Guide, 2016. Full bibliographic details for all e-books cited are provided in the reference list at the end of the thesis.

TABLE OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with space and place in the city and how theatre and performance might respond to them both practically and conceptually. Foundationally, the research works with an understanding of space and identities as emergently produced through material relationality. It offers propositions in the territory of Doreen Massey's proposal for space generally and AbdouMaliq Simone's concerns in terms of African cities specifically. AbdouMaliq Simone seeks to understand, 'how researchers, policymakers, and urban activists can practice ways of seeing and engaging urban spaces that are characterised simultaneously by regularity and provisionality' (Simone, 2008: 69). Which echoes Massey's argument:

> And if identities, both specifically spatial and otherwise, are indeed constructed relationally then that poses the question of the geography of those relations of construction. It raises questions of the politics of those geographies and of our relationship to and responsibility for them; and it raises conversely and perhaps less expectedly, the potential geographies of our social responsibility. (Massey, 2005: 10)

Practically, the research puts theatre and performance to work as participatory public art processes to engage with geographies of relationally constructed space and the geographies of social responsibility that engagement raises. Conceptually it applies a lens of performance and performativity to Massey's geographic ends. To conceive of our relational actions as performance is to acknowledge that they are embodied and processual – physical, material acts taking place through time – and that they are also performative, they have an effect on the world. '[I]dentities… spatial or otherwise' are made through relational actions in the form of our daily performances and their effects. But the research also asks what the practice of theatre and theatricality conceived as public art might offer a politics of urban space. What are the potential performative effects of a theatrical, socially engaged public art practice in city spaces?

What do I mean by space and how does this differ from place? Massey starts her argument in *For Space* with the following assertion: 'And what if we refuse that distinction…between place (as meaningful, lived and everyday) and space (as what? the outside? the abstract? the meaning*less*)?'

(Massey, 2005: 130). Michel de Certeau in contrast describes place as lost to the city, but recuperated through 'spatial practice', through travel, movement, action *through* the city which makes space (1988: 103-107, my emphasis). De Certeau's conception of space is far from meaningless, but rather prioritises a formation in the moment through practice. Place for de Certeau is resolved into static palimpsests (109). Place is origin (103). Place is fixed and only activated by spatial practice, spatial practice which is alive only in the moment and in the motion of action (109).

Similarly to de Certeau, Massey proposes an active, ongoing production of space, but unlike him, she carries the idea of relational construction through to place. Place for Massey is not fixed origin, rather she argues:

> If space is… a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometrics of space. Their character will be a product of these intersections within that wider setting, and of what is made of them. And, too, of the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions. All this contributes to the specificity of place. (Massey, 2005: 130)

I draw most significantly on Massey's definition of place in this thesis, where the 'multiplicity of stories-so-far' that continually make space, might agglomerate into 'spatio-temporal events' of place (Massey, 2005: 130). This project understands place as moments in space and time that might be named or sensed, provisionally and with an awareness of all that is excluded in the making of that moment and its naming. 'Place' is a glancing identity that is complex and quickly shifting out of its identifying moment. Places are not 'points or areas on maps, but… integrations of space and time' (Massey, 2005: 130). These events of intergration are akin to the '*something*' Kathleen Stewart describes which 'throws itself together in a moment as an event and a sensation; a something both animated and inhabitable' (2007: 1, emphasis in original). Emergent space and its fleeting, mobile resolutions into place are real, material, inhabitable, but not necessarily *locatable* either on a map or topographically. Or certainly an area on a map or a topographic area in the world are only two of the many stories-so-far of space that collect to make place.

Place in the terms above fits into Tim Cresswell's definition, where:

> Place is also a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world. When we look at the world as a world of places we see different things. We see attachments and connections between people and place. We see worlds of meaning and experience… the world as a rich and complicated interplay of people and the environment. (2004: 11)

In theatre and performance studies terms, performance is similarly offered as a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world, and of feeling it too. Mark Fleishman suggests:

> that there are certain epistemological issues that can only be addressed in and through performance itself and that such performance practice 'can be both a form of research and a legitimate way of making the findings of such research publicly available' (2012: 28, citing Painter, 1996: n.p.)

Fleishman is speaking of artistic performance, but Dwight Conquergood argues for considering ethnography as a performance to emphasise a 'way of knowing that is grounded in active, intimate, hands-on participation and personal connection: "knowing how," and "knowing who"' (2002: 146). Performance in Conquergood's sense here is that of process – the kind of everyday space-making performances that collect or are 'thrown together' (Stewart, 2007: 1) to make a transitory sense of place.

My project proposes that the correlation between play- and placemaking as collaborative, iterative, material, emergent and affectual practices make the work of playmaking a fitting way of exploring the work of daily placemaking. For the same reasons the form of a play as public art might offer itself as an allusive communicator for the findings of research on place as 'a rich and complicated interplay of people and the environment' (Cresswell, 2004: 11). The project's use of the actions of playmaking to explore those of placemaking speaks too to Brian Massumi's concept of proprioception as our primary means for wayfinding and inhabiting space. We know where we are and where we are going through sensing, rather than seeing and mapping fixed points, so that 'position emerges from movement, from a relation to movement itself' (Massumi, 2002: 180). This line of thinking is particularly useful in relating the physically relational, creative spatial practice of theatre making to the physically relational, creative spatial practices of daily placemaking.

Both the practice-based research I conducted and its analysis in this thesis are situated in the territory of Lefebvre's concerns with how space is produced and the importance of rhythm to

the production of space. My unpacking above of how I work with understandings of space, place and performance immediately suggests a resonance with Lefebvre's project. Lefebvre demands an attention to practice in order to understand the ongoing, active construction of space. He argues that it is in practice and the history of practices that '*knowledge'* of space emerges, suggesting that more purely theoretical approaches to documenting space finally provide only 'descriptions' or 'inventories' of space (1991: 7, emphasis in original). He distinguishes between knowledge which serves power (this he nominates '*savoir'*) and knowledge which refuses to acknowledge power (this he nominates '*connaissance'*). *Connaissance* he sees as contained in and expressed through daily practices and it is here that his investment lies (10).

In *Rhythmanalysis*, he proposes a means for working with the complex interrelations of practices which make space, in order to know space. Space by Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis, as for Massey (and as Massey is influenced by Lefbevre), is formed through patterns of intersecting mobilities (Massey, 2005; Lefebvre, 2004). Our ongoing practices and the ongoing trajectories of objects, land masses, nature, the heavens, create these patterns of intersecting mobilities. My research project sought to use the practice of theatre and performance to engage the practices of daily life as they produce space. I chose a mobile, iterative, which is to say rhythmic, practice to explore the rhythms of daily life in city spaces. All this with an investment in the *connaissance*, the knowledge inherent in the enactment itself of these daily practices. My project, both in field practice and in the work of this thesis, attempts to bring attention to the knowledges contained in our daily practices, offering theatre and performance as an apt tool and conceptual lens for doing so. The project works with *connaissance* as the starting point for getting into the interstices of the everyday as 'simultaneously the site of, the theatre for, and what is at stake in a conflict between great indestructible rhythms and the processes imposed by the socio-economic organisation of production, consumption, circulation and habitat' (2004: 73). In what follows, Lefebvre becomes a fleeting reference, although recurring thread. I have chosen to focus on the work of later scholars,

in particular Massey and Ingold, for their perhaps more immediately practical though no less poetic thinking around spatial production and what it means for place-making. Nonetheless, this work is foundationally about the 'production of space' and troubles with a similar kind of attention to that prescribed by Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis (1991; 2004).

In service of investigating playmaking to know placemaking, I ran a participatory theatre and performance based public art project in the Johannesburg inner city suburbs of Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl from August 2015 to December 2016. The project started with a two-month pilot of theatre and performance based participatory workshops with the residents/learners of four local institutions at the end of 2015. I continued to run the workshops with two of these institutions until the end of 2016, as well as conducting interviews with individuals about Bertrams and participating myself in the area in various ways. From July 2016, I worked with a small cast of professional actors alongside participants from the workshops to make a site-specific play modelled on the format of a walking tour with fictional tour guide characters and short performances along the way. The play was entitled *Izithombe 2094* (which translates as 'Pictures of 2094', 2094 being the area's postcode). We performed it publicly in the first week of September 2016 and again in the first week of November 2016.

My research in Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl over the course of 2015 and 2016, as a form of qualitative ethnography, revealed all sorts of data about everyday life in the area: routes being walked, public spaces being put to many different uses through daily actions, who is moving where and when and how and carrying what feelings along those trajectories. However the specifics of that data are not the subject of this thesis. Much of that information is not new in an inner city Johannesburg context (See specifically on Bertrams: Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014) and traditional qualitative ethnographic methods would have been just as effective in gathering the information. My focus in this thesis however is on the intersection between playmaking and placemaking, with space, the ongoing material construction of space, as critical to both. The analysis is of process

rather than data, to understand the specific ways theatre and performance are useful to understanding the everyday, which is ultimately to say placemaking in the city as defined above. The research process was both method and methodology; practical tool and conceptual framework – in the process of making a play about a city place, how does the playmaking offer a conceptual lens for understanding placemaking in the city?

Why the city? The intersection of space and place and theatre and performance as method and conceptual lens for conceiving of relational materialities could work as well in any geographical situation. The work has a particular value however in terms of human settlements. I chose to work in the city because of its density as a human settlement form and the urgent problems it poses to humans and the environment they are part of and contributing to. I chose to work in Johannesburg out of an investment in Southern urban contexts, African ones in particular and the social value theatre and performance practice might offer in thinking through Southern urbanism questions.

For a similar reason of density, I located the project in an inner city area. Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl offer density in population numbers; mixed use and demographic diversity. As the second oldest cluster of suburbs in Johannesburg (Doornfontein being the first), the area has a 'multiplicity of stories-so-far' made up of human trajectories from the city's inception. Few original houses remain in Doornfontein, with most of the area now housing warehouses, high rises and sports stadia, while Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl still have many of their original buildings and although the area is mixed in use, it is still characterised as suburban. Johannesburgers refer to all three suburbs as 'Bertrams', although people who have lived or worked in the area for any length of time are very particular about the boundaries and nominations of the three different sections. For ease of reading throughout this thesis I use the common shorthand of 'Bertrams' to indicate Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl as well as the official Bertrams area.

Figure 1: Halligey (2017). Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl from Yeoville Ridge, present day [photograph].

Figure 2: Latilla (2017). Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl from Yeoville Ridge, 1890's [photograph].

Today the area is a mix of light industria, residential houses and flats, shops, informal trading as well as several social service institutions. The population is predominantly poor and black, but with a higher percentage of racial and language group diversity than many South African urban areas bearing the legacy of segregational apartheid policy (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014: 254, 256). Stats SA data attests to this in number (2003, table reproduced in Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014: 254), but the predominance of poor, black residents, as well as a visible degree of racial and ethnic diversity is immediately apparent from a drive or walk through the area. Which leads me to a second characterisation of the area, also somewhat unusual for South African city formal suburbs: the predominance of street life. Children - white, black, coloured[1] and Indian – from the ages of five to

[1] The term 'coloured' is a South African historical nomination, used during apartheid years to classify mixed race members of the population. Although the word has pejorative associations in many parts of the world, in South Africa 'coloured' is a term that an historically-established, culturally specific group who are mixed race actively choose post apartheid to self-identify.

teenagers are a common sight playing or socialising on the streets, pavements and several small parks in the area. There is an active pedestrian life, informal trade and adults – like the children – socialise on the streets whether in the small retail strips or spilling out of front porches and balconies into public spaces.

Bertrams lies in the valley between Yeoville Ridge in the north and Troyville Ridge in the south and is the start of Bezuidenhout Valley, so called after the Bezuidenhout family who owned the original farm which ran the length of the valley. The Jukskei River runs through the middle of the valley from its source in Doornfontein.

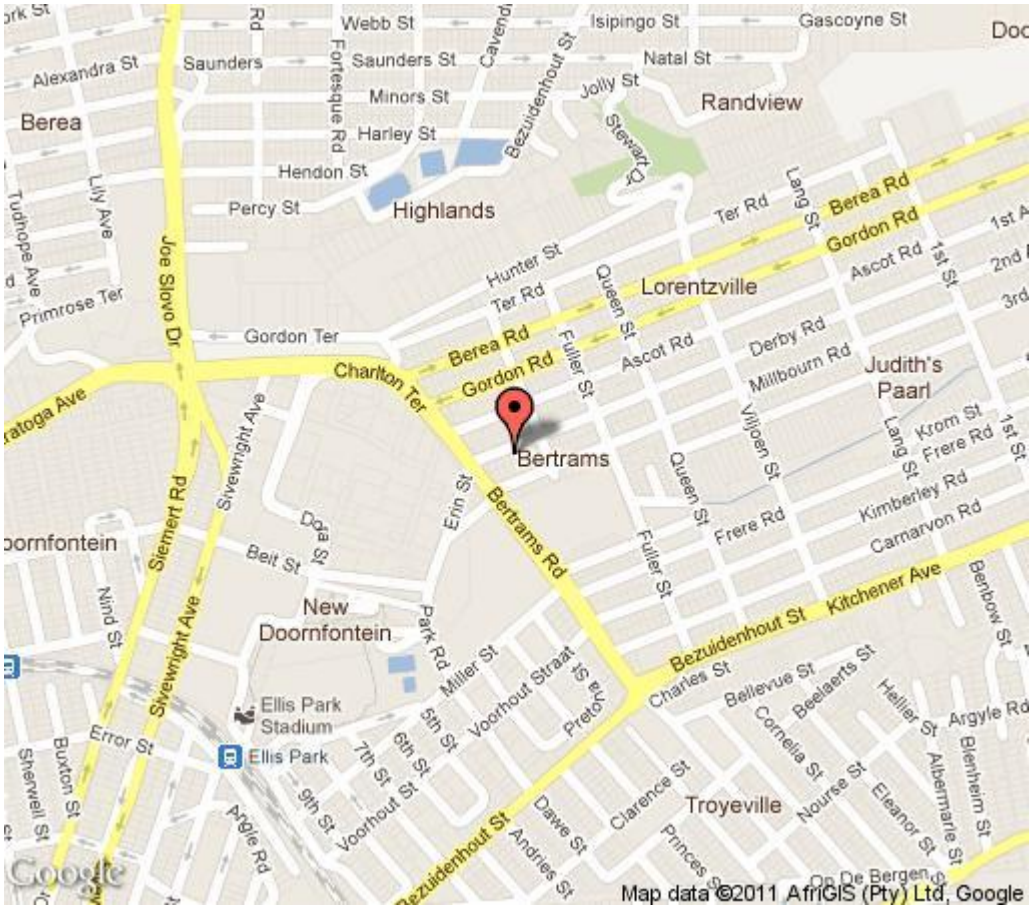

Figure 3: Google Maps (2011). Bertams, Lorentzville, Judith's Paarl and surrounding suburbs [map].

A property developer called Robertson Fuller Bertram leased the area officially demarcated as Bertrams from the Bezuidenhout family in 1889, just three years after gold was discovered in the region precipitating a gold rush and the birth of Johannesburg (Latilla, 2014). Bertram sold off plots,

initially to wealthy buyers involved in the mining boomtown of Johannesburg. The Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl areas were used for market gardens to supply the city, but were soon incorporated into the suburbia of Bertrams. The whole area became officially part of the city, as opposed to a 'satellite township', in 1897 (Latilla, 2014). By the early 1900s the area was rezoned as affordable housing and became a predominantly lower-middle and working class suburb, which it has remained to the present day with oscillations between gentrifying and slummifying trends. Initially racially mixed, the area underwent forced removals (among the first in South Africa) of all black, Indian and coloured residents in the 1930s.

Figure 4: Latilla (2017). East side of Johannesburg, 1986 [map].

The first wave of residents from 1889 to the early 1900s were predominantly Jewish. The second wave in the 1930s were white tenant farmers who had come to the city and were provided with state-funded accommodation built by the mayor of Johannesburg at the time, Maurice Freeman, and which the forced removals were intended to make way for. The third wave were Portuguese-speaking immigrants fleeing the Angolan and Mozambican civil wars in the 1960s and 1970s. The

latest wave since the 1990s has been and continues to be immigrants from all over the African continent (Latilla, 2017 and Bertrams Junior School, 2015). Bertrams is well-situated as an entry point to Johannesburg with cheap accommodation, some social services, informal trading possibilities and easy access to the city (Latilla, 2017 and Bertrams Junior School, 2015). From working with the Bertrams Junior School learners, my sense was that there has also been a big influx of migrants from elsewhere in South Africa in the last two decades – families coming to Johannesburg from farming communities in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and the North West provinces.

All of these factors combine to recommend Bertrams as a potentially rich site of dense intersecting trajectories for considering a relational construction of space and place. Furthermore, unlike inner city areas such as Hillbrow, Yeoville and Berea which have hosted considerable numbers of public artworks in the last fifteen years or so, Bertrams has had fewer art interventions, whether by individual artists or commissioned by the City and non-governmental institutions.

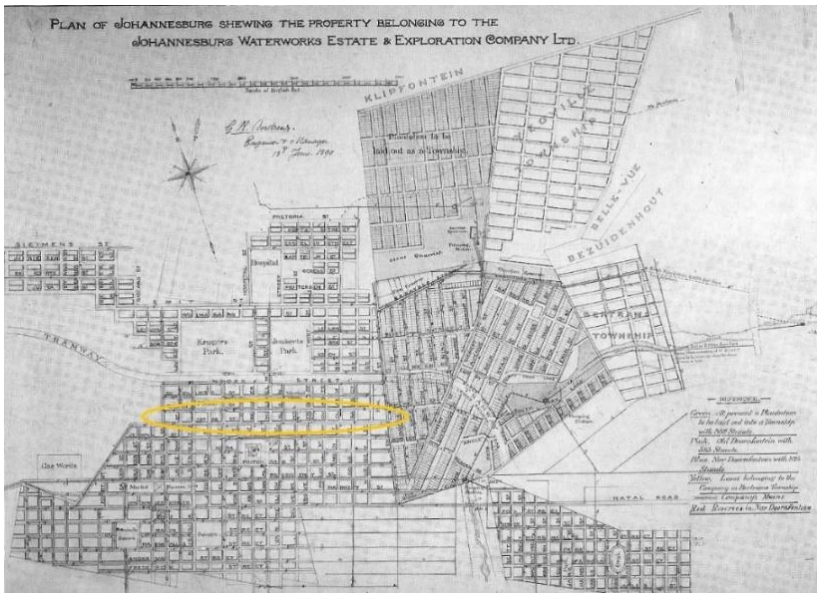

Figure 5: Latilla (2017). Johannesburg, 1890 [map].

Figure 6: Map Studio (2015). Greater Johannesburg, today [Map].

Cities, Performance, Theatre, the Commons, Dissensus

In recent years much has been produced in the theatre and performance field on performance and the city (See Hopkins, Orr and Solga, 2009; McKinnie, 2007; Harvie, 2009; Whybrow, 2010, 2011, 2014; Kruger, 2013; Martin, 2014; Hopkins and Solga, 2013; Knowles, 2017). This body of literature is concerned with performance as a conceptual lens for understanding the city and with artistic performance as a way of engaging such a conceptual lens. As Nicolas Whybrow posits there is the city '*as* performance' and there are, 'site-specific or public artworks… that address a particular aspect of the city or effectively perform the city into a kind of being – however temporary – via their particular forms of engagement with or intervention in urban space' (2014: 2). Understanding the city '*as* performance' is to consider urban spaces as material, relational and emergent. The city as performance underpins the urban geographic thinking this thesis is grounded in, where the city in its built form and daily practices is an ongoing performance with performative effects. Physical structures and people keep co-creating the particular qualities, configurations and ways of being in the city. The conceptual lens of performance supports Massey's argument for space and place where the trajectories of actors are the perfomance and their performative effects are how the trajectories collide and knot to make ever-evolving spaces and moments of place (2005). Similarly performance and performativity underpin Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift's everyday urbanism (2002)

and Thrift's non-representational project to consider the material, affectual ways in which cities are constantly in the making (2008).

Artistic performance in city spaces affords a way of activating an understanding of cities as relationally emergent (as performative performances). Firstly, it serves as a way of knowing cities in the sense that Fleishman (2009) and Conquergood (2002) describe performance as knowing – through the formal practice of artistic performance in city spaces we learn about cities. Secondly, it serves to engage city publics in an understanding of cities as relationally emergent – through watching a performance in a city space we understand the city itself as a performance and learn about a specific aspect of that urban performance. Thirdly, as Whybrow suggests, artistic performances can engage with the broader, daily performance of the city to bring a new kind of city into being, even if only temporarily (2014: 2).

As D.J. Hopkins, Shelley Orr and Kim Solga frame it, 'performance can help to renegotiate the urban archive, to build the city and to change it' (2009: 6), both as conceptual lens and practical tool. The theatre and performance studies project of performance and the city falls into Nicolas Bourriaud's argument for aesthetic relationality – the urbanisation of the art form; the relational nature of the art form applied to the city (2002: 15). Or to circle back to a geographic theorist: using performance as conceptual lens and artistic practice resonates with Cresswell's notion of place as a way of understanding where 'attachments and connections' between things 'build worlds of meaning and experience' (2004: 11).

The work cited above on performance and the city draws together geographic, artistic and performance theory concerns in application to urban contexts – what cities are; what cities are becoming and how scholars, artists and activists might productively intervene. Of the extensive recent writing on cities and performance, the discussions of Marla Carlson, D.J. Hopkins and Shelley Orr, and Laura Levin in *Performance and the City* have particular relevance to my project.

Carlson analyses two sound art walks in New York City, considering the ways in which they blur historical times, call up the walker's own embodied memories of the city and draw the audio walker's sensuous attention to the present moment (Carlson, 2009: 15-32). Carlson's concern is with the ways in which the artistic performance of the sound walks make evident the everyday performances – past, present and concurrent multiple presents – that co-construct the spaces the walks traverse through. Hopkins and Orr discuss the memorialisation of Ground Zero in New York, championing the active, embodied practice that is placemaking in city spaces (33-50). They consider the various memorial projects and spaces in lower Manhattan, arguing for a pedestrian engagement with space in order for people to perform and thereby to create their own memorial processes and narratives (46). Levin writes on the 'communicating space' of site-specifc performance work in cities (242). She draws the work and thinking of experimental theatre and performance artists from the 1960s and 1970 *avant garde* art movements together with critical theorists to consider the blur between the real and the theatrical in *Nights In This City*, a 1995 theatrical bus tour by UK-based theatre company, Forced Entertainment. Levin argues that the interplay between the theatrical and the real in performances staged in every day sites 'can render perceptible those aspects of the environment that we habitually engage but routinely overlook' (Levin, 2009: 250).

The three examples above pick out key factors in the form that the artistic project for my research took and in the way I argue for its productive use in considering city spaces. The sound walk Carlson discusses is an example of what Jen Harvie terms a 'performance walk', describing theatre and performance works that lead audiences on routes through city spaces (2009). The culminating play of my research, *Izithombe* 2094, was just such a performance walk. The interplay between multiple everyday presents and pasts through the sensual engagement of the audience was both the intention and effect realised in the work. Although the concern of my project was not with memorialisation, *Izithombe 2094* sought to facilitate for audience members an embodied,

pedestrian engagement with the play and site, that they might create their own subjective experiences. As I discuss in the 'Performance and Performativity; Theatre and Theatricality' section of this chapter, the interplay between the theatrical fiction and the everyday was crucial to the experiment and hypothesis of my research project to purposively highlight 'those aspects of the environment that we habitually engage but routinely overlook' (Levin, 2009: 250). The 'Performance and Performativity; Theatre and Theatricality' section further articulates how my project worked with these terms and practices to make a spatial intervention in Bertrams. However, I mark here three examples, out of the many artistic and scholarly interventions in the theatre and performance city space, which my own intervention parallels.

In addition to discussions of the interplay between space, daily practices and artistic performance, Ric Knowles's very recent *Performing the Intercultural City* makes a significant contribution to the theatre and performance studies literature on cities (2017). He explores how theatre and performance sites and works in Toronto engage the cultural diversity of the city. These sites and works draw people together spatially, but they also activate dialogues through their content and the embodied experiences (performative engagement) they offer audiences and performers. Loren Kruger, writing specifically in terms of contemporary public performance art practices in Johannesburg, similarly speaks of a '*drama of hospitality*' when 'planned, scripted, choreographed' events in city spaces enable encounters and interaction between a diversity of city-dwellers (2013: 21, emphasis in original). My project focuses on the networked relationality of spatial production in placemaking. However, difference – in culture, race, nationality, gender, age – is inherent in any consideration of relationality and these moments of difference occur frequently along the way of my primary narrative of co-constructed space towards place-making as it might be engaged by theatre and performance artistic practices.

Lastly in this section I would like to reflect on Jen Harvie's monograph specifically on *theatre* and the city (2009)[2]. Harvie's project is to consider how theate can be used in service of understanding and positively shifting city spaces, as well as how theatre as a practice can itself shift in response to cities. In service of her argument she consider theatre through a cultural materialist lens and then a performative lens. She weighs the kinds of exclusions and hierarchies theatre perpetuates as a cultural product against the hopeful possibilities for change in social pratices theatre offers through its ephepemeral, embodied, performative (as in effecting change) nature as a performance discipline. My concern in this thesis is very much with the latter – how theatre can offer performative experiences of city spaces to bring less seen and less recognised knowledges of our social practices to light. Although, as with Knowles's intercultural concerns, my research implicitly engages how the cultural material value of theatre might be shifted out of its more conventional uses to be more socially inclusive and socially and politically fungible.

In the conceptual framework that follows and in Chapter 2's literature review I separate out the various fields my research connects to, but mark here through a summative introduction to recent performance and the city literature how all these fields interrelate. Their interrelation will continue to be evident, as the thesis progresses, articulating the ways in which this research project offers itself as yet another proposition within the theatre, performance and the city project.

My research's concern with theatre, performance and the city is underpinned by a particular line of thinking towards the political which draws on Jacques Rancière's notion of dissensus (2015), Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau's agonism (2014) and Jean-Luc Nancy's understanding of the commons and the production of being (2008, 2000). In *The Inoperative Community*, Nancy argues for an understanding of community where the individual is in common

[2] Michale McKinnie's 2007 *City Stages: Theatre and Urban Space in a Global City* is in a similar scholarly territory to Harvie's work, though termed specifically through the lens of Toronto. McKinnie consider how Toronto's development historically has shaped theatrical practice in the city and conversely how historically theatre in Toronto has shifted the city in to new ways of being.

with other individuals (1991), which is to say we are neither purely individual beings nor are we purely defined by our plurality as community (60). For Nancy, to truly consider the meaning of community is fundamentally to accept the paradox – the 'inoperative' nature – of community, made up as it is of individuals whose individuation is produced through their 'being with' others, but not lost in a collective identity. Rancière proposes that the definition of politics is the moment of disagreement; the 'dissensus' between voices and actions (1999, 2015). Mouffe and Laclau propose 'agonism' as the truly radical political democracy. The conflict of different needs, desires, ideologies, actions is where the democratic moment lies (2014).

At stake for all three theorists is the question of the 'commons' and how and by whom it is shared, navigated, governed, shaped. Nancy frames his discussion in terms of the social; Rancière and Mouffe and Laclau in terms of the political, but the similarity in all three arguments is the question of difference-in-common. We share physical space, we make space and one another's identities through our actions in relation to one another (Massey's argument for space), but inherent in this production of 'identities, both specifically spatial and otherwise' (Massey, 2005: 10) is the conflict of difference. Conflictual difference, the colliding and knotting of our different trajectories, produces identities in their individuated form. The notions of 'dissensus', 'agonism' and the 'inoperative community' are the philosophical meeting point of the urban studies, public art, participatory research and theatre and performance concerns this thesis engages. They are at the root of the research project's questions about what it is to make place and plays, and how the collaborative activities of both place and playmaking might productively relate to one another. I expand on the thinking of Nancy, Mouffe and Laclau and Rancière as it applies specifically to points of analysis in the research throughout the thesis. I also refer to various urban, theatre and performance and cultural studies scholars who make similar arguments in their specific fields in terms of relationality, difference, individuated identity and the commons. Although the overview

here is too brief to do full justice to Nancy, Mouffe and Laclau and Rancière's arguments, I introduce their thinking as a schematic framing for the research project as a whole.

Thesis Structure

The remainder of Chapter 1 provides a conceptual framework for the research in terms of its two primary disciplines: urban studies and theatre and performance studies. Chapter 2 constitutes a review of key literature relevant to the research project's concerns: socially-engaged public art, participation, popular culture and identity in cities and site-specific theatre. Chapter 2 concludes with an explication of my methodology and methods. Chapter 3 discusses two Johannesburg public art projects as case studies to start formulating the kind of participatory public art process I wanted to initiate through my own project for this research. Chapter 4 reflects on the nature of participation theatre and performance provided through the workshop processes I ran in Bertrams. Chapter 5 takes two examples from the theatre and performance based workshops to discuss how they facilitated an exploration of relational power dynamics in Bertrams. Chapter 6 deals with the making of the final play performed in the public spaces of Bertrams, *Izithombe 2094*. The chapter explores how the collaborative process of playmaking both extended my and the cast's knowledge of the Bertrams everyday as well as assimilating this knowledge into a play form for sharing with the public. Between Chapters 6 and 7 is a thick description of the final play *Izithombe 2094* - the result of the devising and rehearsal work discussed in Chapter 6 and what the audiences discussed in Chapter 7 participated in. I term this *intermezzo* section 'thick description' as it goes some of the way to realising the kind of ethnographic work Clifford Geertz calls for where research moments are described in detail in an attempt to give as full a sense of the research situation as possible (1995: 217). However, it falls somewhere between script or 'score' and thick description. The description of *Izithombe 2094* is only partly 'thick', in that audience participation is generically described to give the reader a generalised sense of what a performance of the play was like,

although it was inevitably different in each iteration. Chapter 7 analyses the relationships of various audiences to the performance of *Izithombe 2094* and what the audience-play-place relationality exposed of placemaking in Bertrams.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 in particular have sections of substantial thick descriptions to give a sense of the work. These sections do honour Geertz's thorough tracing of all actors and relationships in the research situation, including reflections and short interpretations (1995: 217). Detailed analysis, what Adele Clarke terms 'thick analysis' to accompany 'thick description' (2005: xxiii), comes in service of the arguments in the sections immediately following the descriptions. Names of Bertrams workshop participants are all aliases unless the participant specified they wanted their real name used. All participants, interviewees and audience participants are initially referred to by their name and surname and from then on by their first name.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section first positions my research within the field of urban studies by nominating and defining the specific urban studies theories it draws on to shape a conceptual lens for the project. It then turns to theatre and performance studies theory to define performance, performativity, theatre and theatricality as used in the thesis to argue for how theatre and performance might work productively with city spaces in terms of the project's specific urban studies lens.

Urban Theory

This study falls under the umbrella of what Phil Hubbard terms 'the cultural turn' in theorising cities (2006: 59). Put very broadly the focus on culture in urban geography is to explore the influence and importance of different, subjective interpretations of the city, rather than prioritising theories of overarching socio-economic mechanisms as driving urban environments (See Hubbard, 2006: 9-58; Pieterse, 2012: 43-44). To contextualise the work's position in 'the cultural turn' this section gives a

swift historical overview of European and North American urban theory, drawing primarily on Hubbard's *City* (2006). I then look to how the Northern canon of urban theory is being problematised as urban thinkers work to theorise cities from the perspective of the South and how emphasising Southern urban theory is critical to my research approach. The rest of the section delineates in detail the particular urban theory framework for my project, looking at relational, material understandings of city spaces (the 'everyday city') as they draw on Actor Network Theory (ANT) and vital materialism.

Considerations of the city in European and North American contexts started to gain ground in the late nineteenth century with writers like Émile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, Siegfried Kracauer, Ferdinand Tonnies, all of whom, as Hubbard summates, 'sought to isolate particular characteristics of the urban condition – often diagnosing the specific *pathologies* of urban living' (2006: 26, emphasis in original). The Chicago School (Ernest Burgess, Robert Park, Walter Reckless, Clifford Shaw, Henry MacKay, among others) in the 1920s shifted to an ecological approach to cities, a more detailed consideration of the complexities of city contexts (26). Although they used ethnography, ultimately the Chicago School's intention was to provide quantitative accounts of the city and their research was assimilated into producing 'urban models' – diagrammatic representations of social divides in cities (26-27). David Harvey, taking up the quantitative approach, offered scope for more nuance in 'modelling geographical pattern and process' in cities in his *Explanation in Geography* (1969), though ultimately he joined the next wave in urban thinking – the radical Marxist geography of the 1970s (28). Championed by Manuel Castells and Harvey, Marxisturbanists sought to understand cities in terms of 'a wider story of class conflict and ideological control' (38). Where previously urban geographers sought to provide information for city policy-makers and planners, the Marxist wave offered their research and theorising in challenge to city authorities (34).

Edward Soja's *Postmodern geographies: the reassertion of space in critical social theory* in 1989, marked the next big shift in urban theory towards a post-structuralist, post-modern understanding of cities (Hubbard, 2006: 44 and Roy, 2008: 9). Soja's work sought to answer some of the critiques levelled at Marxist considerations of the urban – that in their focus on the capitalist socio-economic driving force of cities, they neglected the finer complexities of culture and difference (Hubbard, 2006: 53). My research project draws significantly on Doreen Massey in understanding urban geography and her relational ontology of space is a development from the line of thinking Soja initiated (Massey, 2005; Soja, 1989). The postmodern city, informed by post-structuralism, aimed to be attentive to the fact that 'different modes of representing the world, can lead people to adopt very different behaviours and instigate a "politics of change"' (Hubbard, 2006: 53). Yet even Soja has come under criticism for not engaging more wholeheartedly with sexism, colonialism and othering of difference as deep-seated problems in cities. He – and Harvey – are still seen to lean too heavily on a shift in capitalist structures as the key to addressing inequalities (Dear, 2000: 76, cited in Hubbard, 2006: 52).

The cultural turn then started to gain focus as one of a number of responses to cities that Nigel Thrift and Ash Amin term the 'new urbanism', in response to the trajectory of urban theory I outline above (2010: 3, 9). The emphasis in thinking through cities in terms of culture is, as Hubbard suggests, on subjectivity, where subjectivity becomes productive to being 'flexible and open to the messiness of life', as called for by post-structuralist theorists (2006: 44). Hubbard separates out the representational (reading the city as text) and material (working with the textures of the city) strands to cultural urban theory. My project is concerned with both the representational *and* the material, but its position theoretically is in the material camp; 'the everyday city' (Hubbard, 2006; Pieterse, 2012). Thrift and Ash's seminal, *Cities: reimagining the urban*, seeks to understand the urban through the everyday; through 'the phenomenality of practices' (2002: 4). As contemporary urban theorists, Thrift and Amin are perhaps the most well-known in their work with the everyday

city, though earlier theorists like Lefebvre (1991a, 1991b, originally published 1947, 1974) and de Certeau (1988) were the vanguard of the everyday city, and fellow contemporary theorists like AbdouMaliq Simone and Asef Bayat are concerned with the everyday but looking specifically at cities of the Global South (See Simone, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 and Bayat, 2010).

Thrift's *Non-Representational Theory* (2008), deals with the specific territory of materiality in even more detail than his and Amin's earlier *Cities*. Thrift emphasises the role of affect – the moods, emotions, inarticulable charges – that are at play in cities and are not reducible to a semiotic reading. In other words Thrift calls for an investment in the things in cities which exceed representation, either in the form of the quantifiable and Marxist urbanisms of Northern urban theory of the twentieth century or in the cultural interpretations of the city as a text to be read, subjectively certainly, but read nonetheless (Hubbard, 2006). Thrift is concerned with that in cities which is *non-representational*.

While the everyday city may offer productive challenges to urban theory from earlier in the twentieth century, the Northern canon is also being called into question for its orientation towards North American and European cities. Durkheim, the Chicago School, Harvey, Marxist urbanists and Postmodern urbanists like Soja may still provide valuable insights into thinking through cities, however, as Edgar Pieterse argues, they need to be held in tension with knowledges and philosophies that emerge from different kinds of urbanities to the ones these earlier Northern scholars were working with (Pieterse, 2012: 37).

Southern urban theory is part of a broader discussion about how theories can be developed from experiences and knowledge in the Global South, rather than imposing theories of the North – Western models of thinking – onto Southern situations. Further, the debate is how theories of the South might be applicable to Northern Hemisphere contexts as they face economic and social crises (See Comarroff and Comaroff, 2012; Mbembe, 2012; Nuttall and Mbembe, 2004). The concern is about knowledge and therefore theorising specific to place, but also about the applicability of this

place-specific theory in other contexts (See Roy, 2008). The issue is not only one of a North/South divide in sites of research and theorising, but rather of approaching theorising in a different way – allowing knowledge to emerge from the field of study and to shape further theorising, rather than determining what counts as knowledge and how it should be theorised beforehand.

In proposing a Southern urbanism approach for working with the current lived realities of all cities and their prospective futures, not only those of the Global South, Pieterse emphasises that subjective experiences be kept in tension with socio-economic drivers (2012: 37-38). This follows Ananya Roy's line of argument for '"an area studies" framework' that 'can be seen as producing 'strategic essentialisms': authoritative knowledge that is fine-grained and nuanced but exceeds its empiricism through theoretical generalization' (2008: 4). Roy, sees that, 'such forms of essentialism and dislocation… are needed to dismantle the dualisms that have been maintained between global cities and mega-cities, between theory and fieldwork, and between models and applications' (4). As Pieterse offers, the '"empirical" and analytical work of real-life experiments in city building' are the way of 'interrogating' 'universal socio-economic and environmental rights' (Pieterse, 2012: 37) to break down the 'dualisms' Roy highlights as problematic (Roy, 2008:4). My project is located in the realm of 'mundane ordinary practices associated with reproducing livelihoods and "lifeworlds" in the city', rather than 'official government programmes' (Pieterse, 2012: 37). It offers one possible tactic for the kind of critical engagement with Northern, canonical urban theory Pieterse and Roy call for, engaging micro level practices and experiences of Johannesburg, in relation to macro level forces and their influence.

The interdisciplinary and scholarly nature of my project answers Pieterse's further proposals for a Southern urbanisms approach (2012: 40). Experimenting with participatory theatre and performance as public art to explore the everyday of Bertrams, Johannesburg, engages 'an interdisciplinary platform' (38) to thinking through placemaking in cities, specifically Southern cities, in terms of real-life everyday practices and experiences. This thesis draws the knowledge and

methodological approaches of the practical work into 'an explicit and formalised system of storing information and bringing theoretical and applied knowledges into academic purview' (38). My hope is that the thesis might then: contribute to knowledge and theorising on Johannesburg specifically; contribute to a broader dialogue on theorising cities from the South, as well as a more global emphasis on the subjective through an attentiveness to materiality and relationality.

My project is concerned with an everyday urbanism, with its focus on the material and relational construction of cities. As Amin and Thrift propose, 'An everyday urbanism has to get into the intermesh between flesh and stone, humans and non-humans, fixtures and flows, emotions and practices' (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 19). This everyday urbanism engages 'vital ontologies' (the liveliness of materiality) and 'networked ecological urbanism' (the relations between things) to understand how the city is made through daily presences and actions (Pieterse, 2012: 40)[3]. The next section draws together the related fields of vital materialism and Actor Network Theory (and its defenders and critics) to define the kind of everyday urbanism my project works into. It starts with Doreen Massey's geographically grounded argument for the relationally becoming nature of space. I then consider the value of vital materialism to a networked, relational approach to cities and the critiques and defenses that surround Actor Network Theory (as the major reference for relational becoming) and its inevitable coupling with vital materialism. This initial definition of my project's urban studies lens concludes with a brief overview of Adele Clarke's 'situational analysis' as offering useful guidelines for research practice in the field of everyday urbanism (2005).

Massey argues for 'space as coeval becomings' (Massey, 2005: 189), where it is in the relationships between people, things, landscape that space is constantly being created. Massey's concept speaks to Latour's understanding of space and identity (of place, people or things) as not formed through the agency of one authoritative actor, but rather to be continually in a process of

[3] As Pieterse asserts these three interrelated concerns serve and combine with the Southern urbanism project to propose a necessary and compelling critical urban theory landscape for thinking through cities.

becoming through the interrelation of multiple actors' actions, 'To designate this thing which is neither one actor among many nor a force behind all the actors transported through some of them but a connection that transports, so to speak, transformations' (Latour, 2005: 108). The 'thing' which makes the social, is the connection between actors and not the power of one actor or some external 'other' power that drives all actors. So Massey, in a similar vein, argues for space that is never fixed, but in an ongoing process of transformation through the co-relation and co-presence of actors (human and non-human). She argues, in essence, that space is a product of the social, in the broadest sense of the social.

This line of thinking is particularly productive to my research in that it is through the repeated actions of everyday life that we are continually co-producing city spaces. As I discuss with reference to Massey in the introduction, through the co-production of city space the 'stories' of our repeated actions, our trajectories, coalesce into the 'spatio-temporal events' which we can identify as place, transitory and unstable as 'place' may be (2005: 130). In a similar way the repeated actions of devising and rehearsing a play, coalesce into the form of the spatio-temporal event of a play, identifiable by its story, characters, mood and so on and transiently alive as a series of performances.

Massey's project speaks into a geographic concern with what Stuart Elden nominates as 'the interrelation of the spatial dimensions of politics and the political dimensions of space' (2009: xix). Elden employs this concern specifically in terms of 'the war on terror' to understand how it is a political dynamic foundationally inflected by spatiality – who claims, defends, attacks and fights for what areas of space. Massey's theorising in *For Space* is a more broadly fungible presentation of a similar conception of the spatiality of politics and the politics of spatiality. She offers her ideas around a politics of space to think through all kinds of social concerns in our contemporary world. In considering how multiple trajectories connect to form space – now, in the past, in the future, in all parts of the world – she sees that an attentiveness to the power dynamics in these processes is

critical to understanding the politics of space. She proposes a 'geography' of relationality, which like Elden, is to conceive of the spatiality of relationships between things to understand how they are political. Which is to say how power is manipulated through relationality, to what effect and how we might be called on as individuals and groups to respond to the political geography of relationally constructed space (Massey, 2005: 10). In Chapter 2, I discuss how theatre and performance scholar and artist, Baz Kershaw proposes a similar understanding of artistic performance as a mechanism for engaging spatially with politics and politicising space, although he uses the term 'radical' instead of political.

Where attention to repeated actions over time is a critical part of engaging a relational politics of space, the other part is the actors doing the actions. This is where the vital materialist lens becomes critical to understanding the urban everyday. The non-human actants of Actor Network Theory are as important to the co-production of space as the human ones, which links this relational ontology of becoming to the current revival of vital materialism, traced from the writings of Lucretius in Ancient Rome (*The Nature of Things*, 1921), through to Spinoza in the seventeenth century, through to nineteenth century vitalists like Henry Thoreau (1985). Object-oriented ontologists/speculative realists like Graham Harman, Timothy Morton, Quentin Meillassoux, and vital materialists like Jane Bennett are all investigating and defining, frequently in conflict, the liveliness, even willfulness of things (See Harman, 2012; Bennett, 2012; Morton, 2012; Meillassoux, 2011; Shaviro, 2014).

Actor Network Theory combined with vital materialism is variously championed and critiqued for its offerings of agency, relationality and flattening of hierarchical models of thinking. The concern is that a valorisation of the non-human, or even the marginalised human, might ignore very real systems of oppression and fail to confront and attempt to alleviate suffering. As Amin and Thrift warn, a 'naïve vitalism' is to be guarded against, much as vital materialism can contribute to a 'politics of hope' (2002: 4). In a sense because agency is such a critical tool for marginalised

humans, in attempting to avoid a binary and hierarchical relationship between the human and non-human, giving objects agency; seeking to not 'disenfranchise' the non-human, seems a politically useful tool for environmental sustainability as it is with marginalised humans for achieving a more equitable society.

The question of agency sees scholars either reinforcing its value or attempting to find alternatives that move away from it altogether. Anthropologist, Kevin Donovan, speaking from a post-development studies viewpoint, defends ANT's offering of agency as it, 'foregrounds the ways in which any given actor achieves a difference in relative size by enlisting more entities into their alliance and ensuring their reliable transmission of action' (2012: 876, citing Law, 1986). Whereas Arjun Appadurai critiques the emphasis on agency in vital materialist work for anchoring the political potential in individuals at the cost of what he sees as the more politically powerful: their relationships (2015: 221-237). Appadurai introduces the concept of 'mediants' instead of actors, who through mediation, produce materiality,

> Mediation, as an operation or embodied practice, produces materiality as the effect of its operations. Materiality is the site of what mediation – as an embodied practice – reveals. Thus speech is the materiality from which language – as mediation – takes its meaning. (224)

Appudurai's mediation and materiality offers a concerted exposure of process that resists a tendency for descriptions or analyses of relationality to fall into a fixing of actors and action. A human mediant uses the materiality of speech to mediate through language (the mediatory device, the mediation). In a similar vein, Tim Ingold suggests that neither the human nor the non-human has agency, 'humans do not *possess* agency; nor for that matter, do non-humans. They are rather possessed by action' (2013: 97, emphasis in original). He argues, via Karen Barad, and echoing Appadurai, 'We need a theory not of agency but of life, and this theory must be one – as Barad puts it – 'that allows matter its due as an active participant of the world's becoming' (Ingold, 2013: 97, citing Barad, 2003: 803). Again we come back to 'doing' and 'relating' as Ingold argues for a conception of being in the world where will and agential power are not only less important than actions in relation to others' actions, but are in fact not real. If humans or non-humans do have

agency it is so limited by the unfolding of their own actions in relation to the unfolding of others' actions that focusing on will or agency is beside the point – look rather to the material doing in relation with[4].

Ingold's proposal is to work with the materiality of the world in order to find a way of corresponding with it. He uses the term meshwork, rather than network, in order, like Appadurai, to move away from the fixed nodes of actants, and focus on the relational connections between things[5]. In some ways Ingold's language offers a more radical sense of relationality than Appadurai's – lines of action hook together but do not meet in any fixed point. The mediants, in Ingold's imagery, do not begin or end discretely, but are bundles of lines, moments of intensity in a web of relationality. Ingold references Deleuze and Guattari's use of the term 'haecceity' to give a clearer sense of his version of 'actants' or 'mediants' (Ingold, 2011: 260). As Deleuze and Guattari define, 'It is the entire assemblage in its individuated aggregate that is a haecceity' (2002: 262). So Ingold uses 'haecceity' to describe a coming together of actors'/mediants'/things'/humans' lines of relationality to give the sense of a defined entity, a seeming form. On a micro level, a human being is a haecceity of molecules, densely connecting and relating to make a seemingly discrete body, which then decays and dissipates in death. Or, on a bigger scale, in an echo of Massey, Ingold's conception might conceive of places as an haecceity of the trajectories of people, objects, land, weather, densely relating to make a seemingly definable *this place*. However these 'beings' should rather be seen as moments of becoming, 'that cease to be subjects to become events' (262)[6].

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[4] I do at times in this thesis refer to 'agency' in quoting scholars' discussions of relationality, but as far as possible I try to relate this quickly back to action, as I weave their arguments into my own.

[5] Although as Morten Axel Pedersen cautions, a focus on the relationships between things tends to overemphasise connection at the expense of how inter-thing relationality can also be used to create separation; detachment as well as attachment (2014: 197-198). This effect of both connecting *and* separating constitutes the kinds of politics of space discussed by Massey (2005) and Elden (2009).

[6] This proposition of Deleuze and Guattari's, of Ingold's, though it resonates with Nancy's 'being with' partially challenges his thinking. For Deleuze and Guattari and Ingold there *is* continuity, rather than contiguity – individuation is formed through an intensity of intersecting trajectories rather than in the being-with of boundaried, contained beings.

These discussions for and against Actor Network Theory both emphasise relationality through materiality and that it is through repeated action that these relations are enacted. Donovan, in his description of the relatively sized agential action of actants, concludes with a reference to Latour, 'This requires constant work because society does not have inertia; it must be continually performed and recreated' (Latour, 2008 cited in Donovan 2012: 876). Donovan, as a Latour defender, draws out the processual, continually enacted nature of ANT agency to point to its relational and becoming nature. Ingold and Appudurai, as critics of ANT, re-envision it with alternative language to a more or less similar end. I take up the shared impulse offered in this debate as politically productive for engaging with an urban moment with as much attentiveness to its complexity as possible *and* because it is suitably resonant with the repetitive, processual nature of theatre and performance as my research tools.

Adele Clarke's 'situational analysis' (2005) offers a practical proposition I used throughout my research process to draw together and apply the various strands of urban theory referred to above. Clarke developed her methodology from grounded theory, a popular qualitative approach to research in the social sciences. She reconfigures grounded theory however through a postmodern lens that looks at the research 'situation' more complexly. She says, situational analysis, 'allows researchers to draw together studies of discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text and context, history and the present moment—to analyze complex situations of inquiry broadly conceived' (2005: xxii). Clarke's thinking and proposed practice for research then fits with Roy's project of 'area-based research', answering to the intention of theorising cities from the South, that, 'invokes learning across a North–South divide as a basis for an urban studies that is at once more global and more situated in its claims' (McFarlane, 2008: 340-341). But it also speaks to a relational politics of space (Massey, 2005); an urban ontology premised on becoming where all

things, human and non-human are involved in the co-production of the space of that moment. Clarke's methodology argues for research to take account of history; context at all scales (micro to meso to macro) and to consider all things as 'actors' possessed of action, as these three – history, context, actors – contribute to the production of the present (xxii).

Clarke's theory, although not my primary methodology, has had a significant influence on my research project. I use her concept of working between macro, meso and micro 'structural elements' in the research situation (xxii and xxix) to engage with the fuller meshwork of Bertrams as space-becoming-place and to keep attentive to relational power dynamics. The macro stands for the major structuring powers in the situation – Latour's 'global causes' (Latour, 2005: 131). The meso level structures are those that make up the more immediate social world of the research situation: 'collective actors, key non-human elements, and the arena(s) of commitment and discourse…in ongoing negotiations' (Clarke, 2005: xxii). The micro structures are the smaller day-to-day 'fluid and discursive forms' of 'power and the powers of discourses' (xxix). In my attentiveness to the everyday relational materiality of Bertrams, I strove in the practical work and strive here in the thesis to find ways of paying attention to, and actively working with, meso and macro structures as well as the micropolitics that are my project's most obvious level of engagement.

The conceptual theories above underpin not only how I understand the city through my research, but fundamentally how and why I used theatre and performance as research tools. The next section turns to this other partner in the interdisciplinarity of my project, theatre and performance studies.

Performance and Performativity; Theatre and Theatricality

Performance and performativity are key concepts in working with relational doing as meshworks of actions build into practices in a constant creation of existence in the now-becoming-the-future. Performance is also a kind of artistic practice of which theatre is my specific performance discipline.

In this thesis I argue that theatre, combined with the concept of theatricality, offers a particular interpretation and experience of public art and daily life which is productive for a relational and materially-focused politics of urban space. This section defines these four terms – performance and performativity, theatre and theatricality – through referencing several canonical theatre and performance texts, all of which are written by either European or North American scholars. I turn to Mark Fleishman to qualify the terms further within a Southern, and particularly South African, theatre and performance context.

Fleishman says of performance, 'Performance as a noun constitutes a set of not so much objects, as events that includes theatre, dance, ritual, but also occasions such as political rallies, funerals and the like', and later, 'performance is also a process, a verb, the doing that makes performance as a noun. It is a set of practices that are embodied and belong to the domain of the non-representational' (2009, 117). Performance is the subject of my study in the noun, event sense of creating a public artistic performance, but also in the verbal, processual sense in that the content of the public artistic performance is the performance of everyday lives in Bertrams. But performance, by Fleishman's combined definitions threads through the research in other ways. The participatory public performance is an artistic event for public who will watch it or be aware of it as a piece of theatre, but it is also more simply an event; a thing that happens on certain days for a set period of time with a little more ceremony and ritualisation than everyday lives. And the researching of the performance (the processes) of everyday lives in Bertrams to craft a play is in itself a process. To study the practice or actions of everyday life as performance I use the practice or performance of artistic performance as a participatory tool for research and theatre making.

In terms of the noun definition of performance, delineating the difference between the artistic event as opposed to a general event marks the artistic nature of the public performance as theatre. The qualifiers of theatre and theatricality have their own specific uses in this research which I come to below. The simple 'eventness' of the public artistic performance offers something

slightly different and more along the lines of what Janelle Reinelt describes as, 'cultural performance' (2002: 202). Reinelt's 2002 article in *SubStance*, provides an overview of the strains of thought and conflict in the fields of theatre and performance studies and she offers three genealogies for defining performance. The 'cultural performance' genealogy is strongly associated with Richard Schechner, a theatre practitioner and scholar who from the 1960s onwards worked closely with anthropologist, Victor Turner, to understand ritual events across all cultures as performance. Reinelt sees the emphasis in 'cultural performance' as opening up 'socio-political analyses of the operations of these performances' with the intentions of 'articulating an acute awareness of cultural differences and historical specificities, producing work on race, gender, and sexuality as they are asserted and inscribed in performance: as they become performative' (202). By saying the public artistic performance component of my research is a simple event, I mean that it is analysable in socio-political terms and that I am committed to doing so. Of course the fact that the event is a *theatre* event also has socio-political implications, but considering the event as theatre is a refinement within a broader intention to work with what the performance event exposes in terms of considerations like gender, race, nationality, economic status.

Coming back to the verbal, processual understanding of performance, Fleishman's definition of performance as process is followed by an argument for performance as an epistemological practice:

> performance involves acts of storying, sounding, moving, feeling and relating that are all embodied and constitute alternative ways of knowing that are non-representational, experimental, and potentially political, both in the sense of transforming knowledge in the academy but also as a means of creating voice in marginalised communities. And that these ways of knowing that proceed from the body give us access to a vast range of ideas that distant and dispassionate contemplation cannot. (Fleishman, 2009: 126)

Fleishman is partly talking about performance in its more formal artistic sense, the 'storying, sounding, moving, feeling and relating' of artistic performance which are the performance tools of my research process, including its final product of a public theatre performance. His defintion also extends to performance as verb in the simpler, everyday sense of the performance of a practice – a

daily route walked, the series of embodied actions that make a trade (of a car mechanic, a vendor and so on) as well as the performance of all the embodied actions that make up artistic performance. My research privileges performance as a way of knowing by investing in the knowledges that come from the everyday performances of the people I work with and through using my own performance practice as a way of getting to know these everyday embodied practice knowledges.

In Appadurai's terms, the actions we make in daily life or artistic performance practice are the materiality (the things to know) and the mediant is 'walking as commuting'; 'the craft of a trade' or 'the craft of theatre making' (the means of knowing the things) (2015: 224). I use the mediant of performance as my artistic craft to know something through the materiality of making a play (or playing around with theatre and performance games). Fleishman has argued significantly in theatre and performance studies for the value of performance as a way of knowing (2009, 2012, 2014, 2015). He asserts that for certain research subjects, artistic theatre and performance's offering of 'fleshes alongside texts alongside images, sight alongside hearing and touching and feeling and moving…is called for' (2012: 30). There is a productive contiguity not only between the performance of everyday life and artistic performance, but also between the *knowing* through the performance of everyday life and the *knowing* through artistic performance.

The last critical point in this study's use of the term performance is ephemerality. Ephemerality is the key factor in Reinelt's first definition of performance, a definition that is frequently anchored by performance studies scholars in the theorising of Peggy Phelan. Phelan characterises performance by its disappearance (Phelan, 1993:146) which, as Reinelt observes, points to 'the singularity of live performance, its immediacy and non-repeatability' (Reinelt, 2002: 201). However, as Fleishman critiques:

> Although performance is characterised by the specifics of the event at one point in time and can never be repeated exactly – that a particular performance is the same but different each and every time it is performed, a difference of degree – this does not mean that it does not have durability. (Fleishman, 2009: 117)

Fleishman points to repetition as making performances (daily and artistic) have an ongoing life; a durability, even though each discrete performance itself is ephemeral. It is this durability through repetition that contributes to the performativity of performance.

What do I mean by performativity[7]? If post-structuralism offers sign and signifier, then performance studies offers performance and performativity in a bid to include and stick with materiality and material effect and affect. Performativity as I use it in this research combines the thinking of Irving Goffman and J.L. Austin. Goffman argues for an interpretation of everyday life as if it were a stage play with scenery and actors playing roles in different situations, offering the 'performance' required for each role in their lives (Goffman, 1969: 19). By this he does not mean that life lacks authenticity. When he says, 'The world, in truth, is a wedding' (31), Goffman points to the performative nature of performance, as by Austin's definition of speech acts in *How To Do Things With Words* (1976). The wedding vows are not merely words but through their speaking in the specific context of a wedding, they effect a change in the people who speak them: they become married (Austin, 1976: 13). Austin, by the end of his lecture series, collapses all his arguments to the point where every utterance is effectively a speech act, perhaps not as dramatically as a marriage vow, but nonetheless not only do utterances mean something, they do something too. Goffman's understanding of everyday life as performance, by his wedding comment, argues for not only speech acts but indeed all acts as in some way 'doing something'; effecting change in the context they are done in.

[7] I would like to clarify some slippage in the use of the term 'performative'. In writing on performance 'performative' is used at times to indicate an artistic act that uses performance, in the sense of singing, dancing, acting, performance art etc. – an artistic act that is ephemeral. Other scholars have a stricter sense of using 'performative' only to indicate that the action, artwork, thing they are talking about has a performative effect in the world; it *does* something analysable as an example of performativity, as I broadly define it below. In this thesis I use 'performative' only in the second sense, generally followed by an explantion of how the thing described is performative – what it does. Where there is doubt the intention is always to use 'performative' as indicative of an act that causes an effect in the world. 'Performance' is used throughout for an artistic act that is ephemeral. In the main, I pair 'performance' with 'theatre', as in, 'theatre and performance' to indicate the interplay between the two in my use of my artistic practice.

Coming back to Janelle Reinelt, my definition of performativity above relates strongly to her third and final definition of performance where she looks at the work of Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler, among others, as employing performativity on the basis of Austin's speech act theory 'as part of an ongoing poststructural critique of agency, subjectivity and law' (2002: 203). Reinelt's separation of performance into the lenses of the ephemeral (via Phelan), the cultural (via Schechner) and grounded in performativity (Derrida and Butler via Austin) (201-203) makes for useful distinctions in following the history of performance studies. But finally her third definition, Derrida and Butler's performativity, underpins all notions of performance and lends the use of performance as an analytical tool its critical advantage. Their theorising works to understand the performative effects of ephemerality and repetition – our iterative performances of ourselves are either affirming of social norms or offer the potential for shifting them (See Butler, 2006; Derrida, 2009). In analysing my research data I understand all action – the performance of everyday life, the process of workshopping and rehearsing towards a final play, even the seemingly passive action of the built environment – as performances because they are in some way, however subtle, performative; effecting change in the world. This understanding includes a consideration of the affectual. The affects performances produce become part of their performative effect. Affectual responses may not immediately result in visible actions or effects, but, as Thrift suggests, affect shapes the moods of cities. Ultimately affect-driven, pre-cognitive action influences urban encounters and the way cities operate in a profound though constantly shifting and hard to pin down way (2008: 7-8). Affect is part of the performativity, the *effect*, of our everyday performances.

Returning to Fleishman's observation of the durability of performances through repetition, how does this question of durability through repetition make performances performative? Durability and repetition are both useful in the context of an everyday urbanism, as well as being critical to this project's use of theatre and theatricality. The repetition of performances has an

accumulative effect. Walking on the diagonal across the same square of grass each day creates a pathway. At the same time, as Deleuze argues in *Difference and Repetition*, it is through the inevitable difference in each repetition that change occurs, 'production of repetition on the basis of difference and selection of difference on the basis of repetition' (1994: 42). The grass is no longer grass but an earth pathway, more people notice the route and walk on it, the path becomes deeper and wider and so on. Understanding a city ecology as a performance with performative effect engages the shifting nature of the urban landscape. It provides a lens for understanding which supports a move away from the exclusively representational interpretation of the city – what does it mean? – towards a non-representational one – what does it do? Or to put it in Massey's spatial, speculative philosophy inflected terms: how and what might the city be becoming?

Performance and performativity offer a useful lens for working with cities, but in terms of Johannesburg's public art and work on performance in the city the use of theatre in my project makes a particular contribution. Public art in Johannesburg in the last fifteen or so years has included a considerable amount of performance-based work mainly in the form of dance and performance art. While many of these works have employed theatrical elements, little of it has been what I would label as theatre. Even something billed as 'a play' like *United African Utopias* (2012), a site-specific work created by João Orecchia, Tanja Krone, Mpumi Mcata and Hans Norva, is less theatre and more, as Orecchia suggests, 'a series of large-scale art interventions' (Quoted in Gurney, 2015: 102). Furthermore, although there is recent scholarly work focusing specifically on theatre and the city (See Harvie, 2009; McKinnie, 2007 and Knowles, 2017), the balance falls on the side of performance more generally (See Martin, 2014; Kruger, 2013; Whybrow, 2010, 2011, 2014; Hopkins, Orr and Solga, 2009). As Sally Mackey and Nicolas Whybrow offer one example of in an article discussing applied theatre and performance in relation to site and community, theatre is frequently subsumed under the term 'performance' to serve a broader argument regarding ephemeral art practices of all sorts and their interaction with 'site and place' (2007: 1). My project

both artistically and in this thesis seeks to make a particular argument for theatre and theatricality, within the broader territory of performance.

What is theatre and how does it differ from other modes of artistic performance? And how does theatre differ from or relate to theatricality? Rebecca Schneider explores in compelling detail the power of theatricality and how we might understand it as a term in her book *Performing Remains* (2011). She champions Eugenio Barba's defining of theatricality as a 'move' from ' "daily" to the "extra-daily" behaviour' which 'Barba sees as a basic signature of theatricality in transcultural perspective' – in other words that which might be commonly recognised as a particular *something*, across cultural contexts, and which the English word 'theatrical' or 'theatricality' signifies (2011:10). Schneider's *Performing Remains* focuses on site-specific performance, mainly on reenactments of the American Civil War, and the power of theatre in drawing times and people together into the same space – incompletely, imaginatively, although also bodily and sensually and with powerful effects and affects. She argues for the productivity in theatre practice and its theatrical effects of the fiction, the repeat, the self-aware double with difference in each performance (18, 30). Schneider's critical thinking and valorisation of the theatrical resonates with my project's use of theatre to draw together multiple Johannesburg contemporary moments (and some historical) in my research and performance site. However, in what follows I put into dialogue the thinking of Erica Fischer-Lichte, Josette Féral and Josephine Machon to define my use of theatre and theatrically. The particular combination of their theorising best helps to define my project's specific proposition for how the theatrical paradigm might contribute to conducting a participatory public art project in Johannesburg, exploring knowledges of the city's everyday.

Theatricality, a bit like performativity, has a broader conceptual application beyond the formal artistic confines of theatre. To start with theatre: theatre, as opposed to other modes of performance, is premised on pretense – the actor is not the character, the action is not committed in earnest, but is 'faked' to tell a story, make a point, create an image. That is not to say that

theatre is not earnestly played, but the point is, is that it is played, not performed in reality. In most performance art artworks the performance is an act where the body is directly at risk to express the artistic intention of the work whereas in most theatre work the body is not actually risking what it pretends it is risking – it is the pretense that conveys the intention of the work. To illustrate by example: Marina Abramović dances for six hours in *Freeing the Body* (1976) until she is actually physically exhausted to make a point about the limits of human stamina and that is performance art. The actor playing Nora in Ibsen's *A Doll's House* (1890) dances the tarantella until she collapses to demonstrate Nora's hysterical exhaustion, but the actor herself is not exhausted at all and that is theatre. The final play component of my project, *Izithombe 2094*, was a piece of theatre where the performers pretended to enact stories, images, gestures drawn from real life, but crafted as representations of real life that could be rehearsed and re-presented as a play, a piece of theatre – a representation of reality.

A system of readable signs (theatre semiotics) is used to communicate the meaning of a play – representation. But repetition is also inherent in this representation – the *re*-presentation of everyday gestures, moments, stories. German theatre scholar, Erika Fischer-Lichte, summates the thesis of her own seminal work, *The Semiotics of Theatre* (1992), as follows: '…the signs engendered by theatre denote the signs produced by the corresponding cultural systems. Theatrical signs are therefore always signs of signs' (1995: 88). As discussed above in material terms, everyday actions and the practices actions build into are inherently ephemeral but also inherently repetitive. The repetition of the actions lends them cultural meaning – they come to be understood as habits and ways of a particular place, moment and people. The gestures and actions gain significance through their repetition. Theatre then uses these daily signs in an artistic medium to create a pretense related to reality: 'Theatrical signs' become 'signs of signs' (88).

As an ephemeral and repetitive process, theatre offers a means of capturing the ephemeral but persistent-through-repetition nature of everyday actions in a way interviews or other more

traditional data-capturing methods may not. The representational aspects of theatre serve two functions in my research: to capture data on everyday actions and moments (to represent them), but also as an advantageous medium for communicating the data to a broader public (through re-presenting everyday actions and moments as theatre). But more than this: the same repeated actions that come to be recognisable cultural signs, are the very actions and signs that make space become place. If theatre draws on these signs to make 'signs of signs' representing reality, what is playmaking, but making a 'place of place'?

For theatrical signs are more than representations. Their 're-presentation' captures not only their meaning but something of their materiality, effect and affect, in Thrift's non-representational theory terms. As Lefebvre offers, 'The city and the *urban* cannot be recomposed from the signs of the city, the *semianthemes* of the *urban*, although the city is a signifying whole. The city is not only a language, but also a practice' (Lefebvre, 1996: 143, emphasis in original). Or rather in terms of theatre, Fischer-Lichte's 'signs of signs' (1995: 88) are not only 'signs of the city' but *also* physical, gestural realities from everyday city practices. Theatre, while a representational art form, also captures the non-representational, offering itself as a fitting medium for representing the city *and* communicating something of its non-representable, material nature.

Turning now to the concept of theatricality, like performativity it describes an effect of theatre, the art form, but also has an application to everyday life. In attempting to define theatricality Josette Féral traces through several different scenarios: an empty theatre space with a set on stage; a piece of invisible theatre performed on a train; noticing someone on the street and feeling their manner to be 'theatrical', though they are neither aware of your gaze nor intending to convey a kind of theatrical affectation (2002: 94-108). She concludes, 'As such, theatricality is the imbrication of fiction and representation in an "other" space in which the observer and the observed are brought face to face' (2002: 105). In the relationship between the spectator and the observed (the witting or unwitting 'actor'), the spectator is drawn into a journey of imagination

about the world of the observed. I am interested in what Féral's definition offers to the everyday city. Having defined everyday actions and gestures as performances, I am also concerned with how the everyday might be theatrical – not in the sense of dissembling to hide a reality, but rather that everyday actions and gestures might evoke in a viewer a fictive imaginary around the person-place-action they are seeing. Seeing the theatrical in an everyday moment allows for a subjective projection as to what the qualities and details of the lived reality might be. I see a woman and a child dressed in matching Afro-chic finery waiting for a taxi on the corner of Gordon Road and Queen Street in Bertrams and I am moved to imagine where they are going at 11am on a weekday in December and where they have come from and what their lives may be like.

Two things are critical in this fictive imagining: subjectivity and transportation. Erika Fischer-Lichte argues along a similar line to Féral for theatricality coming into being through the relationship between audience and viewer. Fischer-Lichte emphasises the possibility of an audience's subjective interpretation of theatrical signs. 'The process of reception is realised as a subjective construction of theatrical reality', but also that the theatrical signs 'no longer serve a representational function, but an expressive and relational function instead' (1995: 102). Or rather the theatrical signs are not *only* representational but through their material relationality to one another and the viewer create effects and express affects. In moments in everyday life where the materiality of people, objects and place create a *mise en scène* that evokes for a viewer a projected, imagined reality, not only the relational construction of the moment witnessed (the *mise en scène*) is at work, but also the relationality between the viewer and the *mise en scène*. As Fischer-Lichte concludes, using a production called *Sumurien* from the turn of the twentieth century as reference, 'perception determined the constitution of meaning or, to put it even more radically: perception was interpretation' (101). By this Fischer-Lichte proposes that there were as many interpretations of the production as there were audience members. I take up her proposition to suggest that the witnessing and interpretation of everyday life is similarly subjective and therefore multiplicitous

because of its relational structure. In this way, theatre and an understanding of theatricality as subjective become uniquely valuable tools for engaging with everyday life in the city.

My project used a playmaking process to look for the theatrical in the everyday. The researchers (myself and co-participant researchers) in this process became subjective seekers of everyday theatrical moments, rather than posing as detached observers discovering definitive facts about Bertrams. Through representing these everyday moments of theatricality through theatre we showed not a single 'truth' about Bertrams, but rather a representation of the researchers' 'perception as interpretation' (101). The audience is then invited to enter into an equally relational, and therefore subjective, fictive imagining of their own with the formal theatre theatricality of the play, representing the researchers' perceived theatricalities of everyday moments.

The relational nature of subjectivity links to the second aspect of theatricality critically useful to this research: transportation. A moment of perceived theatricality transports or carries the viewer into a different, imagined reality. In part this imagining may be about material details of a person's life – where they live or work; do they have children and so on. But much of the imagining is less definable, it is in the realm of mood, feeling, texture. What is evoked in the perceived theatricality of an everyday moment is affect. Even the projected 'narrative' details surrounding the observed moment carry a tonally evocative quality and are not merely practical calculations about the context of the observed. These heightened moments of the everyday expose the non-representational, affectual qualities of a place, Thrift sees as so integral to the shaping of cities (2008). Normally subsumed as a kind of urtext to our lives, in moments of perceived theatricality, this affectual quality pops to the fore – we see how the stone is stony (Shklovsky, 2015: 162), we are *transported* out of our lives into the life of the stone, the person, the taxi. In other words, we feel the affectual charge of materialities.

Recreating, rehearsing and staging these moments allows for a transmission of affect as first experienced by the researcher/observer in a real life, everyday moment to an audience in a

formal theatre context. Translating the theatrical in the everyday to the theatrical of a formal piece of theatre offers urban studies two things. Firstly, as a mechanism for broadcasting knowledges of the everyday city, the effects and affects of everyday actions, theatre invites an audience to *feel*. The audience are not offered a detached account, but rather are transported into a fictive world where they experience aspects of what it is like to live in Bertrams in the contemporary moment. Secondly, the process of theatrically representing the everyday moments involves a repetition of ephemeral performance to give that first everyday moment of perceived theatricality a durability beyond its initial performance as spotted by the researcher. The moment has a life in the rehearsal room, in the public showing of the play and in the imaginations and sensations of the audience members who view the play.

Transporting the audience into the play-world of affectual, expressive theatrical images made durable through rehearsal, exposes something of the original everyday performances' inherent durability. In being captivated by the rehearsed fictive world of the play, part of what the audience might hopefully feel is that the power of these seemingly small, ephemeral daily performances in shaping the city is their capacity for repetition in everyday life.

The transportive quality in moments of theatricality is about imagination, but journeying in the imagination, as I suggest above, does not remain only in the mind, but produces sensual effects – our skin tingles; our eyes tear up; our heart slows or quickens, we are moved by our movement into another world entangled with our own. *And* this world is also inevitably inter-subjective, brought into being through the material relationship of the individual to what they are experiencing, and what they are experiencing is also experiencing back. As Merleau-Ponty expresses through his idea of 'reversability': 'my body simulateneously sees and is seen. […] It sees itself seeing; it touches itself touching; it is visible and sensitive for itself' (1964: 162). Circling back now to the term 'theatre', what formal artistic theatre practices might produce this inter-subjective, transportive theatricality?

Josephine Machon, writing in 2011, with a similar project to that of Fischer-Lichte's, coined the term (syn)aesthetics to describe a kind of theatre that elicits a 'fused corporeal and cerebral experience' in its audience (4). She writes in response to a growing number of theatrical works that work across performance disciplines (dance, music, theatre) and afford audiences an immersive experience. Her references are specifically British theatre collectives like Shunt, DreamThinkSpeak and PunchDrunk. These companies mainly work outside of formal theatre spaces, often taking over whole buildings to create carefully designed and set-dressed worlds through which audiences are invited to wander, encountering fragments of stories in the form of scenes, dances, theatrical images. Machon also writes about play texts, literary plays that use their words to elicit a visceral as well as cerebral response from their audience. Plays by writers like Sarah Kane or Howard Barker, who employ a poetic language used not primarily to drive narrative, but to evoke mood, sensation, emotion. Machon's project is to find ways of discussing theatre that intends to offer its audience a visceral response to the work (2011: 6). Though she does not use the term 'affect', Machon's work considers how affect might be transmitted theatrically to create a 'fused somatic/semantic manner of…performance style and audience response' (2011: 4).

Fischer-Lichte's and Machon's arguments are alike in their move to complicate the semantic function of theatre as a representational art form by extending its interpretation to an engagement with materiality. Both scholars look to the 'expressive and relational' function of theatrical signs (Fischer-Lichte, 1995:102); their '(syn)aesthetic' quality (Machon, 2011) – in essence their affective charge – to disturb the semantic understanding of theatrical signs as representational, but each scholar has a slightly different focus. Fischer-Lichte, again referring to *Sumurien*, says, 'The performance did not represent any objectively given reality. *Rather it functioned as a model of the process of how to construct reality*' (1995: 103, my emphasis). Machon covers various political and philosophical uses of '(syn)aesthetic' theatre in her book, but

her valuing of relational, material theatrical experiences for audiences, can be summated as follows:

> …the performer's life and bodily experience is used as creative source material, as well as the key performance signifier… *this activates an experiential immediacy in the performance moment where sentient and sensuous sharability enables an embodied knowledge of other(ed) identities and experience*. (23, my emphasis)

The kind of theatre my project conceives of draws on both Machon's and Fischer-Lichte's conceptual offerings.

The formal playmaking of the project sought to create a piece of theatre that would transport audiences into an imaginative realm allowing a 'sentient and sensuous' experience of others' experiences, identities, ways of being in the city. The final play was to engage with textures as well as text, signs as well as the materiality of signs, affectual experiences and subjective interpretations rather than pinned down meanings, so that each audience member's experience of the play would be constructed by them through their own psycho-physical (sentient and somatic) experience of the play. I intended for the fictive, but based on reality, world of the play, to heighten the audience members' awareness of the ongoing creative construction or becoming of city spaces. In other words the fiction of the play world would offer a performative experience of the performativity of everyday life. Through watching the play, you would actively participate in the construction of the fictive play world so that to watch the play was to make the play. Through the conscious act of participation in the play as an audience member you would hopefully see the correlation between your subjective, but material relational involvement in the world of the play and your similarly subjective, but material and relational involvement in the ongoing *placemaking* of the city. The work of the play then was not only to transport audiences into an experience of how things in the city might be (in a complex, multiply-interpreted way). The work of the play was also to understand the city's being as an ongoing becoming through repetition of ephemeral performances *and* that in your relational and repetitive engagement with these material

performances lies your personal creative power in constructing the becoming city. The playmaking was to offer an intersubjective dialogue with the intersubjective dialogue of placemaking.

CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has served to give an initial overview of the nature and intentions of my research: a participatory theatre as public art project to understand city spaces and places as constructed through the material relationality of everyday practices. It has dealt with my project's location physically in Bertrams, Johannesburg, as well as its location more abstractly within two major disciplinary fields: urban studies and theatre and performance scholarship. The terms on which my project engaged an everyday, relationally material urbanism and concepts of performance, performativity, theatre and theatricality established, Chapter 2 provides an initial review of key literature and goes on to detail my research methodology.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

In *Relational Aesthetics,* Nicolas Bourriaud describes what he terms the '*urbanisation* of the artistic experiment' in recent decades (2002: 15, emphasis in original). Although art is inevitably about relationality to some degree, the densification of and expansion of cities and towns have increased the relational focus in artistic practice on to 'the realm of human interactions and its social context' (14). As this research proposes playmaking in dialogue with placemaking, so my project's broader cultural and artistic concerns and its social geographic ones are in service of one another: relational space to reconceive of ways of artmaking and art reception and relational artmaking to reconceive of space and placemaking. My project performs and writes itself into the '*urbanisation* of the artistic experiment' (14) as much as the 'cultural turn' in urban studies. This chapter provides a review of key literature on site-specific theatre, socially engaged public art, participatory research and popular culture and identity in the city to situate my particular study at the intersection of public art and urban concerns. This formal section entitled 'Literature Review' is only a broad start at unpacking the theoretical material the project draws on and provides the discursive background to my methodology, explicated in the later part of the chapter. The work of literature reviewing, as well as the defining of my methodology, continues throughout the thesis as more detailed discussions of particular scholars' work become necessary to chapter-specific explorations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Site-specificity

Critically for my enquiry into how play and placemaking might productively intersect, the final play, *Izithombe 2094*, was performed 'site-specifically' in the streets of Bertrams and not in any conventional theatre (as building) spatial configuration. Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks define site-specific performances as, 'mounted within and conditioned by the particulars of found spaces, existing social situations or locations, both used and disused' (2001, 23). As Joanne Tompkins

asserts, Pearson and Shanks champion the view that 'the interrelationship between site and performance' is integral to the value and therefore definition of site-specifc theatre and performance. However 'site-specific' might be defined more simply as 'a production that takes place outside a conventional theatre venue' (Tompkins, 2012). Certainly Tompkins' second definition is the more flexible use of the term for a theatre-going audience, but in its generality it raises issues around the stakes of defining and practising site-specific work which Tompkins broadly encapsulates as:

> …how different types of spatial arrangements affect our understanding of and relationships with performance: specifically, the particularites of 'place' and its capacity to recontextualise performance, just as performance can reformulate how we perceive and experience space and place. (2012)

Pearson and Shanks defend the exercising of these questions through their tighter definition of what counts as site-specific theatre.

Izithombe 2094 absolutely took up the site-specific form as suggested by Pearson and Shanks. The research, rehearsal and public performances sought to test the intersection between play- and placemaking processes, and the interrelationship between a site-specific play (final artistic product) as public artwork and the place it was conceived about, through and performed in. In terms of the concerns Tompkins raises as at stake in site-specific work, this thesis focuses on what theatre and artistic performance might offer understandings and experiences of urban spaces and places, rather than on what urban space-becoming-place might offer in shifting conventional presentations and receptions of theatre and artistic performance. The process of making and performing *Izithombe 2094* in the Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl streets drew on, rather than intentionally extended further, other artists' experimentation with site-specificity to break theatrical spatial conventions and the audience-performer relationship. My project proposes site-specific theatre and artistic performance to 'reformulate how we perceive and experience' space and placemaking in the city. *Izithombe 2094* did seek to 'affect our understanding of and

relationships with performance', but the challenge to conceptions of performance was not to artistic performance but rather to the performances of everyday space and placemaking.

The section below on participatory public art looks at some of the philosophical and sociopolitical implications for art generally breaking the bounds of its conventional architectural housing in galleries and theatres. Although *Izithombe 2094* might have inadvertently contributed to an artistic project of reconceiving understandings and relationships towards art, and theatre specifically, that is not the focus of this thesis. Similary I do not analyse the Johannesburg public art case studies of Chapter 3 for the *artistic* boundaries they push but rather how they use artistic practice to challenge and engage *spatial* boundaries and relationships.

Tompkins's monograph *Theatre Heterotopias*, makes an argument for the ways in which theatre offers alternate spaces for reconceiving our social boundaries and relationships (2014). Whether theatre takes place on a conventional theatre stage or 'site-specifically', she argues that it layers multiple spaces and times imaginatively onto that single site (17). Tompkins traces Foucault's use of 'heterotopia' through to Kevin Hetherington's application of it to cultural geography. She then deploys the term to consider the benefits of theatre's own particular heterotopic nature (17-39, Citing Foucault, 1986 and Hetherington, 1997). She argues that theatre productions considered as heterotopias (16, citing Hetherington, 1997: viii):

> demonstrate how the layers of spatiality – both the concrete spaces that architecture provides, as well as the abstract spaces and places that a specific production creates – articulate meaning in their own right, let alone through the overlap between and among the layers. In so doing, they attend to a spatial ordering, leaving open the chance to reveal and rethink existing structures of power and knowledge. (17)

Tompkins's project with *Theatre Heterotopias* offers a socially and politically focused understanding of theatre sites and their use. Her thinking supports Lefebvre's championing of ways of knowing that might challenge oppressive hierarchies of power (Lefebvre, 1991: 10). It also speaks to Erica Fischer-Lichte's investment in how theatre might expose the ways in which we construct our reality, through the self-aware experience of our own part as audience members in the construction of theatre (1995: 103).

The use and understanding of site in concert with theatre performance and theatricality in my own project echoes much of what Tomkins argues for in discussing theatre as producing heterotopias. However, there is an emphasis on futurity in Tompkins's work which is less of a focus in mine. She writes, "Heterotopia describes the relationship between performed worlds and the actual world beyond the theatre, holding the potential to spatialize how socio-political relationships might work differently beyond the stage' (20). The intention of my site-specific project was to expose the spatialisation of socio-political relationships as they *are*. The next leap towards projected, different futures was a possibility left to the audience members themselves and which the play could not and did not seek to account for.

The next section considers the role of the audience as participators in public art generally, beyond the specific considerations of site-specific theatre.

Participatory Public Art

> *But the tendency to romanticise public space as an emptiness which enables free and equal speech does not take on board the need to theorize space and place as the product of social relations which are most likely conflicting and unequal. (Massey, 2005: 152)*

What do I mean by participatory public art? In the most basic sense this research understands public art as art that is freely available (no direct cost required for viewing) in public spaces. Of course as Massey problematises in the epigraph to this section, the 'public's' use and access to public spaces is inevitably unequal. However, again in the most basic sense, this research conceives of public spaces as spaces which at least in terms of city legislature are zoned as allowing free access to all people – pavements, streets, parks, roads and not houses, malls[8], or corporate

[8] Although these are arguably a kind of public space too, they are not the focus of the spaces engaged through my project.

buildings. The qualifier 'participatory' cues art that involves its audience in its production. For the purposes of my project participatory public art is art that does not require a money exchange to be seen, placed in spaces that do not require an exchange of money to enter and that are not privately owned, and art that requires the engagement of its audience to complete the making of the art.

Participatory public art is part of a 'post-studio', 'post-dramatic' impulse invested in getting art out of elitist gallery and theatre spaces and into public spaces (Jackson, 2011: 2; see also Bishop, 2006; Kershaw, 1999; Bourriaud, 2002; Doherty, 2004 & 2009; Lehmann, 2006: Whybrow, 2010, 2011, 2014). For the listed authors and the majority of artists whose work they discuss, the intention is to engage a wider range of people beyond the financially and socially privileged art and theatre-going elite as a political act to democratise the arts. For some artists, cities and corporations, the intention of public art is to beautify public spaces, increase their financial value or for the self-promotion of city, company or artist (and sometimes all three in a collaborative marketing initiative). Artists working to free art from the eilitism of its conventional spaces, are engaging instead in 'social art practice', operating on a spectrum from that which 'seeks to forge social bonds' to that which wants to 'disrupt the social' (Jackson, 2011: 14). Jackson echoes Claire Bishop's definition of what Bishop sees as the two predominating approaches in participatory art: 'an authored tradition that seeks to provoke participants, and a de-authored lineage that aims to embrace collective creativity' (2006: 11). The intention behind either the cohesive or disruptive impulses can be 'an interest in explicit forms of political change,' while 'for other contemporary artists it refers more autonomously to the aesthetic exploration of time, collectivity, and embodiment as medium and material' (Jackson, 2011: 14). Whether cohesive or disruptive, hoping to provoke change or to explore the relational material construction of spaces and identity, socially-engaged participatory public art is 'radical' (14) because of its exposure of the politics of space and identity.

Baz Kershaw, speaking in particular about performance in public spaces, argues for sticking with the term 'radical' rather than 'political' to open up the possibilities for considering what performance might do to expose 'cultural pathologies' (Kershaw, 1999: 16-17). Kershaw argues in particular for holding the productivity of the post-modern challenge to the authority of representation (everything comes into question) in tension with the danger of post-modern relativism (meaning is in danger of collapsing altogether) (16). What for some audiences or audience members may be perceived as overtly political, for others might seem 'ideologically vacuous' (17). Instead of seeking to define the 'political' in performances in public spaces, Kershaw argues for 'a mapping of the territory' in public performance as a way of discovering the 'radical' – what is going on irrespective of any one political intention by the artists or any one political interpretation by the audience (17).

Kershaw's argument resonates with Latour's Actor Network Theory of describing relational networks (2005) and Ingold's tracing of trajectories that make up meshworks to understand a social situation (2013: 132), as well as Massey's concern with the 'question of the geography' of the relational construction of space (2005: 10). Kershaw's proposition is to consider the moving of any art or performance out of gallery or theatre spaces a radical move in itself because it broadens the engagement between art, audience and space. In line with Pearson and Shanks's argument for site-specific performance (2001: 23), Kershaw argues that analysing the patterns of relational responses the art creates between itself, space and audience reveals how all three mutually constitute each other (10).

Massey's investment in the politics of geography maps onto Kershaw's investment in the 'radical'. Kershaw uses the term radical to avoid confusion with any particular perception of a political *agenda* behind an artwork. However, Kershaw's radical is Massey's political, where the political refers to questions of power and conflict as they are raised through an attentiveness to the relational construction of space, the 'conflicting and unequal' nature of space (2005: 152). This is

politics as Tim Cresswell neatly summates: 'social relations that involve the production and distribution of power' (2010: 21). By Kershaw's formulation even city and corporate public art vanity projects might be considered as potentially if not intentionally radical simply by their insertion into public spaces. The artwork in public space becomes a catalyst for exposing the relational construction of space and therefore the possible politics of that space in Massey's terms.

What is at stake for cities in terms of public art and Johannesburg specifically? As I suggest above, public art can be a means for beautification, financial investment, self-promotion – contributing to city council projects like the city of Johannnesburg's 'world class city' intentions (City of Johannesburg, 2017). Historically in South Africa, as elsewhere in the world, much public art has been used to build nationalist narratives (Pieterse and Sitas, 2013: 331). Pieterse and Sitas, in analysing the efficacy of South Africa's participatory democratic policies in local government, advocate for the role of an invigorated *participator*y public art as a powerful potential tool in gaining citizen buy-in. Shifting away from national narratives, they propose employing art as social practice to engage people affectively in a relational politics of space (331). They point to the relative lack of success in rational deliberative methods towards participatory democracy in South Africa and propose via William Connolly (2013) that affectual appeal – the sensory, the embodied, the felt – engages people more actively than purely rational, cerebrally-based reasoning (Pieterse and Sitas, 2013: 329). To this end Pieterse and Sitas see participatory public art, where the participation is not token but strives to be as multi-vocal as possible, as an effective affectual method (331-332).

Kirsten Harrison, writing on her work with the Johannesburg City Council's new public art policy implementation from 2007, offers a view on public art which combines the 'world class city' and socially-engaged intentions. Harrison describes the City Council as explicitly employing public art to narrate a positive identity for the city and enhance its public image (Harrison 2014: 2-3). However, although not as explicitly stated, she testifies to an implied hope that the public art in

Johannesburg will engage people to find more positive and imaginative uses of and feelings towards the spaces they move through and inhabit, and not simply that the artworks will offer a cosmetic lift to the city (2-3).

Organisations like the Goethe Institute and the British Council have promoted and funded public art interventions in Johannesburg with civically minded intentions and the stakes for these institutions are both artistic and urban, aesthetic and social, as well as political (Goethe Institute, 2017; British Council, 2017; see also Gurney, 2015). My project sits in a similar place, falling as it does in a communication between the University of Cape Town's Drama Department, with its most obviously apparent artistic and aesthetic concerns, and the African Centre for Cities, with its most obviously apparent urban and social ones. But inevitably, as the discussion above demonstrates, these discipline concerns cannot be divided up so cleanly – certain artists are highly invested in deploying their art towards spatially figured social concerns and conversely certain urbanists are highly invested in art as a strategy for working with cities. As Pieterse and Sitas argue, art made with a deep attention to participation may do more for a public *demos* than many other instruments of social and political engagement (2013). In the next section I consider some of the key concerns around participation generally as well as how it might be used in the arts.

Participation

The participatory impulse in my research's public art project comes out of a wider interest in participatory research towards a more democratic, equitable society and an investment in space as that through which democracy and equality might be negotiated. The following three tenets offer a framework for considering and initiating democratically-underpinned participatory public art processes. The first is to invest in a participation that understands knowledge as co-produced or co-discovered, where participatory processes can widen access to knowledge for participants but also extend the notion of what counts as knowledge; making the knowledge of participants visible

(Blencowe, 2013: 41-47). The second is an understanding of authority, where authority is distributed rather than resting with a few powerful figures, organisations or governing bodies (Wakeford & Pimbert, 2013: 69-81). Knowledge is one thing but it is authority that makes this knowledge have value; have an effect in the world. The third intention is what Claire Bishop, writing on participation in the arts, describes as the 'restoration of a social bond through a collective elaboration of meaning' (2006: 12). Perhaps the hardest to achieve of the three intentions, this last relates strongly to my research project's emphasis on a philosophy of networked ontologies.

I draw the tenets above from *Problems of Participation*, a recent publication that debates participatory processes in research, development and art (and the interrelation of all three of these fields), and Claire Bishop who is one of the major voices in participatory arts debates. In Chapter 4 I enter into a more detailed dialogue with the work of *Problems of Participation*, as well as other recent discussions on participation, to tease out how my project realised, and did not, the three tenets above. Bishop's thinking recurs throughout this thesis to consider how art might be a productive force in the public realm, which is perhaps inevitably to say, how art might be participatory. As Nicolas Bouriaud asserts, all art has always been relational in some form (2002: 15). The next few paragraphs discuss key texts on participation by Sherry Arnstein (urban planning), Andrea Cornwall and Rachel Jewkes (development studies) and Irit Rogoff (visual culture). Although my review is far from exhaustive, it offers some foundational thinking on the question of participation framed by these scholar's respective disciplines.

Arnstein, writing in 1969, formulated 'A Ladder of Citizen Participation', a frequently referenced touchstone for participatory processes, be they research, art, governance or urban planning related. She wrote the paper from her position in the United States Department of Housing and Welfare and the paper draws on numerous case studies from a participatory urban planning and governance initiative the United States government was running at the time. She defines citizen participation as: 'the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens,

presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future' (1969: 216) and 'the means by which they [the have-nots] can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society' (217). Her ladder scales participation through eight rungs: 1) Manipulation, 2) Therapy, 3) Informing, 4) Consultation, 5) Placation, 6) Partnership, 7) Delegated Power and 8) Citizen Control (217, 218). In a scale from weak to strong citizen involvement (227), she labels rungs one and two as non-participation; three, four and five as tokenism, with the rungs six to eight earning the label of 'citizen power' (217).

Arnstein quickly frames her ladder as a useful, but simplified typology. It binarises the powerful and the powerless. It does not have a built-in analysis of what prevents 'strong' participation; various levels of participation can operate in the same situation and there are not eight clear divisions beween kinds of citizen participation, but many gradations between (217). Her use of case studies from the 'Model Cities' program suggests, however, how the broad definitions of her ladder can be employed in specific contexts to usefully interrogate the power dynamics of participatory processes, while still allowing for the nuance of case specificity.

Arnstein's concern as an urban planner is in democratising decisions about city structures (governmental and physical infrastructure) through participatory processes. Andrea Cornwall and Rachel Jewkes, writing in 1995 from a development studies perspective, are less invested in final decisions than in citizen participation to frame questions and research towards answers. Cornwall and Jewkes assert that, 'Participatory research is theoretically situated at the collegiate level of participation' where in collegiate participation, 'researchers and local people work together as colleagues with different skills to offer, in a process of mutual learning where local people have control over the process' (1995: 1669). They reproduce Stephen Biggs's definitions of participation in agricultural research, in a tabular form, with similar, clearly defined distinctions as Arnstein's as to what counts as participatory research and what counts as conventional research (Biggs, 1989: 22 cited in Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995: 1669). Participatory research in Biggs's table is entirely driven

by locals from what is investigated to what is discovered and understood, with a shared ownership of results to be used for local 'empowerment'. Biggs also sees it as imperative for action to be taken as a result of the findings. Conventional research is figured as prioritising understanding without necessarily taking action; research questions are driven by researchers/institutions and expert rather than local knowledge is prioritised. Although participatory research might demand action, it is still process driven, whereas conventional research emphasises research results (what we know), over research process (how do we know it) (1669). Like Arnstein, Cornwall and Jewkes offer a disclaimer to the binariness of Biggs's theory, 'Frequently the relationship between the two approaches takes the form of a zig-zag pathway with greater or less participation at various stages, rather than vertically following either one', but they immediately qualify this with, 'The most important distinctions centre on how and by whom is the research question formulated and by and for whom are research findings used' (1668). Their understanding being that any institutional researcher's role in participatory research is to facilitate and not to impose upon locally driven research questions, locally investigated answers and locally formulated solutions.

The pertinent question for my research is what might a 'strong' (Arnstein: 1969: 227) or 'collegiate level' (Cornwall and Jekews, 1995: 1669) of participation look like in participatory arts processes? In particular participatory arts processes that aim to produce participatory artworks, rather than using art as one method of participatory engagement towards say, development of policy or design of a building. The question of participation in the arts orientates slightly differently to developmental or urban planning concerns. The question via Bishop and Jackson is not: how democratic was the process? Rather, they ask: where does the participatory artmaker position their artwork on the spectrum between disruption to provoke participants or engaging participants as co-creators 'to forge social bonds' (Bishop, 2006: 11; Jackson, 2011: 14)?

How does this question of disruption/cohesion relate to Arnstein's and Cornwall and Jewkes's concerns? And even more pertinently, how does this question relate to Sitas's and

Pieterse's call for a 'multi-vocal', not token, form of participatory public art (2013: 331-332)? Curator and cultural theorist, Irit Rogoff makes propositions for participation generally and how it might operate in artistic contexts. Her thoughts serve as a useful springboard to the debates Claire Bishop offers around participatory art and which I engage with in detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

Socially-engaged and democratically driven in her perspective on participation, Rogoff pushes for a deeper, more meaningful kind of participation in keeping with Arnstein's 'strong' participation (1969: 227) and the 'collegiate level' engagement of Cornwall and Jewkes (1995: 1669), but figured in terms of cultural practices. In a 2005 essay in a collection called *After criticism: new responses to art and performance*, Rogoff focuses on the art audience as participants, rather than the artist as author/facilitator of participation. Rogoff suggests that the way audience members speak (or sound, I would add) and the actions they make in the spaces art occurs in, are their grounds for participation in art and the 'disruption of art's singularity' (129). She is invested in 'the minute gatherings of refusal and disruption…to somehow…live out the combined entities of participation and criticism' (132). Rogoff is expanding on what Bourriad sees as the inherent 'possibility of an immediate discussion' in an art gallery context (2002: 16). Thinking in theatre terms, this potential for immediate discussion is one of the productive aspects theatre might borrow from visual art in fleeing the theatre building for site-specific spaces.

Rogoff discusses art in galleries in particular in *After criticism* and not public spaces. She also writes from an English context where the stakes for participation are the docility of an established art-going public and established conventions and reverence for visual art. These are quite different concerns to Pieterse's and Sitas's about the potential for engaging formal artistic practices as participatory processes in South African public contexts, where the majority of the public are unlikely to be in the habit of attending formal galleries or theatres. Nonetheless, Rogoff's proposals for embodied, disruptive participation in art do speak strongly to the deep kinds of participation Pieterse and Sitas advocate for. Foundationally Rogoff's thinking speaks to 'exclusion'

not as ‘entrance’ or entrance barred but as to do with ‘perceptions of the possible’ (121). And although her discussion is grounded in the gallery space, the ‘possibility of an immediate discussion’ (Bourriaud, 2002: 16) extends to artworks in public spaces.

Rogoff’s project is part of what Rancière discusses in terms of politics as the ‘distribution of the sensible’ – ‘that which separates and excludes’ and ‘that which allows participation’ (2015: 44). Rancière defines the distribution of the sensible according to the ‘police’ and according to ‘politics’. The police is the separation and exclusion of certain people from participating in perception on the grounds of properties decreed worthy or unworthy (be these class, race, gender, wealth, ‘aptitudes’). Politics however decrees everything equally perceivable for everyone and therefore everyone can participate in perception (100). This politics which Rancière champions underpins Rogoff’s proposition for participation in the arts where the ‘sensible’ of the aesthetic is available to everyone for everyone to actively participate in – extend, comment on, debate, reinvent – its possibilities.

In a later article written with Florian Schneider, Rogoff and Schneider engage broader social issues beyond the visual art context:

> In contemporaneity it is a question of “access” – of how do we get to know things?, how do we get to take part in them?, how do we work out a position?, how do we intervene, not as a response to a demand to participate but as a way of taking over the means of producing the very questions that are circulating? (2008: 353)

The two authors offer various practical examples for how they see this kind of active participation through ‘taking over the means of producing the very questions that are circulating’ as already happening. Activities like pirating media and open-source software designing are self-driven, self-realised participatory forms happening away from ‘centres of power’ (348). Of particular relevance to my project, is their proposition for art-making:

> A conjunction of “access” and of “participation” in a contemporary vein would allow audiences and publics to set out the questions and to invent modes of participation, and would allow us to take part also at the level of the unconscious; gathering, muttering, nodding our heads, catching a glimpse from the corner of one’s eye and adding all these together to give some mode of a collective and meaningful presence. (354-355)

A ‘taking over’ participation in a theatre context might be for the broader public (not professional artists, not the art-viewing elite) to decide to make a play, to decide what it will be about and to make it, choosing the where and how and how to involve the audience. However I would like to suggest that a ‘taking over’ participation (353) in producing public art, might be, more nascently, the space in an artwork for taking part ‘at the level of the unconscious; gathering, muttering, nodding our heads, catching a glimpse from the corner of one’s eye’ (355). My hunch is that making space through playmaking for these seemingly small, affective moments is a more significant space for intervention for me as an individual theatre maker than aiming for the playmaking itself to be taken over. Like the hard to pin down affectual powers of the city, Thrift’s ‘pre-cognitive’ forces (2008: 7), the small moments of affectual participation in playmaking start to offer a self-reflexive awareness of the small affectual moments that ultimately are deeply signifigant in placemaking.

Via Rogoff and Schneider, the question of participation in public art for my research project is only partly on what point of the spectrum between authored disruption and social cohesion does the participatory artwork sit? Or: how much is the artwork made by citizen power driving the process as colleagues with the artist-researcher? Rather the question is, whether disruptive or cohesive: how much room is there in the artwork for participants to agree and disagree, to start to appropriate the artwork and its mechanism on their own terms, whether in small gestures or boldly changing the artwork’s ‘game’? By this question an artwork singly authored by an individual artist to provoke their audience might have just as much productive participatory potential as one made by a non-professional group in a strictly collegial collaboration with a professional artist.

Popular Culture, Identity and the City

Laura Grindstaff summates Raymond Williams’s definition of ‘popular’ as follows in an attempt to define it as a qualifier for culture, ‘that which is well liked by many people, that which is deemed

unworthy or inferior, work deliberately seeking to win favour with people and forms of culture made by people for themselves' (2008: 207 citing Williams, 1983: 236-238). Stuart Hall works through a similar set of meanings for 'culture'. There is 'high culture' of great ideas expressed through artistic media (1997: 2) – what Iain Chambers defines as 'official culture' (1986: 12). There are 'widely distributed' art and craft products and leisure activities for everyday entertainment. Hall's final two definitions are culture as a people's specific 'way of living' (an anthropological inflection) and culture as 'shared meaning' (a sociological inflection) (Hall: 1997: 2).

In some ways Williams's definitions of popular seem unneccessarily divisory. Hall, for his part, finally frames culture to cover all four meanings, positing it 'as a process, a set of practices' (2). Viewing a sculpture; listening to a *kwaito*[9] track or using a particular idiom of language are all cultural practices, though possibly viewing a sculpture is not 'popular'. Nonetheless Hall's first definitions of culture and Williams's four of what constitutes the popular, point to nuances in the debate of what 'popular culture' is. The 'well-liked' speaks to Hall's 'widely distributed' forms of entertainment and widely practiced leisure activities. The 'well-liked' is often 'deemed…inferior' in relation to 'high' or 'official' culture. Anything 'deliberately seeking to win favour with people' relates to what Theodor Adorno and Anson Rabinbach refer to as the 'culture industry' – products made for their capacity for ready consumption by many people, the 'masses' (Adorno, 1975: 12 citing Adorno and Horkheimer, 1947). Adorno and Rabinbach distinguish this from 'mass culture' (12) which fits Williams's 'forms of culture made by people for themselves' (Grindstaff, 2008: 207). Although, Adorno and Rabinbach also see high culture as captured by the cultural industry, complicating an association of 'low culture' only with the popular. In Adorno's argument high and low culture both become prey to market viability assessments.

[9] Popular South African music genre that emerged in the 1990s which draws on various South African musical eras and artists as well as Hip-Hop, Dub, Jazz and UK House (South African History Online: 2017) .

From these conflicting defintions there is a sense in which popular culture is cast as escapist entertainment produced on a large scale by a small number of cultural industry producers and consumed by many. In this sense it is dismissed as 'inferior' by Williams's definition and also critiqued for co-opting the 'populus', us, people, everyone into a numbing and trivial hegemony. Similarly popular culture produced by the people for the people can be deemed 'inferior' to the 'high culture' practices of professional artists ('artists' including writers, designers, musicians, architects and so on). The move to claim the power of popular culture for the people is one which claims knowledge and agency on both accounts. In the case of popular culture produced by the people for the people, a specific practice like 'folk music' becomes a form of knowledge and cultural expression as valuable as any high art form. In terms of the cultural industry, people are not its slaves, but rather use its objects as part of a broader set of cultural practices through which they shape their own identity in community with others – Hall's final definition of 'culture'. As Michel de Certeau argues people 'have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations… have to make do with what they have' (1988: 18).

De Certeau's theorising on the practice of the everyday life is as foundational to studies of popular culture as it is to everyday urbanism. He argues not for revolutionary acts to overturn a hegemonic system, but small everyday ones of tactical resistance or appropriation. He illustrates his argument by taking the case of a proverb. The wording of the proverb provides a structure of 'signification', but how it is said and in what contexts becomes an act of 'fabrication' (19). So too with 'rites and behaviours' (19) and not only words. Hall's project comes from the same line of thinking as de Certeau, working within a semiotic paradigm to understand the world as filled with representational signs of culture which we fix and unfix and multiply in meaning through our daily practices (1997: 3-4)[10].

[10] Hall gestures even more strongly to the 'very abstract' in the representational than de Certeau (1997: 5), which attempts to acknowledge the non-representational in our cultural 'practices' (2).

Through combining Austin's speech act theory with semiotic scholarship, de Certeau frames everything from words to objects to behaviours as available as signs and their use as not only signalling meaning but producing effects. Hall's argument takes a similar course as he distinguishes between semiotic and discursive approaches to understanding culture – how representational practices make meaning (semiotics) and what representational practices do (discursive) (1997: 6). In effect their arguments are for the representational and the performative to suggest that our participation in popular culture is both conservative (we maintain a system of shared signification) and creative (we manipulate the shared signs to make new meanings).

The stakes in this line of thinking are multiple. Through the manipulation of shared signs we construct our identities as they differ and are the same to others. In this relational construction of identity we construct communal identities. Communal identities might be along the lines of collective activities – so breakdancing as an activity becomes a specific cultural identity. Or, as is the concern of this project, communal identities create collective spaces which accrue an identity as place. The daily practices in Bertrams make it not only an urban space, but a specific place in the moment of 2016 characterised by certain activities, gestures, sounds, objects used in certain ways, all of which carry meanings and reasons behind meanings as well as non-representational moods and feelings[11].

As Bill Aschroft proposes:

> For like culture itself, place is in a continual and dynamic state of formation, a process intimately bound up with the culture and the identity of its inhabitants. Above all place is a *result* of habitation, a consequence of the ways in which people inhabit space, particularly that conception of space as universal and uncontestable that is constructed for them by imperial discourse. (Ashcroft, 2001: 156, emphasis in original)

The tactical resistance of everyday practices (de Certeau: 1988) forms identities for people and places in ways that resist colonial powers, colonial legacies in post-colonial contexts, governance

[11] My use of place and space here is slightly counter to de Certeau's. I propose, in Massey's terms, that spatial practice forms place as a transient, ever-evolving identifying moment in the ongoing construction of space (2005: 130). For de Certeau spatial practice enlivens the statically fixed 'place' (1988: 103-107).

systems, global corporate powers – the hegemonic structures that are particularly oppressive to those marginalised by poverty, race, gender or citizenship status. Scholars put de Certeau's line of thinking to use in various disciplines and situations. I mention here only a few of these, as they carry a particular pertinence to the context of my research. AbdouMaliq Simone's concept of 'people as infrastructure' describes how people in contemporary African cities shape their lives and survival through daily practices, but are also shaping a culture, an identity of self and place (2008: 68-90). In considering how place can be decolonised, Bill Ashcroft proposes, 'It is in the creative reconstruction of the lived environment, the reassertion of place in language and textuality, that the key to deep seated cultural transformation might be found' (2001: 124). Jean-François Bayart argues in terms of global capital that we shape our own subjectification through how we choose to consume, 'Things from a repertoire which users draw on tactically, forming their own sentences from a pre-existing syntax. Consumption, even mass consumption is by virtue of this a factor of individuation' (2007: 210). But popular culture is not only a tactical daily resistance against oppressive structures. As Iain Chambers argues it is also an art form. Popular culture is a spectacular or fabulous form of resistance and not only a practical one – resistant in that it allows for a self-assertion through practice against hegemony, but also resistant against elitist art forms.

Chambers proposes:

> Popular culture, through its exercise of forms, tastes and activities flexibly tuned to the present, rejects the narrow access to the cerebral world of official culture. It offers instead a more democratic prospect for appropriating and transforming everyday life. (1986: 13)

Like Nicolas Bourriaud's 'urbanisation of the artistic experiment' (2002: 15), the play of popular culture takes on a particular power in city contexts. Cities increase the density of cultural signs and the speed of their circulation. As Chambers argues, with the volume and accessibility of information, art and cultural forms and practices, 'we live in a world where, whether by choice or circumstances, we have all become experts'. We employ this expertise so that 'the body becomes the canvas of changing urban signs. Contemporary art slides into contemporary life' (1986: 12). Not

only have professional artists increasingly escaped the gallery to take to the street, but the daily life of the streets themselves are producing their own art.

For Chambers the activist potential in popular culture is in the realm of de Certeau's tactical daily practices, but he qualifies these in a way that echoes Irit Rogoff's proposal for participation in 'official' art, 'Popular culture is not appropriated through the apparatus of contemplation but, as Walter Benjamin once put it, through "distracted reception". The "Public is an examiner, but an absent-minded one" (Benjamin, 1973: 243)' (1986: 12). If Rogoff looks from the side of professional art producers to the 'gathering, muttering, nodding our heads, catching a glimpse from the corner of one's eye' (2017: 10) in an art audience, popular cultural theorists like Chambers propose a public readily engaged in just these practices in daily life.

Of course in many ways Chambers and Rogoff are writing in the same territory and the project for both is still Rancière's 'distribution of the sensible' (2015) – to claim an aesthetic engagement that is for all. Nonetheless the distinction between the 'official' and 'popular culture' sides is important because it clarifies the nature of my project's intervention in the realm of popular culture.

My project seeks to know the practices of daily life; the gestures, actions, 'urban signs' that make up a popular culture of contemporary Johannesburg and Bertrams specifically. But my project is also an 'official' cultural practice escaping a theatre to work in public spaces. In investigating popular culture as the idioms and forms of actions that perform daily placemaking, the practical art project component of the research was in competition with popular culture of the television, music, social media variety. Or it was confused with these forms. As participants or local observers of our rehearsals frequently asked: when are you making the film? Will we be on TV? The project was not for the people by the people nor was it a 'cultural industry' product nor was it an exclusionary art form. It fell somewhere between all of these. It engaged local participants in the making of the work so it was partly for the people by the people. The work's explorations included how local

participants incorporate cultural industry products into their daily actions of placemaking. It turned the tools of the 'elite' art form to a consideration of popular culture and it took the elite art form into the very spaces of popular culture's practice that it might connect with these daily cultural forms and the people making them.

METHODOLOGY

The foundational methodology for my research is Tim Ingold's 'thinking through making' (2013). I use Ingold's language as an evocative description of the kinds of methodologies proposed by Henk Borgdorff in terms of artistic research (2012) and Bent Flyvbjerg in terms of social science research (2001).

From the outset of my research I used Tim Ingold's proposition in *Making: Anthropology, archaeology, art and architecture* to define and practice my methodology (2013). The title alone recommends *Making* for my research as it straddles art, the built environment, people in their everyday lives and an inevitable inclusion of history to understand space, identity and the social. Ingold proposes corresponding with the material of the world, to know it through making with it (2013: 7). The 'with' in Ingold's 'making with' and his use of the term correspondence encapsulate a knowing through relationality. He calls for a physical, textural, practical engagement with the world through his emphasis on materiality. He highlights the specificity of engagement, again through correspondence and the making *with*. Finally the nature of emergence in that correspondence is an unfolding call and response dialogue between things, not known beforehand. The 'making' offers both my own '*techne*' – the art or craft of theatre – and all the kinds of *techne* I was looking to make with – everyday practices. Ingold's language captures Borgdorff's and Flyvbjerg's combination of *techne* (know-how) and *episteme* (know-why) in the practice of phronesis with a poetic simplicity that makes it a touchstone for practicing my methodology – explicit as a way of proceeding, fungible across disciplines and emotively expressive.

In Borgdorff's *Conflict of the Faculties,* he summarises some of the thinking around artistic research over recent years, asserting that practice and theory are intertwined (2012). He draws on Aristotle's concept of 'phronesis' as the kind of 'practical wisdom' that goes into the 'making (*poiesis*)' and 'doing (*praxis*)' of artistic process which he sees as valuable to research (47). Borgdorff argues that where intuition and an approach to knowledge and know-how as, 'tacit, implicit' is fully licenced, if not honoured in art-making, academic research emphasises the rational, conceptual (theoretical) and articulable (47-50).

Borgdorff makes two points. Firstly he asserts that 'phronesis' or practical knowledge although 'sensory', often 'non-discursive' and 'non-conceptual'[12] *is* 'cognitive', of the mind, and 'rational', containing logic (49). Phronesis then is a kind of thinking as well as a doing and a making. As Ingold determines phronesis is a thinking *through* doing and making (2013). Secondly, Borgdorff argues that phronesis, thinking through doing and making, is *also* a significant part of research, but one that frequently goes unacknowledged, much as the cognitive and rational aspects of phronetic art-making often go unrecognised. Borgdorff's proposition is that, 'Not only do thinkers and doers need each other, but in a certain sense thinkers are also doers, and vice versa' (20).

What Borgdorff proposes is a research methodology premised on performativity (how does knowledge come into being through research?) in service of a productive interrelation between theory and practice. Like Ingold, Borgdorff's methodology suggests that knowledge is not an inert substance waiting to be uncovered nor should there be a pre-defined formula for interpreting it. Rather, 'we *know as we go*' (Ingold, 2000: 229, emphasis in original) and the interpretation, or theory, is made through the doing of getting to know, 'Theories, including ones about artistic practice, co-constitute the practices they address – just as there are no practices that are not permeated by theories and beliefs' (Borgdorff, 2012: 10). Cognition, logic, the sensual and

[12] I would define rather that although phronesis does not always have an immediately articulable concept, one may emerge through reflection after the praxis and poiesis.

embodied are all bound together in a field of phronesis; of the praxis of art-making and theory-making.

Bent Flyvbjerg proposes a nearly identical methodology for social science research, also based on Aristotelian phronesis. Both Flyvbjerg and Borgdorff write in response to an established call in the academy for the social sciences or humanities research to answer to the same research criteria as the natural sciences. Both argue for the value in the humanities or social sciences offering distinct epistemological uses which are not best exploited through a natural sciences methodological model. Borgdorff's argument is for art research offering phronesis as a different way of knowing – a valuable inclusion in academic knowledge pursuit. Flyvbjerg's foundational argument points phronesis a little more radically as ethically imperative for knowledge generation in the field of social science. He sees that a natural science approach will hamper, not enable, learning. The social research situation cannot provide the stable, predictable research conditions demanded by the natural science model to produce stable, predictable theories. Each social research situation has unique, context-dependent conditions that are muddied unpredictably by the researcher's inevitable entrammelment with the situation (2001: 33). Like Borgdorff, Flyvbjerg demands more than the researcher acknowledging their presence and potential impact on the research situation, he argues that context 'both determines and is determined by the researcher's self-understanding' (33). Like Borgdorff, Flyvbjerg sees the researcher and research field as co-constituting each other in the act (the doing and making) of knowledge production.

Flyvbjerg offers his own methodology as an elaboration of what he sees as the implicit methodology in Foucault's work, in a lineage from Aristotle to Machiaveli to Nietzsche to Foucault (59). He traces this lineage in contrast to a line of thinking through Plato to Hobbes to Kant to Habermas which argues for a political science based on '*know why*' (56, emphasis in the original) and with a top-down structuring of rules for process that will allow for democratic participation by all driving towards consensus. The Aristotle to Foucault lineage argues for the combination of '*know*

why' (*episteme*) with '*know how*' (*techne*) in phronesis (56) where democratic participation for all is negotiated context-specifically, between all and through dissensus (100-109).

Flyvbjerg uses Foucault's work with power – understanding how it is deployed in specific situations and in relation to history – to propose a methodology for the social sciences which seeks to know and interpret 'practical knowledge and practical ethics' through practically engaged learning which requires a practically and continually negotiated ethics (56). We cannot definitively '*know why*' or propose any definitive theory (56), so the ethics of Flyvbjerg's project, via Foucault and Aristotle, is that there is no definitive ethic. We know as we go in life and so the same applies for research, which has implications for knowledge and ethics – the two being inseparable. As knowledge is emergent through relationality, so too are the ethics of the research engagement.

Practically what do Borgdorff and Flyvbjerg's methodologies involve? Flyvbjerg offers the following key questions, which he terms as 'value-rational', for 'classical phronetic research':

1) Where are we going?
2) Is this desirable?
3) What should be done?
4) Who gains and who loses, by which mechanisms of power? (2001: 60)

Borgdorff delineates his proposal for artistic research as involving process as products, research results including the final artistic product and critical reflection and documentation in discursive form. In terms of my own research, Flyvbjerg's injunctures demanded a practical and theoretical engagement with the operations of power I entered into, enacted, perpetuated and shifted through the practical component of my research project as well as through this thesis. The emphasis in Borgdorff's *Conflict of the Faculties* offered me a proposal for how to work with my artistic practice in relation to academic theory in service of a phronetic approach to research. The research process, final artistic product and the discursive practices of academic research all operated together as ways of thinking through making and doing. Put very broadly:

- According to Borgdorff I initiated an artistic process, applying my theoretical reading and writing to my artistic practice and allowing my artistic practice to shape my theoretical reading and writing. Both art and theory informed each other in this feedback loop.
- Throughout my project I kept asking Flyvbjerg's 'value-rational' questions around intention, desire, what to do and who loses and gains, in order to understand and stick with the distribution of power operating in my research situation.

There is much more to Ingold, Borgdorff and Flyvbjerg's projects and more similarities and differences between them than I discuss here. I continue to refer to their thinking throughout my thesis, detailing their methodological proposals as they informed the research. In addition all the theorists and practitioners and practitioner-theorists referred to in this chapter and Chapter 1 informed the process of making a methodology through my artistic practice and the practice of writing the thesis. This section on methodology is to lay out the initial methodological proposition through which my methodology emerged, with its resulting knowledge, ethics and politics.

My methodological starting point was in keeping with the kind of 'agonistic' approach Edgar Pieterse argues for in urban studies (2012: 50) via Mouffe and Laclau (2014) and which Claire Bishop champions in the complex relationship between ethics and aesthetics in participatory art-making (2012) via Rancière (2015). Flyvbjerg's Foucauldian reading of power through a phronetic research approach combined with Ingold's argument of things possessed of action to place a productive pressure on 'thinking through making'. Flyvbjerg's use of Foucault demands a continual consideration of power, desires, freedoms and participation in a research situation, underpinned by a desire for a more equitable sociability and politics. Flyvbjerg's use of Foucauldian power and Ingold's vital materialist leanings propose an ethics for negotiating the commons, where the ethics is never resolved but nonetheless an imperative negotiation.

The Practice Turn

My methodology has significant similarities to 'the practice turn', 'practice or performance as research' and 'participatory action research', yet I have avoided defining my methodology in any one of their terms. My research has some significant and productive differences to participatory action research. The project fits more comfortably into the practice turn and performance or practice as research, but these fields have many nuances of possible methodological orientations which demand a project-specific definition. Having led with the project-specific definition, what follows is a brief summary of how my research relates methodologically to these three approaches.

Participatory action research is frequently used in the field of development with a wide range of applications from health to agriculture to corporate civil engineering projects, to name a few (See Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995 and Noorani, Blencowe and Brigstocke, 2013). Chapter 4 deals in greater detail with how my methodology related to the intentions and ways of working particular to participatory action research. Here I look briefly at how and why Flyvbjerg and Borgdorff relate the methodologies they propose to action research, but are careful not to align themselves with it entirely. Borgdorff says, 'It might go too far to designate what I have undertaken in this book as action research, although the chain of reflection and intervention might certainly tempt one to do so' (2012: 12). Flyvbjerg similarly advocates for the researcher to record and describe their research process as it happens; to allow this process of practical engagement and reflection to guide the nature of the research methods and interpretation of the results going forward (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 130-140). In a footnote, however, he offers the key to why he does not see a phronetic approach as action research:

> Action researchers typically identify with those under study; that is, researchers take on the perspective and goals of those under study and use research results as part of an effort to achieve these goals. This is not necessarily the case for phronetic research. (192)

I suspect Borgdorff resists calling artistic research 'action research' for similar reasons.

The phronetic methodology Borgodorff and Flyvbjerg imply and the way I employ Ingold's correspondence with materiality to make with, does not seek to champion any one perspective or

goal. Although I continually shifted my research methods through cycles of engagement with the everyday materiality of Bertrams, I was learning the field with all its equally shifting actors, perspectives and desires, not championing the 'perspectives and goals' of the Bertrams locals I worked with (192). Similarly, this thesis attempts to trace the relationships of the research situation, as Latour's Actor Network Theory recommends (2005), or, by Ingold's injuncture to follow the trajectories that are forming the meshwork of Bertrams in its contemporary moment (2012: 132).

Action research is predominantly participatory and at the level of 'citizen power' (Arnstein, 1969) or collegial collaboration (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995). Flyvbjerg's distinction of not taking on the 'perspectives and goals of those under study' (2001: 152) sets the phronetic approach apart too from certain conceptions of strongly democratic participatory research. In Flyvbjerg's phronesis the researcher's authority in driving their own agenda has a particular productive use, like Claire Bishop's defense of the artist claiming their authority in initiating a participatory art project (2012)[13].

Borgdorff, Flyvbjerg and Ingold's thinking all relates to 'the practice turn' in contemporary critical theory which Theodore Schatzki characterises as research offering an account of practices at the same time as considering 'the field of practices as the place to study the nature and transformation of their subject matter' (2006: 2)[14]. Later he adds, 'knowledge and truth, including the scientific versions, are mediated both by interactions between people and by arrangements in the world' (12). Schatzki writes as one of the editors of *The practice turn in contemporary theory*, a volume covering a range of fields in which the 'practice turn' is applied: from science to sociology to philosophy. The 'practice turn' project, like Ingold's thinking through making, is applicable to any practice and emphasises that all activity in any discipline – writing, reading, researching, science,

[13] Chapter 4 unpacks this more substantially in relation to participatory research and democracy debates.
[14] I would add to this: the nature and transformation of themselves as researcher in relation to their 'subject'.

art, sculpting, woodwork and on and on – is suitable for a consideration of how we *make* and *do* and so come to *know*, as well as enacting this very thing – making and doing to know – as a research methodology. My methodology via Flyvbjerg, Borgdorff and Ingold is situated within the broader operation of the 'practice turn' because it points to the application of approaches across disciplines, natural science, social science, artistic.

Performance or practice as research is the most discipline-specific methodology for my project as a theatre maker and theatre and performance studies scholar. The subject of my study is a year-long performance as research project in Bertrams, involving theatre and performance based workshops and a final play. Mark Fleishman summarises the 'at best provisional' definitions of performance as research as, 'research that is carried out through or by means of performance; using methodologies and methods specific to performance practitioners; and where the output is at least in part, if not entirely, presented through performance' (2012: 33). As discussed in Chapter 1, my research considers performances *in general* (everyday performances) with the medium of artistic performance as the means to do so. There is something particularly valuable about a formal, artistic performance method in service of a foundational methodology that is embodied, practical, iterative, creative – knowing as it makes. Fleishman, writing both from his own research and his work with the Performance as Research Working Group through the International Federation for Theatre Research frames his particular investment in formal artistic performance as research for what it offers:

> as a series of embodied repetitions in time, on both micro (bodies, movements, sounds, improvisations, moments) and macro (events, productions, projects, installations) levels, in search of a series of differences. (2012: 29)

Here again is the almost, but not quite, action research chain of Flyvbjerg and Borgdorff. The formal artistic performance practice of my project went through the micro scale repetitions of movements, exercises, gestures, words within workshops, rehearsals and performances and the macro scale repetitions of the workshops, rehearsals, performances. What follows in this thesis is a

tracing of those repetitions and the differences in repetitions as knowledge of the Bertrams everyday emerged through the emergence of a theatre and performance art project as research.

METHODS

I employed three major methods:

1. Theatre and performance tools which included:
    a. Workshops with learners and residents from Bertrams institutions.
    b. Playmaking with a professional cast of performers rehearsing and acting alongside participants from the workshops.
2. Participating in Bertrams everyday life and institutions.
3. Interviews.

Theatre and Performance Based Workshops

I initiated and ran an initial set of participatory theatre and performance workshops with four groups from different Bertrams institutions from October to December 2015:

- Grade 3s and 4s from Bertrams Junior School
- The women in the frail care unit of Gerald Fitzpatrick House
- Women from Bienvenu Refugee Shelter
- Children from an aftercare facility run by Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre.

For the whole of 2016 I continued to work weekly with the Bertrams Junior School and Bienvenu Refugee Shelter groups (incorporating the women's children into the group). All workshop participants lived either in Bertrams or within walking distance in the neighbouring areas of Hillbrow, Berea or Yeoville.

The workshops used improvisatory games and prompts for storytelling; song and dance sharing; miming daily activities and finding more abstract physical and vocal gestures to express

feelings about the week, day or that particular moment in the workshop. These games employed imagination and the physical (including oral) enactment of the imaginaries engaged. I refer to these workshops throughout as 'theatre and performance based' and as using 'theatre and performance games/tools'. I have chosen to couple theatre and performance for several reasons, even though at times it may seem more cumbersome than using one or the other or another term like 'drama'.

My first set of reasons relates to exercising the terms theatre and performance as defined to serve the research project. 'Theatre' signals the workshops' use of pretense to reenact or imagine scenes, scenarios and stories. We drew on role-playing and imaginative games used in theatre making contexts, but employed in the workshops as explorative processes rather than with the intention of producing theatre pieces for formal audiences. 'Performance' signals moments that emerged through the workshop processes which did not sit cleanly in the realm of 'theatrical fiction'. Verbal feedback discussions and certain physical gestures were less theatrical fictions than they were modes of performance as artistic, expressional practice – people speaking and using their bodies as themselves to express something real and not imagined, fictionalised or role-played in that particular game or moment of the workshop.

Engaging both terms together also serves as a conceptual reminder of how this research uses performance and performativity and theatre and theatricality as analytical lenses. In the workshops we played with the imaginative possibilities of seeing the theatrical in the everyday as much as we used performance as a medium to investigate the performances of everyday life and how these everyday performances are performative of creating spatial, individual and collective identities; of making place.

As I set up the workshops, I tended to use the word 'drama' with participants and institutional managers. I used it in the more common, colloquial sense of 'drama' as a high school subject or extra-mural activity. 'Drama' was a kind of shorthand that made more immediate sense to all involved than 'theatre and performance' and possibly involved less expectation of polished

theatre plays as products. However using the word 'drama' in this thesis to describe the workshops starts to carry all sorts of ambiguities. There is the drama of literature, visual art, daily life, as well as theatre, which refers to a kind of happening; a moment of conflict and battle towards resolution. Drama in this sense loses all the specificity of theatre and performance necessary to my argument, but also has a very particular usefulness at certain points in my argument, for example, the drama perceived in a moment of theatrical fiction. 'Drama' in a more strictly theatre studies sense refers to a conception of theatrical form that developed during the Renaissance in Western Europe (Szondi, 1987: 5). As thinking shifted from a medieval god-centred ontology to one of human individuation through interpersonal relationships, so theatre shifted to mirror this rise of the individual. The new theatrical form was nominated, 'drama'. The fictive worlds and narratives of the Renaissance drama were constructed entirely through character and dialogue as devices. Neither the author nor the actor addressed themselves to the audience. The audience was held entirely separate to the theatrical world, which would take place ideally behind the invisible fourth wall of a proscenium arch stage (5-9). Although this is a very specific and partial aspect of the history of the theatrical, it is the definiton that leads to the term 'post-dramatic'. Drama in this rather narrow and European history influenced definition within theatre studies is one of the aspects of traditional theatre Shannon Jackson's social practices are fleeing (2011: 2). Post-dramatic theatre seeks to escape traditional theatre spaces and clear cut delineations between fictive worlds and the real world; between character and actor and between audience and performance space. In this sense, my project is resolutely post-dramatic.

Playmaking

I used playmaking to assimilate the material from the theatre and performance based workshops into short performances by participants for audiences along the way of the workshop process. On a much larger scale, playmaking was the method for assimilating material from the workshops *and*

my other research methods to create the site-specific 'walking-tour' play, *Izithombe 2094*, the culminating creative product of my research project. One of the primary aims of this research was to test how playmaking (as a particular aspect of theatre making) might be useful in exploring placemaking through everyday practices in the city.

Where the theatre and performance games in the workshops were about process with no imperative towards final product, playmaking was orientated towards producing a final product. Chapters 6 and 7 explore the teleological orientation of playmaking in detail and what it offered to getting to know the everyday of Bertrams, but here I briefly summate what it involved as a method:

- Selecting stories, characters and actions (from the workshops, interviews and participant-observation processes) to make a theatrical fiction that could be performed for an audience.
- Rehearsing the selected material to effectively realise the proposed theatrical fiction, but also to make further selections through the practice of rehearsing as to what would and would not be incorporated in the final play.

These activities suggest the overarching dramaturgical function of playmaking. 'Dramaturgy' here encapsulates the choices made in the composition of theatre from its elements such as set, performers, performer's actions, props and text (which might include non-linguistic sound). For the purposes of this research, dramaturgy describes the process of constructing the world of the play, but also describes constructing the drama of a piece of theatre, in the more general, literary sense of the word drama. Where is the conflict? What form does the struggle towards resolution take? Dramaturgy in my project is 'composition', in the broad definition Synne Behrndt and Cathy Turner provide in their introduction to a much more detailed discussion and debate on the uses of the term (2007: 4).

To come back to Jackson's linking of visual art to theatre, the theatre maker engages with dramaturgy in the same way as a curator curates: selecting what to include and how to place it to

tell a story/stories and ultimately make meaning (2011: 2). Both curator and theatre maker are not bound to the confines of their disciplinary traditions. They are free to escape the art gallery or studio space with its art objects and the theatre with its clear divide between the fiction of the stage and the attentive audience in the auditorium. In terms of Jackson's argument for socially engaged art, my theatre making project escaped the theatre building and its attendant conventions to apply the dramaturgy of playmaking to the placemaking of Bertrams.

Participant-observation

The project's participatory aspects operated in two directions: I offered theatre and performance based workshops as an invitation for locals to participate and I found ways of participating in Bertrams' daily life.

Before beginning the workshops, I started volunteering at Bertrams Inner City Farm: a Bambanani Vegetable and Herb Co-operative – an organic, permaculture market garden, funded primarily by Johannesburg City's Department for Social Development and maintained by a mixture of paid local farmers and volunteers. The farm provides a soup kitchen service as well as selling vegetables to the local SuperSpar (a supermarket, part of the Spar chain) and at farmers' markets. I worked at the garden for an hour or two weekly, talking to head farmers, Amon Maluleke and Refiloe Molefe, and the various other farmers along the way of gardening.

The volunteering at the garden was only one, more formal aspect of my participation in Bertrams. Walking, driving, using services like locksmiths and hardware and spaza shops[15] and renting a studio in an old house on Gordon Road (Twilsharp Studios), were all part of my ongoing participation with Bertrams spaces, which included people, infrastructure, buildings, objects,

[15] Informal trading spaces known as 'spaza shops' operate directly from private residences, out of garages, front rooms or holes in the wall with makeshift built structures.The only supermarket chain that services the area is Spar. A SuperSpar (the larger of the two Spar supermarket franchise models) is the holding tenant for the only local shopping and post office centre. All other shops are independently owned and operate out of single shop fronts on street level or are spaza shops.

weather. This was ethnographic participant-observation as characterised by Kathleen and Billie DeWalt, 'participant-observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture' (2011: 1). My participant-observation ran alongside and in communication with my theatre and performance based work in the area. It was a critical resource for the research phase of the final play, *Izithombe 2094*, both in the material it produced and in how this material influenced the way I facilitated the *Izithombe 2094* process.

Interviews

I conducted interviews of three kinds. The first was with academics and artists who work with and in Johannesburg spaces. These interviews ran throughout my research from proposal phase to write-up. The second were interviews I arranged with residents, former residents, business-owners or people who had a connection to Bertrams. The last kind of interviews were with people my research assistant, Baeletsi Tsatsi, and I approached on Bertrams' streets.

The interviews served the purpose of testing the pictures of Bertrams that emerged through the workshops against other people's experiences and my own. I was looking for overlaps in experiences as well as differences. The overlaps emphasised the shared and most common experiences of Bertrams, while the differences detailed the range of subjectivity in making and perceiving city spaces-becoming-places. In interviewing people who lived in Bertams in the 1930s, 1960s, since the 1980s, differences and similarities emerged beyond the contemporary moment – across time and in relation to the formal history of Bertrams. The interviews were a process both of generating material and of refinement – refinement through the correlations that emerge through the generation – and all with a view to synthesising the findings into the play as participatory public artwork.

We approached people on the street with a free form explanation and question: we were making a piece of street theatre about Bertams and to be performed in Bertrams and what were their experiences of daily life in the area? From there we would feel out what questions to ask next: how long have you lived/traded here? Do you like Bertrams? What do you like about it? What do you see happening on the streets? And so on. I took a similar approach in the more formal interviews arranged with current and former residents.

The interviews were a conscious choice to extend the range of people I engaged with in Bertrams beyond the workshop institutions and to elicit a more direct engagement through conversation than my experiences as a participant-observer produced. As Aidan Mosselson noted in his response to the play (Mosselson, personal communication 2016, 15 September) and a colleague from the UCT Drama Department who had grown up in Bertrams pointed out in relation to my research more generally (Hutton, personal communication 2016, 22 February): there are many people in Bertrams who fall outside of the safety nets of institutional support. Interviewing people on the street was a way of engaging with the experiences of people who operate in the area as individuals with little formal connection through any of the meso level structures in existence. The street interviews were interviews to densify the knowledges of the micro meshworks of Bertrams the project engaged with. The street interviews were also an engagement, in macro identifying terms, with unemployed; underemployed and self-employed people – young black men, older black men, female informal traders, some South African and some from elsewhere on the continent.

The arranged interviews were predominantly with middle-class people, ranging from artist bohemians to successful filmmakers to engineers and teachers. These were all people who had lived or worked in Berrtams, ranging in time periods from as early as the 1930s to the present day.

The arranged interviews primarily offered the micro historical perspective I was looking for[16]. However, they also engaged another demographic not captured by the workshop institutions – the private individual, middle-class homeowners. These interviews offered a macro level engagement with a privileged, mainly white, experience of Bertrams as well as a micro level engagement with the details of Bertrams daily life historically as subjectively experienced and enacted by each individual interviewee.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided an initial overview of the theoretical landscape for the reseach project and laid out my methodological starting point. Chapter 3 discusses the first major step in my research process which was to analyse two Johannesburg participatory public art projects: Terry Kurgan's *Hotel Yeoville* and The Trinity Session's management of the Johannesburg Development Agency's public art commissions in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville. I turned to these works to consider what kinds of methodologies they proposed which might support a public art practice invested in a relational politics of space. This analytical work served in the conceptualising of my own practical project to respond to the daily, relational construction of space (and thereby, transiently, place) through my artistic practice of theatre making.

[16] All conducted, interestingly enough, in the interviewees' homes, so there was a marked divide between strangers accessed only through the public spaces of Bertrams and people with Bertrams connections, but not living in Bertrams, accessed in their personal, private spaces. The interviews became a following of threads from Bertrams to the more affluent Johannesburg suburbs of Norwood, Rivonia, Troyeville, Linden, Craighall Park as well as as far afield as London.

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDIES

> *There is always conflict in cities, and this conflict will continue, but how the conflict is waged, how it is communicated or 'argued', how arguments and those who conduct them become visible and legitimate, itself constitutes the shaping of public life. Who listens to whom, under what circumstances, who does what with whom – all of these considerations are the activation of the 'public'. (AbdouMaliq Simone, 2005: 6)*
>
> *Praxis and poeisis is mixed up in the stubborn plainness of a field of things. (Thrift, 2008: 8)*

This chapter works to understand the ways in which existing artistic practices in Johannesburg's public realm reflect a relational politics of space in the inner city through participation. What might the ethics of a participatory public art practice congruent with a relational politics of space be? I propose two factors as key to approaching participatory public arts with this political intent and a supporting ethics: performance and authority. Artistic processes and products conceived as performances offer a means of engaging the relational politics of space. How artists negotiate authority in their practice (artistic processes as performances) offers an emergent ethical approach to support a political investment in space's relational construction.

To return to Massey's question which this thesis begins with, 'If we take seriously the relational construction of identity (of ourselves, of the everyday, of places), then what is the potential geography of our politics towards those relations?' (Massey, 2005: 189). Looking at two existing public artworks in Johannesburg, this chapter poses the question: how might artistic practice in the public realm and specifically artistic practice viewed as performance, help to navigate the geography of a politics of relationality in Johannesburg's inner city? The question in application to these case studies was the starting point for conceiving of my own public art project, posing the same question, but specifically in terms of theatre and performance as artistic practices. The first section of this chapter introduces the two case studies and frames their work in terms of performance and negotiations of authority through participatory public art practices. The subsequent two sections deal with each case study in turn and in detail, before drawing conclusions from both projects on the implications for the concerns of my research.

The first project and main focus of this chapter is Terry Kurgan's *Hotel Yeoville*, started in 2008 and completed at the end of 2010 (excluding the book on the project which was released in 2013). The second project is The Trinity Session's work with the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) to produce fixed public artworks in the Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville area between 2007 and 2009. Kurgan's *Hotel Yeoville* takes the role of primary case study as it modelled most closely the kind of methodological framework and methods of practice in support of a relational politics of space that I drew on for my own project in Bertrams. The Trinity Session's management of the Johannesburg City funded commissions in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville provide a broader view onto the economy of public art in contemporary Johannesburg. But their work also offers a sense of the possibilities for engaging a relational politics of space through public art production on a bigger scale and with less individual autonomy as authoring artists than Kurgan. The Trinity Session frequently comes under criticism among South African artists and academics for playing to the 'cultural city' aspirations of the city council and arts funders, yet even so they manage to defend, to a significant degree, process, public participation and the ephemeral in art-making while engaging with the financial capital orientated realm of urban public art.

I focus on *Hotel Yeoville* and the Trinity Session's Hillbrow, Yeoville, Berea JDA commission, rather than more obviously performance-based public artworks, because both projects emphasise process and participation in their approaches to public art practice. The two projects were made in distinctly different keys: *Hotel Yeoville* was a public art project driven by an individual artist independent of government or municipal interest (although ultimately with their support) and The Trinity Session was commissioned by the Johannesburg Development Agency to project manage the making and installation of public artworks for the City of Johannesburg. Nonetheless, both projects valorised process and participation out of a concern for understanding how people relate to and within their environment – explicitly in service of conceiving artworks that might contribute to their respective areas and the people they worked with. With this similar intent, in spite of their

different orientations and scales, both projects also spanned three years, suggesting a sustained – and sustainable – public art practice of responding to everyday practices through participatory processes.

Participation, in Kurgan's and The Trinity Sessions's work was their primary mechanism for a relational connection to get to know the places (and spaces-becoming-places) they were working in, in order to respond with public artworks. In affording a relational 'getting to know', participation raises the question of authority. Whose stories are told by who and with what distribution of power? As discussed in Chapter 1 through Irit Rogoff's (2005; with Schneider, 2008) and Baz Kershaw's thinking (1999), the function of participation in participatory art with a radically democratic agenda is not quite the same as for politics, research, governance or urban planning. Part of art's particular advantage to radical democracy is its capacity for walking a politically ambiguous line to provoke dialogue and conflicting responses. As Claire Bishop argues, participatory arts require a critical assessment of aesthetics, alongside interrogations of how much the participatory art process accords authority to all the participants, both in the sense of power and in the sense of giving legitimacy to someone's voice/knowledge/story.

In *Artificial hells: participatory arts and the politics of spectatorship*, Bishop grapples with how participatory art's value is often assessed according to whether the participation has been managed fairly, from what she terms a 'positivist social science' perspective (2012: 7), rather than assessed according to 'modes of conceptual and affective complexity' (8). As an art historian, her concern is with the aesthetic, 'in the sense of aesthesis: an autonomous regime of experience that is not reducible to logic, reason or morality' (18). Bishop, in her exploration of participatory artwork in various countries and over several decades, is trying to think through how aesthetics and ethics might be more closely related. For Bishop the problem lies where, 'emphasis is continually shifted away from the disruptive *specificity* of a given practice and onto a *generalised* set of ethical precepts' (Bishop 2012: 23, emphasis in original). A project which she thinks speaks to the kind of

aesthetic and ethics she is conceiving of is Jeremy Deller's 2001 re-enactment of a 1984 miners' union and police battle in the North of England, entitled *The Battle of Orgreave*. Deller claimed a very definite authorial role in shaping the re-enactment which involved the participation of miners from the actual event alongside several historical re-enactment societies. The process and product were ambiguous in their moral and political activist lines, but the concept and theatricality of the re-enactment were facilitated by Deller to create a compelling and affective spectacle (Bishop, 2012: 30-37). Bishop sees that '*The Battle of Orgreave's* potency derives from its singularity, rather than from its exemplarity as a replicable model' (37). She believes the work's effectiveness as participatory art, valuing both the artistic and the participatory, lies in Deller's claiming of an authorial role in the process as well as the 'singularity' of the event he facilitated – the confluence of people and things and landscape at that particular moment in time in 2001.

The approach to participatory art that Bishop argues for is one which does not de-author the creative process or product, but rather allows for multiple authors and names their authorial role – this is Jeremy Deller's concept and framework, this is the embodied knowledge of miners from the 1984 strike, this is the choreographic knowledge of re-enactment societies and so on. The approach Bishop champions resonates with a relational politics of space – these are the authors of this artwork *at this moment in time*, *in this iteration of this space*, space constructed by the relationships between actors (human and non-human). The influences of multiple trajectories, of 'the stories-so-far' are acknowledged, at the same time as the authors claim their own trajectories – artistic or otherwise – in relation to the other stories so far.

Hotel Yeoville and The Trinity Session's management of the HBY public art commissions negotiated the same territory Bishop explores. Individual artists worked towards the democratising of artmaking and art reception through public participation, but through a process guided by their own autonomy. I start with *Hotel Yeoville,* the more substantive case study of this chapter.

HOTEL YEOVILLE

Terry Kurgan has what she terms 'a solo studio practice' (Kurgan and Marie, 2013: 154), as well as an ongoing investment in making socially engaged art in collaboration with other people. She is primarily a photographer and most of her artworks do involve photography in some form, but her projects are driven more powerfully by concept than medium. Throughout her body of work she explores what happens when the private is brought into public arenas (151). With this thematic thread to her work in mind, Kagiso Urban Management (a company that assists in managing Johannesburg's City Improvement Districts) commissioned her to take photographs in Yeoville for a new urban management plan in 2008 (City of Johannesburg, 2008). Her mandate was 'to find and photograph the blurred and interesting boundary between public and private space' (Kurgan, 2013: 32) in this suburb characterised in its contemporary moment by a high density of immigrants and refugees from all over Africa[17]. Kurgan herself then initiated what was to be a three-year long participatory arts project, *Hotel Yeoville.* The first two years of research, experimentation and project planning culminated in a final interactive installation that ran for a year in the newly built Yeoville Library, working in tandem with an online website (2013: 43). The last product of the project is a 2013 Fourthwall Books' publication, which, as Kurgan reiterates throughout the book, is a 'palimpsest' of thoughts, images, stories, reflections, descriptions and dialogues around *Hotel Yeoville*.

The website and final interactive installation were the formal participatory aspect of *Hotel Yeoville*, in the sense that this was where participants agreed to take part in the creation of an artistic project. But *Hotel Yeoville* was collaborative from its outset – from the initial research stage with Kurgan and co-researchers 'methodically walking the suburban grid and talking with anyone

[17] And in retrospect, Kurgan's interest in bringing the private into public spaces, is probably one of the foundational elements that drew me to *Hotel Yeoville*, because she uses the project to traffic in this same realm as theatre where, the 'boundary between public and private is effaced' (Fleishman, 2009: 123).

who smiled at us as they went about their day' (Kurgan, 2013: 35), to the final installation with its crafted invitation for participatory engagement. A considered, highly-structured participatory framework for the project's final product installation came out of a long process of informal participation – sustained, but experimental.

Figure 7: Hotel Yeoville (2017). Hotel Yeoville signboard outside Yeoville Library [photograph].

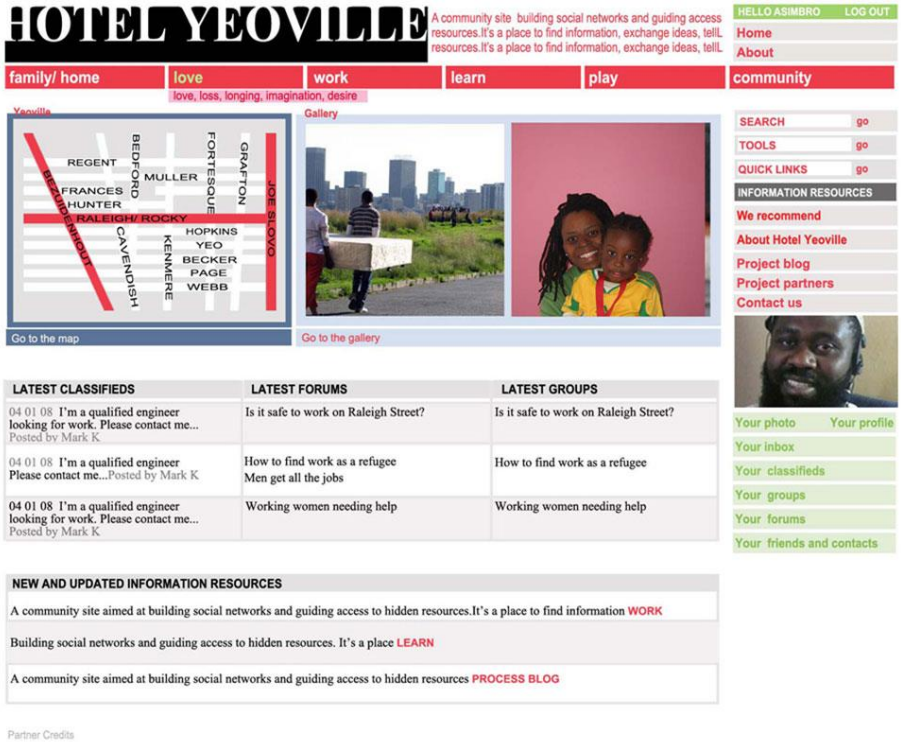


Figure 8: Hotel Yeoville (2017). Hotel Yeoville website [photograph].

Figure 9: Fourthwall Books (2017). Hotel Yeoville book [photograph].

This section explores *Hotel Yeoville* as a performance in its process and product. I first consider the *Hotel Yeoville* process as performing participation with two performative effects cyclically serving each other: formulating a methodology and coming to know place. Kurgan initiated a process to know the space-becoming-place of Yeoville to propose a methodology for working with artistic media in order to get to know the place better. The final products of the project were part of this iterative chain, but they also offer a singular form of a resolved (though evolving) artwork. The section concludes with an analysis of the *Hotel Yeoville* final products as public performances with performative effects in service of a relational politics of space, which I argue was also enacted through the project's process.

The research for the project cycled through trying something, either finding it to work and continuing to pursue that avenue or finding it not to work and conceiving of a new method. A growing awareness of the importance of internet cafés in the area led to the beginnings of defining the structure for the final product. Henk Borgdorff's description of artistic research as 'a dynamic chain of interactions, transformations, and articulations that ultimately may produce more reality' (2012: 11), echoes Kurgan's assertion that, 'The project was so many research processes that

informed the making of something. And then the thing we made produced new research all over again' (Kurgan and Marie, 2013: 157).

Hotel Yeoville's process was premised on iterative participation, with the participation working both ways between the project creator and the public engaged. Naomi Millner describes a radically democratic participatory process in the following way:

> A process which moves beyond a liberal, woolly lip-service to participation is thus a process of facilitation, where the problem identified forms a beginning point, an opening, but the solution is to be created through a reiterative return to redefining the problem. (Millner, 2013: 29-30)

Millner's use of 'problem' and 'solution' flatten the complexities of the trajectories and relationships that comprise space, but her assertion speaks to Kurgan's description of her approach to participatory art in the public sphere and as applied to *Hotel Yeoville*:

> My practice entails defining a new project first, and only then finding the right medium and space for the job. This research involves looking at physical and social conditions "on the ground", paying attention to the details of the built environment and also to how people live in and move through this space, accommodating it to their own needs. (Kurgan, 2013: 34)

Not 'problem' and 'solution', then, but 'space' (in Massey's sense of people, landscape, things and their movements) and 'responsive art project'. But Kurgan was not only 'defining a new project', she was 'redefining' it through a 'reiterative return' to a two-way process of participation (Millner, 2013: 29-30). Furthermore, I read Millner's 'facilitation' as suggesting that *process* is the facilitatory mechanism for knowledge in a participatory situation, not the researcher themselves. In Ingold's terms, the iterative, ongoing 'correspondence' (Ingold, 2013) between participant artist and the participant people, landscape, things that make up space, is where the knowledge/art-making happens rather than residing with any one of the correspondents.

The two-way, iterative participatory process of *Hotel Yeoville* performs a political view that space is continually being constructed through relationships between actors – humans and humans, and humans and non-humans. Through entering into Yeoville's meshwork (Ingold, 2013: 132), Kurgan and her collaborators initiated a performative relationship with the space. They put themselves in a position to be affected by the people and built environment they were relating to,

rather than simply observing. Conversely Kurgan and her collaborators were assessing through these relationships what possible effect they could have and were already starting to have on the people and built environment. Kurgan uses an analogy that is resonant with Ingold's notion of correspondence, 'To begin with you have a kind of pen-pal relationship to the place, you imagine all kinds of potential scenarios, but really it is only on location that you understand what might be relevant' (2013: 34). Reiteratively participating and eliciting participation were Kurgan's means for deepening her relationship with Yeoville and the people inhabiting and moving through it over a two-year period, to the point where she was able to correspond beyond the hypothetical imaginings of a pen-pal.

Kurgan's process engages a relational politics of space through participation to produce a final artistic product, but also to define a methodology and ethical framework specific to the singularity of making an artistic product as Terry Kurgan in Yeoville between 2008 and 2010. Kurgan describes *Hotel Yeoville* as partly a way of, 'trying to formulate my (rather intuitive) approach to participatory, public realm art practice and my own tendency to "actively trespass into neighbouring or alien fields of knowledge"' (Basar and Miessen, 2006 cited in Kurgan, 2013: 30). Kurgan's 'rather intuitive' use of participatory art speaks precisely to Ingold's call, 'not to decide the world, or represent it, but to open up our perception to what is going on there so that we, in turn, can respond to it' (Ingold, 2013: 7). Kurgan asserts that she thought her participatory methodology through the process of *Hotel Yeoville*, rather than defining it theoretically from the beginning. Thinking through making is predicated on consciously choosing to 'trespass' into 'neighbouring or alien fields of knowledge' (Basar and Miessen, 2006 cited in Kurgan, 2013: 30). Ingold's archaeologist, anthropologist, artist or architect approaches the dig, society, artistic territory or building site as 'alien fields', through working with them gets to know them and in responding to the alien fields draws to an extent on whatever practice is necessary, not being limited to their field of professional expertise. Kurgan's '(rather intuitive) approach' is a foundational methodological

choice for her work with 'participatory public realm art practice' (Kurgan, 2013: 30). Choosing to work in this emergent, processual way allows for an open-ended formulation of a methodology specific to the particular public realm art project she is working on at the time. She is using 'phronesis' (Borgdorff, 2013; Flyvbjerg, 2001) to find a methodology that, in Bishop's terms, can support an ethical *and* aesthetic responsiveness (Bishop: 2012) to material specificity.

Hotel Yeoville had another layer of participations at work: the meshwork of municipality, artists and activists that the project – and Yeoville itself – connect to. *Hotel Yeoville* was funded by the Ford Foundation, the Goethe Institute and the Johannesburg Development Agency. It was made in collaboration with Notion Architects, digital artist, Tegan Bristow, and came out of Kurgan's initial work with Kagiso Urban Management (City of Johannesburg, 2008 and Kurgan, 2013: 41). It was also housed institutionally within The African Centre for Migration and Society, a graduate research institute at the University of the Witwatersrand. Kurgan says,

> …working collaboratively in the public realm involves being able to build relationships, and in good faith, to navigate one's way through a complex set of power relationships and negotiations – between artists , other professionals, project partners, project funders, stakeholder residents, participants and audience. (Kurgan, 2013: 34)

Here is an acknowledgement that the place of Yeoville is not only defined by its locality (of people and built environment), but extends beyond its borders to the city council, to organisations and people in Johannesburg at large, to international organisations invested in social development through the arts. This statement testifies to how critical it is to enter into *all* the relations that make up a place in its contemporary moment if you are to attempt to understand and respond to it. As Latour invokes: a good Actor Network Theory account names and describes all the actors and networks (or 'meshworks', in Ingold's terms) in a social situation (Latour, 2005: 128).

Massey specifically discusses the importance of acknowledging all actors and their trajectories in order to disturb the tendency for political and social theory to get stuck in a binary separation of local and global, 'A global sense of places evokes another geography of politics too: that which looks outwards to address the wider spatialities of the relations of their construction. It

raises the question of a political connectivity' (Massey 2005: 181). Kurgan's collaboration with all the stakeholders involved in *Hotel Yeoville*'s research and project conception is in a sense a practicing of the politics of connectivity that Massey theorises here. Kurgan's approach to participating in the broader meshwork that connected to *Hotel Yeoville* was as important in framing the ethics and aesthetics of her project as her participation in Yeoville's daily life.

Figure 10: Hotel Yeoville (2017). Hotel Yeoville installation inside Yeoville Library [photograph].

Turning now to the final products for *Hotel Yeoville* – how did the interactive installation in Yeoville Library and the website reflect and perform themselves into a relational politics of space? *Hotel Yeoville* came at a time when artists and civil society were responding to the 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Dodd, 2013: 7). Given the high immigrant population in Yeoville and the climate in 2008 around the xenophobic attacks, it is not surprising that the emergent content for the piece was going to be some kind of response to being an African foreigner in South Africa. Kurgan made a conscious choice to explore stories of immigrant lives, alongside stories of South African lives, where the details of the personal and everyday were foregrounded rather than the bigger picture story of flight and marginalisation (Kurgan quoted in Dodd, 2013: 2). As Alexandra Dodd suggests in her essay on the project, *Hotel Yeoville* provided an opportunity to explore how people in Yeoville were *living*, specifically, personally and day to day, rather than on how they were generally suffering or being persecuted (Dodd, 2013: 10).

The role internet cafés played in people's lives in Yeoville as a resource for conducting business, finding work or places to live, as a place to socialise, became the answer to finding 'a way to embed her [Kurgan's] project within some of the recurring, daily routines in the neighbourhood' (Dodd, 2013: 2). *Hotel Yeoville* was finally installed in the newly built Yeoville library's glass gallery on the first floor, making it easily visible and inviting from the street. The installation was a temporary construction in bright pink, designed by Notion Architects. It consisted of five interlinking booths: the photo booth (for taking self-portraits), the story booth (for writing a story of your choosing), the directory booth (for adding to or using the *Hotel Yeoville* online classifieds directory), the journeys booth (using a google maps model to locate your journey to Yeoville) and the video booth (for self-made videos). The library, as a public space, allowed anyone interested to enter and participate in one or all of the booths during opening hours. All content was moderated and uploaded onto the *Hotel Yeoville* website which went live at the end of 2008.

The thinking behind the website was twofold:

> The site was imagined as something that would enable a largely invisible pan-African group of Johannesburg residents to write themselves into the public domain, and at the same time serve as a resource that would help new arrivals navigate through and around the rules of the city. (Kurgan, 2013: 37)

As the internet café offered a physical structure for framing the project and eliciting participants' participation, so digital and online social media were interactive tools which participants were familiar with. You could simply take pleasure in performing your everyday self through the website or you could use it as a practical resource.

Kurgan says she and her collaborators used social media in *Hotel Yeoville* because it offered a platform for performance of the self and one that was potentially performative. Kurgan and her collaborators exploited the very thing that sometimes feels uncomfortable or narcissistic about social media, that 'they paradoxically encourage a private and often intimate performance of self to be delivered in what is potentially an extremely public sphere' (Kurgan, 2013: 43). In the context of African immigrants in South Africa being marginalised and even persecuted, the intimate

performance of the self in a public realm becomes a performative act asserting that, 'the person is here in the present tense, claiming space, asserting identity and possibly, even citizenship' (Kurgan, 2013: 43).

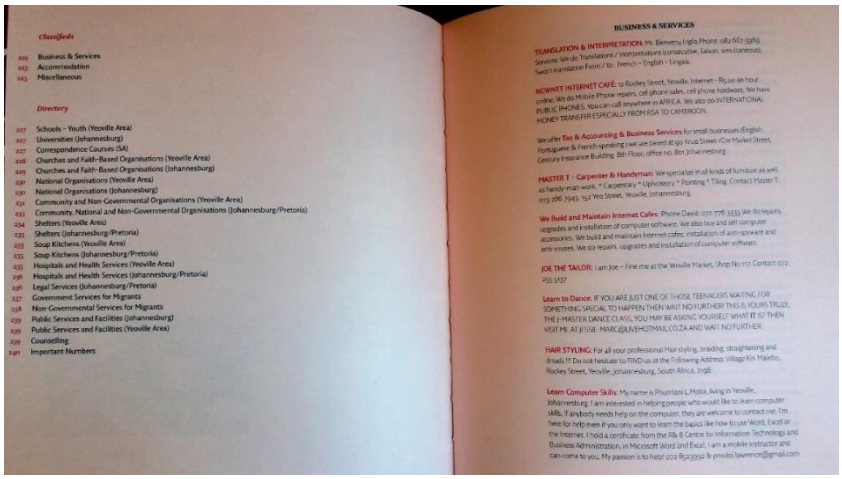


Figure 11: Halligey (2017). Hotel Yeoville directory, Hotel Yeoville book [photograph].

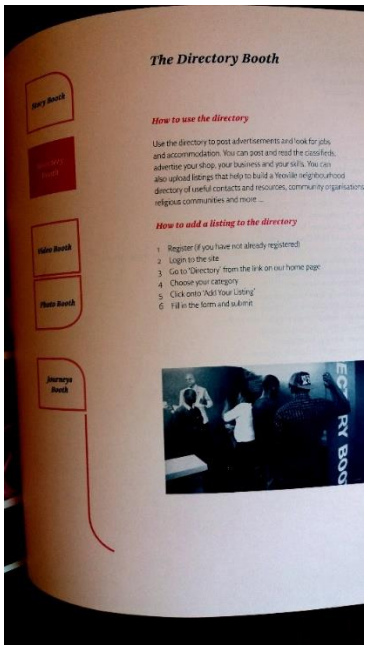


Figure 12: Halligey (2017). Directory entry instructions, Hotel Yeoville book [photograph].

The *Hotel Yeoville* directory in comparison to the photographs, journey maps and personal stories, seems a prosaic, practical aspect of the project. But this too was a performative initiative and because of its practicality possibly one with more tangible and longer lasting effects. Through listing local businesses, community groups, churches, support organisations for immigrants, *Hotel Yeoville*

was making visible a network of resources already operating in the area. The research process for *Hotel Yeoville* was about hearing personal stories but it was also about understanding how these stories were part of the 'people as infrastructure' of Johannesburg, 'A specific economy of perception and collaborative practice is constituted through the capacity of individual actors to circulate across and become familiar with a broad range of spatial, residential, economic, and transactional positions' (Simone, 2008: 69). Simone stresses that the relationship between the invisible and the visible is imperative to the functioning of this 'flexible, mobile', always provisional, network of people through the inner city (69). A degree of invisibility is necessary for these networks to function as much of their activity takes place in the margins of legal and illegal – economic activities, residential arrangements, recreational practices, citizenship/visa status. The provisionality of these connections also means that they cannot be pinned down. The law aside, exposure of practices in an attempt to formalise them can lead to their collapse – they are no longer relevant because the network has changed, a new system is now what is needed. The lack of visibility allows for the informal, improvisational quality that makes these practices functional and useful. The *Hotel Yeoville* directory walked[18] this line of visible and invisible, 'regularity and provisionality' (Simone 2008: 69) in Yeoville carefully.

The directory offered a structure where the regular could be named, and in so doing made more regular. Newcomers to the city would not only be reliant on word of mouth or hopeful Google searches to find the more established useful resources in Johannesburg. But because participants chose whether or not to place a listing, the power to make themselves visible or remain invisible rested with them. And because the directory only named the organisations and their contact details, the less visible, informal networks these nodal organisations might open up

[18] I use the past tense because the directory is no longer 'live', either receiving new contributions or available on line through the *Hotel Yeoville* website. The directory has resolved into a fixed document available in the back of the *Hotel Yeoville* book and the website has changed into an archival documentation of the project that does not include the directory.

remained private. You could defend the level of visibility and invisibility required to keep your infrastructural offerings functioning (still capable of the provisional, the improvisational), but more useful (the regular broadcast to a wider audience). The directory mapped a network which new immigrants could use as an initial starting point for trying to 'navigate through and around the rules of the city' (Kurgan, 2013: 37), though there was the freedom for the navigating itself to remain private and experimental.

Ingold speaks of the difference between iteration and itineration (Ingold, 2011). He favours itineration because it speaks to the experiential, to the reality and involvement in the material world of the act of navigation. Maps in this sense are iterations reducing geography to the representational. Maps define and limit, rather than opening up possibilities. Itinerations, however, allow for a fuller expression of detail and nuance in the momentary experience of moving through and interacting with space, which is to say in the momentary experience which *is* space. Ingold's itinerations relate to de Certeau's favouring of the embodied practice of walking over the figurative map (1988: 91-130). *Hotel Yeoville* offered the directory as a map – a broad representational starting point, and one which could be rewritten and changed for as long as the website was live. That which could be visible could be represented, with the understanding that even this representation was provisional, but nonetheless 'regular' enough to be named and drawn. It was left up to the users of the directory – in a sense the next wave of participants for the project – to make their own itineraries using the map.

Kurgan asserts in an interview with Zen Marie that she was always, 'making the project as an artist' (Kurgan and Marie, 2013: 152). Her concern for the project, an abiding one from her earlier projects, was to bring the intimate and everyday into the public realm – particularly in the context of the xenophobic attacks. Kurgan says that this was not always an easy path to stick to when community activists and academics were campaigning for bold human rights activism responses to the attacks (2013: 42). This reflection gives something of a hint at some of the specific

relationships Kurgan was negotiating when she says, 'working collaboratively in the public realm involves being able to build relationships and navigate one's way'. Rather than delivering an artistic response according to others' expectations of how an artist or activist or researcher *should* respond to participatory work in an immigrant community in a country recently affected by xenophobia, Kurgan stuck to her personal hunch as an artist for the project. She acknowledged relationships as critical to building the work, but relied on her own particular phronesis in responding to the meshwork of relationality she entered into with the everyday life of Yeoville. *Hotel Yeoville* in process, final installation and book publication, was the *singularity* of Kurgan's expression in response to the *singularity* of Yeoville between 2008 and 2010. Kurgan's participation in 'the wider spatialities of the relations' influencing both Yeoville and an artistic response to Yeoville's contemporary moment (Massey, 2005: 181) was to negotiate – and defend – the singularity of her correspondence with Yeoville through these relations.

THE TRINITY SESSION IN HILLBROW, BEREA AND YEOVILLE

Where Terry Kurgan was an individual artist initiating her own, independent art project in the public realm, The Trinity Session were commissioned by the Johannesburg Development Agency, on behalf of the city, as project managers for the commissioning of fixed public art pieces. The Trinity Session were in a mediatory role between the City of Johannesburg's intentions for public art in the inner city, the artistic processes of artists commissioned to make fixed public art pieces and the input of people using the sites where the artworks were to be installed. Yet their management process, which employed artistic tools of their own, testifies to The Trinity Session nonetheless maintaining a strong personal vision of how to conceive of city spaces and the role public art might play in them.

Although Terry Kurgan also worked with big stakeholder organisations in Yeoville, the way she was navigating was to be hers from process to final product. The Trinity Session were in a sense

called on board as navigators on someone else's way, but it was within this that they managed to insert their own processes. This section explores how The Trinity Session used their curatorial role to enagage the macro meshwork (funders and municipality) of Johannesburg, the meso level meshwork of artists working in the public realm and a micro level meshwork of daily life in the areas where the artworks were to be installed. I argue that The Trinity Session's overarching relational engagement at macro, meso and micro levels championed a participatory process towards the commissioning, conceptualisation, making and final installation of the artworks. The section first discusses The Trinity Session's intentions and methodologies generally; secondly the City of Johannesburg's intentions for public art in the city and then looks at how these two worked together for the Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville (HBY) project.

The Trinity Session was founded in 2001 by Marcus Neustetter, Stephen Hobbs and Kathryn Smith as a contemporary art production team for hire 'to work on any given project within their skills base' as well as producing their own artistic projects (Lamprecht, 2004: 374). The 2004 publication *10 years 100 artists: art in a democratic South Africa* hails them as an ambitious, highly skilled team already successful as innovative artists producing large scale works in the intersection between art, urban design and development and as producers capable of securing partnerships with the kinds of organisations that could fund this work. Kathryn Smith left The Trinity Session in 2004 (Johnson, 2004), but it continues to be run by Marcus Neustetter and Stephen Hobbs. Neustetter and Hobbs make art as individual artists and as a creative team (under the name Hobbs/Neustetter) and facilitate and curate large scale public art projects as The Trinity Session (The Trinity Session, 2015).

The Trinity Session's impactful beginnings in art and urban development in 2001 have continued into an ongoing established practice in public art production in urban contexts with Johannesburg as their primary focus. On The Trinity Session website, Neustetter and Hobbs state their thematic preoccupations as xenophobia, public access for city-populations and what they

term ‘urban decay’. They describe their work in service of these concerns as ‘temporary interventions and performances, in addition to curating and producing large scale public art programmes’ (The Trinity Session, 2015). The Trinity Session use their ephemeral practices (the ‘temporary interventions and performances’) to engage with their thematic concerns (people and Johannesburg’s built environment). However, they use their curatorial and art production practice to enable their ephemeral practices and, possibly, to broadcast the effects of their ephemeral practices further.

The sustained nature of The Trinity Session’s work comes out of a self-driven fascination with the city; a continuing return to their issues of concern and a desire to use art to respond to them (The Trinity Session, 2015; Neustetter, personal communication 2015, 3 June). But it has also been facilitated by an ongoing relationship with the Johannesburg Development Agency, as well as other organisations with arts for social justice remits like the Goethe Institute and the British Council. The Trinity Session’s sustained work in public art in Johannesburg is due in a large part to their ability to align their curatorial practice to facilitate both their own intentions and those of their partner organisations.

As mentioned earlier, The Trinity Session come under considerable critique for the amount of corporate and state commissioned public artwork projects they manage. Rike Sitas gives a summative assessment of this critique, defending The Trinity Session against suggestions that they instrumentalise their art production skills for profit – buying into the city beautification culture of the ‘world class city’. With some similarity to my argument here, Sitas defines that Hobbs and Neustetter leverage their state and corporate commissions to enable their smaller, socially focused projects (Sitas, 2015: 44). Her concern is that their near monopoly on state and corporate public art tender winning makes it harder for other artists to access these enabling incomes (45). A deeper consideration of The Trinity Session’s work in terms of its impact on the Johannesburg artworld ecology would be a valuable project. As would a critique of all their work in terms of where it sits on

Jackson's scale of cohesion to disruption (2011: 14) and to serve whose ends, in Kershaw's radical performance terms (1999: 16-17). However these arguments and critiques notwithstanding, for the purposes of my project this chapter explores how even within a large-scale, state commissioned project The Trinity Session manage to facilitate a curatorial practice attentive to a relational meshwork of enagement in public space from the micro daily practices on the ground to the macro city council level.

In 2007 the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) commissioned The Trinity Session to facilitate and curate the installation of fixed public artworks as part of the City of Johannesburg's *One Percent* [of the city's budget] *for Public Art* project (Harrison, 2014: 9-11). Formed in 2001, the JDA manages the City of Johannesburg's development programme in line with the following aspects of the City's Growth and Development Strategy, Joburg 2040: 'enabling resilience, inclusion and sustainability; enabling growth and job creation; and going green' (JDA, 2015) [19]. As Kirsten Harrison suggests in her report on fixed public artworks installed in the inner city through the JDA, the role of the fixed public artworks was dualistic – to enrich the daily life of inner city residents *and* to rebrand Johannesburg's CBD a 'world-class' city attractive to private sector capital investment (Harrison, 2014: 3).

The JDA's emphasis on 'development' and 'regeneration' (See JDA, 2015, Vision and Mission Statement) however is also linked to an economic concern – a high population of urban poor are not going to be conducive to capital investment. The power of viewing a public art sculpture to uplift the inner city poor seems limited in this regard. Conversely the messy, unsanitised world of inner city Joburg streets and buildings is not the ideal gallery for viewing

[19] To this end the JDA's work has four strands: promoting environmental sustainability through cycling and walking routes and public transport; establishing transport hubs and corridors to make for easier access between affordable living spaces, places of work and hospitable public spaces and amenities; working with the design of the city as built environment to improve and sustain living conditions and inner city regenerations, focused on developing social and economic sustainability in localised inner city areas (JDA, 2015). The JDA have consistently used public art as a tool in all four of these areas.

'world-class' city public art. For these reasons, Harrison and her various interlocutors suggest that both the conception process and the reception of the recent fixed public artworks in Johannesburg is hard to pin down and account for (2013). They are neither entirely public art for social justice nor entirely slick urban branding, though in theory aspiring to both.

The City is not only concerned with outside capital investment, but also on leveraging its existing budget to accrue assets. The JDA's public art program was – and is still – made possible by the City agreeing to link Public Art Policy to capital budgets. One percent of the capital works budget is allocated to the City's Department of Arts Culture and Heritage on condition that it is assigned to 'public art investment' – tangible art object assets (Fraser, 2007). Performance or temporary artwork does not count, but The Trinity Session continue to successfully manage to get public engagement and occasionally artistic public performance funded through the city's *One Percent for Public Art* programme (Sack, personal communication 2015, 14 April). As with the JDA's Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville projects, their tactic is to budget for research processes which include public participation and performance-based and temporary artworks towards the making of permanent art objects.

The Trinity Session may be working strategically with what the JDA can offer, but the JDA are being strategic with what the City is willing to offer. Even between the government agencies there is a complexity of intention, practice and outcome. Harrison's report on the JDA public artwork installations suggests that city agencies are explicitly aware of the tensions between their social development and economic goals and therefore the limitations of project outcomes. Nicolas Whybrow, in discussing a theatre project that engages the complexities of Venice as historical city, tourist site (and that historically too) and infrastructurally challenging ongoing urban project, makes the reflection: 'In a Socratic sense, then, knowledge of urban 'things' is not assumed or predetermined, and therefore subject, as a fixed entity, to being transmitted and received; it is *produced* via interrogative conversations with 'partners' – the city and its inhabitants' (2013: 106).

It is just such an interrogative conversation The Trinity Session, JDA and the City of Johannesburg are engaged in around the Trinity Session's public artwork commissions.

The Hillbrow, Yeoville, Berea project was in two consecutive stages and saw the installation of artworks in the form of small and large scale sculptures, murals and street furniture (Harrison, 2014, The Trinity Session/Ngwedi Design, 2008 and 2009). In their project overview, The Trinity Session and Ngwedi Design (a partner organisation in managing the commissions) describe their process for project managing the commissioning and installation of the artworks as follows:

> The implementation process attempted to design artworks into the fabric of the landscape in an embedded manner, wherever possible, using workshop methods to produce integrated artworks. The resultant programme thus realised artworks as part of a creative discovery process geared towards children and local inhabitants. (The Trinity Session/Ngwedi Design, 2008 and 2009)

Each of the two phases involved over forty collaborators and produced 32 artworks. Collaborators included professional artists not from the Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville (HBY) area, artists from the local community and university students in the fields of art, design and urban planning. The list of collaborators in the formal project overview does not include the children and adults from the HBY area who participated in creative workshops as part of the realisation processes for the artworks. Artists were commissioned through an open call for proposals. Although The Trinity Session in their role as project managers clearly encouraged participation with local residents and users of the spaces, the degree of public participation in each project depended on the commissioned artist. Public participation in the works ranged from William Kentridge and Gerhard Marx's *Firewalker*, conceived and made entirely by the artists themselves, to Mpho Molikeng and Brenden Gray's *Masterfibre playground designs*, conceived through participatory arts workshops with children in Donald Mackay Park in Hillbrow. Gray and Molikeng used the children's own designs for their final fixed artworks (The Trinity Session/Ngwedi Design, 2008 and 2009).

Figures 13: Cairns (2009). Brenden Gray's and Mpho Molikeng's masterfibre playground Donald Mackay Park (flickr, 2017) [photographs].

David Bunn, writing in 2008, of The Trinity Session's work in inner city Johannesburg says, 'At their most successful they dramatize forms of existing representational practice in the city' (2008: 161). My understanding of Bunn's assertion is that The Trinity Session, through employing participatory art workshops, gather artistic representations of inner city everyday experiences and then dramatise these by turning them into the final fixed public art pieces. The children's drawings Gray and Molikeng used for their conception of the masterfibre playground in Donald Mackay park are dramatisations of the representational practice of drawing. Bunn's dramatisation might even extend to *The firewalker*. Gerhard Marx and William Kentridge made the sculpture through observation of and research into the history of the Pondo women who still carry braziers of lit coal, for roasting *mielies*[20], to their informal trading spots in the CBD. The sculpture could be seen as a dramatisation of the representational practice of two well-established Johannesburg artists as much as it is primarily a dramatisation of the Pondo mielie sellers' daily walk. Extrapolating this line of argument from Bunn's assertion suggests The Trinity Session's approach to public art practice in the city attempts to hold space for the various actors making up the meshworked moment of contemporary Johannesburg.

[20] An Afrikaans word for corn which comes from the Portuguese *mihlo*, maize or millet ('mealie' n., 2010). Known also as 'mealie', it has become a colloquial term for corn used in all South African languages.

A public art curation process that *only* used work produced through participatory arts workshops with Hillbrow school children and young artists trained in inner city arts programmes, would exclude the 'world class art' for a 'world class city' agenda of the City. It would also exclude the less obviously participatory, historical, observational approach to artmaking Johannesburg residents and acclaimed artists like Marx and Kentridge might choose for a commission, as they did in the case of *The firewalker*. The Trinity Session worked with a meshwork of relationships to facilitate the way for Johannesburg artists, 'emerging' and established, to work with the materiality of contemporary Johannesburg and respond through their own representational practice.

The Trinity Session's curatorial practice facilitated a form of participation as Massey proposes for a relational politics of place that 'looks outwards to address the wider spatialities of the relations' in the 'construction' of place (Massey, 2005: 181). Their curatorial performance was performative in its effect of making the relationships between actors in this complex production of space more visible, even if temporarily. Established artists, governmental agencies, children in Hillbrow were drawn together into active, more direct relationships through the Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville project that exposed the tacit co-relativity that was already there.

The HBY project's individual final art objects themselves might be conceived as both performances and performative in that they are not only representations of the inner city, but also material responses to it. Bunn's assessment of The Trinity Session's curatorial practice as dramatisation (2008: 161) extends beyond the final product representations of artmaking processes. The final products themselves are 'staged' to have performative effects. A work like Maja Marx's *Welcome to our Hillbrow* steps is an interactive piece of art that performatively draws together the act of walking, the act of reading and a poetic reflection on everyday life in Hillbrow. She took a quote from Phaswane Mphe's novel, *Welcome to our Hillbrow* (2011), and installed engravings line by line on each step of the stairs leading up to Hillbrow from Nugget Street (The Trinity Session, 2017). Rather than a sculpture of a child reading or climbing the stairs, Marx's

engraving prompts a child to read while climbing the stairs, effecting an interactive performance of sorts of a line from Mphe's novel. Similarly a piece like *The firewalker* evokes a performative relationship with the viewer. Its seemingly abstract cut steel planes resolve as you approach the sculpture into the image of a woman with a brazier. *The firewalker* is a dramatisation of the story of Pondo mielie sellers, but it also demands that the viewer engage with the artwork through their own actions – walk or drive closer to see the image, puzzle the image to make sense of it and in so doing have a more interactive relationship with the slice of everyday that the sculpture represents.

Figure 14: The Trinity Session (2008). Maja Marx's step engravings of a quote from Phaswane Mphe's novel, *Welcome to our Hillbrow* (2011) [photograph].

Figure 15: SA-Venues (2017). William Kentridge's and Gerhard Marx's *The firewalker* [photograph].

Figure 16: Joburg City (2009). William Kentridge's and Gerhard Marx's *The firewalker* [photograph].

Even if The Trinity Session could not ensure participatory art workshops for the research and conceptualisation process of every fixed artwork, they nonetheless commissioned works that spoke to the lived reality of the city. The artworks evidence this in what they represent as well as materially in their effects and affects – the kinds of participation the works strove to elicit from people using the area. Bishop draws on Rancière to speak of participatory artworks that ideally produce the 'formation of elements "capable of speaking twice: from their readability and their unreadability"' (Bishop, 2012: 30, citing Rancière, 2004: 67). Artists, whether William Kentridge or Mpho Molikeng, offered artworks that looked to the everyday of the city, to create pieces that they hoped would both reflect (represent, be readable) and impact (have a performative, unreadable effect and affect) on the everyday trajectories of viewers. The unreadable effect is in how the viewer's trajectory changes materially as they encounter the sculpture, but there is also an unreadable affectual impact on the viewer – the artwork elicits a shift in feeling or mood.

The Trinity Session's curatorial practice for the HBY project drew together heterogeneous responses to the heterogeneity of inner city Johannesburg between 2007 and 2009 which went some way to answering Lefebvre's call for embracing the everyday city:

> Only a praxis, under conditions to be determined, can take charge of the possibility and demand of a synthesis of this objective: the gathering together of what gives itself as dispersed, dissociated, separated, and this in the form of simultaneity and encounters. (Lefebvre, 1996: 143)

The Trinity Session's act of curation was a material way of practising a theory of urban space as 'dispersed, dissociated', but nonetheless in a continual process of construction through the 'simultaneity and encounters' of diverse trajectories. It was a praxis to gather together, to curate the dispersed but coeval 'stories-so-far' (Massey, 2005: 189).

How much the final product artworks live up to their performative possibilities is hard to determine. Commissioned and selected for their potential to reflect the complex contemporary reality of the city, were they inspiring or provocative in a productive way to everyday life in Johannesburg? Kirsten Harrison's study shows their public reception varies from not noticing the works, to not 'getting' them conceptually, to seeing them as 'just another material form' to be negotiated around (Harrison, 2014: 28). Stephen Hobbs, speaking specifically of the Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville project, says the commissioning processes offered a complexity of engagement with the city and its people that he feels the final fixed artworks could never do justice to (Hobbs quoted in Harrison, 2014: 22). His assertion speaks both to the processes of participatory arts research towards the final artworks, as well as the processes of participation in the broader meshwork of government, civil society and public art. This is perhaps the authorial 'way' that The Trinity Session most persistently navigate in their work: a valuing of the processual and their continued incorporation, where they can, of participatory performance and temporary artmaking in the research and conceptualising phases of their public art projects.

The Trinity Session's emphasis on process helps to produce final artistic products that the City, artists and civil organisations recognise as 'good', public-engaging public artworks because they gain local buy-in to embed the artworks in Johannesburg's landscape (See Harrison, 2014; Fraser, 2007; Kruger, 2013). However, The Trinity Session also defend process purely for the sake of process. In their artist statement for their 2015 exhibition entitled *Temporary but Permanent: Projects*, Hobbs and Neustetter make this intention explicit:

> The act of being present, and following the construction of a permanent work of art within a public space, is for Stephen Hobbs and Marcus Neustetter a complex and political condition

> where one is literally exposed to myriad forces and opinions. A temporary action on the other hand – while no less complex or political, unfolds with a different sense of time in relation to development and production, and often displays more social dexterity regarding audience and site. (The Trinity Session, 2015)

Whether in 2001 they set out with a relational politics of space in mind, through pursuing their desire to work with issues of urbanity in Johannesburg through public art production, The Trinity Session engage with just such a political stance, rather than trying to simplify or stabilise it. This implicit politics in their work suggests itself as the foundation for the ethics and aesthetics of their curatorial practice. Where Kurgan navigated her own way through a network of relationality to respond artistically to the Yeoville of 2008-2010, The Trinity Session as curators persisted in facilitating the way for a range of artistic responses to the everyday of Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville between 2007 and 2009. In the artistic processes they encouraged, in their project management process and in the overarching curation of final, fixed artworks these two processes resulted in, The Trinity Session worked with the complex meshwork of relational trajectories making up the space of Johannesburg's inner city. Theirs was an engagement, like Kurgan's, which operated across the micro to meso to macro level influences on the specific 'situation' of space (Clarke, 2005) they were working in, whether Yeoville's Rockey Street or a park in Hillbrow.

CONCLUSION

The Trinity Session's management of the Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville public art commissions management were a less obvious model for my particular project, both in scale (large, where my project is small) and in orientation (playing to the interests of 'world class' city, beautification and municipal capital). Nonetheless, their process and final art products analysed as performances with performative effects offered two valuable insights for my research. The Trinity Session used their commission management to engage tactically in the public art sphere to defend process and process attentive to the everyday. Through this engagement they connected stakeholders in public art and city spaces in Johannesburg at all levels, even if finally the project was weighted more

towards macro level interests (City) at the cost of micro ones (less well-known innercity artists, more participation from people using the spaces daily).

Conducted by a single artist and coming out on the side of micro-level rather then macro-level engagement, *Hotel Yeoville* modelled more closely the practical application of my phronetic research methodology through participatory public art practice. It demonstrated a two-way participatory process to engage with the material relationality of the placemaking practices in Yeoville spaces. This was Kurgan and her collaborators' methodological starting point in order to know the area better in order to further refine a methodological approach for conceiving of a public artwork in response to Yeoville. The final product artwork became a performance in relation to Yeoville with performative effects. Participants, foreign immigrants especially, asserted their active, individual presence in Johannesburg through the platform for public broadcasting *Hotel Yeoville* provided. The directory was a performance to make more available the already operational meshwork of infrastructural support in Yeoville. It walked the fine line between broadcasting information with the performative effect of allowing people greater access to the meshwork, while preserving the privacy required for the meshwork to maintain the flexible, improvisational nature that allows it to succeed as supportive infrastructure.

These effects of Kurgan's work in Yeoville are testimony to her following a phronetic approach in service of a considered, collaboratively realised engagement with the now of Yeoville. However to return to Bishop's question of aesthetics and ethics, the singularity of Kurgan's engagement with Yeoville and her claiming of authority over the framework for the project were crucial to the project's effectivity. Authoring her singular artistic response to the relational materiality of everyday life in Yeoville was what she offered as an artist working with personal and spatial identities in the making of city places. Taking into account these insights from *Hotel Yeoville* especially, but also The Trinity Session's work, the following chapter discusses how my own methodology took shape as I initiated a participatory public art process in Bertrams.

CHAPTER 4: PARTICIPATORY THEATRE AND PERFORMANCE WORKSHOPS

In keeping with Ingold's proposition of 'working with material' as a form of correspondence (Ingold, 2013), the material engagements of my project started with: 1) walking and driving through the Johannesburg CBD and its inner city suburbs, 2) researching and writing on *Hotel Yeoville* and The Trinity Session's work on the Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville Johannesburg Development Agency commissions. The walking and driving led me to settle on Bertrams as a site. My thinking through research in Chapter 3 led me to two critical points for the proposed work in Bertrams as theatre maker-as-researcher: determining to make a participatory public art project about everyday life in Bertrams through the craft of theatre making, but not pre-determining a fixed participatory methodology. I would not set the route and endpoint, either in my geographic exploration or in my methodological intentions. Like Kurgan's observation that her research produced her project which produced more research (2013: 157), my project would be conceived through participation to create an invitation for more participation.

The participatory work of my practical project had three modes: participatory theatre and performance based workshops, my participation in the everyday life of Bertrams and the invitation for participation made by the project's artistic products. This chapter analyses the kind of participation the participatory theatre and performance based workshops facilitated. The first half of the chapter deals with setting up the theatre and performance workshops and the kind of participatory structure this process established. The second half of the chapter explores the nature of participation that emerged through the theatre and performance games within the workshops themselves.

I started the work in Bertrams with walking the suburb's street grid with Baeletsi Tsatsi, my research assistant, on 5 and 12 August, 2015. As with Kurgan's first walks for what was to become *Hotel Yeoville* (2013: 35), we walked to initiate our participation in Bertrams and to see how we might invite people from the area to participate in the research question. The walks served to

identify potential institutions I could approach with the offer of theatre and performance based workshops to explore everyday placemaking in Bertrams. I hoped for the workshops to include a broad spectrum in terms of race, age, economic status, citizenship status and physical ability to capture a variety of experiences and perspectives. Our first walks proposed possibilities for a degree of demographic range through the following four institutions: Bertrams Junior School; Gerald Fitzpatrick House (Care for the Aged, Housing and Frail Care); Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre's after-care facility and Bienvenu Refugee Shelter for Women and Children. I approached all four with the offer of a short series of weekly participatory theatre and performance based workshops exploring everyday life in the area.

Figure 17: Halligey (2015). Bertrams Junior School [photograph].

Figure 18: Halligey (2015). Gerald Fitzpatrick House [photograph].

Figure 19: Halligey (2015). Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre [photograph].

Figure 20: Rosebank Killarney Gazette (7 July 2014). Bienvenu Refugee Shelter [photograph].

While the project intended to extend whose knowledge counted through the workshops, I was still the one initiating and containing these knowledges through the practice of theatre and performance and with a content focus on everyday life. Was there something counter to a democratic ideal of participation in my authorial role as initiator and curator of knowledge?

Wakeford and Pimbert offer the following on participatory democracy:

> A defining characteristic of grassroots-led processes with the potential to democratise authority is that they are established in order to resist or reconfigure a specific policy or its implementation by a dominating authority. The knowledge and authority of powerful institutions stem from their capacity to exert control over the gathering, interpretation and deployment of that knowledge. Creating spaces in which non-elites can have a voice – an essential part in the co-production of authority – not only challenges the validity of authoritative knowledge but can also undermine the legitimacy of those who deploy it. (2013: 73)

Wakeford and Pimbert write in reference to their work as facilitators on *Prateerpu*, a participatory process called for by civil society groups in Andhra Pradesh, India, in response to a proposed, government-sponsored industrial agriculture plan called *Vision 2020*. In the situation they describe, the very initiation of the process was 'grass-roots led' (73), coming from the people of Andhra Pradesh. Wakeford and Pimbert's work was to help hold a space where 'a dominating authority' could be challenged and ultimately hopefully be shifted in their approach by taking into account the knowledge of the Andhra Pradeshi subsistence farmers. As the editors of *Problems of Participation* assert in the preface, 'we have to deal with the fact that there are always power relations and inequalities at play – however participatory our practice or democratic our intentions' (Noorani, Blencowe & Brigstocke, 2013: 2). For Wakeford and Pimbert their concern around power relations and inequalities was how they, as researchers from two British development agencies, could hold the space the 'non-elites' had demanded that would allow the 'non-elites' to author their own opinions and knowledge. The process of authoring would grant local knowledge greater authority in the *Vision 2020* project – a space for authority in the sense of voice, where that authoring through voice gains authority in the sense of power.

Wakeford and Pimbert were defending a participant driven process in keeping with Arnstein's citizen power (1969) and Cornwall and Jewkes's 'collegiate level' of participation (1995: 1669). They defended a 'strong' (Arnstein, 1969: 227) participatory process, because, well-managed, it would challenge 'the validity of [established] authoritative knowledge' and 'also undermine the legitimacy of those [the corporate elites; the state – the powerful] who deploy it'

(2013: 11). By the line of thinking illustrated by Wakeford and Pimbert's writing on *Prateerpu*, Bishop's 'positivist social science' question of my research might be: was my project only partly democratic in that it asked for participation to gain answers to a research question not democratically raised?

I formulated the question and framework. The research was for locals, but *also* for my personal interest, for the African Centre for Cities and University of Cape Town's Drama Department and, through the final play, the Johannesburg art-going, socially-engaged public. In Cornawall and Jewkes's terms, I employed participation as a method for a conventional qualitative study rather than facilitating a fundamentally participatory research practice (1995: 1668-1669). This was intentional and with valuable gains. My primary, explicit aim was to make a public art project as a research process that used participatory practices. The project tested the possibilities of the art before the possibilities for democratic participation. The work of the project was (and the work of this thesis is) to explore the uses and limitations, gains and losses of that particular orientation of public art, research and participatory practices.

SETTING UP THE WORKSHOPS

In approaching the four institutions discovered on that first walk, I stressed the workshops would explore stories of everyday life in Bertrams with whoever wanted to join the sessions, but that I was not offering theatre and performance based exercises as tools for dealing with a specific social concern nor as a therapeutic process to address trauma or oppression, whether socially inflicted or more personally experienced. The process and its content was to be open-ended. The workshops would provide games and prompts for physically expressive improvisations and storytelling exercises that might elicit stories of everyday life and I would shift the games and prompts according to participants' responses and interests.

The management of the four institutions readily agreed to my offer and for two major reasons: an interest in arts based activities for their residents/learners and the open-endedness of the research question. The first they explicitly stated and the second was tacitly inferred. At Bienvenu I spoke to the resident social worker; at Bertrams Junior School, the principal; at Gerald Fitzpatrick House, the entertainment director and at Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre, the centre's director. Across the board, they felt that theatre and performance based exercises would add cultural value to their institutions. They were pleased to have it offered *pro bono* and without any input required from them aside from making a space available and announcing it to residents/learners. Though none of the institutional management expressed a particular investment in the question of exploring everyday life through the workshops, my sense was it seemed so innocuous as to make all four representatives of the institutions feel I was simply offering the workshops free of any loaded agenda – fun, games, storytelling and possibly some 'drama' skills development.

The Bertrams Junior School Principal valued the opportunity for increasing children's cultural knowledge, confidence and ability to learn things off by heart (personal communication 2015, 31 August). The Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre Director valued keeping the children busy for an afternoon and the possibility of including theatre and performance in council and funding reports as an activity the aftercare facility had offered (personal communication 2015, 31 August). The Gerald Fitzpatrick House Entertainment Director hoped the workshops would enliven the perceived impassivity of the Frail Care residents (personal communication 2015, 2 September). The social worker at Bienvenu hoped the workshops would lift, even if momentarily, the perceived sense of despair and defeatism of women residents (Bienvenu Refugee Shelter Resident Social Worker, personal communication 2015, 15 September).

The workshops initiated two layers of participation: engaging the participation of the institutions and engaging the participation of the people the institutions serviced. I was invited to

advertise the workshops with posters, management announced when they would be and attendance was voluntary. Only at Gerald Fitzpatrick House were the workshops partially compulsory by default as we worked in the Frail Care common room. If you happened to be in the room, you became part of the workshop to some degree and opting out required a more active engagement than participating.

As with institutional management, I explained to the participant groups the overarching research question and that we would be building towards a performance. People came initially because the question was non-threatening and the workshops were: a curious distraction if you did not have anywhere else to go on a Saturday afternoon (Bienvenu); a chance to act, maybe, 'When are we going to act?' (Bertrams Junior School); a strange happening for an hour once a week when the television was turned off and two young women bounced around the room with a microphone, odd props and questions about your memories (Gerald Fitzpatrick House); an alternative to playing on the street until free bread was handed out at four o'clock (Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre). Where the institutional representatives agreed to participate because of a perceived value of theatre and performance as cultural activity, the invitation for participant participation was more simply our consistent arrival at the institutional spaces and leading of the workshop activities. The participants had no specific sense of what theatre and performance and exploring the everyday through theatre and performance might be[21] or why it might be pleasurable or worthwhile. Yet for both participants and host institutions, the open-ended nature of the research question made the possibility of participation unthreatening.

The workshops made an invitation, 'a framework', to borrow from Terry Kurgan (2013: 42) for participation, which I authored to elicit a collaborative authoring of answers to the question of what everyday life in Bertrams is like. How is it shaping space, how is space shaping people, how is

[21] What even was 'the everyday' or 'daily life'? Surely it could not be as simple as walking to the SuperSpar across the valley or brushing your teeth?

this constituting the 'place' of contemporary Bertrams? Although the workshops did not seek to uncover or explore a 'grassroots led' proposition (Wakeford and Pimbert, 2013: 73), the generalness of my research question offered a starting point for all sorts of information and questions to emerge, unanticipated by me or the participants. Rather than the process nominating major dominating powers of authority, it revealed meshworks of relationships with all their attendant micro, meso and macro power relationships and small and large, direct and tactical moments of resistance.

The question of the everyday came from the research's investment in an ontology of relational becoming. I was concerned with the notion that through an attentiveness to the materiality of our daily actions between one another, between things, we might see what our world is becoming. Then, as a researcher and an artist, I wanted to investigate what were the questions to ask or the moments to echo that might enable the becoming of this world. However the questions and the echoes were not a handful of big ones, but multiple. As Latour says, practically, prosaically: describe, and do not get caught up in 'a few global causes generating a mass of effects' (2005: 131). Julian Brigstocke offers more lyrically in *Problems of Participation*:

> Democratizing authority requires inventing ways of amplifying hidden, whispered truths, truths that testify to experiences that have until now been silenced. In order to become authoritative, these truths must travel beyond individual experiences and find a point of contact, a lever that enables them to touch other people and other interests through their experiential intensity and resonance. What is required, perhaps, is a heightened attentiveness to the poetics of democracy: to the ways in which new truths are born, die away, or reignite. (2013: 11-12)

While my theatre and performance based workshops might not have raised a democratically formulated question, they offered moments in time and space where many, diverse questions and bits of knowledge and experience could emerge, the 'expertise' and tactics of daily city life (de Certeau, 1988 and Chambers, 1986). The question was broad enough to allow for 'hidden, whispered truths' (Brigstocke, 2013: 11) to be revealed and the theatre and performance media offered a structure for their revelation and a mechanism for their amplification. Although I singly authored the framework that invited participation, it was a framework to enable 'attentiveness to

the poetics of democracy'; the daily truths of people's experiences, interpretations and opinions of these experiences, which otherwise might have gone unspoken and unheard.

Having initiated the question and built the structure for exploring it, the return to the question and the knowledge and understanding that the question keyed into was where the real participation of the workshops lay. Setting up the workshops offered a mechanism for establishing relationships with the institutions and the participants in a way that did not place pressure on anyone – institutional management or residents/learners – to account directly and immediately for themselves as they would have been asked to in any one of the following scenarios: a more classic ethnographic interview process; if I had been called in to help address a conflict resolution issue through theatre or if I was consulting as part of a planned architectural or urban planning endeavour. The open-endedness of the framework I offered, encouraged participants to keep returning to the research question; to reengage with it as a participatory process.

In a supervision session Mark Fleishman cautioned me that theatre and performance making is by nature a generative process and that you can find yourself with endless amounts of data, not finally coalescing into any one narrative or argument (Fleishman, personal communication 2017, 9 August). In terms of my research project's intentions the random proliferation of data was precisely one of the most productive offerings of theatre and performance as artistic media. The excess of data offered its own particular kind of democratisation. My open-ended research question freed the theatre and performance making process to not serve any one question or point and the theatre and performance making process allowed for a space in which many, diverse and unexpected answers to the research question could emerge over time. I was embracing what applied theatre practitioners Hughes, Kidd and McNamara in an article entitled 'The Usefulness of Mess' argue for. They explore and champion the productively dynamic, complex relationship of participation and art-making that does *not* pin down what a research process seeks to know or even to define too narrowly specific knowledge outcomes at the end of the process (2011: 198-

199). As Capraru and Solga similarly reflect on a performance project called *The Monument* in Kigali, to see a public art work as a 'work *in progress* rather than work *of progress*', is to see its productivity in the lively emergence of the work, rather than than any definable 'changes' it might make (2013: 43, emphasis in original). The theatre and performance work in my project was serving the kind of research process Flyvbjerg calls for via Foucault's genealogical approach which requires: 'patience and a knowledge of details, and it depends on a vast accumulation of source material' (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 114, citing Foucault, 1984: 76-77).

The building of relationships and the revelation of knowledge over time that the workshops allowed is true of any sustained process, and in some ways theatre and performance workshops were as good an excuse as any to participate and invite participation with Bertrams' lives. In reading about Wakeford and Pimbert's work with *Prateerpu*, there is a shadow sense behind their writing of there being so much information about daily life and grassroots knowledges revealed through the process of the public hearings that did not make its way into the final report (2013: 69-81). I could have done anything – yoga, meditation, art classes, weekly conversations, craftwork – and they all would have offered the building over time of relationships and the revelation of daily textures and moments. Below I start my argument for what the exercises of the workshops did specifically in creating a participatory space and in sharing and broadcasting knowledge, but finally I do not think this can be separated from the overarching process of establishing theatre and performance, specifically theatre and performance, workshops.

The institutions might have been interested in art or craft or meditation just as much as theatre and performance because of their perceived cultural value. Participants might have found any of those activities equally engaging as regular diversions in their routines. Yet the difference is I explicitly offered *theatre and performance* as a possible way of *exploring everyday life*. We were not addressing an issue of dissatisfaction with the council and noting down all the random bits of information on daily placemaking in Bertrams along the way. We were not sketching public spaces

in Bertrams or meditating and reflecting on our weeks either silently or sharing with the group orally. These processes might have been similarly productive to democratising knowledges of the everyday and could have provided compelling content for a participatory play as public art out of what they revealed, but they would have been an indirect approach to my research question. The initial invitation for what to participate in and to what end became *enacted* through setting up the structure for the workshops. Making that first offer of workshops around the theme of the everyday and returning each week to establish the routine, the practice of the theatre and performance games, was the ongoing posing of the research question: how might participatory *theatre and performance* be a way of exploring knowledges of everyday placemaking in Bertrams? The knowledges of the everyday and how theatre and performance might express and broadcast these knowledges was in a state of constant revelation to us all – participants, institutional management, myself, Baeletsi. In this way the work became participatory in Millner's terms of returning to and reframing the research question (Millner, 2013: 29-30). I had authored the structure and the research question. I had a sense of how to guide the process using theatre and performance as research tools, but where the theatre and performance would take us, what the everyday of Bertrams was, was largely unknown to us all. We all agreed to the routine structure of the workshops to investigate everyday life. But all of us had only a foggy sense of what it was we were looking to know and how theatre and performance might help us in that endeavour. All of us negotiated the building of relationships and knowledge sharing through the routine practice of theatre and performance.

Figure 21: Halligey (2015). Telling stories at Gerald Fitzpatrick House (From left: Lorraine, Baeletsi, Ma' Mamsie) [photograph].

Figure 22: Tsatsi (2015). Rehearsing a final performance with Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre [photograph].

PRACTICING THROUGH THE WORKSHOPS

The initial workshop series offered the following: a micro-level cycle of participatory engagement and reengagement; embodied practices to express embodied knowledges; a sharing of knowledge from everyone involved and establishing of the knowledge as knowledge (giving it authority) through repetition and amplification. Each of these functions operated in a chain, 'a dynamic chain of interactions, transformations, and articulations that may ultimately produce more reality' (Borgdorff, 2012: 11), where one function or interaction served the realisation of the next enabled by the particular practice of theatre and performance.

Agreeing to participate in weekly sessions was one thing, but within the sessions themselves, theatre and performance made a constant demand for participation. The invitation and agreement to participate was constantly being renewed with each game, with each moment in each game. The nature of participation also differed from game to game and within each game. We used games that ranged from physical and vocal warm-ups where the participation was largely imitation – copy this gesture and this sound – to games that asked participants to speak about their personal or personally observed experiences.

In the mimicry-based warm-ups, participants were not asked to reveal intimate, personal information verbally, but they were asked to engage their whole bodies and voices in a way that

was personally revealing – what does your body look like? How does it move and sound through the world? In the personal storytelling games, participants were asked to share stories individually, to offer specific details from their lives. In these games they had more control over how much they used their bodies and voices, but the personal exposure was in what they told with their words[22]. There was a difference in the confronting aspect of each particular game's call for participation. Tell your story? Or: show us how you move? The use of each game was not that they were generally embodied practices, but that they each made overt invitations for a particular kind of embodiment – *do* a gesture, *tell* a story – making that particular form of embodiment explicitly evident both to the participant sharing and the participants witnessing.

The shifts in participatory demands within games were not trivial either. Participants moved from sharing to listening – I tell my story, now I listen to yours. I offer a gesture, now I copy yours. The difference between willingly exposing yourself, physically or verbally, and making yourself available to listen or see someone else's exposure are equally demanding and significantly different calls – the one asking you to share your experiences (which is to say your knowledges) and the other asking you to bear witness and take on to some degree other people's knowledges and experiences.

In these ranges of participation from game to game and within games, I want to draw out in consequential order:

1. That the nature of the participation was in a complex relationship of using theatre and performance games as mechanisms to author knowledge, but that the authoring gained authority through a different kind of participation – not sharing knowledge, but actively witnessing it.

[22] All the games were embodied, indeed as living is an embodied practice. A classic ethnographic interview is also of course an embodied practice, where vocal and physical gestures, posture are all available for observation and communicating meaning and affect. Theatre and performance, with a more exaggerated or heightened use of embodiment, made the embodiment of expressions more explicit.

2. That the participation of sharing and witnessing mirrors the process of building space and identity in everyday life – making gestures (vocal or physical) and having these seen/heard/ignored, in short, responded too.

3. That the theatre and performance games made explicit the different kinds of embodiment of sharing and witnessing and how they are effective in the world through embodiment. Where listening participants might not pick up on the nuance of posture or gesture in witnessing a storytelling, these gestural expressions were exposed in the physical games and where the narratives told orally might hide behind physical gesture in the physical games, they were directly expressed in the storytelling.

The games initiated a participation that used embodied practices to express and explore embodied knowledges. Diana Taylor has written substantially in a South American context on the embodied knowledges that come about and are shared through the performances, formal and informal, of daily life. In *The Archive and the Repertoire* she uses the concept of the repertoire as an alternative to 'archive' to account for the perpetuation of embodied knowledges through repetition and mimicry (2003). The primary objective of the workshops was to use theatre and performance as a way of discovering or sharing the daily embodied knowledges of Bertrams that participants carried in their 'repertoires'. We used the performance of theatre and performance games to learn about the performances of everyday life, in the way Mark Fleishman argues for performance as a way of knowing (2009; 2012).

The workshops were specifically concerned with performance as knowing in the terms Fleishman describes for the Performance as Research Working Group's project through the International Federation of Theatre Research: 'engaged in attempting to resolve a set of problems arising from the idea of performance as a mode of research, problems that are both ontological and epistemological' (2012: 29). These performances to know, the theatre and performance games of the workshops, were about discovering routes walked ('I come out of my house, I turn left.'), daily

gestures (teethbrushing in the morning; cooking in the afternoon; sleeping at night) or songs remembered (*Are you lonesome tonight?*) as facts, epistemologies, but also as ontologies felt through embodied movement or expression – what is the being or becoming of taking that route, of brushing your teeth, of holding that song dear? But the theatre and performance games were also performances to create new ontologies by building relationships through participation. We were creating and learning as we created.

Figure 23: Halligey (2015). Drawing imaginary houses in the air with Bertrams Junior School [photograph].

Theatre and performance as artistic media engaged us all in an 'interactional relationship of bodies' where 'the performer attends not only to the task at hand but to the other to whom the performance is directed' (Fleishman, 2009: 122). Whether listening or showing, we were all performing at the same time an embodied practice with an awareness of the other. We were building a meshwork of relationality between us all which became a second layer of embodied learning, more along the lines of what Fleishman via Ingold valorises as performance's use: to discover as you go; to learn through process. If the first purpose of a game was to discover through embodied expression people's routes to school from home, the second purpose was to build relationships between the different tellers through the embodied telling and hearing of the routes.

In the first purpose a fixed object of knowledge was discovered – Thando goes left out of his house to get to school. In the second purpose we were all part of a process of learning what it is to tell our routes and hear one another's. We were watching at the same time as we were making

the material of our tellings and showings become something else through the relationships we were forming through sharing and listening. The combination of all the tellings of routes produced a meshwork of routes that produced a sense of Bertrams itself. The game was a way of texturing – a tying together of threads to bring some kind of material together.

Even if only temporarily, we were we doing what Barbara van Wijnendaele describes as the current focus in participatory research (referencing: Cahill, 2007a; Cameron and Gibson, 2005; Kesby, 2005, 2007): not '"revealing" subjugated knowledges and accessing silenced voices,' but rather engaging in a process to 'create new forms of knowledge and new ways of knowing' (Kesby, 2005 cited in Wijnendaele, 2013: 268). We were involved in the 'constitution of new subjectivities' for ourselves, as van Wijnendaele suggests is the process of this particular strand of participatory research (268). Where the first layer of learning through the games was a fixed object of knowledge to be discovered, the second layer of embodied practice through theatre and performance games was an evolving knowing through relationality.

Thando's route to school did not remain a 'revealed' bit of 'subjugated knowledge'; something a ten-year-old in a poor/working class suburb in inner city Johannesburg knows that would otherwise have been, if not 'silenced', never voiced (van Wijnendaele, 2013: 268). Through building relationships in the practice of theatre and performance, the knowledge took on a new meaning we all co-elaborated (Bishop, 2006: 12) in the moment of the game and later in using Thando's telling/showing his route as material for playmaking. New subjectivities formed through the co-elaboration of new meanings and new ways of knowing through the game, and the playmaking that came out of the game.

I am going to go into some detail on the 'route to school' game to illustrate my argument. Thando stands with five or so of his peers behind him. He takes one step forward, saying, 'I come out my house.' Thando waits. The group behind him take a step forward and say all together, 'I come out of my house.' Thando jumps and turns to his left and says, 'I turn left.' He waits. The

group behind him all jump and turn to their left, 'I turn left'. And so Thando and the group continue, blocking a pattern of Thando's way to school on the rubber tiles of the Bertrams Junior School quadrangle. A number of things are happening: Thando is mapping his route; the chorus behind him are learning it in actions and words (and rhythm and intonation); the rest of the group and Baeletsi and I as facilitators are learning Thando's mapping by watching and listening to it, but we are also witnessing the chorus behind him learn the mapping[23].

Figure 24: Tsatsi (2015). Playing the route to school game in the Bertrams Junior School quadrangle [photograph].

Massey talks about the 'stories-so-far' that make up space (2005: 9), but also uses the term 'trajectories' (8). The terms combined offer both movement and a sense of effect – it is the

[23] The game's emphasis on routes to and from home resonates with Simon Jones and Paul Rae's discussion of *Dream → Work* and *Dream → Home,* companion touring pieces made through the collaboration of Singaporean company, spell#7, and UK company, Bodies in Flight. The pieces took place at rush hour in train stations, playing between mundane actions, internal monologues and the flights of fancy and projections these daily routines contain (2013: 140-160).

movement of people and things that continually forms space, but these movements are 'stories' because they make space. Trajectories are 'stories' because they have an effect on and are effected by all the trajectories of other moving things they encounter. To make space, as we all constantly are, is to be involved in a drama, sometimes minor, sometimes major, of intentions and obstacles and tactics. Trajectories are stories-*so-far* because they are in a constant state of becoming – never arriving at a fixed point; always ongoing.

Thando tells us his story-so-far: his daily trajectory which is an object of knowledge, a map. But the telling itself is a trajectory, more a mapping than a map (Ingold, 2000: 220). The telling is another story Thando begins which we are contributing to creating by our presence and by our actions in presence. The mapping itself of the game is a new story and we are learning the mapping as much as we are learning the information the mapping represents. I could stand in front of Thando's house and turn left and know how to get to Bertrams Junior School. But I have also learnt a pattern of words and movements in the Bertrams Junior School quadrangle and *this* piece of knowledge is new to us all, something we have all formed together through the course of the game. In other words, through playing the game, we are not only learning an aspect of how space is made – a daily route that is part of Betrams's contemporary moment – but we are also making a space in relation to one another; to the quadrangle; to Thando's story; to all the stories that have brought all of us – people, rubber mats, buildings, weather – to the moment of the game. The knowledge (an embodied mapping of Thando's route) is new and the way of knowing (performing your or your peer's route to school in the quadrangle) is new. In the moment we are forming new subjectivities for one another – Thando as the chorus leader/navigator; the chorus as apprentices to Thando's knowledge and craftspeople in the mapmaking; the audience (participants and facilitators) as witnesses and learners and potential understudies/directors/mapmakers.

These subjectivities are not stable or fixed, they are themselves momentary, arising in the process of the game, and shifting out of focus with its conclusion. Similarly the knowledge of the

mapping is in the making through the game and shifts even in a reperformance into a new kind of knowledge, related, but a new iteration with differences. However just because they are momentary does not mean that either the knowledge (mapping Thando's route in the quadrangle) or the subjectivities (navigator, craftsmen, learners) are lost – they emerge through the game and they subside at its end, but continue to inform all of us going forward. The knowledge and subjectivities of the theatre and performance games accrue a 'durability' through repetition with difference (Fleishman, 2009: 117). We stay with the duration of the game to learn through repetition's difference (Fleishman, 2012: 33-34), in the same way that Massey, in terms of real world spatial construction, asks for the 'recognition of the duration in external things and thus the interpenetration, though not the equivalence, of space and time'. Massey argues that attentiveness to duration reveals 'space as the dimension of multiple trajectories, a simultaneity of stories-so-far. Space as the dimension of a multiplicity of durations.' (2005: 24). The theatre and performance games are only games, but like living in life, they bring us and space into being. They make knowledges, epistemological (this is Thando's route) and ontological (this is how it is to do Thando's route and doing it changes who I am).

The theatre and performance games embraced process. Using the game to see how it could explore directions was less important than the experiment of telling them through the game. The research process was more about the world we were 'constituting' through the game, than what the game 'revealed' about the world of the children's routes to school (Borgdorff, 2012: 20). The children's routes are one set of trajectories in the space-making process of Bertrams and by their repetition form part of the area's placemaking in its 2016 moment. Through the game we were in a sense mirroring the role their routes to school contribute to placemaking. We were performing on a microscale our own play-placemaking, in the sense the learners understood play when they heard me say we would be making 'a play'. Running into them on the street some afternoons, they would

say to me, 'Are we playing today?' The workshops were a form of playing (as in playfulness) at placemaking.

Publishing/broadcasting our learning in the workshops was integral to the process of knowledge and subjectivity forming. Fleishman suggests, 'If performance as research is anything, it is the desire to make conscious, to become aware from within the midst of the endless process of becoming and then to attempt to translate this for others through a variety of modalities' (2012: 35). Through the theatre and performance games we were making, learning and broadcasting/publishing as the games offered a simultaneous enacting of all three of these mutually-informing activities.

Each of the games included a process of amplifying the material, to establish the material as knowledge (give it authority). But each game was also making new knowledge and building subjectivity as much as it was a means of publishing (making public) the material. The amplification process involved repetition, repetition by more than one person and sometimes literal amplification as in the case of the Gerald Fitzpatrick House Frail Care group where we used a microphone[24]. The repetition reiterated the gesture or words or both for those of us in the audience. Whether repeated on a microphone or by a chorus (as with the Bertrams Junior School way-to-school game) the first iteration, spoken or gestural, was made louder, bigger, more prominent. Finally, through repetition, the repeater was starting the process of committing the words and movements to memory.

Jenny Pearce traces the etymology of authority, via Hannah Arendt, to 'the Latin, auctoritas from the verb augere, to augment' (Pearce, 2013: 16). In this sense we were giving each person's knowledge greater authority, *augmenting* it through repetition and increased volume/number of people speaking and ultimately through its extension into other people's memories. As the games

[24] The women spoke their stories into the microphone first and then either Baeletsi or I would retell their stories to the whole group, also using the microphone.

were ostensibly prompts for directions or stories, the amplification was on a primary level simply a small scale, performance-based form of publishing – this is Thando's route to school; this is Ma' Mamsie's memory of the beach. But the amplification was augmenting the knowledge in another way too – in the sense of building on it. As discussed above, the repetition inevitably shifted the story *and* was critical to co-producing new knowledges, meanings, ways of knowing and being. Taylor's repertoire of knowledge is not a repertoire of fixed embodied practices transmitted from person to person, but rather the practices are learnt *and* developed by each person who re-embodies them: the 'repertoire both keeps and transforms choreographies of meaning' (2013: 20). The repertoire, like space, is constantly evolving through the collisions, the co-presence, the *meshwork* of all our trajectory stories.

I doubt whether any of us were fully aware at the time of the extent to which we were making new knowledges and forming new subjectivities through the process of the game, because of the very fact that the knowledges and subjectivities were in emergence. However the embodiment of the game made the demands of participation clearly explicit. Or conversely the demands of participation as laid out in the rules of the game made the embodiment of the participation more explicit. Because our medium was a live performance one, we were aware that as we shared or created knowledge through embodied participation, it disappeared (Phelan, 1993: 146). This knowledge was only to be 'retrieved' (with an understanding that to retrieve in this context is to bring something back with inevitable difference) by reperformance. Whether we the actors (in the thespian sense) were aware of it or not, the game exposed the mechanisms of embodiment and process that allow for the emergence of knowledge and subjectivities. The games themselves were a self-aware 'collective elaboration of meaning' (Bishop, 2006: 12); consciously performative explorations of the performativity of everyday life.

Figure 25: Tsatsi (2015). Rehearsing the play that came out of the route to school game [photograph].

CONCLUSION:

My initial participatory map suggested the following intentions: the participatory research and participatory democracy agenda is to explore knowledge as a distributed force, paying close attention to knowledges generally overlooked and then to grant these multi-vocal knowledges authority through a collective elaboration of meaning, ultimately in a bid for change, empowerment and shifting the status quo. The participatory workshops offered a mechanism for collectively elaborating meaning. The practice of theatre and performance combined with an open-ended research question allowed the collective elaboration to evolve. The process I offered did not get to the point of overtly effecting: change, demonstrable empowerment or radical shifts in the status quo[25]. The process intentionally stopped short of this final step for change through participation because reaching the point of effecting marked changes – posing singular, big demands to authorities – immediately takes you away from the small details, the small moments of politics.

In broad summary the impulse behind participatory practices – research, politics, urban planning, design, art – is a democratic one, but also a developmental one. The democratic impulse

[25] Although there were undeniably many small moments of change, empowerment and challenges to the status quo – moments that were visible and can be accounted for and I am sure many more that are unseen and hard to account for and that may still be unfolding.

suggests everyone sharing what they know, desire, need; everyone having a say in their space, in governance, the aesthetic and quality and way of their lives. The developmental impulse suggests positive change. The two are of course closely related – the democratising of knowledge and demands is in aid of positive change, desirable 'development'. The problem is that the jump to positive change requires a degree of consensus out of the dissensus of democratic participation. The group has to settle on *what* to change, *who* to empower and *how.* It is this gap between democracy and positive change through participation that all the authors in *Problems of Participation*, Cornwall and Jewkes, Claire Bishop, Rike Sitas and the many other thinkers concerned with the participatory turn trouble themselves with.

Sitas problematises Paolo Freire's thinking around participation in its drive for positive change, because he tends to offer 'the oppressed' as a homogenous body of people, he proposes participation as a mechanism towards consensus and he focuses on the human at the expense of space (2015: 60). Similarly, Kim Gurney said to me in conversation that rather than thinking the work is falling short of its purpose if it does not effect change, I should consider the theatre and performance games, the playmaking and the academic writing as small bits of stitching – stitching together knowledges; creative fragments; insights into being and glimpses of how we might be. Gurney proposed that it is in the stitching that small changes or possibilities for change might emerge and that this finally is possibly a less presumptuous ambition than 'effecting change' (Gurney, personal communication 2016, 26 April). This is the proposition of performance ensemble, Goat Island in their artistic work and *Small Acts of Repair*, a book reflecting on their artisitic work: 'Perhaps we *need* to start small, given the scale of the probems confronting us' (Bottoms, 2007: 25).

The participation I offered was to stick with a call for the poetics, the little moments, Pieterse's 'fine-grained' ethnographies (2012: 42). To do this is also to stick with dissensus, as Sitas proposes in her vision of participatory art; to not foreclose the differences among people and in

how we make and are made by space (2015: 60). In the participatory theatre and performance workshops I was concerned with how the making of space through our differences is the knotting of making *place* – transitory, complex, but identifiable as a spatio-temporal event. *This* is Bertrams in 2016. Sticking with the poetics and the little moments is to remain in an agonistic space (Pieterse, 2012: 50) and one which allows ethics, politics and artistic response to be in a constant state of discovery and creation through this agonistic relationality.

Nancy's offering of being singular plural, where we are produced as individuals through our 'being with', captures the paradox of the subjective and collective experience; the individually authored and the mutually informed (2000). In research and art making, as in life, we are in a constant state of porosity and discreteness; in a process of individuation and influence – the other's influence on us; our influence on the other[26]. Individuation happens *through* the process of mutual influence. I am not surprised that my project remained in a space where I was both the autonomous author of the project and a collaborator in co-constituting meanings through the project's offerings. Bishop champions the artist's authority in participatory public art (2012). Similarly Shannon Jackson champions the artist's autonomy in socially-engaged work, arguing for art's meaning as 'self-governing' as opposed to 'governed by external rules' and the kind of productive social and political assertiveness this self-government allows for (2011: 15). Certainly the participatory *art* nature of my project gave me licence to traffic in the ambiguous space of individual and collective authority, but this licence was really to acknowledge something inherent to all research, art making, democratic development and (to sweep more generally or perhaps rather more philosophically) inherent to what it is to live.

Now as I come to write this thesis, it is solely me telling the story of the space we made through the workshops about the space we (even me) were making that was Bertrams in its

[26] Where the other might be human, object, animal, plant, landscape, building and on and on.

2015/2016 moment, but the story is one of fragments. Much as my authored framework could only be seen partially by participants, so what we discovered and co-elaborated I can only know and tell in fragments. The following chapter looks at two fragments from the workshop process and what they revealed of the relational meshwork of Bertrams with attendant power distributions and affectual charges.

CHAPTER 5: WHAT THE WORKSHOPS REVEALED

This chapter looks at the relational meshworks and power distributions at work in aspects of Bertrams placemaking which the participatory theatre and performance based workshops revealed. In the previous chapter I argue for how the embodied participation of the workshops was performatively doing the very thing we were investigating: how space and identities are constantly in formation through relationality. To consider the 'constitution' (Borgdorff, 2012: 20) of Bertrams spaces, we were constituting or building new spaces and identities through the relationality of the theatre and performance work. Similarly this chapter explores how in exposing relational meshworks and power distributions through theatre and performance games we were also building our own relational meshworks inflected by power distributions.

Before I begin I would like to consider briefly the notions of repetition and fragmentation as they apply to the workshop process. Fragmentation exposed difference and gaps in experience and repetition allowed for a layered and shifting sense of relational networks, power dynamics and the affectual landscape of Bertrams. The layering through repetition was a layering of fragments. The repetition revealed difference in the fragments and, through the repetition's persistence, a growing awareness of the impossibility of ever knowing all, even as more and more was revealed and emerged; of only ever knowing multiple, connected fragments. As Amin and Thrift offer: 'The city has no completeness…no fixed parts…it is…a concatenation of rhythms' (2002: 8).

The differences are differences over time and differences within moments. There is the difference between doing the same exercise this week compared to when we did it last week (difference over time). There is the difference between how I play the game and you play the game in today's session (differences within the moment). There are differences of degree – Bibiche Budimo experiences the walk to the cathedral slightly differently to how Marcelle Habimana experiences the walk. There are differences of kind – the vendors Bibiche Budimo and Marcelle Habimana pass on the way to the cathedral are having a different kind of experience to the two

walking women, though Bibiche, Marcelle and the vendors are all in a shared moment. All these differences account for the subjectivity of experience. I can only imagine how my walking might be different to someone else's and is different to my walking yesterday. I can only get an incomplete sense of how someone else's walking or playing is different to everyone else's.

We can only ever be in the moment we are in, with a knowledge of its difference to every other moment and its difference within the moment, but we cannot hold all the moments together in one – I have to live in the fragment of *this* moment as myself. Nancy's notion of 'contiguity but not continuity' in our production of being through being-with one another, aptly points to the discreteness of our being and of moments, while acknowledging the effects of one moment on the next, one being on another being (Nancy, 2000: 5). Each moment touches the other moment; each actor touches the other actor. We feel, know and carry the impact of difference between moments and difference within moments even though we can never feel, know and carry the full extent of the differences.

In this chapter I consider two fragments out of all the many fragments from my own subjective experience of the repeated workshops in Bertrams. The one is a single workshop session with the Bienvenu Refugee Shelter group in August 2016 and the other is a more extended moment – the making and rehearsing of a play on the history of Bertrams with the Bertrams Junior School group.

Although only two moments, albeit substantial ones out of a year's worth of work, these two fragments cannot help but be connected to all the other moments of the workshops. The moments are just two knots in Ingold's 'meshwork' of relationality (2013). The moments are dense areas of the 'entanglement' that Sarah Nuttall talks of in understanding Johannesburg's present in relation to its past (2009) and the 'entanglement' that Jane Bennett talks of with an ecological focus in terms of the relationships between the human and the non-human (Bennett, 2010: 116). South African theatre designer, Craig Leo, once said to me of a mess of rope we were trying to sort out to

use in a rehearsal, 'You have to let a knot breathe to untangle it' (Leo, personal communication, August 2011). This chapter does not intend to untangle, but rather to let these two knots from the workshops breathe in order to see and feel more clearly how they are entangled and which rope or trajectory hooks and runs where.

KNOT 1: BECOMING *TSOTSIS*

Monday evening, between 17:00 and 18:00, 1 August 2016, Bienvenu Refugee Shelter.

There were certain characters that kept returning in the workshops with the Bienvenu group or were inferred by the activities the women and children described of their week – schools, church and taxis with their attendant teachers, priests and drivers. One story that kept coming back was the story of the mugging; the attempted mugging; the threat of mugging by a *tsotsi* or group of *tsotsis*[27]. By August 2016 we were preparing for *Izithombe 2094,* the final play of the research project. I was trying to find a way for the women of the Bienvenu group to perform in it to represent some of what we had explored in the workshop sessions. I thought possibly they could play a chorus of different stereotypes – The Teachers, The Priests, The Drivers, The *Tsotsis*.

The seed of the idea started on 16 May 2016 when one of the participants, Albia Khuru, told us a story about walking on the street one day that week. A group of men started catcalling her from behind. 'I was wearing this,' she said, gesturing to her basketball shorts and hoodie, boyish on her athletic frame and the hoodie baggy enough to hide her breasts, especially with her back to the catcallers. She put her hands in her pockets, exaggerated her swagger and turning just her head, called back in isiZulu, '*Nina madoda! Nibiza bani umfazi*!?' (Hey guys! Who are you calling a woman?). She immediately turned into the catcallers, characterising them as shocked and embarrassed, a

[27] *Tsotsi* is a slang word for gangster or thief. It has, of course, negative, othering connotations as well as being reclaimed in the same way as 'gangster' is in popular cultural use – to indicate a rebellious empowerment through living outside or in contempt of the law (Urban Dictionary, 2005).

little scared and then described them turning around and running away, fast. Was this from their suddenly realised, inadvertent homoerotic act? For fear she-now-he would fight them? Out of respect and in apology?

I loved her story. It was such a wonderfully liberating moment in terms of power and sexuality between genders: how Albia used the tactic of playing a man; a queerness in her knowing she could pass as one in that moment; the exposure of the men, showing up not only their respect for fellow men and objectification of women, but also a potential queerness in them and a homophobic fear of this potential queerness. I also loved the way she told her story. Albia did not often join the group and when she did she was reluctant with her enthusiasm for any of the games. When I spoke to her once in the kitchen about why she was reticent to join in, she said she did not want to talk about her life and trauma. The fact that many of the women automatically shared traumatic stories when given a storytelling prompt, put her off. But on this particular day she joined us, she told a story that was triumphant, funny and subversive of a moment that carried the threat of traumatic experiences. She told it with relish and in the way of many shy actors who seem quiet and unassuming, but then bring all the characters and nuances of a moment vividly to life when they start performing. She was triumphant not only in her story, but in the telling of it too.

Inspired by Albia, I thought what if all the women could play *en masse*, as part of the play, the various authority figures/aggressors they encounter in their lives? I had an image of all of them doing simple gestures – like Albia's swagger – down the road with safety in numbers and a perceived, if not actual, safety in the ownership of space that a formal performance gives. This Bienvenu chorus of stereotypes would be a compelling theatrical extension of Albia's subversive storytelling and performatively subversive in its own right as a chorus performed in the public space of the street.

Over the course of three weeks in July and August we had been including in our normal routine of the workshops an exploration of a different stereotype each week. Toni Morkel and

Lindiwe Matshikiza (the two other professional actors in the cast of *Izithombe 2094*, aside from Baeletsi Tsatsi) were joining us for the Bienvenu sessions as part of the playmaking process for *Izithombe 2094.* With more facilitators available we could divide the group up. Baeletsi was working with the group of older girls who were going to perform a dance in *Izithombe 2094*; Lindiwe was 'baby-sitting' the smaller children in the crèche downstairs and Toni and I were working with the women. It was a rare opportunity to be able to work with the women without them simultaneously having to mind their children. We only had a few very young babies with us – mostly tied to their mothers' backs and one woman sitting and watching the session with her baby on her lap. I explained the idea of us all showing our version of a *tsotsi* with a view to performing *tsotsis* in the play. I demonstrated with a little swagger and hand-in-my-pocket gesture in imitation of Albia, who had left Bienvenu three months before. The game started and almost immediately the women were out of single gestures and into improvising short scenes. One by one each woman played a stealing 'sting', using one of the rest of the group as their target and the rest of us as bystanders. Fuseelah Kazadi started talking to one of the women sitting on a bench, asking for money – she has no food, please can the woman help. As she was talking, she slipped a cellphone on the counter into her back pocket covering it immediately with a tug of her jersey, as naturally as if it just needed a little readjusting for comfort. Sarah set up a shop situation. I was the cashier, Mehwish Yonas was a fellow customer. She asked me for a product. She gave me mimed cash. I was to give her change. She asked me for another product. Then said she had given me more than she had, I owed her more change, drawing the other customer in as witness and back-up. Obvious as the trick sounds in the telling, the way she played the back and forth, with broken English, switching between uncertainty and certainty, I had no idea by the end how much I did owe her, how much she had given me or what was going on. She finished by snatching the other customer's bag and running, having tricked me into handing her back more 'change' than the total amount she had paid in the first place.

Most of the scenes had the same arc: the initial approach, the distraction, the moment of stealing and the run. The run always ended after a short spurt to the top of the stairs or one of the doorways and we all fell about with laughter. The climax in the series of *tsotsi* vignettes was when Jessica Disi approached Albia Mutombo (a different Albia to the first Albia, Albia Khuru) sitting with her baby on her lap. Jessica started her patter, 'Hello, can you help me? I need taxi fare, please…' and so on and then, in an instant, she snatched Albia's baby and ran to the top of the stairs. Our surprise and the release of the laughter was the greatest yet.

The teachers and preachers and taxi drivers from other sessions paled in comparison and I decided we would ask the women who were interested in performing in the play to just play '*tsotsis*'. When the audience arrived outside Bienvenu and Toni (playing tour guide character, Jean) stopped to talk about the shelter, the women would come out; each pick someone in the audience; initiate their sting; steal a phone or bag; run for a short spell, stop, turn and break the game. They would need to target me or Toni, someone in the cast, so as not to traumatise an audience member.

We played the game a couple of weeks in a row with me, Baeletsi, Toni, Lindiwe and the older girls making up the audience on the street outside Bienvenu. The game still retained its fun, although it lost some of the surprise, release and detailed observation of character from that first session. In our last rehearsal Jessica chased '*tsotsi*' Fuseelah and started mock beating her up. Toni spoke to me after the session. She felt worried that in that moment Jessica had been in danger of releasing an anger that could not be contained by the game. She also felt concerned about the audience's reading of the *tsotsi* chorus: would it seem like we were saying the *women* are *tsotsis*? Would the audience have enough context to understand the women who came out and performed their stings were subverting their own daily fear of being targets? And what if members of the audience had themselves been targets of muggings or carried substantial fear of mugging? Participating in a site-specific play modelled on a walking tour that blurred the line between fiction

and reality, rather than in a defined fiction in a formal theatre space, would the Bienvenu *tsotsi* chorus not potentially traumatise the audience?

I sat with Toni's questions and talked them through with Baeletsi on the way to our first full technical rehearsal in Bertrams the next morning (Tsatsi, personal communication 2016, 20 August). In terms of the play, we would not be able to control the audience's interpretation of the women's performance and having it misread or simply misunderstood would be counterproductive to the subversive, liberating release of that first workshop session. The performers *and* the audience needed to be fully in the know for it to work in the joyful way it had in that first session. There were also other, less explicit issues with having the women perform their *tsotsis* in the play. Although they still enjoyed the reperformance of their stings and had not stopped acting them consummately, they were reperforming them as directed by me and not really understanding how they fitted into the play as a whole nor getting any clear benefit out of the process for themselves. It was fun in moments, but also they were a little shy, a little bemused as to why we were doing this game out on the street. In the workshop the game was the game of the moment and in trying to put it into the play we were using them to perform the game, rather than to actually play it – and here, for once, I mean perform in the sense of the superficial, the inauthentic, the creating of a display rather than communicating an embodied meaning.

We cut the *tsotsi* chorus. I told the women, who seemed variously mildly relieved or indifferent, but mostly pleased to be able to go about their morning or afternoon business without Baeletsi and Tiffani Cornwall, our stage manager, potentially shepherding them into a moment of street theatre. Most of the women came to watch the play at some point during its run, some of them came several times, and this felt a clearer and more dignified way of inviting them to participate.

RELATIONAL MESHWORKS AND POWER DYNAMICS IN BECOMING TSOTSIS

The story of the mugging or attempted mugging is a micro expression of macro forces – an exemplary moment of how the macro forces shaping the women's and their aggressors' identities play out in everyday scenarios. The *tsotsis* are characters in the narratives the women tell, rather than actual people, so I read them here for what they represent as figures for the women. However, reading the *tsotsi* as a character in the Bienvenu women's narratives of the everyday does reveal perspectives on the demographic identifiers that are generally part of defining a *tsotsi*. The *tsotsis* are characterised as male, black, likely to be South African (though not necessarily), young, unemployed and poor. The women of Bienvenu are female, not originally from South Africa (and identifiable by their dress, looks, language and accents as such), in some kind of transitory citizenship status process, unemployed or underemployed and poor. The women are 'the "not-yet-citizens"' of the African urbanity Simone explores (Cheah, 2003, cited in Simone, 2010: 260). These broad identity markers point to a whole set of systemic conditions that place both women and *tsotsis* as marginalised and vulnerable. Some of these systemic conditions are peculiar to either the women or the *tsotsis*, but many are shared by both parties: the legacy of apartheid; being at the receiving end of socially engrained misogyny; over-prescribed and under-resourced social services; lack of delivery by the state in terms of education and employment opportunities; monopoly of economic capital by a privileged elite and having fled from countries with endemic civil unrest. The men's vulnerability lies in their need for money to survive with little infrastructural support available to them. The Bienvenu women, captured by the state's social service offerings for refugees and the charitable work of non-governmental organisations like Bienvenu, have more infrastructural support. However, the women are vulnerable by their femaleness (a perceived soft target), their foreignness (not necessarily streetwise to Johannesburg's ways yet, easy prey for xenophobic sentiments) and being pedestrian. The women's access to social and charitable services is also not guaranteed. The Bienvenu residents are 'lucky' to have gained the access they have to

services through the shelter and even this is precarious – their maximum length of stay at Bienvenu is supposed to only be for three months.

There is a public/private inversion in experiences of vulnerability for both parties. The women have access to housing and money for necessities (food, transport to Home Affairs) through Bienvenu. In the privacy of the shelter they are protected from the elements, from crime and have a limited but nonetheless significant economic security. Privacy is highly precarious for the *tsotsi*. They are constantly at risk of physical harm and inadequate sustenance through inconsistent shelter, inconsistent income and little protection from crime and violence. Yet the *tsotsi* figure has safety in the moment of a potential mugging in the public space of the street through being black, male and South African. These identity markers give the *tsotsi* figure a sense of belonging, of entitlement even, as a citizen and a perceived strength and street-wiseness. The women in that same moment are a vulnerable target by their difference to the potential aggressor as female and foreign. The *tsotsi* figure utilises a tactic made available to him by the relative power he gains over the woman in the public moment of the street. However, the moment of power is fleeting, not sustained and both parties remain in marginalised, vulnerable positions.

The *tsotsi* game and even the mugging stories the women told in conversation were telling of the power dynamics, social characterisations and social tactics outlined above. Edgar Pieterse suggests that, 'With the cultural turn comes an awareness that language, discourse and symbolic meanings are central to incessant processes of identity construction and the realm of agency in the space of the everyday' (Pieterse, 2005: 140-141, citing Eole and Mele, 2002: 140-141). When the women told their mugging stories and enacted the mugging 'stings' through the improvised game in the workshops, these acts (storytelling in conversation and acting in the workshops) raised just such an awareness. In the *tsotsi* sting scenario, the *tsotsi* symbolised danger, power, entitlement; the women symbolised vulnerability as easy targets. Both parties were marked by their language difference or difference in language use, in the sense of accent and idiom of speech. Language was

also a major tool to allow for the sleight of hand of the sting. Finally, the storytelling or re-enactment of the mugging scenarios revealed a social discourse at work among the Bienvenu women and their social sphere around who is a *tsotsi*, how they behave and who *tsotsis* target (shopowners, women, foreigners). The stories and scenes conveyed how the women perceive all the players in the real life situation of a potential mugging (themselves included) by drawing on the symbols, language and discourse available to them.

But in inviting the women to enact these scenarios, the game in the workshops did something beyond what it exposed of the relational dynamics, the symbols, languages and discourse at play. It shifted, even if momentarily, the women's relationship to the mugging or potential mugging story through communicating a detailed mugging scenario knowledge. The women's *tsotsi* sting scenes expressed their particular knowledge of the macro-informed identities and the micro power dynamics of the situation as unpacked above. They needed to understand the '*tsotsi*' character in the general sense of who that kind of person is and what they want – the impact of macro-forces on daily actions, the things that shape who a person in that position comes to 'symbolise' (Pieterse, 2005: 140-141). They also needed to know the interpersonal tactics necessary to get what they wanted in the scenario. Their knowledge of interpersonal tacitics included reading the character of their target and a knowledge of the geography of the space in the sense of who is placed where, where are the sightlines for visibility and invisibility, where is the exit. Finally, they needed a broader overall understanding of the rhythm of the moment created by the people and the spatial geography. The women needed an understanding of 'space' in Massey's terms as formed through the relational trajectories of all the actors, human and non-human. The women knew the complexity of this kind of scenario in real life and therefore, how to play a convincing acting scene representing that scenario.

Jessica's baby-snatching scene added another layer of knowledge around the stakes of a mugging situation for the women. When Jessica stole Albia's baby and we all laughed with such

relief and release, her improvised action was an intuitively astute comic choice because of the sophisticated meaning it communicated. She stole something precious of Albia's; more precious than Albia's cellphone or money. Yet in the game of stealing, we knew her *tsotsi* character was not stealing *a baby* in the sense of kidnapping. Rather she was stealing the baby as a signifier of the degree of preciousness of the thing she was stealing.

A cellphone is more than a financial asset and a means of communication inconvenient to lose and replace. The cellphone represents connection with potential employers, with family, with friends, social workers and Home Affairs – of being locatable in a foreign city where connections are precarious, tenuous and vital for survival. Beyond this, replacing the phone can feel like a nearly disastrous strain on already over-stretched financial resources. The phone and sim card with a specific number are worth far more than their retail value.

By stealing for a moment a life rather than an object, Jessica represented the fear anyone might feel, for their own life or the life of a loved one in the situation of a mugging or a hijacking, regardless of demographic identity. Yet she was representing something else as well in snatching Albia's baby. She was representing the precarity *of a way of life*, where the loss of a cellphone or money carries a cost to a carefully built and fragile way of existing. This spoke far more to the Bienvenu women's particular situation than it might to the scenario of a middle-class South African woman like myself experiencing a mugging. The stolen and quickly returned cellphones and handbags in the game of the workshop carried little sense of the stakes of a mugging, even in the most superficial sense of a stolen possession. There was trust among the group, the stolen objects were always in someone's sight, the rule of the return after each sting was so implicitly understood as to be taken for granted. Jessica's snatching the baby was a surprise act that conveyed all the danger and risk of the moment of stealing, with the quick release and resolve of her stopping at the top of the stairs. Even before her stop at the stairs, I was aware of my nearly unconscious registering of the care with which she was holding the baby as she snatched and ran. She was

making the one point that had not quite been made yet in all the convincing *tsotsi* stings so far – that a mugging could feel as costly to your heart and to your way of life as having your own baby snatched out of your arms.

The women's playing of the *tsotsi* scenes was Stanislavsky's method for convincing acting (1989) employing Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis of the everyday city to produce virtuoso performances (2004) [28]. Bent Flyvbjerg, via Dreyfus and Dreyfus, defines virtuosity as the highest level of expertise:

> The proficient performer then perhaps achieves a level in which it is not only situations, which are recognised intuitively, but also – synchronically and holistically – the relevant decisions, strategies, and actions. According to Dreyfus and Dreyfus, this is the level of genuine, human expertise and is characterised by effortless performance… It is the level of virtuosity. (2001: 17, citing Dreyfus and Dreyfus, 1988: xii)

The women drew on their intuitive recognition of the *tsotsi* sting situation and were able to replay 'synchronically and holistically' the 'relevant decisions, strategies, and actions'. They displayed a virtuoso knowledge of the situation, but because their virtuosity lies in embodied actions, experiences, senses, the embodiment of the game allowed for a virtuoso display of their virtuosity. The women's playing of the game had two layers of virtuosity: what they knew and knowing how to communicate it through acting.

The women transported us into the real life situation of a mugging through the fictional improvisation of the game. Not trained as actors, the power of the game as a piece of theatre – to compel, convince, create the resonance of recognition, communicate the power dynamics and affectual experience of that situation – came from their deep knowledge of the everyday moment

[28] Stanislavsky's system for acting developed in the early twentiteth century is considered a foundational force in the realism of modern theatre. Using his method, actors imaginatively embed themselves in the 'given circumstances' of their character's world in order to play their situations, personalities, actions and emotions with as much fidelity to 'real life' as possible. Lefebvre's proposition in *Rhythmanalysis*, to think through the rhythms of daily practices as they produce daily life, is just the kind of attentive research necessary to realise a Stanislavskian understanding of given circumstances to produce a character's intentions, actions and emotions in a play scene.

we were exploring. The theatre and performance game offered a suitable medium for communicating their knowledge.

In playing the *tsotsis* so convincingly the women could communicate their expert knowledge, expertly. In so doing they escaped their role as victim of a mugging situation, but they also escaped, momentarily, their daily roles. In a real life mugging or attempted mugging situation the women would be caught in their own role of possibly primarily, shock, fear, rage and then secondly, tactical defence. In verbal tellings of muggings they experienced personally, the women's role as target and their loss or near loss were always at the centre of the story. Their storytelling would hold insights into the mugger's motivations and tactics and into the geography of the situation. The women's tellings would also involve a verbal rehearsal of the rhythm of the whole incident as a critical way of processing and understanding the event – at what point they got distracted, when the assailant seized their moment and so on. The women's verbal storytellings however were the analysis the expert applies after the event, rather than allowing an expression of the women's full expertise.

In acting out a scene as a *tsotsi*, the women became the protagonist in the scene that freed them from their role in the moment of an actual mugging and their role as victim in a retelling of a mugging experience. They were both in the situation as the *tsotsi*, but also invoking the entirety of their sense of the situation with the material available to them. In playing the *tsotsi* game the women became virtuoso actors, both enabled by and showing off their expertise in our subject of inquiry. This enabling and showing off of expertise not only conveyed information about a mugging situation, it gave the women authority over the mugging situation, authority in the sense of authoring a story *and* in the sense of power.

That we were playing the game within Bienvenu, did something in terms of the women's roles in the Shelter context itself. Through the game they were freed from being mugging targets, but also from being themselves in Bienvenu. They were liberated momentarily from their macro-

defined roles (single mother, poor female refugee) and their micro-scale shifting roles within the world of the Shelter (mother to particular children, carer for friends' children, cook, cleaner, the quiet one, the noisy one, the one with new-born baby, most recently arrived, been there the longest etc.).

Richard Schechner speaks of the 'not me…not not me' in the space afforded by a workshop or rehearsal process (2010: 110). When I play a character I am not actually that character, but I am also not not that character. When I play a character I am not myself, but I am also not not myself. The women in the fiction of the *tsotsi* scenes were not the *tsotsis*, but also not not the '*tsotsis*'. They were not themselves in the mugging situation (the target); they were not themselves in a macro sense of the Shelter or the mugging situation (single mother, poor female refugee); they were not themselves in their institutional identity (reliable at duties, three children); they were not themselves in a momentary identity (worried about youngest child with fever, just had cross words with the housemother), but they were also not not these things. The women used the '*tsotsi*' character to create a fictive world based on real-life experience. Through the game they were both liberated from the many aspects of their identities, at the same time as they carried their identities with them.

The sharing of knowledge, the playing of the expert in turn, did something more for the group as a whole as well as its individual members through the collective elaboration of meaning (Bishop, 2006: 12). It let us all feel the high stakes of the situations represented, but because they were fictional, because they were representations, there was a humour, a freedom, an imagining. The game allowed for another kind of 'not not' where reality and its consequences were acknowledged and felt, yet a gap was opened up to escape reality; to momentarily loosen the weight of its consequences. We were not escaping the reality of mugging, but we were also not not escaping the reality of mugging. The moment was only in a moment and in a delicate balance

between fiction and reality. The success of the fiction depended on a resonant representation of the reality and the conceit of the fiction offered a liberating flight from reality.

It was this delicate balance Toni identified when she said she was concerned the game was losing its containment, seeing Jessica chase and mock beat Fuseelah. Toni observed a potential tipping point where the fiction might convey too much of the real for performers to not slip into the reactive rage of the real-life mugging target. Conversely, too much self-consciousness of the fiction and there would be no reality to hook onto, we would stop caring altogether and neither expert knowledge would be conveyed nor would there be the potential moment of freedom from its weight.

Coda to Becoming *Tsotsis*

In June of 2015 I was away for two conferences, presenting on my research so far. Baeletsi was running the Bienvenu sessions on her own. The children were always a constant, but the women's attendance was unreliable. When Baeletsi arrived one Monday evening, nearly every woman was ready and waiting for 'Bamburi'[29], as everyone referred to the drama workshops. Baeletsi saw that all the management and administrative staff were still around even though it was five o'clock. As she collected the workshop register from the housemother, Bontle Masheshe, she said to Baeletsi, 'You see these women are such *tsotsis*. They know there's a meeting tonight and they want to show Sister Maria[30] and everyone how good they are.' (Tsatsi, personal communication 2015, 4 July). At the time we thought this reflected Bontle's othering of the Bienvenu women; her irritable bossiness with them to stick to the rules and the paternalism of the institution. The women are assisted with shelter, food, asylum-seeking assistance, counselling, skills-development and English lessons, but

[29] The name everyone at Bienvenu used to refer to the weekly workshops, taken from a Kenyan chant we used at the start of each session.
[30] The director of Bienvenu, a Catholic nun of the Scalibrian order. The Scalibrian sisters founded Bienvenu with support from the Catholic church in 2001 (Bienvenu, 2017).

the cost is the reasonably benign, but nonetheless somewhat infantalising rules of the house. The rules are policed by management and, most directly by the housemother[31]. Over time, as her comment stuck with me, I started to feel that this nomination of *tsotsis* was something evocatively expressive of a way in which the women were preserving their own autonomy within a paternalistic institution.

Being a *tsotsi* spoke of de Certeau's theorisation around the French concept of 'la perruque', where an employee does their own work 'disguised' as work for the employer during work time on the employer's premises and using the employer's equipment (1988: 25). De Certeau expands on this concept to suggest that 'everyday tactics' are the '"ordinary" art' of making something for yourself within the broader economic system (28). Bontle's use of *tsotsi* suggested that the women were finding ways to 'work the system' of Bienvenu. They performed an interest in the workshops for management to make a good impression that they could use as leverage when needing to negotiate for transport or food allowances, assistance with Home Affairs or finding a job. Rather than confronting the institution head on with their frustrations at the rules, they were using what resources Bienvenu could offer and strategically finding ways to defend at least some moments of personal freedom. Only some of these 'la perruque' moments were visible to Baeletsi and me: sneaking a nap in the day (not allowed) and making use of the workshops as a babysitting service to slip out and conduct errands unencumbered by toddlers.

Of course *tsotsi* carries pejorative connotations – a thief, a gangster, immoral, violent, desperate. But it also signals other skills, independent of these morally censorious connotations – living by your wits, finding ways to manage poverty, a claiming of a certain personal power rather

[31] Unsurprisingly, our view of Bontle shifted as we got to know her better. She had many moments of sudden generosity and tenderness towards the women and I came to understand her cross manner as a superficial defence against the many demands she was fielding from different managers, residents and children. She would often respond with a loud, 'Hey?' to any question or request, followed by a forceful monologue, hard to follow in speed and logic, with only a tenuous link to the initial question. Bontle was a *tsotsi* herself, in the way discussed below, tactically defending herself from the demands of her job with a bullish manner.

than being overwhelmed by oppression. I do not mean to flatten the hardships and complexity of people living by petty or violent acts of theft, rather I am pointing to what the stereotype of the *tsotsi* signals – a 'gangster' in the sense of a criminal, but also 'a gangster' in the popular culture sense of someone who will not be defeated or succumb to authority. A *tsotsi* who proceeds through the world with a brave and brazen sense of their own agential actions. In the *tsotsi* improvisation, the women enacted all these things – the desperation of needing to steal, the wit and brazenness to do so. Bontle's comment that the women were '*tsotsis*' suggests that this wit and sense of empowerment was not only in the moment of the workshops, but something the women were already enacting in the small moments of their real lives.

To return to Schechner, he writes of 'restored behaviour' – performing behaviour from your own past or from the past of others. He suggests the following: 'Restored behaviour offers to both individuals and groups the chance to become what they once were – or even, and most often, to rebecome what they never were but wish to have been or wish to become' (Schechner, 2010: 38). Schechner's observation relates to what Augusto Boal, theatre of the oppressed founder and collaborator with Paulo Freire, terms as theatre offering a 'rehearsal for life' (1992; See also Thompson, 2012). In a rehearsal space you can try out identities and actions in preparation for shifting your behaviour in real life, to become what you 'wish to have been or wish to become' (Schechner, 2010: 38). Boal, like Freire, is one of the canonical voices in thinking and practice around participatory processes, theatre specifically. In many ways, the work we were doing with Bienvenu related closely to Boal's forum theatre and we drew on many of his exercises. However the women were not 'rehearsing for life' in the workshops, rather they were sharing intuitive knowledges, actions and agencies they were already in possession of.

The workshops afforded moments of creating a new space to engage with different potentialities momentarily, but they were only a formal forum for demonstrating how the women were already finding moments of exercising different ways of being in their lives. These actions and

moments were largely unacknowledged. Or when they were, it was in the belittling and judgemental implication of Bontle's *tsotsis* comment. However, even though Bontle did not intend this meaning, the *tsotsi* stereotype was in a sense a term to encapsulate a generalisable theoretical knowledge of tactics and how to employ them. The women were already (always already?) 'becoming other' (not the female refugee victim) and 'becoming otherwise' (resisting authority, carving their own small moments owned by them as individuals) (Sitas, 2015: 17, 18).

KNOT 2: MAKING HISTORY

January-November 2016, every Monday, 13:30-14:30, two 07:30 assemblies (one in winter; one in summer) and a Friday lunch at the Joburg Cricket Club. The workshops with the Bertrams Junior School Grade 3's and 4's in 2016 centred around developing a short play on the area and the school's history. The idea was for the children to dialogue with the history of Bertrams in relation to their experiences of the neighbourhood today.

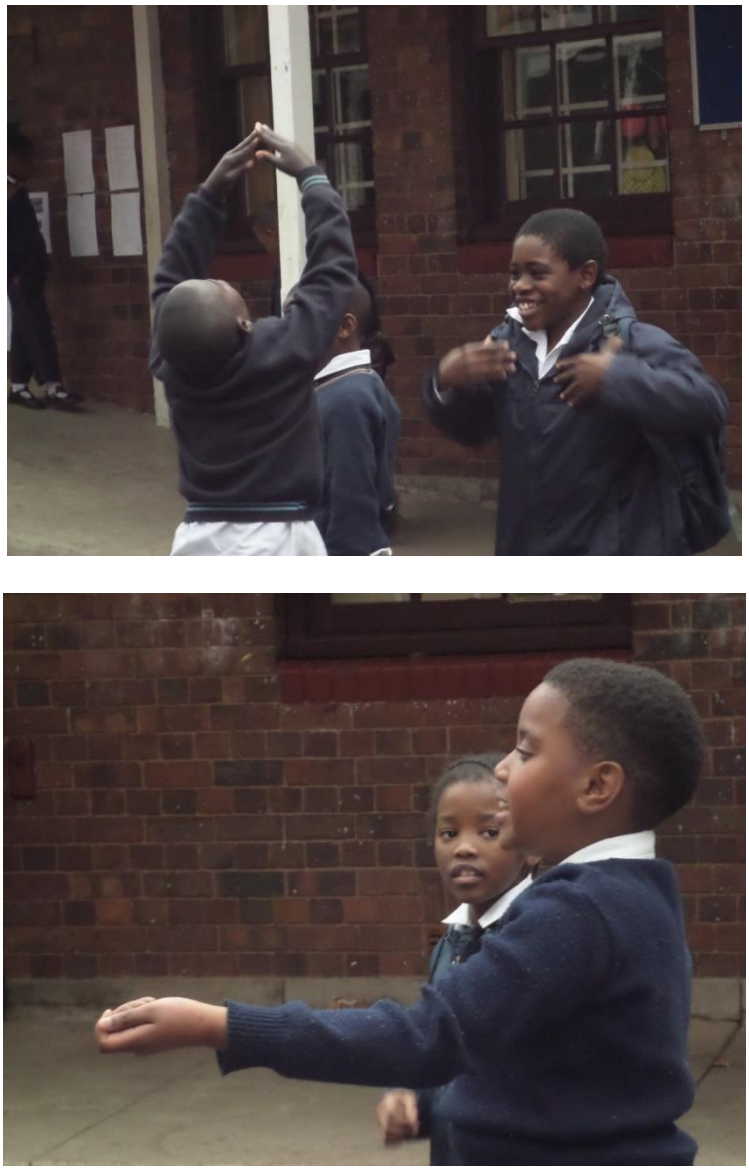
In the first term I used Drama in Education techniques to guide the learners through acting out the major characters and events that formed Bertrams as a suburb. Drama in Education is a system of using drama as a learning tool, developed most significantly from the 1950s onwards by English educationalist and drama teacher, Dorothy Heathcote (See Johnson and O'Neill, 1984 and Heathcote and Bolton, 1995). When using Drama in Education (DIE), the teacher introduces the subject for exploration through a combination of talking and visual aids. The teacher then enrols the learners as players within the imagined field of that particular subject – explorers in the tundra, scientists diving to the bottom of the ocean or, in our case, various figures in the early history of Johannesburg. The teacher facilitates the group through an imaginary investigation of that time and space and the educational focus to be explored within it (Heathcote and Bolton, 1995: 15-25). The intention is that through imagination and play the children become involved in embodied interactive learning. They draw on their own experiences to create the imaginary world and they

encounter the experiences of others (Heathcote, 1984: 91). Together, the learners co-create new experiences to facilitate all kinds of learning, factual and conceptual (91). Using a DIE approach for the 2016 Bertrams Junior School workshops extended the kinds of intersubjective worldings we had been making in the initial October-December 2015 workshops with the learners' routes to school as discussed in Chapter 4.

After our initial physical and vocal warm-up games, I would start each session with a brief oral telling of the period of history we would be dealing with that day and show the learners historical pictures from that particular era. Then we would all act out the piece of history as I narrated each stage and asked the learners to offer actions and characters to support the verbal narration. Working in this way, the children had something of an embodied experience of the history informing their contemporary moment (Massey's 'stories-so-far') as well as an opportunity to insert embodied experiences from their own lives into the history we were exploring – experiences like growing vegetables, building houses, digging, street vendors selling wares, seeing people drink in taverns.

My offerings were not only verbal. There were gestures and cultural practices that the history touched on which were not immediately known to the children. Since we first started working together in 2015 I had been including some basic mime movements in the physical warm-up. In the October-December 2015 sessions I thought knowing how to mime walking, opening doors and the holding of solid objects would be useful tools for the learners to tell the stories of their own experiences. In 2016, I added some gestures they might already know, but which would be helpful to have formalised into a mime language: opening a tap and filling a bucket, digging with a pick. I added some actions that were entirely new to them, like panning for gold. After it was founded in 1889, Bertrams quickly became a predominantly Jewish suburb and remained that way until the 1960s. I taught the children the Jewish hymn, 'Hiney Matov' and asked them to invent

movements to it. We were storytelling a history together, but also building a vocabulary of shared gestures, songs and dances to keep retelling the history.



Figures 26: Tsatsi (2016). Finding gestures for the Bertrams history play with Bertrams Junior School learners [photograph].

We focused mainly on the urbanisation of the Witwatersrand and how that led to the formation of Bertrams as a suburb. We had an initial session offering a vague sense of wilderness with small Sotho settlements pre-1800 and the Transvaal farmland of the 1800s, but then worked in quite a detailed way from 1886 onwards when George Harrison discovered gold on Langlaagte farm, where

the western suburbs of Johannesburg are today (South African History Online, 2017). Johannesburg established as a mining town, I introduced Robertson Fuller Bertram. He was the estate agent and stockbroker who leased farmland from the Bezuidenhout family in 1889 to start the suburb of Bertrams by selling 350 plots of land to affluent, early Johannesburgers. We charted the history of Bertrams to the present day with reference to major historical events that affected the area's development. These events included: the Mayor of Johannesburg, Maurice Freeman's forced removal of all black, coloured and Asian people from Bertrams in the 1930s; apartheid legislation in 1948; civil wars in Angola and Mozambique; increasing intensity of anti-apartheid protest in the 80s; Nelson Mandela's release in 1990 and the first democratic elections in 1994. Along the way the children played, among other things: farmers, plants, vegetables, fruits, horses, all sorts of farm animals, prospectors, shopkeepers, mine owners, mine labourers, wealthy wives of mine owners, seams of gold in the rock-bed, the Witwatersrand, houses, mayors, homeowners, tenants, children, worshippers, voters and themselves.

Midway through the second term we had worked ourselves up to the present day. In the second term of 2016 I wrote a script as a starting point for the history play, drawing on my sense of the learners' idiom for dialogue. We started to block the play, performing the lines call and response style. Baeletsi and I asked the children to propose actions for each phrase. We drew partly on the shared physical vocabulary described above, but we also developed new gestures along the way. We would ask the children to propose gestures, look at a range of suggestions and pick one (or more if possible) to incorporate into the blocking. Baeletsi and I were primarily editors and the children were primarily authors of the material. It was rare that they had no suggestion at all for some kind of physical representation of a word and when this did happen, Baeletsi or I would provide one. As we worked the learners made changes to the lines organically. I edited the script each week with these changes which we would rehearse in the next session.

In the third term we revised what we had rehearsed in the second term and I finally handed out scripts for the children to take home and consolidate their learning by heart. In the third week of the third term we performed for the whole school at 07:30 in assembly, after several postponements due to a cold snap. Words-by-heart went out the window, gestures trailed off in shyness and self-doubt and the learners looked fixedly at Baeletsi and me for cues, paying little attention to their audience of peers. However, it was a start and a first public showing. The principal was delighted and said could we keep rehearsing it because she would love to have it as a showcase for funders. She also asked if we could separate out the history of the school from the history of Bertrams instead of having the two intertwined in the chronology of the area's history.

Figure 27: Tsatsi (2016). Working with the script for the Bertrams history play [photograph].

We used the workshop sessions for the rest of the third term to develop and rehearse a performance by the children for *Izithombe 2094*. In the fourth term we resumed work on the history play. I changed the structure as Mrs Twala requested. I also inserted more on the Portuguese immigrant history of the area, at Toni Morkel's suggestion that this was a gap, and added some oral history details I had gathered through interviews with locals/former locals from the *Izithombe 2094* process. In the first session of the fourth term we all sat in a circle, working through the dialogue phrase by phrase, asking the learners to put it into their own words. Mostly

this equated to a translation, isiZulu frequently the go-to, but we encouraged, and got, translations in: French, Nigerian slang and, from Eastern Cape learners, isiXhosa. There were also suggestions for rephrasing in English, but mainly the English editing I deduced from the organic changes the learners made in rehearsals. Baeletsi put in some Setswana and Afrikaans and I asked a Portuguese friend to translate the sections on the Portuguese history into Portuguese.

We started work on the new script and increased the number of gestures to one per word, in the hope that this would help the learners remember the words, but mainly to keep them fully engaged in the telling with their whole bodies. The work in this final rehearsal phase required committing the score of the piece to our memories – not just the children's, but mine and Baeletsi's too. At this stage I felt the most consistently how we were co-creating the performance. In order to prompt them with gestures as well as words, as facilitators we could no more be reading the script than the children could. Constantly trying to keep one step ahead of what was coming next, there were so many moments of failure where we would all look at one another to remember where we were in the score and sometimes Pierre, sometimes Zeta, sometime Baeletsi, sometimes I would remember and supply the next line and gesture. It was also at this stage that the peculiarity of each person's performance started to come through: Zeta's mayor having a comic pomposity; Sophia's Fancy Lady being particularly sassy; Thabile and Thando, same height, looking alike and both being reliably precise in their gestures and words.

Figure 28: Tsatsi (2016). Rehearsing the Bertrams history play with Bertrams Junior School learners [photograph].

The founder and chairperson of the Joburg Cricket Club, run from a cricket oval attached to the Bertrams Inner City Farm, asked us to perform at their annual event for corporate CEOs[32]. We walked from the school to the cricket oval at lunchtime on Friday, 18 November, and performed the play on the clubhouse patio for the invited guests. Two weeks later on Friday, 2 December, we performed the play again in the 07:30 assembly for the whole school.

Relational Meshworks and Power Dynamics in Making History

The work of making the Bertrams history play was iterative, invited participatory contributions, was open to change and structured to include daily knowledge from the now of Bertrams. However, it was not particularly radical in its relationship to history. The script sketched major historical moments as defined by city policy (Mayor Maurice Freeman's forced removals of black, coloured and Asian people out of Bertrams in 1930); economic activity (Robertson Fuller Bertrams selling farmland for suburban plots) and political changes that had a marked statistical impact on the population of the area (apartheid, Mozambican and Angolan civil wars; the relaxing of the pass laws in the 1980s). It offered brief glimpses into tactics of everyday resistance (white people in Bertrams renting out their back rooms to black, coloured and Asian people post 1930) and everyday practices (market gardening; worship at the Kimberley Road synagogue; winemaking from home by the Portuguese residents). Yet finally the play offered a broad strokes, conventional history of the area, with a liberally-minded political slant. The grand historical narrative of the play enabled it to engage

[32] The Johannesburg Cricket Club is a charitable organisation that was founded in 2010 in the wake of development projects in the area for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. A group of civically-minded former struggle activists took the opportunity to convert an empty field into a cricket oval and the adjacent two bowling greens into a market garden. The bowling greens and field are directly across the road from the Ellis Park sporting complex which hosted World Cup Soccer games. The bowling greens are now the Bertrams Inner City Farm. The connected cricket oval is used by the Joburg Cricket Club, where local children learn and play cricket every Saturday morning. The cricket oval is also connected to the Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre, a council-managed hall on the Fuller Street and Thames Road side of the cricket oval (Govender, personal communication 2016, 21 August; see also: http://joburgcricket.club/).

with the larger meshwork of actors and power dynamics of the area. But the process of theatre making also allowed for explorations of smaller meshworks of relationality in Bertrams as well as the affectual textures of the space becoming place within the grand historical narrative.

I chose to focus on the macro version of Bertrams history because I wanted to work with the learners through the major causes that had shaped the city space of Bertrams and not remain only in a micro view of daily encounters and personal histories. This move was in keeping with Adele Clarke's proposal of situational analysis to consider all the forces, micro, meso and macro that contribute to the 'research situation' (Clarke, 2005: xxii); the meshwork constructing ever-evolving space. In turning to Bertrams history in the 2016 workshops to engage Massey's 'stories so far' (2005), focusing on the narratives of historical figures from the area or personal testimonies from older, former residents of Bertrams would have kept the work in the micro view of daily life, both historically and in the children's responses to the history.

Instead the workshops focused on exploring major changes over time that boldly shaped the space the children were currently inhabiting. We could then see how daily actions were influenced by the major changes and what kinds of changes the daily actions had on the construction of space. How did Bertrams go from being farmland to a suburb? Gold was found, Johannesburg became a mining town and Robertson Fuller Bertram sold plots of land from the Bezuidenhout's farm. How did Bertrams go from being farmland to a suburb? Because of macro actions just described, individual people bought land, they hired other individual people to build houses. How did Bertrams go from being farmland to a suburb? Because of the meso actions just described, individuals laid bricks, mixed cement, plastered walls to build houses. The macro history offered a structure to engage the relationship between macro forces and micro daily actions.

Telling the history through theatre and performance demanded of every child an imaginative journey through the body to experience the range of scale in historical events and the relationship between different scales. The bricklayer did not remain in their minds, but had to be

made through the mimed actions involved in building a wall. We employed two kinds of learning and knowledge sharing: what were the physical actions performed over a hundred years ago to build the houses we walk/drive past now? What do I know, now in 2016, about the actions that go into building a wall? The theatre and performance games of the workshops asked the children to bring their own knowledge of bricklaying to bear on the work, the imaginative work, of learning how Bertrams changed from farmland to built environment in the 1890s. We were linking the daily life of now to the daily life of the past, under the narrative heading describing a macro force: 'Gold Rush and Property Development'.

In terms of Ingold's meshwork, as a way of understanding Massey's space as constructed from multiple trajectories (from past through to present), we were engaging not only in the meshwork of the now, but the meshwork of the now connected to the past. On one level the work of the Bertrams history Drama in Education sessions and the resulting history play was to understand how the past had made the present. But in practice the work was cyclical rather than unidirectional: we used the micro actions of the present to understand the daily actions of the past which made the present of Bertrams what it is. We engaged the performances of everyday life that through their repetition and shifts in repetition both sustain and change space, while holding an awareness that these daily performances happened as a result of major actions; as a result of more 'global causes' (Latour, 2005: 131).

The global causes and micro actions were critically not only of the present moment. We were engaging Ferdinand Braudel's longue durée – taking the 'history of long…duration' (2009: 174) into account in understanding how the present moment comes to be what it is. Which is, of course, a critical part of Massey's proposition with the 'stories so far' making space (2005).

The cyclical engagement of past and present daily actions in the process of making, rehearsing and performing the play was not explicitly evident to an audience watching the play. The play's grand narrative was most obviously the grand history narrative of Bertrams. Khanyisile Twala,

the principal of the school, was excited about the play as a possible showcase for funders because it was a neat package of the major historical trajectory of the area and the school. The play communicated the history with a liberal political tone – covering the hardships of racial segregation under apartheid, a positivist account of the end of apartheid and the start of South African democracy. The play concluded by celebrating the racial, ethnic and national diversity in the school. It fulfilled the double function of communicating the school's heritage value as an institution and demonstrating the children's own knowledge of and engagement with local history. The play would also showcase the learners as grounded in liberal politics through their schooling. Because the play dealt with macro forces, it gave us the principal's buy-in to keep rehearsing and refining it with the group and meant she readily gave permission for us to perform at the Joburg Cricket Club. But it also meant she engaged more with the content of the play than she might have done had we presented more fragmented, daily life material.

Figures 29: Tsatsi (2016). Colliding trajectories, everyday, historical and theatrical – making the Bertrams history play play with Bertrams Junior School learners [photograph].

The chairperson of the Joburg Cricket Club asked us to do a performance for their annual corporate CEO event, because many of the children at Bertrams Junior School were part of the Cricket Club. His interest was in the affectual impact of a chorus of children dong *any* kind of performance. He was not particularly invested in the play being a history play. Just the presence of the children would tug on the heartstrings of the business executives at the event and evidence the children as the group the Joburg Cricket Club is working with[33]. But, in the context of the Joburg Cricket Club's corporate CEO event, *my* investment was in the power of the learners telling a grand narrative history of Bertrams.

The children told a history through baldly talking about race, class, religion, nationality and state-instituted racism, property speculation, civil war, political activism. For the fifteen minutes it took them to perform the play, they were the authorities over a section of Johannesburg's history that was possibly unknown or partially unknown or only partially remembered by the business people in the audience. I use authority here in three senses of the word. They held the power in that moment as the 'authorised' (recognised, acknowledged, accredited as in to be believed) tellers of the history. They were also authoring as in writing or, to express more fully the embodied craftwork of making and performing a play, 'wroughting' the history the play dealt with. Therefore, finally, in the third sense of authority, the cast owned the history they were telling.

The performative act of having the children tell the Bertrams history to a patio full of corporate CEOs was an inversion of macro power dynamics. For the duration of the play representatives of one of the globally marginalised and vulnerable groups, children from poor or working class backgrounds, had the ears and eyes of adult representatives of one of the globally powerful forces, corporate capital. If the history the children told had been their own personal

[33] Many of the children doing drama were also involved in the Cricket Club.

stories, or small narratives of historical Bertrams individuals, their authority in the moment of performance would have been over micro-scale 'stories so far'. Instead, in telling the grand historical narrative the learners gained authority over the macro-scale 'stories so far' through performing the play. In keeping with the play devising and rehearsal process, the performance achieved an interplay between scales. To put it crudely, where performing at the Joburg Cricket Club might have given the powerless (realm of influence: micro-scale) a moment of power over the powerful (realm of influence: macro-scale) by authorising micro-scale narratives, the narratives of the powerless; instead the performance gave the powerless a moment of power over the powerful by authorising macro-scale narratives; the narratives of the powerful. Though of course the children are no more entirely powerless, than the corporate CEO's are absolute in their powerfulness. But the point remains that because the Bertrams history play was a grand historical narrative, the children not only assumed an authority over history through their performance, but also an authority over an historical narrative outside of what is normally presumed to be their realm of influence.

What is more, the performative act of the children performing the history and in that moment becoming the authorities on it, was underpinned by a process of them co-authoring the play. I intended for the playmaking process to give the children more authority in relation to the grand historical narrative of Bertrams *and* to allow them to weave their knowledges of everyday life into the grand narrative. If I had given the children a set script and Baeletsi and I had prescribed all the blocking, doing the play at the Joburg Cricket Club would not have lost the performative realisation of the learners' authority. By knowing the script and blocking by heart; by understanding what they were saying; by performing the play with their bodies and voices the children would still have taken an ownership over the history and been its authority for the duration of the play. However, for myself and Baeletsi as researchers, knowing the learners had collaborated in the

scripting, blocking and making of the play itself added another layer to the performative moment at the Joburg Cricket Club. Their 'final product' (Borgdorff, 2012: 24-25) performance was supported by a process also performative of increasing the children's authority.

In the devising and rehearsal process for the play we did not engage explicitly the macro-forces now, in 2016, influencing the daily performances and gestural actions that are shaping Bertrams as a space. There were small moments in the workshop sessions where these macro-forces came up and which could be named because of the naming of macro-forces that we did in the play. One example stands out for me. The children often fought to be the one to hold my hand in the circle we made for various games. One day in June 2016, I said off-handedly and with some acted-out exasperation, 'Why is it so special to hold *my* hand?' Nthabiseng Moloi said, 'It's because you're white!' I do not know for sure, but I suspect that the frank use of 'black', 'coloured', 'white', 'Indian', 'Asian' in describing segregation policies in the play, gave Nthabiseng the licence to name racial difference as it evidenced and impacted in this small moment of her everyday life. However, the performance at the Joburg Cricket Club offered a major opportunity for engaging some of the macro-forces shaping contemporary Bertrams, because the learners performed a historical grand narrative for representatives of corporate South Africa who are key players in the contemporary grand narrative of the area.

The performance at the Joburg Cricket Club was also an opportunity for the Bertrams history play to engage with the 'meso level' meshwork of Bertrams (Clarke, 2005: xxix). Where the children's daily routes are the micro level, state and city policies and corporate capital are macro level, Bertrams Junior School, the Joburg Cricket Club and local Bertrams businesses (also ward councillors, city departments intervening directly in the area) are at the middle or 'meso' level in a hierarchy of forces impacting on Bertrams spaces. While the theatre and performance process could work between the micro and macro scale of space shaping forces, how the play might engage

dialogue between these hierarchies in the meshwork of contemporary Bertrams outside of the workshop sessions was questionable. The Joburg Cricket Club's chairperson's invitation to perform and Mrs Twala's investment in the play off the back of the school performance afforded the work an opportunity to connect to the meso level players in Bertrams placemaking. These performances also connected the macro level actors of corporate South Africa that thread through to meso level structures and on to micro level individual daily practices. On a superficial level the theatrical nature of the work allowed for this opportunity because it presented itself as a cultural performance for public consumption. However, once 'bought' or given a platform for staging, the embodied, immediate, ephemeral, repetitive, fictive-drawing-on-the-real nature of theatre allowed the history play to performatively move between the hierarchies of the meshwork of Bertrams as we had been able to do within the weekly workshops themselves.

CONCLUSION

In terms of the Bienvenu group, this chapter has delineated how an aspect of the theatre and performance workshops connected to the women's daily expertise and granted them greater authority – in the sense of power and storytelling – over the trope of the mugging situation in their daily lives. Through actively engaging and broadcasting their expertise the workshops highlighted how the women were tactically engaging power dynamics in other areas of their lives to 'become other' (Sitas, 2013), both outside the workshops and beyond the threat of or an actual mugging situation.

In terms of the Bertrams Junior School workshops this chapter delineated how the making of the Bertrams history play allowed the learners to work between the micro and macro scales of relationality that compose Bertrams as place. The micro and macro scales applied not only to the contemporary moment but also across the '*longue durée*' of the last one hundred and thirty years

in Bertrams history (Braudel, 2009). Performatively, this work of the playmaking process gave the learners moments of authority over the history and forces of power, micro to macro, that contribute to shaping their daily lives in Bertrams.

This chapter offers only a partial account of the research project's participatory theatre and performance based workshops with Bertrams Junior School and Bienvenu Refugee Shelter. And yet, like the title of the final play that came out of the process, *Izithombe 2094*, the 'pictures' offered here go a fair way to giving a sense of the relational meshworks the workshops engaged and the power dynamics across micro to macro scales they revealed. On the one hand there is the impossibility of covering *all* the moments in a year's worth of work with the two institutions and on the other hand there is the impossibility of providing sufficient detail to adequately convey the fullness of a *single* moment in the process. A 'picture' must suffice where so much is incommensurable; impossible to account for.

Cultural anthropologist, Kathleen Stewart is critically concerned with the concept of 'worlding', and the incommensurability and precarity she sees as attendant to worlding (2012). Much like Massey's sense of space as ever becoming through a multiplicity of stories so far, Stewart's worlds are both momentary and full. The fullness of the moment of each worlding makes it unmeasurable and each worlding is precarious because it is only realised in a moment. Stewart proposes precarity is 'one register of the singularity of emergent phenomena – their plurality, movement, imperfection, immanence, incommensurateness, the way they accrete, accrue, and wear out' (2012: 518). The 'emergent phenomena' are worldings: singular, full, active, momentary realisations of potentialities or multiple potentialities. Stewart's worldings are Massey's space where space is people, objects, landscape, histories, affectual charges and concrete actions all colliding to make a particular 'now'. If precarity is 'one register' for these worldings, these sudden moments of something like place emerging out of all the space making trajectories, then another

register implicit in the term ‘worlding’ is robustness. Worldings are robust by the fullness of their realisation in the moment and precarious by their momentariness.

The next chapter starts to consider how a playmaking process works with fragments or worldings of daily life and the fragments and worldings of a play research and devising process to create a piece of theatre that is ‘an assemblage of disparate and incommensurate things throwing themselves together in scenes, acts, encounters, performances, and situations’ (Stewart, 2012: 519). I discuss playmaking as an attempt to capture ‘culture’ (519) in the sense that Hall (1997), Chambers (1986) and de Certeau (1988), among others, conceive of it: culture as ways of living that make space; where the making of space agglomerates transiently into place.

CHAPTER 6: THE EVENT OF THE PLAY

> *On our horizon, the city and the* urban *are outlined as virtual objects, as projects of a synthetic reconstitution. (Lefebvre, 1996: 142, emphasis in original)*

This chapter deals with the making of *Izithombe 2094*. It considers the *Izithombe 2094* playmaking process up to the first dress rehearsal and starts to elaborate my argument for the productive combination of theatre as artistic practice as research, urban studies and public art. Chapter 7 continues the argument through reflection on the two public runs of the play.

The research intention for the project's final play was to see how a piece of theatre as participatory public art might communicate our – mine and the participants' – findings on the everyday of Bertrams to a broader public in a way that would engage audiences experientially and solicit audience participation. The theatre and performance based workshops were themselves a form of public art practice. However the 'professional' artistic value of the work and its broadcasting to the public were less important in the workshops than what theatre and performance as artistic practices could offer as participatory tools for co-elaborating knowledge about city spaces. The process of *Izithombe 2094* carried far more of an imperative towards a product which could stand as a 'professional' artwork in the public sphere.

The defining line between process and product is a blurred one because of the iterative processes of theatre making and practice as research, shifting in response to each iteration. The research spills in all directions. The research produces a product which produces more research which produces more products and so on, but within each phase there is more research than can be carried through to the next phase. What is more, the very act of embarking on the next phase almost immediately takes you in directions different to those you had anticipated on the basis of the previous phase. As Karin Knorr Cetina puts it in speaking about 'the practice turn' of research in relation to scientific laboratory practice, there is a 'lateral and angular branching off of strands of practice' and that research 'interest may turn elsewhere, that it jumps the rails of one line of

practice and continues on a different track in a somewhat different direction' (2006: 186). There is an excess of material in each phase. Each phase produces a new phase and the direction of the work comes out of unanticipated or unanticipatable 'libidinous' (186), intuitive choices by the researcher.

To be in an artistic process is to be in the realm of potentialities. Instead of attempting to name the artwork as resolved – sculpture unveiled or production open to the public, works that can be marketed, critiqued as fixed, stable products – artistic practice as research remains attentive to the process beyond the final product and within each phase of the process. What happens then? And then? And then? How is it received? How does it shift in each rehearsal? In each performance? What were all the things that happened in that moment of exploration or reception? How does it wear and weather? What might this sculpture, play, dance be becoming always and not just in the initial act of crafting it?

Yet, as Borgdorff emphasises the indispensability of artistic product to artistic process as research (2012: 24-25), he implies that the potentialities of process do have some form of grounding through this product. Space too grounds into what Massey terms the spatio-temporal events of place (2005: 130). As Thrift puts it, 'Thus we arrive at a notion of "site", as an active and always incomplete incarnation of event' (2008: 12). In Massey's place, Thrift's site and Borgdorff's 'final product' (2012: 24-25) two things are held in tension: on the one hand, the realisation of something into an actual thing and not just a potentiality and on the other hand, the fleetingness of this realisation.

The event in this sense is Deleuze and Guattari's 'haecceity': a moment in time where 'the entire assemblage in its individuated aggregrate…is a haecceity' (1987: 262). Ingold describes an haeccceity as the 'gathering' or 'winding' of a body (2013: 96), where the body is not one subject, but the entire 'assemblage' of the event. This is 'five o'clock in the evening' where animal, human,

sunlight, street, wind, season are all the individuated 'event' of that moment (263). An event is the resolution of the potentialities into a defined form, but only by the agglomeration of trajectories in a moment in time and space which almost immediately disperses, moves on and out of the event. Kurgan's year-long *Hotel Yeoville* installed in the Yeoville public library was a substantial moment of 'individuation' for her artistic research, as *Izithombe 2094* was a substantial moment of 'individuation' for my research work in Bertrams. They were 'the events' that grounded out of the potentialities of two particular arcs of artistic practice as research in response to 'the events' of place.

The concept of event allows this research project to take the consequences of the event seriously as a definite 'thing', while still acknowledging its precarity. If an event is characterised by both thing-ness and ephemerality, as well as by its realisation of a moment in time and space between the trajectories of actors (in the Latourian, not thespian sense) then a play is an exemplary 'event'. A play is the drawing together of actors, props, set, audience to participate together in an activity at the same time in the same space. A play is to coalesce the stories so far (of audience, actors, props, set) into a single story in a unity of time and space, that disperses at the end of each performance and finally at the end of the run of the play.

The event of the play then is a story of stories and the making of that story requires a process of editing. Out of all the potentialities in our becoming, certain ones are selected to construct the event and the event grounds, momentarily, as the realisation of one set of potentialities at the cost of all the others. Of all the potential paths that could cut across an open erf, one emerges through the daily performance of walking by people, in which they assess which is the most direct route, the least choked with vegetation and so on. A play is made through a process of proposing images, actions, characterisations, styles of delivery, set and costume designs. If the play is scripted, the theatre ensemble make offers of how to say the lines and what to cut. If the

play is devised, the theatre ensemble propose and select lines and scenes. The play resolves into a production made of decisions in relation to all these proposals: I will play the character like this; with this intention and this gesture in this costume rather than that one; with the blocking we have settled on, navigating the finalised set.

In both cases something defined emerges through the selection process: *this* play, *this* path. In both cases there is constant improvisation within the structure: I stick to the blocking and choice of intention for lines, but they are subtly different each evening as I react anew to my fellow actors, props, set, etc. I walk the path, but sometimes I veer to the left side of it and sometimes I walk on the grass next to it when there is not room for two of us abreast. And lastly, in both cases the event can be derailed, changed, brought to a close suddenly or gradually over time. The council fences off the erf and we cannot use the path – it grows over, foundations are dug, a building is built (a new event). The run of the play finishes; we do a second run in a different context and have to change our choices. This chapter looks at the process of selection that grounded all the potentialities for what the final play as participatory public artwork for my research project could have been into the event that was *Izithombe 2094*. The playmaking process expressed something of Stewart's motion of throwing towards a moment of place (2012: 519) in Bertrams in 2016, but it was also itself a motion of throwing towards a moment of place – a play-place.

The process of *Izithombe 2094* had three phases:

- Research: working with the materiality of everyday Bertrams through a series of tasks and prompts which required observation, engagement through encounter and response through artistic medium.
- Dramaturgy: a process of crafting the material from the research phase into a play. The dramaturgy phase is characterised by selection – what stays in the play and what goes – and weaving the selected material together to build images, narrative,

meaning and affect. This phase includes rehearsal to realise and refine the full expression of images, narrative, meaning and affect.

- Performing for the public/ the final product/ the event: performing for the public continues the work of the rehearsal, but now in relation to the audience as an additional set of actors (here in the thespian sense, but it could just as well be in the Latourian).

Each of the three phases, however, were not discretely sequential. In the middle of our final run of *Izithombe 2094*, I was conducting interviews and including the audio from the interviews in the play's accompanying exhibition. As soon as we started rehearsals on the street, we had begun the public performances and the official public performances were also an ongoing rehearsal. So although there was a nominal sequence of activities in the planning of the playmaking and in the order in which this thesis analyses them, in practice all the activities were threaded throughout the process from the first research and devising session to the final performance. The rest of this chapter deals with the first two phases, Chapter 7 deals with performing for the public.

RESEARCH TOWARDS A PLAY – WORK WITH AND RESPOND

Figure 30: Halligey (2016). Early rehearsals: finding views on Bertrams [photograph].

From the middle of July 2016 I started full-time rehearsals with two professional actors, Toni Morkel and Lindiwe Matshikiza, and Baeletsi Tstatsi. Baeletsi was also the assistant director, my research assistant and had been co-facilitating the theatre and performance based workshops. The first three weeks were devoted to research. The intention of the play research phase was to generate artistic material in response to the materiality of the Bertrams everyday, from which we could structure a play to be performed in the public spaces of Bertrams. This phase involved the following main activities:

- Exposing the professional cast to the material on the daily life of Bertrams that Baeletsi and I had gathered from the workshops; from participant observation processes; from interviews we had conducted and from my own academic writing on the project so far. This material took the form of audio-recordings, short videos, written text, as well as mind maps and drawings that had come out of the workshop activities.
- For the cast to join in the facilitation of the theatre and performance based workshops for the duration of the rehearsal process.
- For us all to do a variety of tasks to further the research into everyday Bertrams and to start creating artistic material.

The research towards playmaking served two purposes. Firstly, we were finding ways of theatrically responding to the research material already produced through the workshops, my participation in the area and the interviews. Secondly, the cast members were conducting further research and making theatrical/performance material in response to their own research. The process increased the research data and produced more material in response to the data. Making theatrical/performance material was paradoxically generative but synthesising through a process of grounding the research data into the event of the work. We were engaged in a micro process of the

cycle of material engagements, potentialities, events and spillage described at the beginning of this chapter.

Figure 31: Halligey (2016). Baeletsi Tsatsi listening to research interviews in Twilsharp Studios rehearsal room [photograph].

Using the cast members to conduct further research and produce their own artistic responses was a way of providing a greater diversity of research engagement both in terms of research data and its interpretation. Lindiwe, Toni and Baeletsi extended the possibilities of research encounters beyond those which my particularity might elicit – particularity in race, age, socio-economic status, but also subtler characteristics like look, manner of speaking, personality. In addition, more and different people involved in the project afforded a diversity of interpretation of these knowledges – not one researcher, or two, but four researchers, each with subjective ways of responding to the knowledges they encountered. Of course this advantage is not specific to a playmaking process – a team of anthropologists or poets could have achieved a similar broadening of research encounters. However, the ensemble nature of theatre, that it is nearly always made through the collaboration of a team of people, provided a built in structure for diversifying the kinds of knowledges accessible through the creative research process and ways of interpreting that knowledge.

A cast of actor-researchers was in the interests of a participatory approach with the intent of a distributed authority (Bishop, 2006: 12). Although the nature of facilitating this distributed

authority in the research process of *Izithombe 2094* was in keeping with my approach to participation as outlined in Chapter 4. The cast engaged with research material curated by me (the archive so far). At the beginning of the rehearsal process especially, I asked them to experience my research methods, rather than to follow their own and I guided their creative processes through the limitations of tasks. Within that structure however, the actors had freedom as to *what* they chose to look at in the archive, *how* they chose to co-facilitate workshops, follow prompts for participant observation and interview people (and who they chose to interview) and *how* they chose to respond creatively within the broad restrictions I set. The structure for the process was by my design, but to illicit the cast's autonomous responses.

The purpose of this authored framework was for the cast to respond in two ways: to me as a theatre maker as researcher and to the everyday of Bertrams. Part of my intention in the playmaking research phase was to call on an ensemble of actors to audit my research process through their theatre making craft. The actors provided insights, critique and debate around the ethics and aesthetics of the work in terms of the play we were making and in terms of all the research methods I had been engaged in and was now asking them to practice. They joined me in debating through the playmaking how ethics and aesthetics might work together constructively, as Bishop proposes, to aim for a conceptually and affectively strong aesthetic (2012: 8) in both process and final product. They helped shape an aesthetic that would be held in tension with the ethical considerations of the co-production of knowledge and art with Bertrams' participants.

Figures 32: Halligey (2016). Bringing gestures back from street observations. Toni Morkel (left) and Lindiwe Matshikiza (right) [photographs].

I engineered the structure of our tasks according to the project's conceptual framework of a relational, vital materialist, everyday urbanism. Our first research exercise serves as a good example. We each started at a far corner of Bertrams with the task to walk back to Twilsharp Studios, actioning the following prompts:

- get a stranger to tell you a story
- find an object to bring back with you
- find a structure you can represent physically
- observe a gesture from either a human or an animal you can imitate
- draw something

The drawing prompt came from a workshop I did with Manuel Ramos on drawing as an ethnographic tool (Ramos, 2016) and the idea behind the drawing as method informed all the tasks above. Ramos developed the workshop inspired by Tim Ingold's work on the concept of the line (see Ingold, 2007, 2011, 2013). The drawing, as opposed to the photograph allows for the emergence of a picture, rather than the shutter-speed appropriation of the image in its entirety. The drawing is partial, slow to form, requires the sketcher to observe in detail. This process opens

up the opportunity for people seeing the sketcher to discuss, critique, offer insight, hear the sketcher's explanations of research intent. The sketcher's perspective of the scene develops through their correspondence with space through drawing. Drawing opens up the gap for what Ingold terms to 'look with' a world comprised of lines, 'Look with it, however, as a manifold of earth and sky, join in the movements of its formation, and lines are everywhere. For they are the very lines along which we and other creatures live' (2013: 136-137). All the initial playmaking tasks for *Izithombe 2094* were an invitation to join in the movements of Bertrams through sketching, whether it be with line drawings or the gestural, whole body medium of a theatre/performance sketch. The tasks intended to draw our attention through expressive media (drawing, mimesis) to the actions that build and are formed through relationality between actors (in the Latourian sense) and the affectual tones of the actions building relationships. Something like Toni's gesture of the dog swapping eyes to look through a crack in the fence revealed both the spatial configuration of animal and fence as well as the less articulable mood and feelings of a curious dog behind a rough fence.

Like our first exercise above, all the research phase rehearsal tasks were loaded with intent for structuring the kind of correspondence we engaged with in our playmaking. I used them to drive a vital materialist agenda to not be human-centred in our focus with the inclusion of objects, structures and animals. The tasks pushed us not only towards the sense that 'trees become flesh by being bound up in a practical field' (Thrift, 2008: 68), but to use our own bodies to express the fleshness and activity of trees, lampposts, people, animals, discarded hair braids. I also used the tasks to drive a non-representational agenda. The quality of the drawings, gestures, images we produced, did not have to realistically represent what we had encountered, but rather our artistic responses were to 'join in the movement' (Ingold, 2013: 136-137; see also Ingold, 2011: Keble College Lecture Series), where movement was both action and the mood of the action. The tasks

engaged different modes of embodied, sensually informed relationality: verbal (hear a story), physical (imitate a gesture), visual and fine motor physical (drawing), tactile (pick up an object). They got us engaged with the meshwork of Bertrams in a way that sought out as wide a range of actors (Latourian) and trajectories and ways of making those trajectories as possible.

Throughout the process we brainstormed on pieces of A2 newsprint stuck up onto my studio wall. We wrote down ideas for characters, costumes, stories, areas to be included in the routes, possible titles for the play, local facts, quotes from conversations and artistic interventions that could be incorporated into the final play. We were not to be restricted by budget, time or skills constraints in our imaginings – any idea could go up on the wall. We were also building up a list of all the different performance pieces we created in response to tasks along the way. Some of these were direct outcomes from a task – like a 'beach performance' Toni created in response to listening to the audio recordings of a Gerald Fitzpatrick House workshop on beach memories and fantasies. Other performances were composite choreographies we made by putting all the gestures from different tasks together. As the three weeks of the research phase went on I became less prescriptive with the tasks and the actors started to direct their own explorations. The last week and a half of research we were working mainly on our own or in pairs, helping each other with particular bits of research or performances we wanted to develop as individuals.

So far this section has dealt with how the playmaking served a relational, vital materialist, everyday urbanism lens through the casting of the play; the programme for the play's research and performance material generation as well as the advantages to the research of theatre making's ensemble nature. I turn now to consider what the craft of theatre making specifically offered the project's research concerns for an emergent, materially and relationally constructed sense of city spaces. This extends into a proposal for an ethical viewpoint on representation through participatory art practices.

The representational and non-representational aspects of theatre offered a particular opportunity for representing something from real life *and* communicating the affectual charge of that thing from real life. On the one level we were crafting meaning through theatre by playing with the 'signs of signs' in Erica Fischer-Lichte's terms (1995: 88), where the second signs were Stuart Hall's signs of daily life (1997: 5). On another level we were attempting to realise a full affectual expression of this meaning through acting – to capture Thrift's pre-cognitive, affect drives in the daily city actions we had encountered (2008: 7-8). So Baeletsi, Lindiwe and Toni, as *theatre makers*, were constructing characters, building stories and images to create theatrical representations of everyday life in Bertrams. However, they were also using their skills as *performers* to embody these characters, stories and images.

My proposition is that theatrical performers employ their theatrical skill to represent their own subjective relationship to the aspect of the real world they engage with. They represent the effects and affects they experience as arising through their own relationship with the thing they are seeking to represent theatrically, rather than representing objective truths about effect and affect. To come back to Ingold's correspondence through joining in with the movements of the world's formation (2013: 136-137): the joining in is not to copy, but rather to move in relation to. Mimesis in this sense is no more 'mimetic' than a drawn sketch is a copy of a scene. Telling with the body, as theatre demands, is to listen, observe, feel attentively to a situation and to record this listening, observing, feeling through your own movements. As with a sketch, what is included, what is left out, what is enlarged or diminished and the gestural quality of the line (in this case physical and not charcoal/pencil/ink) represents not the situation but the nature of the artist's attention and relationship to the situation.

An ethical approach towards the question of appropriation starts to emerge where the artist does not claim to take directly from real life, but rather frames their artistic expression as

testimony to their relationship to the person/situation/space they are representing. Martin Buber speaks of 'I and You', to indicate a fully present listening between the 'I' and the 'You' as a way of truly being in the world (1970). Dwight Conquergood expresses this concept as 'coperformative witnessing', an 'ethnography of the ears and heart' (Conquergood, 2007: 149). Through working with the notion of correspondence we used theatrical tools as a way of representing the correspondence with materiality rather than the materiality itself. The ethnography was of the whole body with all its capacities for sensing – hearing, seeing, touching, smelling, tasting, feeling. The aim of the playmaking was to produce theatrical material that was a subjective expression of a subjective experience of Bertrams' everyday materiality. In Appadurai's terms this was to highlight theatre as the mediant form producing theatrical material in relation to the material of everyday life and its mediant activities (2015: 224). To put it more plainly: the subjective creation of the playmaking material, represented a subjective engagement with the placemaking material of Betrams.

Can you ever be radically co-present? Even if you were able to remain a radically co-present 'you', if you were to represent, theatrically or otherwise, your experience as a 'you', how would someone viewing that representation know they were to receive it as a subjective testimony to a correspondence premised on co-presence? Will the audience not rather witness a representation as a representation of the real? We are back to an issue of authority. The public broadcasting of a theatrical piece, is to give that theatrical fiction an authority. This authority is both productive and problematic. On the one hand, as was my hope, it amplifies the knowledges and authorities of participants[34]. On the other hand it authorises that particular story as a truthful representation of

[34] With an understanding that this broadcasting is not only through theatrical medium, but also through the mediation of a relationship with the artist. Lindiwe plays a Francophone woman not to reflect *the* story of some of the women from Bienvenu, but to reflect her experience of their stories through relating to them. Their stories become known through their relationship with Lindiwe, through her theatrical representation of their relationship with her. In some ways, we were working in a similar vein to the kinds of verbatim theatre

the Bertrams everyday when it is only an interpretation and one that also might be as a result of an imperfectly attentive presence.

I argue that the value of theatre's ephemerality and its space for multi-vocality and ensemble creation goes some of the way to problematising authorising truths, where the city is 'a site of *varied compositional* knowledge' (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 73, emphasis in original). In the moment of the play the character of Sylvie authorises, makes true a version of a Francophone woman in Johannesburg. We are, in theatrical terms, 'convinced' by her story. We believe her as a character, we are transported into a particular experience of Bertams through her. However, Sylvie's character is seen in relation to other performers (Mama Bibi's political speech, not fictional) and people on the street. In the moment of her performance her theatrical truth is held in contrast to other truths – theatrical and everyday. Sylvie leaves the audience and Mrs Liebenberg takes over and we are in the moment of the performative realisation of Mrs Liebenberg's truth. The performative action of the theatrical medium is then to authorise – make believable, amplify, give space and time to – a particular story of Bertrams, but not at the expense of authorising – making believable, amplifying, giving space and time to – other truths.

This is a relationship to truths over time and across time – multiple truths existing at once; new truths emerging over time. So in life, the performative is powerful in its effectivity, but also in its ephemerality. I walk this way and a path forms; I behave and dress like this and I produce myself

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work made famous by Anna Deveare Smith (See 2003, 1997). Smith interviews people around an issue or crisis and then creates one woman shows where she performs edited versions of the interviewee's side of the interview. She enacts these monologues faithfully to the interviewee's words, gestures, intonations. She argues that she 'embodies' her interviewee as testimony to her listening to them (Smith, 2001, 2008). In the case of *Izithombe 2094*, I encouraged the professional cast to create characters and narratives inspired by, but not taken directly from the people we worked with. The casts' performances became composites of multiple people's stories, including the fictive imaginings of the actor's themselves. Partly this was a mechanism to protect the identities and privacy of the people we worked with. But it was also to actively create entirely new subjectivities, to make a clear distinction between the real life person's experiences and ways of being and the subjective interpretation of the actor.

as a particular kind of woman, but I must keep walking and keep putting on these clothes and carrying myself in this way to perpetuate the effect. New paths and ways of being a woman may emerge gradually through reperformance or through a sudden radical shift in the performative act. *Multiple* performatives are operational and in relation to one another at the same time. No one truth in daily life is monumental. In the play we used the ephemeral, ensemble-made, multi-vocal aspects of theatre to counter the monumentalisation of any one truth, and instead to authorise multiple truths. In so doing I hoped for the project to lend more authority to the truths and knowledges less readily heard (participant knowledges, knowledges of small details of Bertrams spaces) and to make our authority as theatre makers more readily questioned.

The task at the end of the three weeks of research was to edit the theatrical material into a play. Aside from the multivocality we tried to represent in *Izithombe 2094*, I intended for the play structure to invite audiences into a participation that would offer them an experience of personal correspondence with Bertrams. The play was to facilitate the embodied listening we had striven to enact and document through our research towards the final play. The next section describes and reflects on the process of structuring *Izithombe 2094* out of the material of our play research phase.

DRAMATURGY – SELECTION AND WEAVING

After three weeks of research and devising, our task was to shape the artistic material into a play that would be performed in the public spaces of Bertrams and include participants from the workshops as performers. Although the methodological approach was to *not* have any preformed idea of what the play would look like, I did have many hopes for what it might do and some ideas of what might possibly work as structuring devices to achieve these effects[35]. I wanted audience

[35] Over the course of 2015 I did two tester projects, one with University of Witwatersrand students from the Wits School of the Arts and the Wits School of Architecture and Planning and one with University of Pretoria

members to enter into relationships with spaces through the play, but for them to feel their own subjectivity within this relationality. I wanted them to feel themselves as part of the meshwork, which makes it impossible to be objective: you are implicated in the construction of the space which is both to feel your own trajectory and to feel the trajectories of others affect and be affected by yours. My intention was for audiences to experience their own part in the construction of knowledges and meanings both in the moment of the play and, more broadly, in their lives beyond the play. I wanted to use theatre as a way of blurring the line between the theatrical in the everyday and the fictional theatricalisation of the everyday, to achieve this experience of subjective relationality which would communicate the effect and affect of daily actions. Through exposing the blurry line between the theatrical and the everyday I hoped to bring a sense of personal involvement in the construction of spaces-becoming-places to a more conscious level.

But, like our first playmaking research task, I also wanted the play to engineer through the subjective relational experience an exposure to multiple voices and multiple ways of speaking; multiple Bertrams spaces; multiple ways of being. The play needed to move across spaces, times, cultures, languages, economic groups, race, embodied experiences, the human and non-human. The play was to actively engage the audience with the meshwork of Bertrams in such a way that they got a sense of as many of the trajectories making up the meshwork as possible at the same time as they were feeling the impact of their own trajectory.

I thought the structure of a walking tour would allow for movement through Bertrams and an invitation to view the public spaces of Bertrams as sites of interest with historical, contemporary, biographical and imaginary narratives attached to them. Fictional 'tour guide'

Honours theatre making students. I used these processes to experiment with research and devising tasks in relation to public spaces and to experiment with final product structures that would reflect our research and our ways of researching.

characters would serve to create a loose narrative thread linking various performance moments along the route. The tour guide characters would also be a means for us to respresent embodied ways of living, expressed through subtext and physical performance. Although there were many shifts in our ideas for the final play through the research phase, the broad outline of a walking tour with fictional characters and performance moments stuck as a rough architecture for the piece when we came to the dramaturgical phase.

Constructing the play went quickly, driven largely by logistical concerns and fast, in the moment assessments of the material to prioritise. We stuck all our lists of material, stories, arts interventions, design ideas, characters, costumes and a map of Bertrams up on a long wall in the rehearsal space at Twilsharp Studios. We marked the points that we thought it was important to incorporate. We had a longer and a shorter alternative to be tested for time, but the overall route was quickly formed through the constraints of the points and sections we wanted to hit along the way: the institutions we had worked with, landmarks and differently characterised areas.

The next step was to plot what material went where, which involved an overall structure of the tour guide characters operating in relay and then slotting set performance pieces within the tour guide sections. For our tour guide characters we drew from our 'potential characters' list – characters composed with elaborated back stories and details from our research phase material. The performance pieces list was made up of the short performances we had started to make with participants during the research process as well as the individual short pieces Lindiwe, Toni and Baeletsi had developed. Then there were set pieces which some participants already had as part of their own formal or informal performance practices. Bibiche Budimo from Bienvenu, practiced a form of spoken word political oration about politics in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Africa more broadly. Ronnie Maluleke from Bertrams Inner City Farm wrote poetry which he was willing to read out loud as part of our play. Selecting and plotting in the performances also went quickly.

We prioritised including all the participant performances on the list. Then we selected the performance pieces by the professional cast we all felt most strongly attached to and which would fit logistically with the choices we had already made. The logistics involved both the 'stages' (performance spaces in the way of pavements and open erfs that different parts of the route offered) and what we could achieve time-wise with costume changes and moving performers between locations.

Our next step was to test our proposed structure. We walked the route to time it, leading us to select the shorter option. We walked the route again with Lindiwe and Toni making proposals for their tour guide characters: these involved costume, physical and vocal characterisation and the idiom and content of their tour guide patter. Although it became more and more set, both Lindiwe and Toni improvised their tour guide patter every time, responding to the audience and what was happening on the street that day.

Figure 33: Tsatsi (2016). Walking the proposed route to test it. Left to right: a stranger, Toni Morkel, Lindiwe Matshikiza, Alex Halligey [photograph].

With the participant groups we kept developing the performance pieces we had begun with them. We explained where and how they would fit into the route of the site-specific 'walking tour' play, although what the play was and how it would work was still a fuzzy concept for most of the participants. This phase of work with the participant groups was not purely about rehearsal. It too

was a testing of the structure of the play – how would the material juxtaposed with the other material work? All participant performances remained as we proposed initially both in content and in where they fitted into the play structure. The Bienvenu women's piece, however, the *tsots*i chorus, took the trajectory described in Chapter 5 and we did not include it in the final play.

From the beginning of the process I thought the participant performers would be primarily from the workshops. I also hoped though that through our research exercises other local people keen to be involved might come forward. It was, unanticipatedly, in this testing of our dramaturgy phase that other local individual participants emerged. On our first walk of the route we came across a food cart at just the point where we were in need of some water and a seat. We got talking to the proprietor, Cecelia Nqobo, and asked her if she would be happy for her cart to become our interval stop for the play, which she readily agreed to. Similarly, I approached Gerald Fitzpatrick House about the possibility of setting up sound installations either in their charity shop or outside it. Management were doubtful about us using the shop. Having given up all hope of that possibility, I went by a day before the public showings were due to start to confirm we could set up on the pavement outside the House. I found that all three of the residents who ran the shop had said they would gladly open for each of our performances and the schedule for our run was already stuck up next to their cash till.

The process above was one of selection and weaving – choosing which material to use or not use, but also finding ways of threading multiple strands of material together. Lindiwe's school girl character, Brenda, was not only a representation of a Bertrams Junior School learner, but also the teller of the Bezuidenhout Valley's archaeological and paleontological history. Brenda also represented the (never seen in real life) writer of the short chalk messages Lindiwe had spotted outside the Bertrams' SuperSpar. Brenda became the teller of specific Bertrams Junior School learner's stories: Brielle's list of animals to be found in Bertrams; Sonja's house that had a bad fire

during our rehearsal phase and many others. Our dramaturgical process was to prioritise which stories, people, things to represent in the play, but it was also to find ways of layering as many of the strands of knowledge we had acquired so that each moment was dense with meaning, effectual and affectual.

The selection and the weaving each had a function in relation to the grounding of potentialities into event and the incurrent spillage. Our research process was to step into the realm of potentialities artistically; to dream about all the possible plays our play could be. The afternoon we went through the lists and mapped and plotted our route was the start of an arc of grounding the artistic potentialities into the event of the play. The next step of testing routes and performances was to further exclude certain potentialities and anchor the ones we had chosen more firmly into the event of the play and into the space and ultimately placemaking of Bertrams, including its physical landscape.

In this process of selection and weaving the lateral spillage was the potentialities not included in the play, both artistic and everyday. The artistic spillage was Toni's labyrinth on an open plot and Lindiwe's protest bicycle with a PA system used to broadcast an audiotour narrated by participants (my original idea for narration). The everyday spillage was all the many bits of information we had gathered in the research process that did not make it into the play. The forward spillages were/are all the new images of everyday possibilities that occurred to the cast and the audience through the play's performance. And artistically the forward spillage was/is all the inspirations in the cast and the audience for other kinds of artistic interventions that may never ground into events.

The dramaturgical process illustrated Flyvbjerg's proposal for intuitive ways of working, where: 'This does not mean that experts never think consciously, nor that they always do the right thing' (2001: 17). 'Consciousness' interacts with intuition and allows a valuable consideration of

what might be 'the right thing', the wrong thing or something in between as a result of phronetic action. The professional cast and I reflected in moments about what the ideological meaning was of putting certain material in certain places – the exclusion of the *tsotsi* chorus discussed in Chapter 5 being a significant example. However, overall the process of constructing the play was quickly and decisively emergent through a simultaneous consideration of logistics, aesthetic appeal, participant or performer willingness and including as wide a range of research knowledge and authorities as possible. Whether these decisions were always in keeping with the cast and my ideological intentions or whether the decisions consistently worked with every audience to achieve our ideological intentions is debatable. In truth the stability of my and the cast's ideological intentions is debatable. More accurately, our ideological intentions were in a constant flux within a certain ideological realm, where at times practical choice mirrored ideology; at other times ideology emerged through practical choice and at other times practical choice countered ideology. Sometimes practical choice seemed on initial reflection to counter ideology, but then later was affirmed as working within ideology with a particular, controversial usefulness. This last moment is perhaps the most interesting because of its 'agonistic' (Pieterse, 2012: 43) nature.

Pieterse's proposal for an agonistic approach is in keeping with Mouffe and Laclau's understanding that 'without conflict and division, a pluralist democratic politics would be impossible' (2014: preface). Similar to Rancière's understanding of dissensus as constituting the political (2015), Mouffe and Laclau's project is to embrace the conflicting desires and actions of social actors in service of a more radical democracy. They champion a democracy that not only includes more 'voices' but a democracy that sees how these voices relate, knot, pull and push against one another. These agonistic knots in the playmaking and performance process of my research project were moments where the professional cast, Bertrams participants and audiences (local to the area and from outside it) not only observed the knots of city-making through the knots

of playmaking, but were actively *and* consciously[36] involved in them. In terms of Ingold's meshwork, we did not stand outside of the process, but were all part of the mesh of weaving ourselves, each knot exposing our own desires and pressures in agonistic relation to those of others.

This chapter ends with our final dress rehearsal which was also our first performance for an audience – an audience of performers. On the Saturday morning (20 August 2016) before our first official public performance the next weekend (27 August 2016), the Bertrams Junior School workshop group watched the play from start to finish, jumping in at their performance moment outside the school to rehearse their piece. What we began with our dress rehearsal was the next phase of playmaking: the incorporation of the audience, which, like the final dress rehearsal, was both the start of the public performances and the beginning of a new arc of rehearsing. What follows is a thick description of the performance of *Izithombe 2094.* Chapter 7 then considers how the audience completed *Izithombe 2094* as a public artwork and what the play did as a public artwork in the spaces of Bertrams.

[36] Even if this consciousness was only fleeting.

INTERMEZZO: IZITHOMBE 2094

Figure 34: Halligey (2017). The route of the play [photograph].

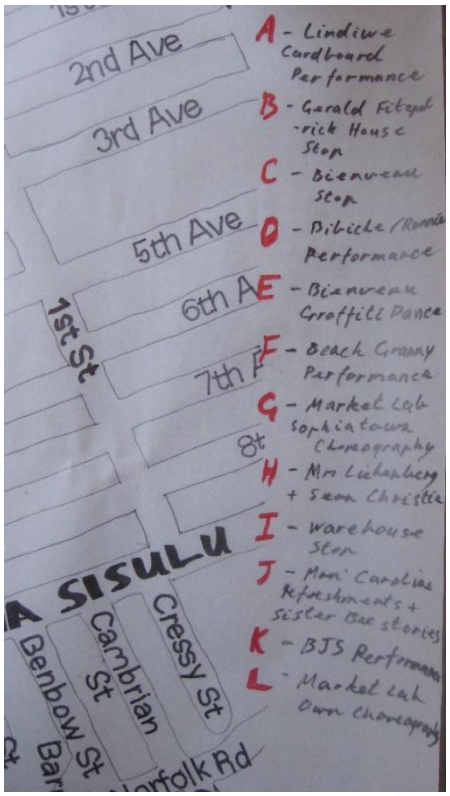

Figure 35: Halligey (2017). Key to stops and performances *en route* [photograph].

Sections in square brackets [] indicate additions to the second run of the play.

The play started as I wristband ticketed the formal audience members on the edge of the open erf next to Twilsharp Studios, 40/42 Gordon Road. Lindiwe, dressed in layers of ragged black clothing – tracksuit pants, polo neck, a ripped, oversized jacket, a balaclava – waited, sitting on the pavement a distance from the ticketing station. Ten minutes before the play's start time, she walked over to a 'stage' of flattened cardboard boxes in the middle of the erf and performed a movement/mime sequence. She was a kind of everyman: homeless person, recycling collector and seer of Bertrams. Her performance was a sequence of gestures and images composed by herself in response to listening to the audio tracks of research interviews. Her props were an old cellphone which gave the impression of her playing the *kwaito* track that underscored her movement[37]; a big sheet of crumpled brown paper-backed bubble-wrap and a red headlamp. The phone migrated from shoulder to pocket to inside the bubble-wrap. The bubble-wrap became a flower, a baby, a mountain, a shawl and many other indefinable things as Lindiwe manipulated it along with her body to construct the flow of images. Audience members noticed her performance or did not, gathered to watch or watched in a dispersed, distracted manner as they chose. She cycled through the sequence twice and walked off diagonally across the erf, to go down Queen Street past a row of Victorian houses.

[37] The track was played for amplification from a speaker hidden behind the parked cars.

Figure 36: Tsatsi (2016). Lindiwe Matshikiza's *Cardboard Performance* [photograph].

I gathered the audience and gave a brief introduction to my research and the play as a 'walking tour'. I gave the following three instructions:

1. If taking photographs, to photograph only landscapes and professional performers. When in doubt, to ask me if the proposed subject was a professional performer. No photographs of shopfronts. To maintain a general respect for people's privacy when photographing on the tour.
2. To look out for an interesting object along the way and put it in the plastic bag provided.
3. To keep up the pace.

I led us across the road to Gerald Fitzpatrick House's charity shop. At the shop I invited audience members to browse inside or take turns to sit in a deck chair and beach umbrella set up outside the shop. This 'beach installation' was accompanied by a set of headphones and an MP3 player, playing an edited version of a workshop Baeletsi and I had done with the Gerald Fitzpatrick residents in 2015 around the frail care women's memories of the beach. I took one audience member aside, signed them in at the guardhouse and took them through to the Gerald Fitzpatrick House garden. Here they sat with resident, Charlotte Paul, who gave them a ten-minute telling of some of her

autobiographical memories, usually while tapestrying or beading. In the meantime the audience members inside the shop discovered hidden sound recordings of Gerald Fitzpatrick resident interviews, secreted inside books, clothes and tins. I had interviewed residents about their lives at Gerald Fitzpatrick and from before they came to the home.

Figure 37: Halligey (2016). Audience members outside the Gerald Fitzpatrick House charity shop listening to the sound installation of Gerlad Fiztpatrick House's Frail Care residents remembering the beach [photograph].

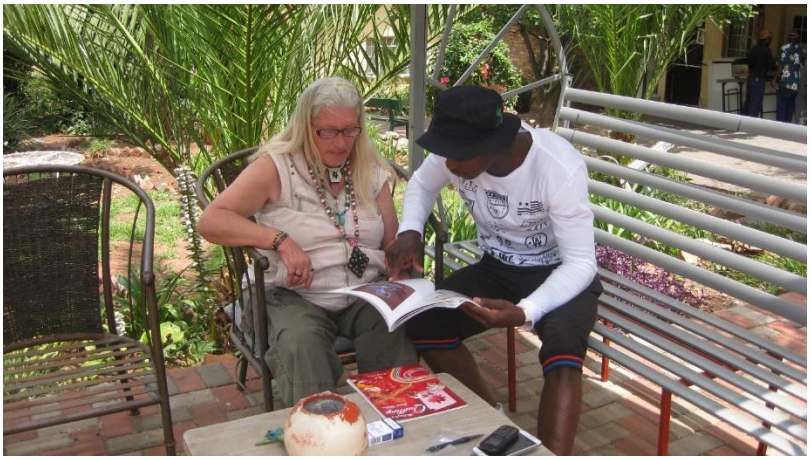

Figure 38: Halligey (2016). Audience member with Gerald Fitzpatrick House resident, Charlotte [photograph].

Toni Morkel as the character of Jean, a senior citizen customer, wandered around the shop, assisting audience members with headphones and MP3 players. She chatted to June Martins, Bev Maré and Lorraine Philips (all three of whom ran the shop) and told me off for putting her day out by asking her to guide the group. After ten minutes she assembled everyone outside the shop,

introduced herself as a local resident and led the audience up the Queen Street hill to Terrace Road. I followed shortly after with the audience member who had been with Charlotte. Jean wove local history ('Daisy de Melke lived in the area briefly'; 'This was maverick, activist music producer, Lloyd Ross's house'; 'Look at the Portuguese tiles on that stoep') into her invented personal biography (widowed; her old friend Angie's flat was in a block she pointed out). She bought 'loosies' (single cigarettes) and bananas from spaza shops along the way, pointed out local interest spots (Ethiopian restaurants in the front rooms of houses; the hidden and notoriously dangerous Hunter Road above Terrace) and greeted strangers and friends alike.

Figure 39: Halligey (2016). Jean (Toni Morkel) leads the way [photograph].

At Bienvenu, Jean stopped to tell us how she had met her friend, 'Sylvie', through the sewing classes at Bienvenu. Bontle Masheshe, the Bienvenu housemother, waved and called from a first floor window, sometimes joined by the resident tailor and sewing instructor. Jean led us on round

the corner, down Liddle Street, where Sylvie in a pink and green Afro-chic ensemble was waiting on the corner of Berea Road and Liddle.

Figure 40: Halligey (2016). Sylvie (Lindiwe Matshikiza) waiting for the audience on the corner of Berea Road and Liddle Street [photograph].

Sylvie greeted us in French then tried out a mix of languages on the audience: Kiswahili, Zulu, Setswana. Jean introduced Sylvie as our next tour guide and we walked on. Sylvie spoke little and only in French – short instructions, '*Venez*!' (Come!) '*Attention*!' (Watch out!). At this point there were two possibilities which varied according to the day:

Option 1

We could hear an amplified speech coming from down the road and if you looked you could see Bibiche Budimo, one of the Bienvenu residents, standing on a soapbox in front of a microphone, a little way down the road on the right hand side of Liddle. We approached, gathered round and listened to five minutes of Bibiche's speech. Sometimes she would be reading from a piece of paper, sometimes speaking freely. Sometimes she spoke in Lingala and sometimes in French or a mixture of the two. Bibiche Budimo's political project was what she termed 'Anti-Lumumba'. From what Lindiwe could gather from their French conversations, Bibiche Budimo's proposition is as follows:

that the independence movement in the Congo in late 1950s, headed by Patrice Lumumba, was too quick to expel the Belgians, leaving the Congo with little infrastructural support for transitioning into an effectively administrated democracy. Budimo's call is for the Belgians to now offer hands-on assistance in overhauling the political and social services structure of the Congo to establish a system that will calm civil unrest and sustainably manage a democracy that serves the Congolese. This was the subject of her speech in Izithombe 2094. *Sometimes she was joined by one or two Congolese friends from Bienvenu who would respond to her speech with affirmations or join in the singing she often used to start or finish. She always wore sunglasses, to protect her anonymity, she said, and she was always formally dressed and made-up.*

Figure 41: Halligey (2016). Bibiche Budimo's political speech [photograph].

Option 2

We could hear amplified poetry coming from down the road and if you looked you could see Ronnie Maluleke, standing on the soapbox in front of the microphone. We approached, gathered round and listened to five minutes of Ronnie reading his own poetry out loud from his notebook.

Figure 42: Halligey (2016). Ronnie Maluleke's poetry performance [photograph].

Sylvie led us on across Gordon Road and Derby Road. Along the way she stopped, ostensibly to reapply her lipstick, but using her hand mirror to watch what was happening behind her – us, strangers, activity in the street. On the left hand side of Liddle in front of three large graffiti pieces, Baeletsi Tsatsi as Sister Bae was on standby with the older girls from Bienvenu (between ten and twelve years old and ranging in number from three to seven, depending on the day). Sister Bae and I simultaneously pressed play on our cellphones for a track selected by the girls, 'The Superkids'[38]. Each wearing a different coloured, wide-brimmed sunhat, they performed a short dance in front of the graffiti, running across the road to greet Sylvie as they finished. Big hugs and warm greetings between Sylvie and the girls, Sylvie asked them to translate her French into English for the audience when she needed them to.

[38] 'Superkids' is a track from a Nigerian children's television programme (Superkids, 2017). The choreography the girls were doing was one the professional cast had developed out of a series of gestures from our research tasks. We wanted to set it to music and asked the girls to propose a track. They came up with 'Superkids'. It is loud, cheerful, anthemic and sung by children. With the lyrics repeating a refrain of 'Superkids', it felt like a proud public claiming of that title for the Bienvenu girls. It was like the dream of a feel-good Broadway musical version of a play about Bertrams. I would never have chosen the track myself – the sentimentality and positivity of the lyrics and melody, the fact that it was sung by children, all would have felt patronising, lacking in nuance and insensitive to the complexities of the girls' lives. *But* coming from them, it was a glorious choice.

Figure 43: Halligey (2016). Sister Bae (Baeletsi Tsatsi) in position for the *Bienvenu Graffiti Dance* [photograph].

We walked on to the corner of Liddle Street and Millbourn Road. Sylvie stopped the audience, and with translation from one of the Bienvenu girls, pointed out the cricket oval we could see below. She explained about the Joburg Cricket Club and the adjacent Bambanani organic vegetable garden, built on the old Bertrams bowling greens.

Figure 44: Tsatsi (2016). Sylvie (Lindiwe Matshikiza) explaining about Joburg Cricket Club and Bertrams Inner City Farm, visible down the hill [photograph].

Sylvie and the Bienvenu girls led us along Milbourn Road towards Bertrams Road, the main arterial road separating Bertrams from the Ellis Park sports grounds and including a Rea Vaya bus lane[39]. We came to a stop at the palisade fence overlooking the lower of the two bowling green terraces, both now converted into planted furrows. *I do like to be beside the seaside* started playing and Toni Morkel emerged from the trees at the far end of the field as Beach Granny, wearing a dressing gown, plimsoles and sporting a large sun umbrella and a rolled up scroll of blue fabric under her arm. She, ran/danced her way to a fallow lettuce bed and unrolled her blue fabric, complete with a beach towel. She set up the umbrella and took off her dressing gown to reveal a tiger print swimming costume with attached short skirt frill and a matching swimming cap. Sunglasses came out and on and she proceeded with a camp dance, miming swimming and beach time delight. The song was interrupted with the sound of crashing, cars, hooters, sirens. Beach Granny fell over in fright, became bent and slow as she gathered up her scroll of sea, her beach towel and umbrella. As she slowly started hobbling off the field the urban sounds faded and a voice over came in, Toni's voice made frail and vibrato, 'Please, Nurse, can I have a cup of tea? Please, nurse, a cup of tea. Two sugars and some milk…'

Figure 45: Tsatsi (2016). Toni Morkel's *Beach Granny Performance*, September run [photograph].

[39] Rea Vaya is Johannesburg's Bus Rapid Transport System, operational from 30 August 2009 (Rea Vaya, 2017). Frequently the *Beach Granny* performance attracted the attention of waiting passengers, who peered to see what was going on from the bus station island in the middle of the road. Bertrams Road also facilitated a pedestrian traffic of school children and people coming to and from Troyville and Jeppestown on the south side of Bertrams and Hilbrow, Berea and Yeoville on the north side of the valley.

Figure 46: Tsatsi (2016). Toni Morkel's *Beach Granny Performance*, November run [photograph].

Figure 47: Tsatsi (2016). Audience watching Toni Morkel's *Beach Granny Performance* [photograph].

Sylvie and the Bienvenu girls led us on down Bertrams Road turning into Thames Road. At this point in the first run, they continued to lead the audience on in relative silence until the Juksei Bridge where Thames Road, Sports Avenue and Queen Street meet. In the second run:

[The girls performed a 'dance on the go', a short, mimed beach swimming narrative, while singing *I do like to be beside the seaside*. At the corner we were met by a chorus of Market Theatre Laboratory first year students (ranging in number from two to fifteen, all in their twenties) holding a large blue sparkly net. They asked us to grab hold of it, to get under it and to wave it down the street. At some point along the street, the small production truck overtook us, playing a blast of *I do like to be beside the seaside.* Where Thames Road intersects with Fuller Street, I gathered the

blue net into a plastic container and Sylvie or Sister Bae and the Bienvenu girls led the audience on past the park on the left and the Joburg City council flats[40] on the right. Just after the electrical substation, in front of the palisade fencing, the Market Theatre Laboratory students (who had run ahead) started a sequence of choreography. The choreography was developed from gestures and images devised by the Community Psychological Services teenage group (made up of refugees and immigrants mostly from elsewhere in Africa)[41], in response to watching the first run of the play. The Sophiatown teenagers group came up with this choreography in a feedback session I facilitated with them after the first run. The Market Theatre Laboratory students performed the Sophiatown teenagers' choreography on a loop, making sure there were two full cycles once all the audience were assembled. The Bienvenu girls would spontaneously join in. By the end of the second run, other children either from that part of the neighbourhood or who had joined the walk along the way also joined in, having learnt the moves by watching the play repeatedly. At the end of the last cycle the group ran off towards Queen Street, urging the audience to follow, and then continued on, disappearing up Queen Street or down Sports Avenue and up Fuller Street.]

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[40] The council houses were built by Maurice Freeman, mayor of Johannesburg from 1934 to 1935 (South African History Online, 2017). One of the first incidences of forced removals after South Africa was declared a union in 1910, Maurice Freeman legislated against all black, coloured or Asian people living in Bertrams and forceably had all people from these racial groups evicted during his term of office. His primary intention was to make space for government housing for white tenant farmers who had migrated to Johannesburg in significant numbers during the course of the 1920s. He built houses and a complex of flat blocks which were available on a leasehold basis to white people (Latilla, 2017). The accommodation came with a coal allowance, government issued Christmas hampers and various other subsidised services (Tsatsi and Morkel, personal interview with council housing resident, 2017, 15 August). The houses and flats still stand, many occupied by the descendants of the first lease-hold owners and others who have bought the lease-hold papers. The area of council housing is in a square between Thames Road running into Frere Road and Kimberley Road up slope, bounded on either side by Viljoen Street and Bertrams Road. Although there is some crossover, coloured people mainly live in the flats and white people mainly live in the houses. There are few black residents in the Maurice Freeman council housing section of Bertrams.

[41] Sophiatown is a misleading name in the context of discussing Bertrams. Founded on the border of Sophiatown and Westdene, Sophiatown Community Psyhological Services has a branch that runs from Derby Street in Bertrams. Sophiatown, the suburb, on the western side of Johannesburg, is famous for its vibrant community from the 1930s to 1950s and infamous for the forced removals of the apartheid government which took place throughout the course of 1955 (South African History Online, 2017).

Figure 48: Tsatsi (2016). The sea down Thames Street, second run [photograph].

Toni Morkel as Mrs Liebenberg strode up from the Jukskei bridge to meet the audience at the Corner of Thames and Queen. A government official from the 1980s, she was dressed in a green skirt suit and kitty-bow blouse from the period, a curly red haired wig and sunglasses. She carried a sun umbrella and two boards, one an oversized clipboard with a checklist:

- Pavements
- Laundry
- Gutters
- Gardens

The effect was of a cartoon caricature. Speaking almost entirely in Afrikaans, she demanded to know why the races were mixed in the audience and told us she was there to check up on the houses and flats according to her checklist[42]. She spoke briefly about the contentious source of the Jukskei (Ellis Park? A nearby warehouse?), before showing us the warning sign to stay out of the canal in case of flood. She told us about the various local people who had drowned over the

[42] Up until the 1980s, part of living in one of the council properties involved representatives of the council coming to inspect the upkeep and daily decorum of the flats and houses and arranging the winter coal deliveries (Tsatsi and Morkel, personal interview with council housing resident, 2017, 15 August).

decades when the river flooded from storm water. She asked an audience member to put an 'in memoriam' board up on a nearby street pole. The board was headed, 'Did you know?' and listed the names of Bertrams locals who had drowned in the Jukskei during flash storm floods over the years. The board was printed on an enlarged watermark of the Chappies wrapper design[43]. She left the audience with the following instruction, '*Hier kom 'n mannetjie met infomasie van die Jukskei. Mooi Luister*.' (Here comes a man with information on the Jukskei. Listen carefully).

Figure 49: Tsatsi (2016). Mrs Liebenberg (Toni Morkel) at the Jukskei bridge [photograph].

The small production truck pulled up with either the stage manager or technician sitting on the tailgate and holding a large speaker. They pressed play on an eight minute audiotrack in which journalist, Sean Hunter Christie, introduced and read a section from his article on the Jukskei (Mail and Guardian, 2014). The section he read from was about his discovery of the apparent source of the Jukskei on Sivewright Avenue, on the western side of the Ellis Park sports complex, closer to the CBD. He continued on to his experiences with locals and landscape at the bridge we were standing on. It was from this same bridge that he entered the canal to begin his walk of the river as part of

[43] A cheap bubble gum that can be bought singly from supermarkets, spaza shops and informal traders. The wrapper is green, red and blue, with a black line cartoon character face repeated as a pattern. The inside of the wrappers have a list of facts, four to five per wrapper, each headed with the title, 'Did you know?' Here we twisted the meaning of 'Did you know?' from referring to facts to a question of knowing a person.

his research. The audiotrack finished and the stage manager or technician tapped on the side of the truck to signal it could drive on. The stage manager asked the audience to follow them up the hill and turn at the first corner.

Figure 50: Halligey (2016). Audience listening to recording of Sean Christie reading from his *Mail & Guardian* article on the Jukskei [photograph].

Self-guided, although with Baeletsi as Sister Bae, myself and the Bienvenu girls still among them, the audience walked south up Queen Street and turned into Frere Road. There they found Toni Morkel as Battery and Lindiwe Matshikiza as Shaun, working on a blue Hyundai Getz (Toni's car and also the mobile dressing room and prop store). They introduced themselves as the guides for the next part of the tour, saying they had been asked to lead us by 'Uncle Steve and Auntie Sheryl'[44]. Shaun and Battery took us east along Frere Road. Lindiwe as Shaun was costumed in baggy jeans and an oversized T-Shirt, her dreadlocks worn down with an old red and maroon beanie. Toni gelled her hair up into a mohawk for Battery, with a blue mechanics overall tied at the waist, a plaid shirt and a fleece gilet. Both performers were playing men anywhere between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five and local to that particular section of Bertrams where residents are predominantly

[44] Steve and Sheryl Shaw were a couple living in one of the Maurice Freeman houses who invited Toni and Baeletsi in to tell them about the local history.

working class white and coloured people living in the council houses and flats. Through their dialogue they gave the audience a sense that they were related somehow, possibly by blood, marriage or just spirit. They did odd mechanic jobs and the odd shady deal (Battery was carrying a Panasonic computer screen box – 'Just keeping it for someone'). The two led us past the council houses on the right and factories and warehouses on the left, across Viljoen Street into the light industrial section of Bertrams. They pointed out sights and sites of interest – the corner house with the garden gnomes that used to win all the Johannesburg City Council garden competitions in the 1980s, examples of graffiti (teasing each other about who had done them) and bringing us to a stop in front of a factory with a broken window pane. They invited us to look in.

Figure 51: Tsatsi (2016). Shaun (Lindiwe Matshikiza) and Battery (Toni Morkel) [photograph].

In the first run, peering through the hole in the window revealed a huge, empty warehouse space, stretching back for most of the block. On a near wall was a projection: close-ups of Bibiche Budimo speaking about her political project, but with no audio track.

Figure 52: Tsatsi (2016). Projection on warehouse wall of Bibiche Budimo speaking, September run [photograph].

In the second run:

[The audience looked through the hole in the window to see only the empty warehouse space and no projection.]

Figure 53: Tsatsi (2016). Audience peering into empty warehouse, November run [photograph].

Baeletsi Tsatsi as Sister Bae stepped forward after everyone had looked through the window and asked us to follow her, briskly, round the corner where we there would be water and an interval break. We walked to the corner of Frere and turned left into Lang, walking down the hill back towards the Juksei, stopping at Mam' Cecelia's (Cecelia Nqobo) food cart outside Gearhouse[45]. In the first run, two people in the audience had each been given a yellow ticket at the start of the play. Once we reached Mam' Cecelia's food cart I invited the yellow ticket-holders, one at a time, to listen to a story told by Sister Bae in a small booth we had set up between the back of the food cart and the Gearhouse boundary wall. She had two stories in her repertoire. The first was about a fastidious artist visiting a family in one of the Bertrams council houses to request using their home

[45] Gearhouse is a sound and lighting rental firm, with equipment available for conferences, concerts and large functions requiring audio, lighting, stage and seating infrastructures. Splitbeam, one of their subsidiary companies, manages gear hire for theatre productions and supplied us with all the technical equipment for the *Izithombe 2094* at a reduced rate. Gearhouse and Splitbeam take up three blocks of warehousing in Judith's Paarl. Cecelia Nqobo had worked as a cleaner for Gearhouse for thirty years before retiring in 2015. With some assistance from the company she set up her food cart which caters to the Gearhouse staff lunchtime trade.

for an art project. The second story was about a middle-aged couple who had met, married and lived in the council house section of Bertrams, the area we had just walked through (this second story inspired by Steve and Sheryl). The rest of the audience sat variously on chairs, the grass, the towbar of Mam' Cecelia's cart, all under a shade cloth and beach umbrella she set up for her customers. We provided water and people were invited to buy snacks or drinks from Mam' Cecelia. In the second run:

[Sister Bae invited people to sit, drink water, buy snacks and then settle down to listen to her two stories – the whole audience hearing her stories, rather than selected individuals.]

Figure 54: Halligey (2016). Sister Bae (Baeletsi Tsatsi) tells stories at Mam' Cecelia's food cart, November run [photograph].

Lindiwe Matshikiza, in a Bertrams Junior School uniform and her hair in pigtails, joined the audience towards the end of interval. She drank a glass of water and greeted as her friends the Bienvenu girls and any other children who had joined us along the way. I was greeted as 'Antie Alex' or 'Mam', in my role as Bertrams Junior School 'drama teacher' and it was me who prompted: 'Do you want to lead us on, Brenda?' She ran ahead, telling the audience, 'Let's go!' We stopped briefly at the bridge back over the Jukskei to the side of the valley where we had started the walk. Brenda told us about the dinosaurs that once drank from the river. Running on she told us about the other animals

of Bertrams – 'Rats, spiders, mice…giraffes!' At the corner of Victoria and Lang, she stopped to write something on the pavement in chalk, often enlisting the children in the audience as scribes.

Figure 55: Tsatsi (2016). Lindiwe Matshikiza rehearsing Brenda [photograph].

In the first run she continued up the road, over Millbourn, asking me for R2 because she and the other children wanted 'To buy'[46]. At a small café[47] in the middle of the block between Millbourn and Derby or one of the two spaza shops on the corner Of Millbourn and Lang she would either buy one sweet, standing just outside the shop entrance to eat it slowly and with great pleasure while we as audience stood and watched, or she would buy several sweets. These she would carefully share among the children in the audience – Bienvenu girls and spontaneous joiners.

After sweet buying, it was a clean run up to Ascot Road. Brenda raced the other children, '*Chommies* [friends], let's go!' and the audience tagged behind. Turning left at Ascot Road, we found ourselves outside Bertrams Junior School, with a small group of Bertrams Junior School learners (anywhere from two to ten) waiting for us to arrive. Brenda and the Bienvenu girls ran across to join them and initiated a series of clapping games, followed by the same choreography the Bienvenu girls did in front of the Liddle Street graffiti. Although each group – Bertrams Junior

[46] Meaning to buy some sort of cheap treat, usually sweets.
[47] I use 'café' here rather than 'spaza' to indicate the more formal nature of this particular shop which was run out of a dedicated and purpose-built shop space on Lang Street.

School and Bienvenu – had personalised their take on the dance. The end of the sequence led the Bertrams Junior School learners into a race to the palm trees on the pavement that marked the end of the school premises. They waved us on.

Figure 56: Tsatsi (2016). Rehearsing the Bertrams Junior School performance [photograph].

Figure 57: Tsatsi (2016). Brenda (Lindiwe Matshikiza) and Bertrams Junior School learners in rehearsal [photographs].

When we performed on week day mornings, the entire Bertrams Junior School workshop group performed. Numbering just over twenty learners, this made for a very different performance. They were bundled into four different groups, two groups on each side of the road and each group playing the clapping games as one person. From numbers and the excitement of being let out of class for fifteen minutes to 'do drama', the energy and volume of these Bertrams Junior School

performances was spectacular. The smaller groups in the afternoons and on the weekends, in contrast, offered an intimacy; an almost secret insight into the children's games.

Urged by Brenda and the Bertrams Junior School learners, we continued on along Ascot, back towards the bottom entrance of Twilsharp Studios, 39/41 Ascot Road. In the first run, as we went, Tiffani Cornwall as a 1940s woman stepped out from the driveway of what was Lindiwe's childhood home, to the right just after the school. Tiffani joined the audience and then quickly sped up to walk a little ahead of us. Further on, Toni, as a turn of the nineteenth century farmer/miner/soldier, stepped out and struck a pose in front of one of the small art deco blocks of flats we passed, coming up to Viljoen Street, and then joined us, dropping slowly to the back of the crowd. Baeletsi, costumed as a Victorian lady, sat waiting with a group of informal traders who had a stand set up outside the old Victorian house they lived in. She stepped in line and Tiffani took the lead to open the gate at the bottom of Twilsharp for us.

Baeletsi as the Victorian lady led us through a curio-restoring outdoor workshop space, up the stairs to the back patio of the old house and through a door to the exhibition space we were using. I would come forward, thank everyone for joining the tour and invite the audience to engage with the exhibition. The exhibition included sound installations and drawings and blank newsprint sheets laid out on a trestle table, titled with prompts for audience responses. Outside were found objects from the streets displayed in the garden and to which audience could add their own objects found on the route of the play.

[Tiffani Cornwall did not emerge as a 1940s woman, due mainly to needing to assist Lindiwe with her wheelchair for the first weekend of the second run[48]. Toni Morkel as farmer/miner/soldier joined us as for the first run. Just after Lang Street, the Market Laboratory Theatre Students

[48] Lindiwe had had an attack of swelling on her right knee which meant she could not walk and so performed the first half of the second run entirely in a wheelchair which we rented from Gerald Fitzpatrick House.

appeared from a well-established pavement garden performing a choreography of moves that they had devised with me in response to their viewing of the first run of the play. They performed the choreography once on the move, coming towards the audience, then a second time stationary in a driveway and turning to face the audience on the street. As soon as they finished the second cycle they leapt into the crowd, calling, 'Come on!' and led us onwards. Baeletsi Tsatsi, costumed as a Victorian lady, joined us as before and was the one to open the gate at the bottom of Twilsharp. She handed me the key and then led the audience to the exhibition space. I would follow to close the play and invite the audience to interact with the exhibition.]

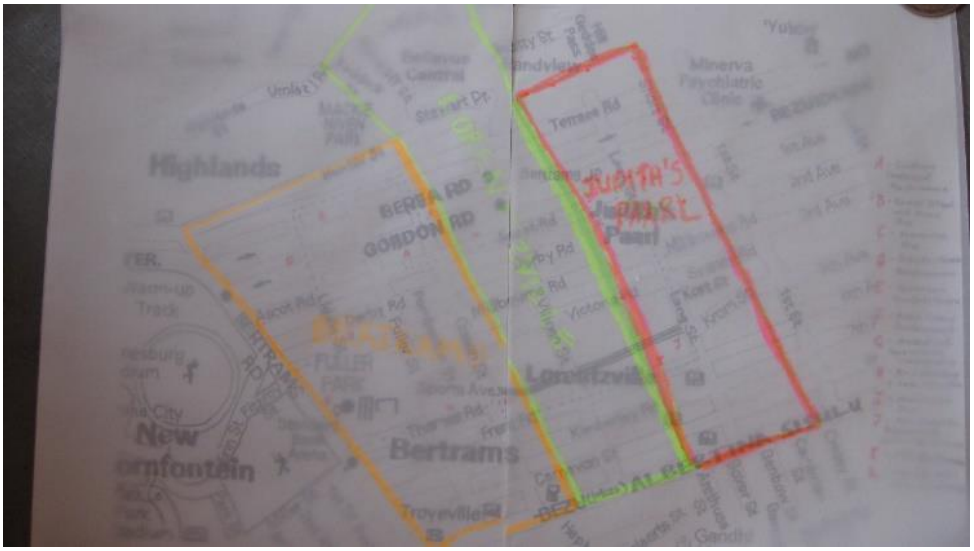
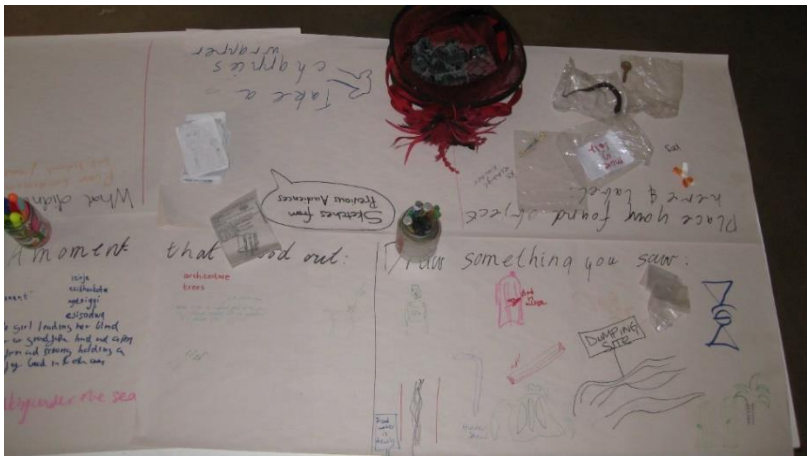
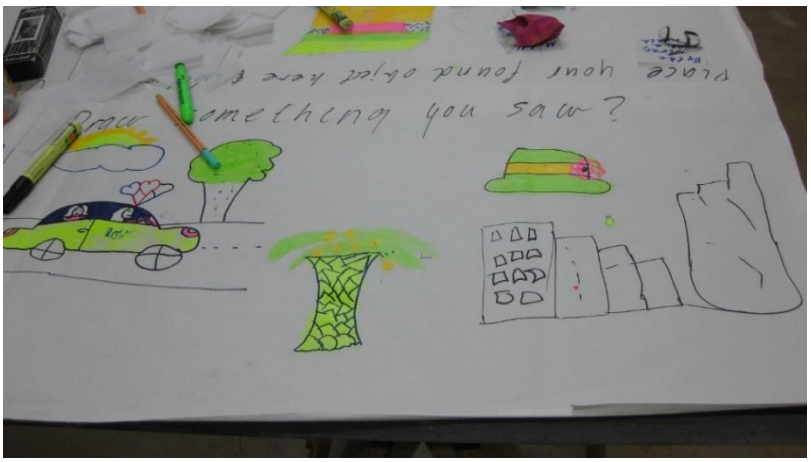


Figure 58: Halligey (2017). Demarcations of Bertrams, Lorentzville and Judith's Paarl [photograph].

Figure 59: Halligey (2016). Victorian Woman (Baeletsi Tsatsi) and Farmer/Mining Magnate (Toni Morkel) on the
last stretch of the route [photograph].





Figures 60: Tsatsi (2016). Audience responses [photographs].

CHAPTER 7: PLAYING THE EVENT AGAIN AND AGAIN

> *Politics is not made up of power relationships; it is made up of relationships between worlds. (Rancière, 1999: 42)*
>
> *There is no common apart from the sensuousness of the common. (Haver, 2012: 443)*

This chapter first considers the overall structuring of the audience-performance-Bertrams relationship through the public showings of *Izithombe 2094*. The second half of the chapter looks more closely at four specific audiences and the particular kinds of relationality they engaged through their participation in the play.

The play functioned as a theatre piece and as a public art piece, working across the specific conventions each of these forms offer for engaging audience relationships. As a piece of theatre, people arrived at the beginning of the show and committed at the outset to watching the entire play[49]. As a piece of public art, the play attracted the attention of anyone who saw it and they might respond to it in any number of ways: notice the activity, but decide to go about their business and not watch further; to watch for a while and move on; to watch and join the tour for a while or for the rest of its duration; to ask questions about what we were doing and why or to get involved themselves as spontaneous performers. The two different kinds of audiences were valuable for two reasons: they offered different relationships to the work and they were key to the 'theatre' audience becoming an integral part of the theatre piece as public artwork.

The theatre and public art audience relationships have different contracts for engagement. A theatre audience commits to a play event ahead of its happening. They are involved in the event

[49] The cost of tickets was on a pay-what-you-can basis, but some amount of money needed to be exchanged for a ticket (in the form a paper wristband). The payment for a ticket was the formal ritual for the contract of watching the play from start to finish. It also gained theatre audience members entry into the semi-private gallery space of Twilsharp at the end of the play. That said I waived costs entirely in the case of the children who came at the start of the tour to watch the whole play and I would have done the same for any adult whose 'pay-what-you-can' was R0. The ticket cost played a formal rather than financial role in the theatrical audience contract of the play.

for a specific length of time, with a degree of knowledge of the activities they will be engaged in (listening, watching, possibly some form of participation) and with some knowledge of what the content will be (even if as broad as 'everyday life in Bertrams'). The money-ticket exchange is the contractual agreement to participate as audience in a play, to accept the convention that you will stay to watch the whole thing and that leaving before the end will be a dramatic statement.

Of course there are public art performances that are free, that people come to with expectations and with a similar commitment to the duration of the piece. However, this research project was specifically concerned with the the kind of public art that engages a spectator spontaneously, without their prior commitment to or knowledge of the event. Public art audiences pay nothing (in money or expectation) to get involved for as long or as short as they like and, because of that, have a very different kind of contractual involvement with the work. They exchange their moment-by-moment participation for the moment-by-moment revelation of the performance.

The difference in the contractual engagement of a theatre audience to a public art audience was critical to my research intentions for the play. *Izithombe 2094* was to engage as many different actors and their trajectories as possible in its relational meshwork from within Bertrams and without Bertrams. Soliciting a theatre audience served to secure the non-local audience in the way I hoped for the play to engage the non-locals and soliciting a public audience served the involvement of a local audience in the way I hoped for the play to engage the locals.

The contractual theatre audience relationship enrolled the non-local audience in an experience which might raise questions around their normal daily relational entanglement with Bertrams[50]. Ingold says, 'To correspond with the world, in short, is not to describe it, or, to

[50] Mainly in the realm of a macro level relational effect here, effects produced by outside audience members' economic, class and cultural activities; racially and culturally informed histories.

represent it, but to *answer to it*.' (Ingold, 2013: 108, emphasis in original). Ingold's '*answer*' is perhaps simply a synonym for 'correspond' in keeping with his injuncture to correspond with the world's materiality, but in the way of synonyms, it offers a slight qualifying shift in meaning. '*Answer*' implies not only to reply to the world, but also to be *accountable* to it, to account for yourself in relation to the world. Chapter 6 deals with making the play in an attempt to represent our attempt at co-presence, at deep attentiveness through correspondence with Bertrams. The playmaking and the final play were attempts, sometimes succeeding, sometimes failing, at accounting for ourselves as a theatre ensemble in relation to Bertrams, through our work, but also through our lives. In seeking to enrol the outside audience members through a theatre audience contract in the world of the play and something of the world of Bertrams through the play, the non-local audience members were drawn into an accountability for their ongoing actions to construct all Johannesburg city spaces and not just those they are directly involved in.

People outside of Bertrams were very unlikely to chance upon a performance of the play – they needed to be drawn into Bertrams to see it. Publicising dates and times with an invitation to people from outside of Bertrams to drop in was too vague and free form for people not part of Bertrams daily life to really engage with the play – easy to get caught up in your own daily life and not 'drop in' to see. Having to commit ahead of time via a booking to the entire route of the play increased outside audience members' investment in the event of the play. They were more likely to follow through on a desire to attend and more than that, once there, would not watch for a bit and then leave. They would feel compelled to follow through on their involvement in the *entire* event, by the theatre audience convention of staying for the duration of the event, if nothing else.

Why use a structure like this to bind outside audiences into a durational commitment to the play? Why not trust the affectual charge, fictive magnetism and narrative pull of the play to compel audiences into a deep engagement with the work? Because I wanted to draw outside

audiences into the kind of relational entanglement that a durational experience of the play could offer and to make it harder for them to watch with detachment or to pull away, 'to drop out' if their involvement became confronting or boring. I did not trust theatre alone with its affect, fiction and narrative to hold them. The demands of personal and daily lives without a structural commitment are too strong – 'If I leave now I can fit in some shopping before that *braai*'. Furthermore, the affect, fiction and narrative of the play might be the very things to drive an audience away – 'This image upsets me'; 'I'm feeling uncomfortable on a street watching this particular kind of fiction in this particular place'.

If *Izithombe 2094* was one of the kinds of artwork that might be leaning towards Sitas's public art for public pedagogy (2015: ix), one of the 'lessons' I hoped it might facilitate for an outside audience was what it is to be involved in Bertrams daily life. I wanted outside audience members to not only see but start to feel through the experience of the play and therefore to *account* for the threads of relationality between Bertrams daily life and their own. To be involved is not to drop in, but, even if only for two hours, to be involved over time in spite of discomfort, boredom, sadness or the pulls of your own micro meshwork. The piece demanded the outside audience be involved in consciously (with a sense of accountability) constructing the world of the play. Having the outside audience there for the full length of the work was to properly and not superficially engage the fuller meshwork which includes people from outside Bertrams.

Binding local audience members to a theatre audience contract was less important because their commitment could be solicited in the moment and, pragmatically, the tools for marketing the play to attract a theatre audience did not have traction with locals. We solicited local audience members as theatre audiences through invitations to the institutions we had worked with and their affiliates. We handed out fliers to everyone we saw on the streets as we rehearsed and performed, encouraging them to come, talking them through the dates, stressing that it was pay-what-you-

can/free to locals. But I had a realistic expectation that even with a much more rigorous marketing campaign for local audiences, getting people from the area to commit ahead of time to watching the play and for them to watch the whole play was unlikely. My hunch was borne out in that the only local audiences we had were: two local business owners, block bookings of residents/learners from local instiutions, managers from the institutions who came as individuals and the curators and owners of Twilsharp Studios. There were some local children who joined us as theatre audience members and I discuss them in more detail later on in this chapter. I partly anticipated, and certainly found through fliering, that local people did not understand what the play was from the flier or from my or Baeletsi's explanations. Seeing the play in the moment was both the invitation and the explanation for 'what was going on' with the play and a clearer exchange of art product for viewing.

The play was not aggressively marketed, either for local or non-local audiences, and I would not have chosen to even with a much bigger marketing budget. Audience members needed to choose to engage out of their own volition and I could use tactics to manipulate a structure for this volition through their historical relationship with art and theatre. Where people from outside the area were more reliably engaged through the contract of theatre, local people were more reliably engaged through the contract of public art. I could draw non-locals into a pre-structured durational commitment more easily than get them to 'drop in' on a piece of outdoor public art theatre. With locals I could rely more readily on the affect, fiction and narrative of theatre to hold their engagement if they came across the play during the course of their daily activities, than if I tried to sell the play to them with blurbs or fliers.

Of course the durational engagement of locals would also have deepened their reflections of how they are involved in the placemaking that is Bertrams daily life and the correlations (the co-relations) they might see and feel between other people's experiences of Bertrams daily life and

their own. But it was also not as important for the project's intentions that local people see the whole play. Local people are engaged in a *continuous* durational experience of daily life in Bertams. If the play offered them only a flash of an image, a fragment of a mood or a story, that moment in combination with their own personal history with the place, would allow a deeper resonance than might be possible if an outsider saw only that image or fragment or felt that mood. The local audience were already 'enrolled' daily, in reality, in the relational meshwork, micro, meso and macro of Bertrams in a way that did not require as much engineering to make their part in the relational meshwork as explicit as it did for the outside audience.

The local audience were the only tester of the public art audience for theatre as public art. This was partly because it would have been harder to effectively involve the outside audience if the play were marketed as an event you could join anywhere along the route. But also, more significantly, it was because testing the public art in this way with outsiders *was* less important for the project. Outsiders are not generally actively present in Bertrams spaces. In testing theatre's ability as public art to engage space and place, people not generally immediately active in constructing that space becoming place were less important as a public art audience than those who are. Doing *Izithombe 2094* on a Saturday morning would not affect a Sharon from Norwood, but it would inevitably affect a Sharon living in Carr House next to the Jukskei bridge, whether she chose to watch it or not. The public artness of *Izithombe 2094* was to correspond with Bertrams locals. The theatreness, and here I mean the infrastructure of theatre as a machine rather than its theatrical aspects of affect, narrative, imaginaries and so on, was to draw people outside of Bertrams into the conversation.

My second reason for soliciting people outside of Bertrams was a significant part of completing the 'theatre' of *Izithombe 2094* as a public art piece. Without an audience the play was just a rehearsal. Or a piece of street theatre without expectation of a guaranteed audience

committed to the duration of the piece. With a theatre audience, the play was a kind of self-contained theatrical event. Passersby were not just seeing a play being performed (street theatre) they were watching the watching of a play, as if suspended in a second auditorium where they could view the audience and the play simultaneously. In the experience of the public art audience, the theatre audience became enrolled as actors in the meta-theatrical event of *Izithombe 2094*.

Effectively play and theatre audience became one big spectacle. Like an arrow, the theatre audience, drew attention to the play, 'what are they looking at? Oh, that woman dancing in the garden.' The theatre audience were also looking at the public art audience. Their gazes sometimes connecting and sometimes not – the public art audience member attentive to the theatre fleetingly or at length or possibly not even on the theatre event at all in the moment the theatre audience member looked back at the public art audience member (drinking on the stoep, only to look up at the passing crowd a while later). The theatre audience and the public art audience were not only entering into a relationship with the characters, objects and narratives of the play, they were entering into a relationship with one another. The theatre as public art event facilitated relationships between the two audiences and the play and the public space-becoming-place we were all both part of and making.

The second half of this chapter considers the kinds of relationalities the meta-theatricality of theatre as public art enacted through *Izithombe 2094* by discussing four of the play's audiences. These four audiences serve as examples of how relationalities formed through the public performances of *Izithombe 2094* revealed aspects of the relational, material, emergent meshwork of placemaking in contemporary Bertrams. The four audiences discussed are:

- A theatre audience made up of local refugee and immigrant women from a support group run by Sophiatown Community Psychological Services, predominantly Francophones.

- A public art audience that merged with the theatre audience.
- A theatre audience of photographers.
- The middle-class, outsider theatre audience – this example not from only one show, but across all the performances of both runs of the play.

THE FRANCOPHONE AUDIENCE OF WOMEN

The first example of a 'theatre audience' immediately blurs the somewhat binary-defining discussion above where theatre audience is equated with people from outside Bertrams, predominantly middle-class, and public art audience equates with locals, predominantly working class and poor. The Sophiatown Community Psychological Services group of refugee, immigrant and migrant women came to watch the play during their normal group therapy slot on a Tuesday morning, 10:30-12:30. They walked up from the Sophiatown facilities on Derby Road with two social workers and a French-English interpreter. The interpreter translated everything said in English in the play into French for the group. Most of them were Francophone. Many of them had babies on their backs or toddlers in tow. We set off – a big, unwieldy group.

Walking through the streets *en masse* as part of the play, the women were in a different position of power and in a different mode of activity from their usual daily experiences of the Bertrams streets. They had an ownership of the streets in their number and in the licence of being on an 'offical' event through Sophiatown Community Psychological Services. In terms of activity, instead of walking with a functional purpose to get from one place to another for an errand (taxi to Home Affairs, church, school, internet café), they were ambling with no clear sense of where they were going or what for. They were engaging with familiar spaces through unfamiliar activity, an unfamiliar route and with an unfamiliar authority over the space. All of this was enabled by their being a theatre audience. If they had stopped on their way to the internet café to engage with the

play as public art, they would have still been in their daily activity and daily power relationship to Bertrams public spaces and would have been unlikely to detour to join the play beyond the performance moment that caught their attention.

To passersby, they *looked* an impressive group. Without exception they were all glamorously dressed in bright fabrics: stylish dress and two piece designs, headdresses and jewellery. Normally the Francophone tour guide character, Sylvie (played by Lindiwe Matshikiza), stood out like a brightly-coloured wonder waiting for us on the street corner to lead us on. With this audience she blended into a group of other brightly-coloured wonders and her normally starkly pointed guiding in French was now almost lost in an audio sea of French. The women also exuded a kind of confidence in their busy-ness and distracted activities within their walking and watching – receiving calls, checking messages, talking loudly on their phones, to one another, half-listening to the actors and the interpreter. In the eyes of any public art audience watching the event this group of women were conspicuously, although casually, owning the street through the amount of space they were taking up, through their bright visual aesthetic, their confident attitudes and through their speaking and actions. As theatre audience the group of women were inadvertently performing for Bertrams locals a claiming of the Bertrams streets.

Although all audiences changed the play in some way, this audience of women effected radically marked shifts. As a theatre rather than a public art audience, they also changed it in a way that impacted the entire performance and not just a section of it. Where for most performances the cast set and drove pace, script and character-audience relationship dynamics, this audience of women unintentionally assumed control of all these aspects of the play. Between children, cellphones, chats with one another and general fatigue at all the walking, how fast we moved was determined by the women. The interpreter stopping to translate into French added a new character and a new layer of dialogue to the script, but also shifted the pace. Each moment of

speech now had the additional beats of translation and reception of translation. In response Toni sped up and shortened her English speeches. Toni and Lindiwe usually established quite personal relationships with audiences, finding moments with specific audience members and achieving an intimacy of address even with large crowds. Somehow because the audience of women were substantial in number, homogeneous by their institutional affiliation and therefore impactfully choral in their distracted attention, all of Toni and Lindiwe's characters became less personal and more matter of fact. They stuck to big voices and succinct dialogue, partly to keep things moving while allowing for interpretation; partly to make interpretation easier, but also just energetically to match the strong presence of the women who would not be governed into attentiveness. Where normally they would have used their characters to manipulate the audience into a particular pace, script and mode of participation, the performers compensated for the women's pace, translation and manner of participating.

The women were not a wilfully unruly audience at all – they were simply not docile. The event of the theatre freed them from the kinds of docility they are normally confined to on the streets we were walking. Their own disregard or lack of awareness of theatre-watching conventions meant they defied the rules of docility for theatre. They were also operating like any school or company block booking for a play – a group of people who know each other, are under the same institutional umbrella and therefore quickly make a powerfully cohesive group as a theatre audience. In the case of the institutional block booking, audience reactions are not dispersed as when people view a play in their individual capacities – this one bored, this one attentive, this one heckling. Instead the whole group takes on a more singular quality of participation. The audience of Sophiatown women were all the same gender, of a similar age, similar dress, mostly the same language group, in similarly precarious and difficult positions as refugees and immigrants or migrants to Johannesburg and linked by Sophiatown. All together they looked and behaved like a

chorus representing a certain kind of Bertrams person, in spite of all their individual differences. They became an amplification of a 'female refugee identity' to onlookers.

However, in doing so they inverted their normal role on the streets and also shifted the normal power dynamic in theatre (or art viewing generally) of the appreciative and obedient audience. The Sophiatown women as theatre audience radically shifted, for the duration of the play, the power dynamics of relationality that would normally operate in their spatial meshwork. In terms of the play they also shifted the conventional power dynamics between audience and performers. They were Rogoff's 'disruptive' audience using their speech and actions to determine their use of the streets of Bertrams and of the play (2005: 129).

There were many details from this particular performance and its audience that elucidated, enacted or raised questions about the micro aspects of how these women navigated and contributed to space and placemaking in Bertrams. To name a few that were readily visible: the effort of a mainly pedestrian life with small children in need of carrying, variations in linguistic ability outside of French and the male interpreter for an all-female social support group run by a female therapist. There was also much going on in that seemingly homogeneous group of women, which was not immediately apparent but was operational throughout the performance. I ran into the women's social worker at the Sophiatown premises a few weeks later in mid-October. She said the entire group of women was divided in light of the postponed Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) presidential elections scheduled for the November. The DRC government had postponed the election to April 2018. The motion was understood as a government tactic to keep current president, Joseph Kabila, in power until the delayed election date and met with huge protest from the opposition bloc (Al Jazeera, 2016, 17 October). The women in the Sophiatown group from the DRC and surrounding countries were divided by their support for either Joseph Kabila or his opposition.

These tensions and differences were undoubtedly at work in the group as they watched *Izithombe 2094*. However, in the play between micro, meso and macro views of the meshwork of Bertrams, the significant work of the theatre as public art for this particular performance and its audience (theatre and public) was in how it allowed for an inversion in the usual operation of the macro forces shaping the women's involvement in Bertrams spaces. The theatre facilitated for the duration of the performance a different trajectory for the women as actors (Latourian) making and being made by space and with an attendant difference in their relational power. Those that happened to see them, the public art audience, experienced a different kind of relationship to the 'type' of Bertrams local the women represented.

Were the women aware of any of this? Did they feel any benefits of the effect of their presence and actions as audience? There was certainly none that they articulated and my sense is that few were conscious even of the power they were assuming as they walked the streets. I could conjecture all sorts of things: that they took the power they assumed for granted (a liberating idea, even though the taking for granted might prevent their seeking ways of having more power in more areas and at other times in their lives); that some of them relished it; that they were too preoccupied with other concerns – visas, money, sick children, shelter – to feel much pleasure in their choral, street and play-dominating power. Mostly my sense from them was that they were variously and at various stages during the performance: curious, bemused, bored, thirsty, tired, amused.

Being a theatre audience for theatre as public art did not change the women's lives or even shift significantly how people in the public art audience (Bertrams locals) perceived the women. The work of the play was more modest: that theatre as a public artwork created a situation in which for a two hour period the performative norms of a relational meshwork were shifted. The most obviously significant performative effect in the case of this audience and performance was a

radical shift not in micro level relational power dynamics, but in macro ones. For two hours the women owned the streets and the public art made in response to the streets.

As Rike Sitas says of four projects she studied towards thinking through public art's role in an affective urban pedagogy:

> While the projects created transgressive impulses, it is difficult to tell how far the pedagogical potentialities were realised for everyone involved. The role of public pedagogy is to transform the experiences of participants into critical reflection in order to collectively draw new insights upon which to act, even if these are contested. (Sitas, 2015: 223)

In Sitas's pedagogical terms, what is beyond the moment of that performance for the women in that Tuesday morning audience? I do not know. I even suspect there was little opportunity for critical reflection *in the moment*. Yet my proposition is that the radical shift in power dynamics within an artistic and a public urban space is a rich starting point for any number of potentialities: new knowledges in a public pedagogy, new research approaches, new public artworks, new ways of daily living – even if these new possibilities are only fleeting and not fully self-aware.

PUBLIC ART AUDIENCE MERGES WITH THEATRE AUDIENCE

On our last but one performance on Sunday, 6 November, the theatre audience was predominantly made up of a group of friends who had booked through a friend of mine. They were all couples, white, Jewish, in their mid to late thirties. All of them were in some way successful entrepreneurs and socially minded through their business endeavours. All of them had children who were not with them that day. Three Bertrams local children arrived just before the play started to be part of the ticketed theatre audience. Zilpha Bila and Ulwazi Qwabe were in the Bertrams Junior School weekly theatre and performance based workshop group and their friend, Khosi Somfula, had recently started at Jeppe High School. This group of three arrived at the beginning of each show to be part of the theatre audience for the entire duration of nearly every performance in the second run. During this particular performance we ran into more children along Terrace Road, who joined us on

my encouragement. Somewhere along Liddle, Kali, also from Bertrams Junior School fell in line. The children and the adults in the audience were mutually friendly and by halfway through the play, as we left the Jukskei bridge, nearly every child and adult had paired up. These pairs were in various versions of hand-holding, chatty parent-child intimacy. The child-adult pairs proceeded like this to the end of the play and route, splitting only when we got back to Twilsharp Studios, when the children dispersed to play on the property and the adults to look at the exhibition.

The interweaving of a child public art audience with the theatre audience of adults (and Zilpha, Ulwazi and Khosi as part of the theatre audience) was something you might dream of orchestrating for a public art performance. It was an event that crossed the divides of class, race and geographies through tactile, verbal engagement and participation in a shared experience. Yet the very orchestration would carry a cynical tone of exploiting the goodwill and affective power of children. Happening spontaneously and unexpectedly, the interweaving of adults and children was a gift of a moment for everyone. I argue in two stages here: firstly, for how the audience merging was a spatial construction in the way of Massey's coeval becomings and, secondly, for how theatre as public art working across the two audiences, public and theatre, facilitated the space of this particular performance.

The Sunday, 6 November performance was a confluence of a number of factors. The play was well-established and known to many of the children in the area, even those who were not part of the weekly Bertrams Junior School workshops. They knew us, the professional cast and crew, and they knew the event of the play and something of its route. Because Zilpha, Ulwazi and Khosi had got into a rhythm of coming to every performance, they played mediatory roles for the other children to join the formal theatre audience. The group of couples that came to that performance had young children of their own, were good with children, warm, physically affectionate and open in their body languages, but also unsentimental either about children or about poverty. I discovered

after the show that many of them worked in similar situations to Bertrams either through their business initiatives or through voluntary work. In spite of being well-heeled and living in the affluent northern suburbs of Johannesburg they had an active engagement with areas of the city outside of their home suburbs. They also all knew the history of Bertrams as a working class Jewish neighbourhood. As we walked down Frere Road during the performance one of the women pointed out to me the factory her grandfather had owned, where he ran an overall manufacturing business.

The structure of the play became a container to realise the following 'spatio-temporal event' (Massey, 2005: 130): trajectories of Jewish lives lived in Bertrams bringing their descendants back to engage with the trajectories of children shaping the current space of Bertrams. The trajectories of both children and adults are shaped by the macro forces of economic and racial inequalities of contemporary South Africa, but to very different effects. Global capitalism and an apartheid and colonial legacy have greatly advantaged the adults in that particular audience and greatly disadvantaged the children. But the children and adults' trajectories are also shaped by micro level, daily gestures of parenting and being parented (whether by guardians or teachers or a combination of both); of seeking to parent and seeking to be parented. These acts of parenting and seeking or receiving parenting come with embodied actions of affection and communication. The warmth and spontaneity of the engagement between the children and the adults was facilitated in part by the play, but also by the meeting of the children and adults' sympathetic micro trajectories. Interestingly in the case of the adults, this was partially enabled by their own attempts through their development interests to work against the macro forces that privilege them racially and economically both in the contemporary moment and historically.

The theatre laid the groundwork for a readiness for 'the event' of the merging of the child public art audience and the adult theatre audience. It offered duration and a holding structure of narrative and characters for that duration. It offered a journey through the space produced through

the children's and the adults' broader meshwork of relationality beyond the play (and independently of the event of the play). Yet also through its repetition as a performance, the theatre had established a personal relationship of trust between the play cast and crew and the children of the area *and* a knowledge of and trust in the theatre as public art event. Put in object-based public art terms, it was almost as if *Izithombe 2094* was a sculpture in the park that had been there long enough for the children to feel they could play with it.

THE AUDIENCE OF PHOTOGRAPHERS

On the Saturday afternoon, 5 November, a group of photographers called the City Walkers arrived. The man who made the booking had not mentioned photography at all. Ten minutes before the show started there was a heavy thunderstorm. In the chaos of getting waiting audience members into the shelter of the Twilsharp Studio's exhibition space and making a call on at what point we would decide to cancel the show if the rain continued, I was disconcerted to see the group hauling out enormous cameras and tripods. The rain stopped at twenty to three (two thirty was the official start time) and I made my usual announcement, heavily stressing the photography restrictions: no faces, no shopfronts, landscapes only, to ask me before photographing any performers. We set off and the photographers were not to be deterred by restrictions – they worked tactically within them. One woman strode along, calling out briskly and cheerfully to anyone she passed, 'Can I take your photo?' Snap, snap, snap. Stopping to ask two of the City Walkers not to photograph the Bienvenu girls' dance in front of the graffitied wall on Liddle Street, they replied, 'Oh no! We're not photographing them! It's the graffiti! We're graffiti-philes!' I turned back to the rest of the audience and almost immediately, Strider was calling up to two people looking out of a first floor window, 'Hey! Do you mind if I take your photo?' A furious Sylvie (Lindiwe Matshikiza) demanded that I translate into English, 'No photos!' Followed by a French injunction, slowly and clearly

understandable even without any knowledge of French, to photograph only her because '*Vous ne habitez pas ici*!' (You do not live here!). Outside Carr House, one of the blocks of council flats, groups of people enjoying a Saturday afternoon drink on the steps and balconies crowded together to pose. Snap, snap, snap. Baeletsi stopped two people from poking their cameras through the fence of a private property to get shots of garden gnomes. The photographers pushed their luck, stuck only nominally within the rules and treated the tour, as Mark Fleishman (who was at that performance) later said, 'like a safari' (Fleishman, personal communication 2016, 5 November). They were even costumed like a herd of wildlife photographers with many of them in cargo shorts and pocketed gilets combined with their huge camera lenses.

This next section discusses the kinds of relationships formed between the photographer theatre audience and the public art audience on that Saturday afternoon and what it exposed of a relational politics of space in Bertrams. The meshwork of relationality in this particular performance made potential ethical demands on the cast and myself. In unpacking these ethical demands, I consider too how the ethics of engagement might shift if this kind of audience recurred repeatedly.

The forming of relationships between the photographers and the public art audience was rude, quick and direct. I use the term 'rude' here in the sense of 'startling abruptness', 'vigorous', 'hearty' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010), which was how the photographers interacted with the spaces of Bertrams. There was no doubt as to the following things: the photographers were not from the area and they were privileged – their privilege visibly performed through their expensive equipment. They attended the play with a rampant curiosity enacted only through photographing. All their movements – walking, the way they held their bodies, gestures – were orientated towards capturing images and this was an unambiguously, loudly appropriative act. They saw images, they hastily negotiated some form of consent and they snapped. With no exception that I noticed, everyone they solicited for photographs said yes immediately and posed. I would assess the

readiness to consent came out of the novelty of having a professional-looking photographer ask to take your portrait; the surprise factor and the speedy, cheerful, little-room-for-negotiation, request for permission.

Of course the consent is beside the point. The power dynamics of the privileged photographer with their giant camera and the unsuspecting working class Bertrams local was heavily weighted on the side of the photographer. The photographers also quite unselfconsciously assumed ownership of a space that was unfamiliar to them. An ownership they assumed in spite of the public space of Bertrams containing much of the private. The public/private boundary in the area is blurred by the low walls and palisade fences allowing views into people's homes and by the kinds of private and semi-private activities that happen on the street – people socialising, going about their business.

However, the boldness of the photographers' appropriation of space and images made a gap available. In the request to be photographed or even in seeing them take a photograph (which could not be missed) onlookers and human photographic subjects could either immediately agree to let it happen or immediately, and with a quick rudeness matching the taking of the photographs, protest. After the photographer audience show I compared their approach to the many people who subtly took photographs on their phones and small digital cameras throughout the run of the play. With an air of not wanting to intrude, most theatre audience members were taking all sorts of images along the route. On the one hand these subtle photographers were performing respect towards a space that was not theirs and were trying to make as minimal an impact as possible. On the other hand there was a stealth appropriation with no gap for anyone – public art audience, us as cast and crew, fellow theatre audience members – to negotiate because the appropriation was mostly invisible.

No-one did stop the City Walker photographers. Possibly partly because the photographers' forcefulness and the power dynamic they drew on was too strong, but other factors were at play too for the Bertrams locals, the other theatre audience members and the cast and crew. The Saturday afternoon Bertrams locals were being congenial. Dismissing their responses as driven by a position of less power; of subservience, does not do justice to the complexity of their willingness to pose. The power to be congenial in any moment *is* a power and not a submissive act. It is a claiming of an empowering action you can make. It is a micro gesture that subverts the macro power dynamics. The other theatre audience members felt to say anything would disrupt the theatre or was simply not their place (Vaughan, personal communication 2016, 7 December). Even the cast and crew, myself included, only policed as we went. The cast were committed to maintaining the fictional world of the play which limited the authority they could enact without breaking that fiction. Even the crew (stage manager, Tiffani Cornwall, and Baelesti Tsatsi) did not draw on their potential meta-theatrical authority during the play to ban photography outright. For any one of us, disrupting the play to take such a firm hand with the photographers, would have been to claim a personal ownership and control of the work in that moment, beyond the shared ownership and control of the play ensemble (participants and professionals).

Possibly the cast and crew also felt they would be wresting an authority from me as the leader of the project – that it was my responsibility to police the photographers or that they did not want to infringe on my choice to police or not police them. I say *possibly*, because it is hard for me to assess how much my authorial power trumped the authorial power of us as a collective, particularly by this stage in the process. Everyone had developed a strong ownership over the piece and their individual trajectories in it. I am not trying to side step my own accountability either, but rather to say quite honestly, that I do not know where the professional cast and crew's sense of loyalty lay ultimately – to my vision or to the play we made or to Bertrams as a place. The loyalties

and a sense of where to claim personal ownership and where to participate in a collective ownership was a fluctuating, contextually driven and ambivalent thing for all of us. As Flyvbjerg offers: 'Phronetic research is dialogical in the sense that it includes, and, if successful, is itself included in, a polyphony of voices, with no one voice, including that of the researcher, claiming final authority.' (2001: 139).

In the moment of the play, it did not occur to me to claim the kind of control over the play that I would ban photography for the rest of its duration. I remember thinking: these photographers have a way of negotiating city spaces through photography and I am going to leave them to it. I watched them tactically keep within the rules established at the beginning of the play and did not limit their engagement beyond policing the rules moment by moment. Instead of shaping the kinds of relationality the photographers might form through the play, I felt an impulse to defend their freedom to participate as they wanted to and to defend the Bertrams locals' freedom to respond to the photographers as they chose.

The cast and crew were furious with the photographers. They felt the photographers had entirely disrespected the space of Bertrams. Baeletsi felt they had also disrespected the work of the play which was attempting to honour the contemporary moment of Bertrams spaces and ultimately placemaking practices, not intrude upon them. She felt the photographers used the play to gain access to an area they would not have otherwise come to, 'They wouldn't have come to Bertrams by themselves. They came because they felt safe with the play.' (Tsatsi, personal communication 2016, 6 November). They were Lindiwe's 'worst audience' (Matshikiza, personal communication 2016, 6 November). Tiffani articulated a fury at the presumption of their privilege (Cornwall, personal communication 2016, 6 November). Toni, the most magnanimous having experienced the City Walkers group before, rolled her eyes and expressed appreciation for the subtle and unintrusive approach of another photographer who had attended several previous performances

(Morkel, personal communication 2016, 6 November). Baeletsi articulated the major impulse that was at work in the cast and crew's anger when she said:

> I realised how attached I've become to Bertrams. When we first started I didn't know it. But now I feel like I have an ownership over it. I feel like I have to protect it from these people. When those people stuck their cameras through the fence, I was so mad. (Tsatsi, personal communication 2016, 6 November)

She felt like she was the guardian of that garden, that in some ways required more defence than if it had been her own. The cast and crew were deeply attached to the area and felt a responsibility to protect the space from outside intrusions that would not honour it as it is. I did not feel at all mad, in the moment or afterwards. I felt responsible, which I go into in more detail below, but in the play and afterwards, I felt that the photographers were hilarious and harmless. I felt endeared to them in some ways – Strider marching along and soliciting snaps with her no-nonsense cheerfulness; the Carr House guys posing like it was a Vogue photo shoot, drunk and delighted and also evidently thinking it was all a little hilarious too – this spectacle of snapping photographers.

At the time I was very affected by the cast's anger and questioned whether I had let them down as a co-author of the piece. My feelings were part of being in the ensemble theatre making knot of relationality that was the making of *Izithombe 2094*. But now, reflecting through writing as the researcher in the project, I feel like our differing responses elucidate the precarity and resilience of space. The relationship between theatre audience, cast and crew and the public art audience in this 5 November performance exposed the precarity and therefore preciousness of space. The space is precious because it is not stable but constantly becoming and therefore subject to change. The cast felt fear of the power that can be enacted through macro forces which can so easily radically shift a space with a complete disregard for its preciousness. The cast felt acutely the precarity of the Bertrams space moment. I felt, both in that performance and in reflection afterwards, the resilience of the Bertrams space – the people, the buildings, the infrastructure, the objects – to not be reduced or changed by one bunch of aggressive photographers.

After the performance, seeing the cast and crew's anger with the photographers, I questioned whether I should have enacted control over their negotiation of the space. I felt strongly that the responsibility lay with me: it was my research project, I was the co-ordinating authority and if anyone was to stop the show for a moment and ban photography, it was me. When I asked Mark Fleishman after the show if he thought I should have stopped the photographers, he brought up Claire Bishop's understanding of art as operating on a spectrum from anarchy to controlled consensus for social cohesion (2006: 11). Later in conversation with Edgar Pieterse about participation in the project more generally, he mentioned Bent Flyvbjerg's work on phronesis as a research approach, combining a valuing of intuition in the moment with a Foucauldian analysis of power (2001). The two theorists' thoughts sat with me in connection with the photographer theatre audience and my sense now is that allowing a degree of anarchy in the piece was productive because it exposed the precarity and resilience of Bertrams.

The impassioned responses of the cast, although unpleasant for them to experience, were important because they were not a dry reflection on the mutability of space and the losses that can entail. The cast's anger was an expression of the stakes of space and placemaking. If a developer buys up properties in Bertrams, evicts squatters and moves in paying tenants, there will be a loss of a precious way of life: affectually rich, economically productive and socially full. And the affectual response to that loss will be one of rage, despair, sadness, at a level that the 'madness' and 'hate' the cast felt about the photographer audience started to gesture towards.

Beyond a developer or a city planning decision, if we had continued to do the play repeatedly with that kind of audience, we too would have undermined the resilience of the Bertrams space and exploited its precarity. There is a preciousness in the privacy of space making which becomes placemaking, even in public spaces, which would shift with a recurring tour group's gaze and rude appropriation of images. Ways of life would become performed as cynical products

in exchange for hoped for revenue. Or people would get angry and act out against the constant invasion of their space by outsiders. In terms of Bishop and Flyvbjerg that is where my authorial responsibility as project instigator and co-ordinator lay, according to the ethics of my methodology. Licencing the photographers once was a productive and exposing anarchy. Licencing them a second, third, fourth time would stop being anarchy and start to author a different kind of project – a project where the gaze and actions of the tourist were given greater and greater authority in the work at the cost of preserving a space for a more equitable negotiation of relationality.

THE AUDIENCE OF MIDDLE-CLASS OUTSIDERS

There is so much to say about all the middle-class individuals who came to watch the play as part of the formal theatre audience, as there is much to say about every individual that participated as audience in all or part of the play – a 'thick description' and 'thick analysis' (Clarke, 2005: xxiii, citing Fosket, 2002: 40 and Geertz, 1973) of one person's experience could be enough for a whole chapter. Instead this section offers a brief reading of selected middle-class theatre audience individuals' experiences of the play in terms of Fischer-Lichte's subjective experience of theatre (1995: 97-105) and Machon's (syn)aesthetic theatre (2011). The reading of the middle-class theatre audience leads onto this chapter's conclusion for the possibilities of theatre as public art creating an embodied, affectual experience which raises the audience's consciousness of the meshwork of relationality making up city spaces. Theatre as public art has the capacity to offer a kind of perspective that is not detached, but is self-aware at the same time as it is immersed in the situation.

Gilbert Pooley said he felt that participating in the play offered an experience of being me as a researcher in Bertrams (personal communication 2016, 6 September). Frances Slabolepszy said for her the play so clearly offered a subjective experience. You had the experience that was driven

by who you were and how you related to the play and street of that day (personal communication 2016, 17 September). Yvette Hardie said she was moved and engaged but by the end felt she wanted a containing feeling or perspective to thread all she had felt, sensed and experienced along the way together. She wanted – in a broad, affectual sense – a climax and a conclusion (Hardie, personal communication 2016, 7 December). Blanca Calvo and Lené Le Roux left via an uber at the Jukskei bridge, followed up by a considered, detailed email from Blanca on the discomfort she felt at being middle-class with a group of white middle to upper middle-class audience members in a poor/working class, predominantly black neighbourhood. She found it especially difficult that the play began with an older white woman (Toni's Jean character) as the tour guide (personal communication 2016, 2 November – 2017, 1 February). Clara Vaughan felt the theatre lens offered you a different view on everyday life; it became theatricalised. She also felt seeing the play first with a predominantly young, black audience (the Market Theatre Laboratory students), was very different to seeing it with a predominantly white audience the second time (the City Walker photography audience). The predominantly white, City Walker audience made her feel more self-conscious about her whiteness (Vaughan, personal communication 2016, 7 December).

Many people said they kept being unsure as to what was part of the play and what was real. They said the blurry line between the fictional and the everyday was intriguing and moving and involved them in both the play and Bertrams spaces – the Bertrams spaces immersing them in the fiction of the play; the fiction of the play immersing them in Bertrams spaces (personal communication over the course of 27 August 2016 to mid-January 2017, but also ongoing). Tizzle Leyland said you had to feel all the discomfort and 'weirdness' and wait till you had done the whole route to see how those feelings settled. Somewhat in contrast to Yvette Hardie's response, she felt the entire experience offered both a container for the discomfort and a process for metabolising it (Leyland, personal communication 30 October, 2016). Sebastian and Samantha Mansfield-Barry

said although they enjoyed it both times they saw it, the first time they felt self-conscious and like they were being voyeuristic and the second time found it much easier to feel at home on the walk (personal communication 2016, November). Pule Welch said that it was an important endeavour: 'These are our streets. To do this kind of work on our streets' (personal communication 2016, 30 October). Ang Lloyd, who wrote an in depth critical opinion piece on the play, said that she felt the work sat in a grey area of potential voyeurism, but that finally she felt it was productive and came out on the side of not othering, appropriating or intruding (personal communication 2016, 27 November).

I would like to suggest that Frances and Gilbert are both right. I led the cast through a research and devising process to make the play in service of my broader research project. We (the professional cast) created and curated an experience that inevitably mirrored my and our research processes. But inherent to this structure was the space to engage with the materiality of the Bertrams everyday and the artistic material produced in dialogue with the Bertrams everyday. The play sought to facilitate each audience member's own correspondence with the Bertrams everyday. So Carol Slabolepszy saw and felt saddened by infrastructural neglect at the same time as she enjoyed the humanness of seeing everyday life (personal communication 2016, 27 August). Blanca, on the other hand, saw white narratives given primacy over black narratives and spaza shopowners performing for tourists a quaintness, romance and exoticness of the makeshift foreign-run tuckshop in a poor area (personal communication 2016, 2 November). The Market Theatre Laboratory students felt the steepness of the valley, saw water, vegetables, mountains and taxis and were thrilled by the discovery of a new charity shop (feedback workshop 2016, 14 September). The things that stood out and what people felt depended on the context of that particular performance, including what was happening on the street and who was in the theatre and the public audience, but it also depended, as Frances asserted, radically on the person themselves. In

the same show people's responses could vary vastly. Blanca, Pule, Tizzle and Yvette all commented and acted as they did in response to the same performance.

Of course there is a certain truism to the subjectivity of art, just as there is a truism to the authority of the artist's manipulation of the audience through their medium. Naturally the play was subjectively experienced by all who watched it! Naturally we were consciously manipulating the audience's experience! However, Fischer-Lichte's argues for theatre that consciously works with the subjective potential of theatre (1995: 97-105), which recommends an ongoing dialogue with how the theatre maker/s structure meaning and experience for an audience through the work. To defend a subjective experience of a play is to take care with when and how you shape the audience's experience. Having the Market Theatre Laboratory students ready with the sea cloth on Thames Street was a conscious manipulation of the audience's gaze away from the private yards of that street. The sea cloth activity enrolled the audience as spectacle in the public space of the centre of the road. In the second run the Market Lab student chorus initially joined the audience from the beginning of the tour for logistical ease. Effectively, though unintentionally, this choice engineered a more racially mixed audience at the beginning of the play. When they ran ahead with the sea cloth after the garden, they were revealed as 'plants', exposing the 'real' theatre audience for whatever demographic mix they happened to be. I wanted the theatre audience to experience themselves as they were on that day and not to have their audience identity curated. In the same way the public art child and theatre adult audience merging was a spontaneous emergence, beautiful *because* it was spontaneous and not engineered. I changed the logistics of the play so that the Market Theatre Laboratory students would meet us at the corner of Thames Street. There was a constant play between the two poles of shaping experience and allowing for its subjective emergence.

Critical to this interplay was that the audience were viscerally, affectually engaged in the play, at the same time as they knew it was a theatrical fiction and a construct as a piece of art. The capacity for theatre to immerse an audience in a fictive world, that they might feel and not just understand a story, allowed for the subjective experience of the audience members to be affectually charged. As Machon proposes of '(syn)aesthetic theatre', the audience felt an 'experiential immediacy in the performance moment where sentient and sensuous sharability enables an embodied knowledge of other(ed) identities and experience' (2011: 23). A little bit like the cast's anger at the photographers or our joy and pleasure at our first audience of the Bertrams Junior School learners, audience members did not respond dispassionately. They *loved* it (Pooley, personal communication 2016, 30 August and The Huffington Post South Africa, 2016). They were uncomfortable and called an uber to get them out of the situation immediately (Le Roux, personal communication 2016, 30 October). Yet although they felt, they were also able to reflect because of the fictional, artistically constructed nature of the experience. The middle-class theatre audience could see and talk through the trajectories connecting into meshworks – micro, meso and macro – that they became knotted into, effectively and affectively, through the play.

Bernd Schulz said he experienced *Izithombe 2094* as a form of activism (Guhrs, personal communication 2016, 31 August, referencing Schulz's personal communication 2016, 30 August). Gilbert Pooley said he experienced the play as a form of group therapy (personal communication 2016, 30 August). I intended for neither, though was greatly heartened to hear the work was perceived as both. Possibly the play was therapy and activism in many ways, big and small, but what is significant about both these labels is that they suggest the theatre offered something quite specific as a public artwork. In activist terms it highlighted areas of social and political concern and offered possible means of addressing those concerns to effect positive change. In therapeutic terms

it offered a self-aware affective experience; an embodied awareness that allowed you to live and feel in the world, while conscious of how you act and are acted upon.

The middle-class theatre audience's experience of *Izithombe 2094* suggests for urban studies that the play was a means of gathering data on people's lived experiences and how they connect to one another to construct space. But more than that it argues for the theatrical play as public art form as a way of knowing that is embodied and therefore both active and reflective at the same time; in the situation while seeing the situation. This is a value theatre has to offer for an ethos of urban knowledge production which is inclusive of as many voices as possible. An ethos of urban knowledge production that attends to micro actions and textures as it extends an awareness to macro forces. An ethos of urban knowledge production that is grounded in the lived reality as much as it seeks to know it and respond to it. As Nigel Thrift offers in favour of a performance lens and discursive approach to city spaces: '…it is an attempt to produce strategic and hopefully "therapeutic" interventions' where we can see the 'Power of performance as recognition of the fact that all solutions are responsive, relational, dialogical' (Thrift, 2008: 147).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

I initiated my research with the proposition that theatre and performance might serve as practical methods of investigation and as conceptual frameworks for understanding the urban. The project's starting point was to relate the fields of an everyday, materially relational urbanism to theatre and performance studies concerns. To this end, Chapter 1's foundational thesis was that materially relational urbanism and theatre and performance studies share a conceptual lens of performance and performativity. To talk about an everyday, material relationality is to understand city spaces as continually formed through the practices of daily life, which is to say the daily performances of things that have performative effects.

From a theatre and performance studies perspective, Chapter 1 described the recent turn in the field towards considerations of performance and the city. Theatre and performance scholarship on the city joins a particular urban studies focus on understanding city spaces as performances (Whybrow, 2014: 2). The two fields have a shared investment in the relational, vital materialist, emergent nature of city spaces which the notion of 'performance' encapsulates. However the other aspect of theatre and performance studies scholarship on the city is how artistic performances (theatre and otherwise) might help to activate a relational, vital materialist, emergent sense of the urban to offer new knowledges of city spaces.

Where the 'cutural turn' in urban studies makes a call for the importance of understanding cities through their daily practices (Pieterse: 2012; Ash and Thrift: 2002), the theatre and performance studies field has been answering this call by actively engaging everyday spatial questions through performance practice and theory. My research project located in this intersecting territory of the two disciplines it straddles, Chapter 1 then laid out some of the key urban theory that has shaped everyday, materially relational conceptions of city space. It argued for how an everyday, materially relational conception of the city serves to theorise cities from the

specificity of their situations. It argued for the value of this 'area studies' approach (Roy, 2008) generally and for the value particular to a Southern Urbanist and Southern Theory project.

The final section of Chapter 1 defined performance, performativity, theatre and theatricality, initiating the research's contribution to turning theatre and performance towards urban studies concerns. It established performance and performativity as critical to the work in understanding the emergent, relational construction of city spaces and the attendant power dynamics in these relational meshworks. It also established performance and performativity as critical in considering the artistic process my project proposed as performative – producing effects and affects. It proposed that in the overlapping urban and theatre and performance territory of spatial production through ephemeral practices, theatre and performance are fitting tools practically as well as conceptually for learning about a city space-becoming-place. The last part of Chapter 1's conceptual framework proposed that the line between theatrical fiction and the theatrical in the everyday might be blurred to transport participants and audiences into an embodied expression and experience of the relational construction of city spaces. This argument towards the use of theatricality in service of an everyday, materially relational urbanism has had little direct exploration, either in the public cultures focus of urban studies or in the cities focus in theatre and performance studies. It is this research project's significant offering to its territory of inquiry.

Chapter 2 provided a preliminary review of key literature on public art, participatory research, participatory art and popular culture, identity and the city. The chapter located my research's participatory public art project somewhere between these intersecting discussions. My project drew on the democratic underpinnings of participatory research, but without strictly being participatory research. It followed a socially-engaged public art impulse to escape formal art spaces and elitist art structures to engage both the socially cohesive and socially provocative aspects of

this impulse. In the interstices of art's power to provoke and to draw together, the project asserted the particular usefulnesss of claiming an authorial role as artist within a participatory process because of the kinds of subtle, tactical, resistant participation it might elicit and expose. Finally, I located my project in discussions of popular culture as the daily practice of personal human identity formation as well as spatial identity formation in cities. Initiating and facilitating the work as a professional theatremaker, the project was not itself 'popular culture'. However, it fundamentally sought to know, assimilate and broadcast popular cultural knowledges of all forms and to stage a representation of these knowledges in the territory of daily popular cultural practice – the street. This literature review laid the ground work for my project's phronetic methodology, established in the second half of Chapter 2: to know through making with materiality (Ingold, 2013). This methodological approach proposed both an emergent methodology and ethics, formed through continued assessment, adjustment and return to the research field.

In service of understanding how the methodology might work in practice, as well as to situate my project in the broader field of recent Johannesburg public art, Chapter 3 discussed two projects as case studies: Terry Kurgan's *Hotel Yeoville* and The Trinity Session's Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville public art commissions management. The chapter considered how the works engaged a relational politics of space through process and how as final products they represented and continued to perform a relational politics of space in their Johannesburg sites.

From the case study investigations of Chapter 3 I conceived of my own public art intervention in Johannesburg's inner city suburb of Bertrams. This intervention was to test how the product-driven aim of making a play as public artwork might initiate a process to connect with the placemaking of Bertrams. Where I used the conceptual lens of performance and performativity to work with public artwork case studies in Chapter 3, my own intervention in Bertrams sought to try the practical efficacy of theatre and performance as tools as well as concepts. As established in

Chapter 1, my own public art project in Bertrams, the subject of the rest of the thesis, proposed theatre and theatricality specifically as useful and underutilised practical and conceptual offerings to performance work in and on cities, particularly in the Johannesburg context.

In a broad sense Chapters 4 and 5 dealt with the process-focused component of my theatre and performance intervention in Bertrams – the participatory workshops. Chapters 6 and 7 dealt with the product-focused component of the intervention – the making of the play *Izithombe 2094*, performed in the public spaces of Bertrams. But these four chapters demonstrated process and product as mixed up throughout. In Chapter 4 I discussed the workshops as participatory processes which allowed for the co-production of new subjectivities through knowledge sharing. We 'played' to explore how the workshop participants were making place through their daily activities. The playing with the daily actions we were investigating came together into a new '*something*' (Stewart, 2007: 1, emphasis in original) – a product, a spatio-temporal event performative of the spatio-temporal event of space-becoming-place. Similarly, Chapter 5 considered participatory process, but in terms of two significant 'events': exploring *tsotsis* in the Bienvenu Refugee Shelter workshops and making a Bertrams history play with Bertrams Junior School. Chapter 6 described the process of achieving the final product of *Izithombe 2094* and Chapter 7 discussed the kinds of relational processes *Izithombe 2094* as final product initiated.

My overarching argument dealt with how both theatre performances (plays) and places are constructed through spatial relationships over time. These spatial relationships are processual, but continually grounding into the transient products or 'events' that can be provisionally identified as a moment of resolution into place or a play. From this shared point, theatre and performance practices (towards playmaking) are able to correspond with space making practices (towards placemaking). The correspondence is the back and forth of communication between things, but it is also the resonance, the similarities between things, as is implicit in Ingold's use of the term. The

two notions of correspondence – communication and resonance – inform one another. The ephemeral, material, relational and affectual nature of spatial constructing might be fittingly expressed by all the same qualities inherent in theatre and performance. This resonance in quality allows for a productive to and fro of expression – a communication – between theatre and performance practices and spatial practices. It also allows researchers and the audiences researchers engage to enter into correspondence with place too, through their participation in playmaking.

Chapters 4 and 5 considered in detail how theatre and performance practices related to spatial practices in my research project and what this offered to placemaking in Bertrams. Chapter 4 discussed how the open-ended, embodied theatre and performance workshop process allowed for an emergence of knowledges about the material everyday to bring the micro moments of everyday poetics to the fore. Chapter 5 was concerned with the theatre and performance workshops as exploring and playing with some of the power relationships at work in the contemporary moment of Bertrams. The chapter argued for how the theatre and performance work allowed for a consideration of power relationships not only as 'global causes', but also as power that is felt, enacted and resisted in the daily lives of individuals in city spaces.

Chapter 6 dealt with the collaborative process of playmaking to explore and represent placemaking in Bertrams. The playmaking process served both knowing and assimilating knowledge about the everyday practices in Bertrams spaces that produce the area as an ever-emergent 'place'. Because of its ensemble nature the playmaking process facilitated a more extensive engagement with the meshwork of trajectories making the now of Bertrams. Yet as a representational practice it also offered a self-reflective framework for the subjectivity of the research endeavour and its presentation through a play. The playmaking process was to craft a theatrical fiction that would engage audience members themselves in a subjective corresponence with the placemaking

activities and qualities of Bertrams, rather than to make any definitive claims about what Bertrams 'is'. Chapter 7 extended the discussion of Chapter 6 into how performing the play in the public spaces of Bertrams facilitated a relational engagement between audience members, the play and space-becoming-place. This relational engagement was facilitated both by the structuring form of the play (the theatre) and by the play's 'play' between the real and the fictional (its use of the theatricality of the everyday and the theatricality of theatre to represent the everyday through fiction). Chapter 7 concluded with an argument for theatre as public art form to facilitate a self-aware, affectually experiential participation in the relational and ongoing work of placemaking.

Ingold writes of thinking and knowing through correspondence that:

> …it would be free to bring ways of knowing and feeling shaped through transformational engagement with people from around the world, both within and beyond the settings of fieldwork, to the essentially prospective task of helping to find a way into the future common to all of us. (Ingold, 2013: 66)

This is an echo and return to AbdouMaliq Simone's project quoted at the beginning of this thesis, 'how researchers, policymakers, and urban activists can practice ways of seeing and engaging urban spaces that are characterised simultaneously by regularity and provisionality' (Simone, 2008: 69). In service of these two injunctures, my study offered all sorts of potential proposals, forward and lateral spillages that I have not accounted for here. However, in conclusion I offer the following summation of the research as it grounds through this thesis into partial answers to Simone's and Ingold's projects. Firstly, theatre and performance offer themselves as resonant tools for investigating and communicating knowledges of an everyday, material relationality of city spaces. Secondly, the process to know through the theatre and performance games of playmaking is creative at the same time as it is investigative. The knowledge of city placemaking forms as new subjectivities and moments of place are made through the playmaking. Thirdly, the creative theatrical process, whether in workshops or play performances, affords a heightened, embodied, experiential awareness of the practices of everyday placemaking and their effectivity. The blurred

line between the real and the imagined that is the 'theatrical' allows for this sensually transportive experience. Lastly, it is in the transportation – the carrying across – of the theatrical that participants (thespian actors and audience members alike) imagine with self-awareness how they might as individuals in common with others use their daily practices to support and shift the 'prospective' (Ingold, 2013: 66) becomings of city spaces and their grounding into 'spatio-temporal events' (Massey, 2005: 130) of place.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF WORKSHOPS, PERFORMANCES AND INTERVIEWS

Below is a summative list of the workshops, performances and formal interviews I conducted over the course of my research. As my study was qualitative, I have not included demographic breakdowns of each group's composition for workshops and performances. However, should these figures be of interest, I do have them available as uncollated raw data in the form of registers and indemnity forms. I can also make detailed workshop plans available on request.

PREPARATORY WORKSHOPS AND PERFORMANCES/EXHIBITION

1. **Braamfontein Saturday Project**

WORKSHOPS
Dates, times and frequency: 2 May, 2015 – 6 June, 2015, every Saturday, 10:00 – 12:00.
Venue: University Corner, 9th Floor, University of Witwatersrand.
Participant age: 18 – 38 years old.
Number of participants: Group ranged from 3-11 in number, averaging 5.
Workshop content: A series of artistic and research prompts and tasks for participants to respond to the everyday of Braamfontein street life through their own disciplines. Participants came from the following University of Witwatersrand Departments: Theatre and Performance, Film and TV, Fine Art, Architecture and Urban Planning.

PERFORMANCE/EXHIBITION
Dates, times and frequency: 6 June, 11:00 – 13:00.
Venue: University Corner, 9th Floor, University of Witwatersrand and Braamfontein public spaces.
Audience age: 19 – 72 years old.
Number of audience members: 20.
Performance/exhibition content: collages, models, drawings, bricolages, short performances, sound installations, a video documentary, rubbings and fiction and memoir writing.
Performance/exhibitions by: all 11 group participants.

2. **Opsoek/Descoberta/Finding Pretoria**

WORKSHOPS
Dates, times and frequency: 17 August – 26 October, 2015, every Monday, 14:00 – 17:00.
Venue: University of Pretoria Drama Department rehearsal rooms, Church Square, Union Buildings, Pretoria Art Museum, Hatfield Streets.
Participant age: 20-22 years old.
Number of participants: 4.
Workshop content: A series of artistic and research prompts and tasks for participants to respond to the everyday of Pretoria public spaces through their theatre and performance craft.

PERFORMANCE/EXHIBITION
Dates, times and frequency: 30 October – 1 November, 2015, every day, 11:00 – 13:00 and 16:00 – 18:00.

Venue: University of Pretoria Drama Department rehearsal rooms, Church Square, Union Buildings, Pretoria Art Museum, Hatfield Streets, Gautrain Station, Aroma Café and all the streets between connecting these sites.
Audience age: 19-36 years old.
Number of audience members: 24.
Performance/exhibition content: A guided audio tour with live performance moments. Participants were chauffeured in two sedan vehicles. Performances concluded with an exhibition of drawings, memoir and fiction writing, object and short performance installations at the University of Pretoria Drama Department.
Performance/exhibitions by: 4 workshop participants and Frances Slabolepszy and Alex Halligey as drivers.

BERTRAMS WORKSHOPS AND PERFORMANCES

ALL THE WORKSHOPS BELOW WERE FACILITATED BY ALEX HALLIGEY AND BAELETSI TSATSI, UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.

3. Bertrams Junior School

WORKSHOPS
Dates, times and frequency: 14 October, 2015 – 8 December, 2015, every Wednesday, 13:30 – 14:30.
Venue: Bertrams Junior School quadrangle.
Participant age: Grade 3 and 4 learners (between the ages of 8 and 10 years old).
Number of participants: Group ranged from 15 – 30 in number, averaging 20.
Workshop content: Theatre and performance games exploring the children's experiences to and from school every day.

THIS FIRST SET OF WORKSHOPS ALSO INCLUDED ONE-ON-ONE INTERVIEWS WITH EACH LEARNER ASKING THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

- What do you like about Bertrams?
- Describe how you walk/get to school.
- What do you see on the way to school?

PERFORMANCE
Dates, times and frequency: 8 December, 09:00 – 09:30 (for Gerald Fitzpatrick House residents and staff) and 10:30 – 11:00 (for Bertrams Junior School).
Venues: Gerald Fitzpatrick House common room and Bertrams Junior School quadrangle.
Audience age: Gerald Fitzpatrick House: 60 – 95 years old. Bertrams Junior School: 5 – 10 years old.
Number of audience members: Gerald Fitzpatrick House: 50. Bertrams Junior School: 400.
Performance content: Choreographed choral narrative of performers' routes to and from school every day.
Performed by: 30 Bertrams Junior School Grade 3 and 4 learners (the workshop participants).

4. Gerald Fitzpatrick House

WORKSHOPS
Dates, times and frequency: 4 November, 2015 – 9 December, 2015, every Wednesday, 09:00-10:00.
Venue: Gerald Fitzpatrick House Frail Care Unit television room.
Participant age: Between 60 and 90 years old.
Number of participants: 20
Workshop content: Theatre and performance games exploring the participants' memories of their daily lives as younger women.

IN THE JUNE AND JULY OF 2016 I RETURNED TO CONDUCT INTERVIEWS WITH FIVE OF THE WOMEN FROM THE WORKSHOPS ABOUT THEIR PERSONAL BIOGRAPHIES AND HOW THEY CAME TO BE IN GERALD FITZPATRICK HOUSE.

PERFORMANCE
Dates, times and frequency: 9 December, 09:00 – 10:00 (for Gerald Fitzpatrick House residents and staff).
Venue: Gerald Fitzpatrick House common room
Audience age: Gerald Fitzpatrick House: 45 – 95 years old.
Number of audience members: Gerald Fitzpatrick House: 50.
Play content: Narrative poem of workshop participants' memories (performed by Alex Halligey and Baeletsi Tsatsi) and demonstration of some of the workshop games (facilitated by Alex Halligey and Baeletsi Tsatsi and executed by workshop participants).

5. **Maurice Freeman Recreation Centre**

WORKSHOPS
Dates, times and frequency: 15 October – 9 December, every Thursday, 15:00 – 16:30.
Participant age: 4-12 years old.
Number of participants: Group ranged from 3 – 15 in number, averaging 6.
Workshop content: Theatre and performance games exploring the children's experiences to and from school every day.

THIS WORKSHOPS ALSO INCLUDED ONE-ON-ONE INTERVIEWS WITH EACH PARTICIPANT ASKING THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

What do you like about Bertrams?
Describe how you walk/get to school.
What do you see on the way to school?

PERFORMANCE
Dates, times and frequency: 9 December, 16:00 –16:30.
Participant age: 4-12 years old.
Number of audience: 3 (2 security guards and the Centre Director).
Play content: A choral rhyming poem of the participants' experiences of Bertrams, edited together by Alex Halligey.
Performed by: Workshop participants, led by Alex Halligey and Baeletsi Tsatsi.

6. **Bienvenu [sic] Refugee Shelter for Women and Children**

Dates, times and frequency: 7 November – 5 December, every Saturday, 13:00 – 15:00.
Participant age: early 20s to mid 50s.
Number of participants: 6
Workshop content: Theatre, performance and art and craft exercises to explore the women's daily routines and memories and sensual experiences of place, both in Johannesburg and their home countries.

WORKSHOP AND PERFORMANCE SERIES, 2016

7. Bertrams Junior School

WORKSHOPS
Dates, times and frequency: 25 January – 30 November, 2016, every Wednesday during term time for all 4 terms, 13:30 – 14:30.
Venue: Bertrams Junior School quadrangle.
Participant age: Grade 3 and 4 learners (between the ages of 8 and 10 years old).
Number of participants: Group ranged from 15 – 30 in number, averaging 20.
Workshop content: Term 1: theatre and performance games exploring Johannesburg and Bertrams history.
Term 2: scripting and rehearsing a play about Johannesburg and Bertrams history.
Term 3: selecting playground games and rehearsing them into a performance for *Izithombe 2094*. Toni Morkel and Lindiwe Matshikiza joined the group as facilitators for this term.
Term 4: refining the Bertams history play.

PERFORMANCES
Dates, times and frequency: 27 July, 2016, 07:30.
Venue: Bertrams Junior School quadrangle.
Audience age: 5 – 10 years old.
Number of audience members: 400.
Performance content: Bertrams History Play.
Performed by: 30 Bertrams Junior School Grade 3 and 4 learners (the workshop participants).

Dates, times and frequency: 28 August – 2 September, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 2 Sunday performances, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
Venue: On the pavement outside Bertrams Junior School.
Audience age: Mixed.
Number of audience members: Minimum 5, maximum 30.
Performance content: Performance of games as part of *Izithombe 2094*.
Performed by: Bertrams Junior School Grade 3 and 4 learners (the workshop participants), varying in number from 3 to 30.

Dates, times and frequency: 30 October – 8 November, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 1 Sunday performance, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
Venue: On the pavement outside Bertrams Junior School.

Audience age: Mixed.
Number of audience members: Minimum 5, maximum 30.
Performance content: Performance of games as part of *Izithombe 2094*.
Performed by: Bertrams Junior School Grade 3 and 4 learners (the workshop participants), varying in number from 3 to 30.

Dates, times and frequency: 25 November, 2016, 14:00 – 14:15.
Venue: Johannesburg Cricket Club pavilion.
Audience age: Majority between 40 and 60 years old.
Number of audience members: +/- 80 members of corporate companies funding the Joburg Cricket Club, and local community leaders.
Performance content: Bertrams History Play.
Performed by: 30 Bertrams Junior School Grade 3 and 4 learners (the workshop participants).

Dates, times and frequency: 30 November, 2016, 07:30 – 07:45.
Venue: Bertrams Junior School quadrangle.
Audience age: 5 – 10 years old.
Number of audience members: 400.
Performance content: Bertrams History Play.
Performed by: 30 Bertrams Junior School Grade 3 and 4 learners (the workshop participants).

8. Bienvenu [sic] Refugee Shelter for Women and Children

WORKSHOPS
Dates, times and frequency: 6 February – 12 December, 2016 every Saturday, 13:00 – 15:00 up until 16 May when the sessions changed to Monday evenings, 17:00 – 18:00
Participant age: 2 years old to mid-fifties (mothers and children).
Number of participants: ranging from 10 to 20.
Workshop content: Theatre, performance and art and craft exercises to explore the women and children's daily experiences of in Johannesburg as well as simple exercises for stretching the body, quietening the mind and playfulness between adults and children, children and children, adults and adults.

THESE SESSIONS ARE ONGOING. I CONTINUED TO FACILITATE THEM FOR 2017 AND IN 2018 RAND MERCHANT BANK AND BASA HAVE FUNDED A YEAR'S WORTH OF FACILITATION FEES FOR STUDENT/NEWLY GRADUATED FACILITATORS FROM THE MARKET THEATRE LABORATORY AND WITS SCHOOL OF THE ARTS.

PERFORMANCES
Dates, times and frequency: 28 August – 2 September, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 2 Sunday performances, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
Venue: On the pavement at various points along the route of *Izithombe 2094*.
Audience age: Mixed.
Number of audience members: Minimum 5, maximum 30.
Performance content: A dance sequence as part of *Izithombe 2094* and political oration (by Bibiche Budimo).
Performed by: 7 workshop participants (10-12 years old) and Bibiche Budimo.

Dates, times and frequency: 30 October – 8 November, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 1 Sunday performance, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
Venue: On the pavement at various points along the route of *Izithombe 2094*.
Audience age: Mixed.
Number of audience members: Minimum 5, maximum 30.
Performance content: A dance sequence as part of *Izithombe 2094* and political oration (by Bibiche Budimo).
Performed by: 7 workshop participants (10-12 years old) and Bibiche Budimo.

9. **Bertrams Inner City Farm**

WORKSHOPS
Date and time: 17 August, 10:30 – 11:30.
Participant age: early 20s to mid 50s.
Number of participants: 6.
Workshop content: A series of prompts for physical images representing the farmers' daily practices.

PERFORMANCES
Dates, times and frequency: 28 August – 2 September, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 2 Sunday performances, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
Venue: a pavement on Liddle Street (Ronnie Maluleke) and one of the farm fields, as part of *Izithombe 2094*.
Audience age: Mixed.
Number of audience members: Minimum 5, maximum 30.
Performance content: Self-written poetry performed by farmer, Ronnie Maluleke, and, for some performances only, a movement sequence performed in a field by the farmers. The sequence was developed from their physical images in the workshop session
Performed by: Ronnie Maluleke and varying numbers of the other farmers from the workshop.

Dates, times and frequency: 28 August – 2 September, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 2 Sunday performances, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
Venue: a pavement on Liddle Street or in one of the farm fields, as part of *Izithombe 2094*.
Audience age: Mixed.
Number of audience members: Minimum 5, maximum 30.
Performance content and performer: Self-written poetry performed by farmer, Ronnie Maluleke, only.

DEVISING PROCESS AND PERFORMANCE OF *IZITHOMBE 2094*

1. ***Izithombe 2094* devising process**

Dates, times and frequency: 25 July – 5 August, every week day, 09:00 – 17:00.
Venue: Bertrams streets and Twilsharp Studios, 40/42 Gordon Road, Bertrams.

Age range of performers: 23years old – late 50s.
Number of performers: 3.

2. ***Izithombe 2094*** **rehearsal process**

Dates, times and frequency: 7 – 27 August, every week day, 09:00 – 17:00 and Saturday, 20 August, 10:00 – 13:00.
Venue: Bertrams streets and Twilsharp Studios, 40/42 Gordon Road, Bertrams.
Age range of performers: 23years old – late 50s.
Number of performers: 3.

3. ***Izithombe 2094*** **performances**

Dates, times and frequency: 28 August – 2 September, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 2 Sunday performances, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
And:
30 October – 8 November, 2016, 2 Saturday performances, 1 Sunday performance, 10:30 – 10:40 and 17:00 – 17:10, 3 weekday performances, some at 11:00, some at 16:00.
Venue: Bertrams streets and Twilsharp Studios, 40/42 Gordon Road, Bertrams.
Age range of performers: 23years old – late 50s.
Number of performers: 3.

IZITHOMBE 2094 **AUDIENCE FOCUS GROUPS**

In the focus group sessions I used a series of prompts I had consistently used in workshop sessions throughout all the artistic processes listed above. These were physical, drawing and writing exercises that focused on sense memories. I asked the focus group participants to make images representing the sight, smells, tastes, textures and sounds that came to them when they thought about their experience of *Izithombe 2094*. The responses of the Sophiatown Community Psychological Services group and the Market Lab group were ultimately incorporated into the second run of the play.

Group: University of Witwatersrand Drama For Life 2nd year students.
Date and time: 13 September, 2016, 10:00 – 11:00.
Participant ages: 19 years old – early 50s.
Number of participants: 7.

Group: Market Theatre Laboratory 1st year students.
Date and time: 6 October, 2016, 11:00 – 12:00.
Participant ages: 19 – 25 years old.
Number of participants: 20

Group: Sophiatown Community Psychological Services teenage group.
Dates and times: 21 and 28 October, 16:00 – 17:00.
Participant ages: 15 – 17 years old.
Number of participants: 12.

INTERVIEWS

2014

On participatory processes, social practices and space in Johannesburg:

June, Neo Muyanga.
June, Bronwyn Lace.
July, Philip Harrison.

2015

On participatory processes, social practices and space in Johannesburg:

March, Terry Kurgan.
June, Marcus Neustetter.

On farming in Bertrams:

August, Amon Maluleke.

2016

On participatory processes, social practices and space in Johannesburg:

April, Kim Gurney.

On living and/or working in Bertrams, currently or in the past:

August, Garfield and Duncan Taylor.
July, Bobby Heaney.
July, Janet Landey.
July, Sean Christie.
November, Martin Gibbs and Doreen Kidd.
Throughout the year, Refiloe Molefe and Amon Maluleke.

VOLUNTEER WORK

I worked at Bertrams Inner City Farm more or less once a week from August, 2015 to December, 2016.